# Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value

## A Compilation of Academic Explorations

Edited by Thomas Selover

The Professors World Peace Academy International

A Compilation of Academic Exploration on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value, originally written in Korean and translated into English for this publication.



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The SOCIAL VISION expressed through the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value has been inspired by the teaching and life work of Dr. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, the founders of the Professors World Peace Academy as well as the Universal Peace Federation.

THREE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS have contributed to reviewing and recommending this selection of articles out of all the papers regarding the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value of Unification Thought that have been published through academic journals in the Republic of Korea: Research of Unification Thought and The Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions.

ALL 10 AUTHORS of this compilation have gladly permitted their original papers to be translated into English, reprinted, and circulated all over the world without any hesitation.

Also, 4 TRANSALTORS and 1 REVIEWER have professionally worked on painstaking translation word by word, especially to deliver those key terms that appear throughout the papers as precisely as possible to minimize any misunderstanding.

# Editor's Foreword

Dear Readers,

The Professors World Peace Academy (PWPA) is pleased to present this volume of articles on the key ideals and principles of Unification social thinking, namely interdependence, mutual prosperity, and universal value(s). In Korean, these terms are: *gongseng* 공생共生, *gongyeong* 공영共榮, and *gongeui* 공의共義, respectively.[1] The thirteen articles in this collection have been selected by an editorial committee as representing some of the most fruitful discussions of these social ideals published recently in Korea.

The main purposes of this volume are, first, to provide English readers with insight into core concepts of the Unification social vision as explored by Korean Unification scholars. It is hoped that this volume will also provide a helpful orientation to this social vision for those engaged in activities of the Universal Peace Federation (UPF) under the banner of "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values." Further, this volume intended to stimulate and encourage wider discussion of these

1 The three Korean terms can be translated into English in several different ways. An earlier version of the Unification Thought book, for example, used "co-existence, co-prosperity, and co-righteousness." While different translations each have their merits, the decision for this volume has been to follow the translations most commonly used by UPF, except that we have decided to use "universal value" instead of "universal values," in order to highlight the meaning of absolute value or God-centered value.

core concepts and their applicability in the contemporary world.

Background

By way of background to these articles, I would like to begin with a passage from Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon:

> My husband [Dr. Sun Myung Moon] and I, having directly experienced the destructive nature of militant communism, were committed to preventing the spread of such a system in other parts of the world.
>
> At the same time, we recognized that the so-called free world was in a state of moral and spiritual decline. The foundations of faith, family and freedom in liberal democratic societies were not healthy.
>
> My husband…coined the term "head wing" to balance left and right wing ideologies. Through head wing thought, we have been working to create a world based on the values of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universally shared values.[2]

We can see in Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon's statement that these "head wing" social values are put forth and promoted in order to stimulate creative development in re-shaping the world. Dreams and ideals alone are not enough to change the world; we must develop procedures, strategies and policies based on those dreams and visions in order to bring them into concrete reality. The followers of Karl Marx have been actively committed to changing

2 Hak Ja Han Moon, *Forgive, Love, Unite*, FFWPU International Headquarters, p. 276.

the world through a conflict-based dialectical analysis. In contrast, the social vision promoted by UPF and PWPA, inspired by the life work of their founders, Dr. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, is based on complementarity and mutual participation. Those who cherish this alternative social vision for the future need to be similarly and even more vigorously committed to changing the world.

On the subject of mutual participation, a passage from Dr. Sun Myung Moon provides an important clarification:

> Humanity desires a world of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universally shared values, which is a reflection of God's ideal kingdom. It is not a world where one can live alone; no individual can create such a world. Whenever we talk about "I" there must also be "my partner"…This should not remain as a concept, but should be applied in real life.[3]

In light of this passage, it can be seen that mutuality is at the heart of these social ideals and practices. Since the passage refers to God's ideal kingdom, we can also recognize that such mutuality is not only within the human realm; the starting point is mutuality between God and human beings.

## The Shape of the Collection

Many of the authors in this volume are second-generation Unificationists. They are also beneficiaries of the work of senior scholars of Unification Thought, beginning from Dr. Sang Hun

3 *Cheon Seong Gyeong*, Book 10, Chapter 4, Section 1, Paragraph 5; (024-300, 1969 08 31).

Lee and his faithful staff, as well as Dr. Sung Bae Jin, Chairman of the Hyojeong Academic Foundation, and others. The articles which comprise this volume are best understood as works in progress, probing the shape and application of these social ideals.

The articles largely follow the outline description of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universal value(s) found in the Appendix to Dr. Sang Hun Lee's *New Essentials of Unification Thought*.[4] One of the key features of the account in *New Essentials* is the description of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universal value(s) in terms of the three fields of economics, politics and ethics, respectively. The same basic division into three fields is followed by the articles in this volume, and they are accordingly grouped into three sections. The section on Universal Value appears first because, from a philosophical point of view, the other two concepts are based on Universal Value. In passing, I would like to acknowledge that some Unification scholars prefer not to divide the social ideals into three fields and are working on alternative descriptions. Nonetheless, a valuable aspect of these articles is that they offer applications of the concepts of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universal value(s) to specific realms of policy.

The articles in this volume have been translated into English by a dedicated team of translators. Readers are advised that the articles are translated works and therefore that there is inevi-

4 Sang Hun Lee, *New Essentials of Unification Thought: Head-wing Thought*, Unification Thought Institute, 2006. The Appendix section (507-524) on these concepts by Dr. Lee and his staff is currently the most authoritative account of these social ideals (rendered as mutual existence, mutual prosperity and mutual righteousness).

tably some loss of clarity through the translation process. There may also be some infelicities and awkward passages that have crept in as a result of translation. Nevertheless, these essays are in their own ways pioneering attempts at clarifying aspects of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universal value(s), and it will be fruitful to engage with these authors in a spirit of mutual endeavor. In the next section, I will briefly introduce some of the key ideas in each of the articles.

## Articles in this Volume

### 1. Universal Value

The opening section on Universal Value begins with Professor Jinsu Hwang's reflection on "Two Presuppositions to Establish Universal Ethics." In this paper, he points out that in order to have a universal ethics or universally recognized ethics, it must be based on a universal desire that is shared in common by all of humankind. He references the concept of *shimjung* as "the emotional impulse to seek joy through love." His paper clarifies the nature and the relationship of value and norm as well as of *shimjung*, love and reciprocity. Prof. Hwang reminds his readers that "…joint ethics or universal ethics is not a norm that someone forces others to follow nor is it a norm that is established because everyone agrees to it." The key question is whether common values that all people can share actually exist.

In the next article, "The Theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought," Professor Hangje Kim draws the connection between two ideas represented by homonyms in Korean (both pronounced "*gongeui*"). One of homonyms could be translated as "shared righteousness" (共義) and is the

term rendered in this collection as "universal value." The other homonym (with the same hangul spelling but representing a different Chinese character) means "public righteousness" (公義). Prof. Kim defines shared righteousness or universal value in terms of seeking to achieve public righteousness. Further, he points out that public righteousness is linked with the theological concept of God's righteousness or the Kingdom of God. One of the interesting questions in this paper is the role of divine agency and human agency in the realization of universal value. That is to say, how universal value as pursued by human beings and the public righteousness of God's kingdom are connected with one another, particularly in a messianic age.

The third paper in the section on Universal Value is presented by Professor Younhee An, on "Cosmopolitanism of a Global Society from the Viewpoint of the Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value." The author admirably traces the development of cosmopolitanism in Western thought both secular and religious. Further, she distinguishes cosmopolitanism from globalism, which cannot be separated from the capitalist world system. In other words, she is proposing an "emancipatory cosmopolitanism." To accomplish this purpose, Prof. An advocates cooperation among religions for the sake of the greater good. In short, she places the principle of universal value within the revival of cosmopolitan discourse in search of a global ethic that can overcome the dissolution of traditional values as found in countries throughout the world.

2. Interdependence

The first paper in the section on Interdependence, "Ownership

as seen from the Perspective of Unification Political Thought: 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'Public Ownership' of Modern Utopianism," is also by Professor Hangje Kim. This foundational article was originally published twenty years ago, and is cited by several other authors in this collection. In this article, Prof. Kim distinguishes between several forms of utopianism in terms of moderate, centrist and radical political ownership ideologies. He points out that, for earlier utopians of the Renaissance period, the idea of public ownership was based on distrust of human nature, whereas for later utopians, the basis was distrust of the social system. This distinction raises far-reaching questions for the implementation of Unification Thought's theory of ownership. The author's way of handling Unification Thought's concept of "reasonable ownership" on a personal level is to suggest that it is ownership which gives conscientious satisfaction when the person has made a material sacrifice based on true love.

Professor Jusung Sun's paper, "A Study of Unification Church's Economic Theory of the Principle of Interdependence," treats the principle of interdependence as an economic theory that can supplement the ethical obligations related to economics, such as transparency and responsibility. The author points out that the ideological root of the principle of interdependence lies in John Locke's liberalism, whereas its uniqueness comes in the fact that it recognizes God as at the center of the relationship of ownership. Material goods as well as non-material goods such as heart, love and gratitude are part of the same overall economy. This paper makes a key recommendation that the principle of interdependence ought to be well-applied within the Unification complex

of businesses, in order to provide a clear example of its practical application.

One of the key ideas in the article by Dr. Masahiro Taniuchi, "A Study on the Economic Thought of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence of Unification Thought," is the concept of "unconditional conditionality." This concept refers to building a reciprocal relationship by sharing a goal of joint ownership. In practice, it means that there must be a return for a gift, even though the gift itself is activated by unconditional love. The paper also addresses the development of the sharing economy and how it relates to the principle of interdependence. Specific proposals for government implementation are also included in order to advance the economy of joint ownership. Finally, Dr. Taniuchi advocates a shift from the shareholder capitalism of the current economic system to stakeholder capitalism, in order to develop a more inclusive and more just economic system.

The article by Professor Junseok Lee, "A study of Economic Democratization based on Unification Thought," demonstrates some possibilities of Unification Thought to solve actual problems, as Dr. Sang Hun Lee often mentioned. Prof. Lee offers a critical reflection on liberal democracy, pointing out that although U.S. President Ronald Reagan is considered to be a providential figure in Unification views of history, "…that does not mean that neo-liberalism is unconditionally right." In fact, he argues, there has to be a critical reflection and reconstruction, both in terms of general academic trends and in terms of a Divine Principle analysis. The author's conclusion, that because "God wishes to provide everyone with equal environments" therefore "a God-centered socialistic society will come into existence,"

is certainly debatable. However, he reminds us that any attempt at "reasonable ownership" through forceful redistribution of resources would undermine the basic motivations of the desire to seek value and the desire to realize value which Unification Thought places at the center of human advancement.

Professor Minji Kim next offers a critical reflection on "Basic Income from the Perspective of Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence." The author points out that in order to implement a system of basic income, a huge amount of revenue would be required, which would lead inevitably to increased taxes. So the idea of basic income as an avenue for the implementation of the principle of interdependence raises many questions. Prof. Kim explains that education to restore the human conscience centered on God's true love must go together with the introduction and implementation of a basic income system. In other words, the overall vision of society as a community centered on God's true love will be necessary in order to implement a policy like basic income. The paper draws a key conclusion that basic income policies currently being debated could be adopted or adapted as part of the process to realize an economic order based on the principle of interdependence, as a step along the way.

The concluding paper in the section on Interdependence, Professor Hwa-myung Kang's "A Study of the Economic Movement of Cooperatives from the Perspective of the Principle of Interdependence," offers a clear description of cooperatives in general, as well as the special case of Wonju city in eastern South Korea. In Wonju, based on leadership from the Roman Catholic community, the roots of the cooperative movement have been developed strongly. On the issue of "reasonable ownership," one

of the controversial points of the principle of interdependence, the author's approach is to point out that the cooperative economic movement makes specific who are the "others" with whom one is engaging conscientiously, so that the personal conscience will be more likely to operate properly. Such cooperatives can develop a "solidarity economy" that does not ignore the poverty of neighbors and takes care of the socially disadvantaged, "based on the love for brothers and sisters centered on God."

3. Mutual Prosperity

The third section begins with Prof. Jinsu Hwang's second article, "A Study on the State Theory of Cheon Il Guk based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value." In this article, he explores the concept of the cultural state, pointing out that "…culture is understood here as the reciprocal link between the state as an overall idea and the reality of the state." In other words, there is a dynamic relationship between the idea of the state to which citizens would be loyal and the developing reality of that state. As the substance of Cheon Il Guk is refined through this dynamic relationship, those who are participating in the Cheon Il Guk movement, instead of being disappointed in the gap between proclamations and reality, would be able to take actions to lessen that gap. The author concludes that "…in order to increase the life force of Cheon Il Guk and accelerate its substantialization," the ideals of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universal value should play the role of a cultural tie connecting the concept and the reality of Cheon Il Guk.

The second paper in this section is "Analysis of the New

Political Thought based on Unification Thought: Freedom, Equality and Love," presented by Professor Hidenori Yagasaki. This paper was originally presented a number of years ago, and provides a fuller background for treating the political ideals of Unification Thought. The dynamics among freedom, equality and love can serve as a framework through which to understand the concept of mutual prosperity. The author's analysis of communism and democracy is cogent and helpful. He points out that the theory of communism offered a clear social vision of equality and a call to action which has often been lacking in other social philosophies. In contrast, the representative thinkers of democratic philosophy have emphasized freedom and human dignity. Prof. Yagasaki explains that each of these political philosophies has its flaws, and proposes that only a new political thought (Godism) that returns to roots in religious thought centering on love can provide a true and lasting resolution. In his extensive discussion, the principle of mutual prosperity is explicitly mentioned only in a note, but the idea of mutual prosperity is indeed integral to his analysis of the new political thought.

Professor Minji Kim's second article, "Discourse of Republicanism from the Viewpoint of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in Unification Thought," presents an historical and contemporary overview of republicanism as a way of exploring the implications of the principle of mutual prosperity for modern political systems. Prof. Kim traces the history of republicanism as well as current debates over its feasibility in modern society. Among the issues she discusses, freedom (both passive and active) as well as the rule of law and the common good are featured prominently. The

author points out limitations of republicanism in not providing a clear logic to solve issues of freedom and the common good when the two seem to collide, and proposes that by the principle of mutual prosperity, individual freedom "can be limited for a greater love and joy." In addition, the paper highlights the importance of social policies as well as initiatives of religious communities that strengthen the family. The reason is that the family is the smallest social unit where the requisite sense of the common good and motivations for its achievement can be cultivated.

In the final paper of this volume, "A Study about Policy Principles of the Politics of Mutual Prosperity and the Election System from the Viewpoint of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value," Professor Hyun-jin Lim wrestles with the task of proposing reforms to the existing political situation in South Korea. In advocating the guidelines of mutual prosperity political theory, he notes that "…the politics of mutual prosperity can only start when it leads to the real participation of the people by considering reforming the election system." Although Prof. Lim's article is focused on political innovation in South Korea, his recommendations could be applied in a number of countries to help ease political strife and promote the benefits of mutual prosperity in governance. Noting that "the politics of mutual prosperity is the politics of joint participation of all people," the author goes on to specify collaboration, balance and responsibility as the key factors for realizing or moving toward governance based on mutual prosperity.

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In closing, I would like to thank all of the contributors

to this volume for their interpretive investment in developing these articles and for their willingness to take part in this PWPA translation and publication project. I would also like to thank the project coordinator, Dr. Incheol Son, whose efforts have contributed to this volume at every step of the way.

In the hope that this volume will contribute to the international discussion of these key social ideas and principles, PWPA International is proud to be able to make these articles available to English-speaking readers. All readers are encouraged to respond with questions and comments through email to: PWPAinternational@gmail.com.

With all good wishes,

Thomas Selover, President

PWPA International

Seorak-myeon, November 2021

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Part I

# The Principle of Universal Value


1. Two Presuppositions to Establish Universal Ethics (Hwang, Jinsu)
2. The Theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought (Kim, Hangje)
3. Cosmopolitanism of a Global Society from the Viewpoint of the Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value (An, Younhee)

# Two Presuppositions to Establish Universal Ethics (共同倫理)♣

**Hwang, Jinsu**

*SunHak UP Graduate University*

I. Introduction

II. Mutual Relationship between Value and Norm

III. Does Humankind Possess a Universal Desire?

IV. What Satisfies the Desire for Love?

V. In Conclusion: The Practice of Universal Ethics

## Abstract

Unification Thought envisions the Ideal of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values as the fundamental principle for an ideal world and pursues the establishment of universal ethics to install Universal Value, its key concept. This paper first deals with the inseparable, complementary relationship between values and norms and the priority of values over norms

♣ Editor's Note: This paper was originally published in *Research of Unification Thought* 17 (2019).

from the perspective of Unification Thought, and then presents the following two presuppositions necessary for all people to grasp universal ethics in order to share Universal Value. The first presupposition is related to a conviction that all people possess universal desire, and the second is that there exist characteristics of an object partner that can satisfy that desire. In regard to the first presupposition, this paper, focusing on the concept of *shimjung* [heart], presents the idea that all people have an irresistible desire of achieving happiness through love. For the second presupposition, this paper suggests that people can satisfy the desires of their hearts by helping others achieve perfection and happiness. This paper also sheds light on the possibility that in that moment when our desires are met, we can establish Universal Value and universal ethics.

**Key Words:** The Principle of Universal Value, Universal Ethics, Value, Norm, *Shimjung*

## I. Introduction

Unification Thought presents a society based on the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value as a blueprint to an ideal future society. The Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value is a compound concept of each of its three respective principles. Of these, the Principle of Universal Value, which refers to ethics, is applied as the key concept to this principle.[1] According to *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, Universal Value is the prerequisite

1 Unification Thought Institute, *Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing House, 2018), p. 521, 533.

to grasping "joint ethics [universal ethics],"[2] that is, an ethical practice which all people commonly abide by. To reiterate, when all members of society overcome differences between cultural background, gender, nationality, religion, or language, and accept universal ethics as the ultimate law and order in their own lives, they can finally aim for a society in which they "regard one another in a righteous light (Universal Value)."

To understand deeply the connotations of universal ethics we need a process to answering questions like the following: "Is it possible to institute universal ethics in a diversifying society?", "What do we need to distinguish a particular type of ethics as universal ethics?", or more fundamentally, "What does it mean to share universally and accept universally?" Even amidst these complicated questions one thing is clear. In order to establish a particular practice of ethics as joint ethics or universal ethics, the life that these ethics strive for must be perceived as invaluable. Then no one will doubt the normativity of these ethics. As you are aware, value and ethics have an inseparable relationship. Values provide principle- and goal-oriented motive that can guide peoples' ways of thinking and behaving. Therefore, the inquiry of universal ethics is essentially related to the discussion on whether "common values" or "universal values" exist. In other words, before we can engage in a discussion on universal ethics, we must first address its prerequisite and key factor: whether a value or set of values can lead members of society to overcome the elements of differentiating identity, universally accept these values, and live by them in their daily lives.

2 Unification Thought Institute, p. 509.

In *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, value is defined as "that quality of an object that satisfies the desire of the subject."[3] On the foundation of applying this definition, this text presents the need to apply the following two presuppositions in order to establish universal values. First, consciously or subconsciously, humankind must possess universal "desire". If there is no universal desire, then it is impossible to perceive universal value. Second, there must be characteristics of an object that can satisfy humankind's universal desire. When there is appreciation that the desire of each individual of humankind, which is both subjective and universal, is satisfied by the object's characteristics, that appreciation and satisfaction sublimates those characteristics into Universal Value.

This paper attempts to discuss each topic by focusing on these two presuppositions. To do so, I will first examine the mutual relationship between value and norm. In reality there is no guarantee that what is valued as "good" will always connect a particular human behavior as a prescribed normative activity such as a normative "right" or "obligation". Not only that, but norms are also standardized based on their actual effectiveness rather than whether its values are good. There also exists the perspective of normative priority that decides value according to congruency with that norm. Therefore, to properly understand the thought of joint ethics of Universal Value, which attempts to grasp an awareness toward Universal Value and its universal ethical norms,

3 Unification Thought Institute, p. 202. Unification Thought's definition of value does not greatly differ from that of the encyclopedic definition. However, the distinction in Unification Thought's axiology is that it makes an in-depth analysis of the desire of the subject.

we must first examine the relationship between value and norm from the perspective of Unification Thought. In this context, after handling the relationship between value and norm from the perspective of Unification Thought, I will present my arguments on the two presuppositions for establishing universal ethics. Finally, I will conclude my paper with a discussion on living according to universal ethics.

## II. Mutual Relationship between Value and Norm

The mutual relationship between value and norm has long been an important key topic in the study of ethics or moral philosophy, but in modern and present times its debate truly unfolded with metaethics derived from the Anglo-American analytical philosophy. While investigating the difference between "good" and "right", metaethics came to the foreground asking questions such as, "How are good and right defined?", "What kind of relationship do the two have?", "Does 'good' take precedence or does 'right' take precedence?"[4] Moreover, during the twentieth century, legal philosophers including H. L. A. Hart, Hans Kelsen, and Gustav Radbruch led the debate on the relationship between norm and value, and which comes first, in order to determine the origin and legitimacy of the normativity of law.[5]

4 Sehyuk Oh, "Norms and Values in Kelsen's Legal Theory—focusing on the Correlation between Norm and Values," *Korean Journal of Legal Philosophy* 18(3) (2015), p. 100.

5 Sehyuk Oh, pp. 100-101. Refer to H. L. A. Hart, *The Concept of Law* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1961).

Norm refers to "the prescription of human behavior."[6] It defines and directs human beings' actions in the forms of an order or request which reflect the motive to lead them in the direction of what is "right". On the other hand, the encyclopedic definition of "value" includes the "importance or significance of material worth or work," which is widely used in the fields of economics, ethics, aesthetics, law, pedagogy, and psychology. Normally, in achieving one's desire or goal, the desirability or usefulness—in other words, "good"—that an object possesses is understood as a generic concept. When we ponder the definition of value that I quoted from *New Essentials of Unification Thought* in my introduction ("that quality of an object that satisfies the desire of the subject"), we can conclude that it refers to the "goodness" of that quality. From that point of view, it may be a crude classification, yet a life in pursuit of norm primarily aims for what is right and a life in pursuit of value primarily aims for goodness.

Therefore, what relationship do right and good have? In fact, these two have a complementary but inseparable relationship. When norm distinguishes human behavior from right and wrong, and implements a justification for good, the presupposition of norm's reverse side implies a good that strives for harmony, balance and order across all people and society. Furthermore, when norm takes effect, people perceive following the norm itself is right regardless of its context. They have a preexisting belief that conforming to the norm is better or more "good" than not. Similarly, the good that value pursues could be projected from an individual's extremely subjective point of view, but in most cases goodness that is currently acknowledged socially is compre-

6 Sehyuk Oh, p. 103.

hended as value. Therefore, since the implication of inherent goodness in value is already socially agreed upon, it is not only desirable to perform various derivative actions that a value aims for, but it also includes a normative dimension of "ought" according to social consensus.

In this way, most scholars agree that norm and value are inseparable. However, their positions radically divide between which comes first. Edmund Husserl claims that value takes priority over norm. For example, according to Husserl, between a brave soldier and a non-brave soldier, society believes that the former is more valuable than the latter. The norm "soldiers must be brave" is established on the premise of a value judgement that narrates "a brave soldier has value." In other words, an oughtness demand arises based on the predicate value concerning a value judgement on which a certain situation is already premised.[7] On the other hand, Kelsen who suggested the pure theory of law, takes the opposing position. He claimed that in actual society, norm, which is objectively considered effective, applies as a value criteria for human behavior regardless of what kind of contents the norm has. In other words, the classification between whether a behavior has or does not have value lies on whether that behavior is in accord with the effective norm. Kelsen believed that the legitimacy of legal norm should be judged on the basis of whether it was created in accordance with the "highest basic norm" [*Grundnorm*], whose legitimacy can no longer be questioned. He perceived value as a subordinate and subsequent event to the

7 Edmund Husserl, *Logical Investigations 1* (Seoul: Minumsa, 2018), p. 103. Sehyuk Oh, secondary citation from p. 107.

established norm.[8]

Then what position does Unification Thought take on the matter of the mutual relationship between value and norm? To begin with, Unification Thought recognizes value as internal nature [*sungsang*] and norm as the external form [*hyungsang*] which possess a reciprocal relationship between the subject and object, respectively. As mentioned above, value has to do with satisfying the subject's desire. However, Unification Thought believes that human beings were created in God's image. Therefore, it says that original human desire ultimately embodies God's purpose of creation; in other words, it originates from the "emotional impulse to seek joy through love."[9] To reiterate, the satisfaction of human desire, which is the judgement of value, is fundamentally rooted in God's heart. Unification Thought also believes that all entities, both human and of nature, exist on their own level. All entities occupy a certain position in which they possess the quality of a "connected-being position" that consistently pursues a purpose for the individual and purpose for the whole at the same time.[10] Therefore, every entity has the duty to harmonize the purpose for the individual and for the whole from the position it holds. The natural world automatically carries out this duty according to the laws of nature. However human beings must do so by fulfilling their responsibility according to their own free will. Hence, human social norms start from the obligation inherent in the position in which each person is situated.[11]

8 Bongjin Ko, "Authority of Norm Establishment of God, State, and Basic Norm", *Korean Journal of Legal Philosophy* 18(1) (2015), pp. 142-153.

9 Unification Thought Institute, p. 23.

10 Unification Thought Institute, p. 176.

11 Of course if we look at this from a macroscopic perspective, the source of

However, according to Unification Thought, human beings' fundamental position is based on the institution of the family. Consequently, norms are based on the responsibilities and obligations that are rightfully demanded in one's relational position in a family, extended family, and society on all sides, meaning, the vertical parent-child relationship and the horizontal conjugal- and brother-sister relationships. Parents must reasonably care for and raise their children with parental love, and children should attend their parents with a filial heart. Couples should respect and support each other with conjugal love and brothers and sisters should express their deepest friendship and never betray one another.

The norm required for each position in the four-position foundation of a family, that is, "you ought to do….," does not place its final purpose in its obligation. This is because that norm is a formal duty stemming from the beating of one's heart, the desire to feel joy through love. Metaphorically, if heart and love were like electricity flowing from an electrical outlet, norm would be the chord that acts as a conductor for the electricity to flow. I will elaborate further later in the paper, but the heart's desire is the driving force behind the endless human pursuit and manifestation of value. Therefore, the relationships between heart and norm, value and norm, and good and right are the reciprocal relationships of cause and effect, subject and object, and *sungsang* (internal nature) and *hyungsang* (external form). Within that context, Unification Thought defines ethics as "the norm of human behavior that is in accordance with the law of give and

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this norm is Logos, the law originated from God.

receive centered on love in the family."[12]

In short, Unification Thought recognizes that value and norm have an inseparable and complementary relationship while claiming that value causes norm, which leads to the conclusion that value comes before norm. Here we can discover a critical implication in establishing universal ethics which support Unification Thought's principle of universally shared values. In order to establish an ethical norm that all people can jointly obey, we must first test out the possibility of universal values that become norm's causal aspect or roots. Hence, in the next section I will discuss the inevitable emergence of my two presuppositions while looking at whether it is possible to establish Universal Value in order to establish universal norms.

## III. Does Humankind Possess a Universal Desire?

The first presupposition in establishing universal ethics is that a certain desire—perhaps a fundamental desire that influences other desires—has persisted in the hearts of humankind throughout history, in the present, and will continue to persist in the future. Unification Thought asserts that this type of desire does exist and names it *shimjung* [heart]. *Shimjung* is the "emotional impulse to seek joy through love,"[13] and the "emotional impulse to love infinitely."[14] Here, impulse is the "irrepressible desire" or hope that wells up from within us.[15] In other words, all human

12 Unification Thought Institute, p. 283.
13 Unification Thought Institute, p. 23.
14 Unification Thought Institute, p. 24.
15 Unification Thought Institute, p. 23.

beings have an irrepressible original desire to seek joy through love. This desire is so deeply embedded in the human mind that it stimulates the faculties of intellect, emotion and will and acts as the driving force that leads such activities in our lives.

This original desire manifests as endeavors pursuing the values of intellect, emotion and will. In the area of intellect, *shimjung* guides intellectual virtues to repel falsehood and converge on the value of truth. In the area of emotion, *shimjung* guides artistic virtues to achieve that which is fundamentally beautiful as the value of beauty. And finally, in the area of will, it guides various normative virtues toward the value of goodness.[16] Again, *shimjung* acts as the original desire that leads human beings to experientially learn truth, beauty, and goodness. Unification Thought defines this as the desire of all desires, that is, the root of all desires. Even if the *shimjung* that human beings possess manifests in a twisted way as self-centered desires in their actual daily lives, *shimjung* itself can never completely be destroyed. Hence, we can conclude that *shimjung* is the fundamental and universal desire that all people possess.[17] According

16 Unification Thought Institute, p. 62.

17 The Divine Principle which is the foundation to Unification Thought explains that due to the Fall of our first ancestors, human beings inherited fallen nature which multiplied evil. Originally, human beings should be able to manifest altruistic thoughts and actions centering on God's heart. However, due to the Fall, human beings instead are heading in a self-centered direction pursuing personal gain. The essence of fallen nature lies in the transfer from a God-centered life to a self-centered life. From that point of view, shimjung, which is the desire of all desires in pursuit of the values of intellect, emotion and will, has a clear difference between how it applies to fallen human beings and how it applies to original human beings—human beings that have nothing to do with the Fall like that at the time of

to *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, *shimjung* is a divine attribute bestowed by God, our Creator, and it forms the core of human beings' original identity and character which was created in God's image.

Heart is the "source of love," the "emotional impulse that can not but love," and the core of the original Image. Thus, Heart is the core of Sungsang, and therefore the core of God's personality. Jesus said, "You must be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5:18). In other words, Jesus taught that human beings should reflect God's personality centered on God's Heart. In human beings as well, heart is the core of the personality. Accordingly, the perfection of one's personality becomes possible only when one experiences the Heart of God. A person who has perfected his or her character by experiencing the Heart of God is,

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Creation. Fallen people also have the intellectual desire for knowledge, the emotional desire to feel, and the volitional desire to reach one's goals. All these desires are emotional desires seeking to feel joy through love and stem from shimjung. However, the problem is that human beings are unable to connect these desires to the true values of truth, beauty, and goodness. In other words, the desires for intellect, emotion and will, to love and be loved, and through that process shimjung's desire to gain happiness, are exhibiting themselves in a direction of selfishness and self-gain rather than in a direction of altruism centered on God. Even love has been changed into something selfish. Metaphorically, when love is expressed, fallen nature acts as an external force distorting the direction of desire on a self-centered path. However, this paper takes the position that even if shimjung was changed by the Fall, the source of shimjung, God, is eternal and unchanging. Therefore, it has the ability to continuously pull the hearts of human beings toward the direction intended at the origin of Creation. Hence, shimjung remains the truest essence of human beings which is what makes it universal.

indeed, a being of heart.[18]

It is necessary to connect Unification Thought's explanation on *shimjung* as the original desire, and its explanation on value as the characteristics of the object that satisfies the desire of the subject into a unified context and understand them in an integrated way. Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen presented an argument similar to that in Unification Thought. He says that forming universal values has nothing to do with people's consent. Universal Value is not established because many people agree that something is a universal value. Instead, a value attains universality when all people in the world conclude that something has a "reason" to be valuable.[19] For example, Mahatma Gandhi argued that "non-violence" was a universal value. Yet at the time, he was not arguing that people everywhere already acted according to this value. Gandhi predicted that all people would be able to find the reason to value non-violence.[20]

From the viewpoint of Universal Thought, Sen's argument could be paraphrased as follows: when the intellectual and rational desire for value, which is inherent in everyone's mind, is satisfied by an object (non-violence), the result is recognition of that object (non-violence) as a universal value. Although Sen's claim is limited to the intellectual aspect among the faculties of intellect, emotion and will, his overall logical structure touches the concepts of desires and values that are based on Unification Thought's *shimjung*.

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18 Unification Thought Institute, p. 134.

19 Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy*, 10(3) (1999), p. 12.

20 Amartya Sen, p. 12.

## IV. What Can Satisfy the Desire for Love?

*Shimjung* is the emotional impulse to feel infinite love. Since it is stimulated by human beings' original desire, we can conclude that love is desire's essence. However, love cannot be felt by oneself. An object partner with whom to give and receive love in a complimentary relationship is necessary. The result of this logic naturally connects to my introduction's second presupposition that there exists a characteristic of an object that can satisfy human beings' universal desire. Universal desire is the desire for love, so the characteristic of such an object becomes the characteristic of the object we love.

Then what is the object partner's characteristic that satisfies the human desire for universal love? To answer this question, we will need to consider the essence of love. Simply put, genuine love is when the object partner receiving love embodies his God-given potential and does his best to achieve happiness through it.[21] In other words, the object receiving love should invest his or her heart and soul to become worthy to fully stand in front of God.[22] Love is not focused on oneself but is focused on the object partner who is on the receiving end of love. The fulfillment of the subject partner's love relies on the fulfillment of the object partner's love. Therefore, the object's perfection and

21 This explanation relates to the concepts of Aristotle's Principle of Perfection from a teleological perspective and Paul Tillich's power of existentialism that opposed nonbeing. Please refer to Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 82.

22 From the perspective of the *Divine Principle*, to live for the sake of others so that your reciprocal partner can fully become a worthy being in front of God means that you should give your full material and spiritual support to

happiness could be the attribute that satisfies the universal desire for love. This principle applies likewise when the object partner stands in the position of him or her who is giving love. Achieving this type of "altruistic satisfaction" is an essential process toward establishing universal value.

Christianity's Great Commandment and Golden Rule, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself" (Luke 10:27) reveals well the process of establishing universal values. If one's *shimjung* resembles God's attributes and is bestowed to him or her by God, then the human desire for love must fundamentally orient to God first. When human beings gain altruistic satisfaction with sincere devotion toward God, they have been prepared to carry out the process of establishing universal values together with their neighbors. From the perspective of altruistic satisfaction of the desire for love, the commandment to "love thy neighbor as thyself" clearly illustrates the essential connectivity between the giver and the receiver of love.

Of course, such a process of grasping universal value works both ways in a mutually equal relationship. Between two people, if only one person invests in the other without any return, this kind of one-sided relationship will lead to pain and the relationship will likely lose momentum. In fact, the quote from Gospel of Luke shows the tense relationship between uncon-

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help that person achieve the three great blessings—individual perfection, family perfection, and perfection of ownership. Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2014), pp. 33-36.

ditional love and an equal and mutually reciprocal love. Luke chapter 6 verses 27 through 30 emphasize unconditional love as follows: "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. To him who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also; and from him who takes away your coat do not withhold even your shirt. Give to everyone who begs from you; and of him who takes away your goods do not ask them again." However, in the very next verse he changes from unconditional love to the conditions of love. "And as you wish that men would do to you, do so to them" (Luke 6:31). The phrase, "do unto others as you would have done unto you" clearly implies an appropriate and fair expectation that one should have toward another.

French philosopher Paul Ricoeur called these two sides of love as the Logic of Superabundance and the Logic of Equivalence and uses them to explain the relationship between love and justice, the two pillars of Christian ethics.[23] Love is essentially unconditional whereas justice essentially seeks equivalence. What Ricoeur is trying to say is that justice helps the realization of love and love creates a space for the realization of justice. Justice decreases the violence that unconditional love possesses, and love continues to reach out to those who are driven out of the mutually beneficial sphere, that is, those who do not have the ability to treat others as you would want to be treated, by developing a mutually beneficial environment.[24]

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23 Paul Ricoeur, "Love and Justice," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 21(5/6) (1995), pp. 32-37.

24 David W. Hall, *Paul Ricoeur and the Poetic Imperative: The Creative Tension between Love and Justice* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), pp. 126-135; Hyeryung Kim, "Love and Justice and Paul

According to Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, a relationship of true love is eternal and constantly growing. This is because in such a relationship, both the object partner and subject partner want to give more love to the other than the love they receive. A harmonious balance between giving and receiving is absolutely required in any relationship not just in romantic relationships. However, if the relationship only focuses on the equality between giving and receiving, it will become stuck in the status quo unable to grow because it lacks the ability to embrace more than it has received. In this way, regardless of the value, a value caught in a constrained relationship can only be applied to the participating parties. Such a value cannot be considered a "universal" attribute. Therefore, what must we do to escape from this constraint? Rev. and Dr. Moon's insights suggest many things to us. One of these is to "always give more than you receive." For example, if you received 10, then give back 11. If you received many things from your family then do not just give back only to your family but contribute on a greater level to society. This is the original nature of love. From an idealistic point of view, there is no "reason" to behave in such a way.[25] Yet on the other hand, that is a reason unconditional love must intervene.

> Taking our better nature into consideration, if you owe a favor to someone who truly devoted his life to you, would your original mind tell you to put fifty percent of what you owe in your pocket and pay back only

Ricoeur's Concept 'Gift Economy'", *Researches in Contemporary European Philosophy* 39 (2015), p. 154.

25 As mentioned previously, Sen's argument, which emphasized reason, is too limited a view to contain the essence of universal values.

> fifty percent, or would it tell you to pay back more than one hundred percent? If you were to ask your original mind this question, it would give you a clear answer. It would tell you that you ought to pay back more than one hundred percent. To put it another way, if Person B owed a debt to Person A, Person B ought to give back more than one hundred percent of what he or she owed. In that case, Person A would wish to give an even higher percentage back to Person B in return. As they pursued this giving and receiving back and forth, the value of their exchange would not decrease; rather, it gradually would increase. The concept of eternity is based upon this principle.[26]

We are currently discussing how value can possess universality. Yet what I am trying to convey is that only in a give and receive relationship of love that is fair and unconditional can the environment for grasping value grow and achieve universality. You received 10, but by adding an unconditional 1 on top of that equivalent 10, you can develop a reciprocal relationship that satisfies each other's desires. In addition, the value that is attained within that relationship is not a constrained value that only works in a certain context but can be created into a universal value that circulates throughout the world. Now, at the very least the way is open for us to "create" universal values.

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26 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publication, 2013), p. 57.

## V. Conclusion: The Practice of Universal Ethics

In conclusion, joint ethics or universal ethics is not a norm that someone forces others to follow nor is it a norm that is established because everyone agrees to it. It is closely related to the question whether common values that all people can share can exist. In other words, it is a question of what fundamental values people all over the world can share that lead their lives normatively across any barriers. Based on the Unification Thought's definition of value, which is the object's characteristic that satisfies the subject's desire, this paper established its first presupposition that *shimjung* is the universal and original desire for love inherent in all people. The second presupposition stated that the desire for love can be met through the object's characteristic which is the desire to receive love, that is, the perfection and happiness of receiving love. Through these two presuppositions I argued that in the moment in which desire is met, the way for universal values and universal ethics can be opened. When a reciprocal relationship embraces both the overflow and equivalence of love, the value that is established in such a relationship has the potential to apply in larger society. This gives us hope that ultimately, we can lay the cornerstones to universal values and universal ethics.

From this point of view, universal ethics is not actually a static concept. Because humankind is walking the course toward establishing universal values and universal ethics though countless social interactions, it is appropriate to grasp it as a dynamic concept. This paper claims that this type of process to establishing universal values can become a "formal principle" to laying the cornerstones for universal ethics. For example,

someone might ask specifically whether the virtue of "tolerance" should be included in universal ethics. The answer does not come from something already predetermined but is an answer of a nature that must come from our self-awareness in relation to satisfying our altruistic desires. If, in the process of welcoming our neighbors who live in diverse contexts and helping them to achieve their perfection and happiness, we realize deeply that we lack tolerance but find that it is almost impossible to help our neighbors without it, a path will open for us to sublimate the virtue of tolerance into a universal value.

Finally, it is not an easy process to achieve universal ethics. This is because at nearly every stage we must endure the criticism of reason asking, "Why must we do this?"[27] Moreover, we are constantly exposed to the clashing of our fundamental desire for love and our realistic desires for food, clothing, and shelter. However, if we accumulate small victories toward universal values in our everyday lives, it is not so impossible to establish universal ethics. Since it is difficult for all humankind to approach universal ethics all at once, small victories mean starting small—one individual, your family, your neighborhood, and your community—and experiencing the establishment of universal values and universal ethics. Also, as more people share experiences with universal values on a small scale, they are expanding their "circle of inclusion". Even if its progress is slow, the small victories we experience will not disappear nor be in vain. In the

27 At this point I do not want to rely on the concept of "responsibility". This is because in the faculties of intellect, emotion, and will, responsibility has its basis in will which emphasizes norm. It should not be overlooked that the original desire of human beings lies in shimjung which is at the root of intellect, emotion, and will.

end, universal values are established through the accumulation of one small experience at a time. Just like the verse, "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit" (John 12:24), even if we feel that our small victories toward universal values are meaningless, I am confident that they will eventually grow into a large forest of universal ethics. In the future, I expect that Unification Thought's deep insight into desires, values, and ethics can serve as a lighthouse in the process of establishing universal values and universal ethics.

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# The Theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought♣

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I. Introduction

II. The Problem with the Implications of Universal Value

III. The Theory of Universal Value in the New Essentials of Unification Thought

IV. The Theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought

V. Conclusion

## I. Introduction

While forecasting the future society, the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, calls the ideal world, namely the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, that has accomplished God's

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purpose of creation, socialism on God's side, and makes clear that ultimately the original mind of human beings cries out for the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value (共生共榮共義主義) and seeks to achieve a society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.[1] This refers to the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the ideology for the future society of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, and it also refers comprehensively to the political thought of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. Therefore, it can be said that the political ideology of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification is based on the Theory of Interdependence (共生論), the Theory of Mutual Prosperity (共榮論) and the Theory of Universal Value (共義論) respectively of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.[2]

Among them, I am going to set forth the Theory of Universal Value that is able to deepen the Principle of Universal Value that has been achieved in the past by examining the Principle

1 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing, 2003), pp. 343-344.

2 Of course, the Principle of Interdependence can be characterized as the economic ideology of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as the political ideology of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, and the Principle of Universal Value can be characterized as the ethical thought of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. Since the Principle of Universal Value can be said to be an ideology aimed at an ideal society, it can be regarded as a political ideology and a political thought as a whole. A full explanation can be found in the Unification Thought Research Institute's *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing Co., 1993), pp. 507-524.

of Universal Value as a political thought that is able to form the foundation of the Principle of Interdependence and the Principle of Mutual Prosperity. Furthermore, I will critically reflect on the foundation of real problems that today's society must solve, that is, the foundation of political ideology. This is also a study that examines the political ethical foundation for political participation, which is one of the real problems to be solved by the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification.

## II. The Problem of the Implications of Universal Value (共義)

### 1. Universal Value (共義) and Public Righteousness (公義)

Universal Value is the Universal Value (共義) of the Principle of Universal Value (共義主義).[3] In other words, Universal Value refers to joint ethics (共同倫理). This is because the Principle of Universal Value refers to the idea of joint ethics, namely "the perspective needed for the realization of an ethical society, namely, a society of joint ethics, in which everyone observes and practices morality and ethics, both publicly and privately."[4] Thus, in order to clarify the concept of Universal Value, the following will first examine the concept of public righteousness (公義) which is different from Universal Value. The dictionary meaning of public righteousness (公義) means "impartial moral justice (道義)" and generally has the same meaning as justice or righteousness,

3 Hereinafter, *Gongui* means Universal Value (共義). When using the same spelling, *Gongui* (公義), it was decided to include Chinese characters.

4 Unification Thought Institute, p. 521.

but in Christian theology, especially Catholic theology, "God's righteousness" is distinguished from the definition justice and is also written as public righteousness (公義).[5] In other words, God's activist character, that impartially takes the measure of good and evil is called the righteousness of God or public righteousness (公義).

Public righteousness (公義), namely the righteousness of God, follows the teachings of the Bible, which speaks of a righteous God. The God of the Old Testament was the supreme reality. He appears as if He is the righteous Supreme Judge. Because God is a righteous God, he maintains righteousness and judges the unrighteous. In other words, a righteous God not only makes all judgments impartially, but also decides everything impartially according to God's original nature.[6] Therefore, it is appropriate for a righteous God to punish those who violate God's law.[7] It can be said that it is the concept of righteousness that carries out retribution according to human behavior.

However, problems are exposed in the exercise of public righteousness (公義), or God's righteousness. This is because,

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5 For the righteousness of God, Gyunjin Kim, *Christian Systematic Theology III* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1987), pp. 212-224.

6 Psalm 7:11. "God is a righteous judge, a God who displays his wrath every day."

7 Isaiah 59: 16-18. "He saw that there was no one, he was appalled that there was no one to intervene; so his own arm achieved salvation for him, and his own righteousness sustained him. He put on righteousness as his breastplate, and the helmet of salvation on his head; he put on the garments of vengeance and wrapped himself in zeal as in a cloak. According to what they have done, so will he repay wrath to his enemies and retribution to his foes; he will repay the islands their due."

in the light of the real experiences of the righteous among the Israelites, public righteousness does not manifest easily or immediately. Does the God of righteousness really exercise His jurisdiction righteously? This is a question of whether He has the will and the ability to fulfill the promise of protecting the righteous and giving them corresponding rewards. Also, it is the question of where can we find the righteousness of God when the unrighteous, the people who have wicked authority and evil power, are running rampant throughout the world.

For this reason, public righteousness (公義) has been explained by the apologetics of theodicy that public righteousness (公義) will appear eschatologically or in the future kingdom of God.[8] The rebellious people who do not care about God's righteousness dominate the present evil age, but ultimately this age will come to an end. In the Last Days, God's ultimate righteousness will appear like sunlight. Then, according to public righteousness (公義), the righteous will be resurrected to eternal life, and the wicked will be disgraced and cursed. Furthermore, it is said that public righteousness (公義) appears as God's love in Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, and has become a creative righteousness that can overcome suffering, sin, loss of meaning, and death.[9]

In this way, if we say that Universal Value is ethical righteousness that people must practice in public and private, namely that Universal Value refers to human ethics in reality, public righteousness (公義) relates to the exercise of God's

8 Youngsuck Oh, *Understanding Systematic Theology* (Seoul: Korean Christian Book Society, 1992), p. 100.

9 Youngsuck Oh, p. 107.

righteousness toward righteous human beings. Furthermore, if Universal Value are human ethics that seek to achieve a moral society, we can say that public righteousness (公義) is the kingdom of God that is ultimately achieved, namely the future concerning an ideal society of God.

However, Universal Value is also the society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value that will come in the future, namely the world in which the purpose of religion has been achieved, and because it is an ethical argument for the sake of a world that leads a life of true love within reality together with the Messiah we can say that Universal Value and public righteousness (公義) have a close relationship with each other. This is because if we say that public righteousness (公義) emphasizes public righteousness by speaking of God's righteousness, we can say in the same context that Universal Value also emphasizes public righteousness, namely righteousness based on God's true love. Of course, such Universal Value can be said to comprehensively expand its implications concerning righteousness by referring to joint ethics that also includes private righteousness.

### 2. Universal Value (共義) and Justice (正義)

What is justice? What is right and what is the right course of action? If we are going to speak of justice in this way, the following method of understanding is required. First, in order to define the concept of justice from the perspective of utilitarianism and decide what is right, one must understand the method for maximizing the happiness of society as a whole. Another method is what libertarians assert from the perspective that relates justice

with freedom. They say that impartial distribution of income and wealth is the free exchange of goods and services in an unregulated market. In their opinion, the act of regulating the market is unjust because it violates the freedom of personal choice. The last method is the perspective that justice is when people receive their morally deserved share, that is, to reward and encourage virtue by distributing wealth. People who make virtue as their foundation associate justice with a good life.[10] Therefore, the answer to what is justice is that it can be said to connect justice and public interest, justice and freedom, and justice and morality. The happiness of all people, or individual freedom and life as a virtue can be said to be preconditions of justice.

However, each one of these methods for understanding justice has problems. The utilitarian method for understanding justice has two shortcomings: First, it makes justice and rights an issue of calculation and not of principle, and then ignores the qualitative differences while converting and standardizing the value of human actions into one metrological form. Also, while freedom-based theories take rights seriously and claim that justice is more than just calculations, opinions differ as to which rights should be valued more than what utilitarianism thinks. However, freedom-based theories do not require that people question the tastes and desires that human beings reveal in public life by acknowledging people's preferences as they are before identifying the rights to be respected. According to the theory based on freedom, the problem is that the moral value of the purpose pursued by humans, the meaning and importance of human life,

10 Michael J. Sandel, *What is Justice*, translated by Changshin Lee (Seoul: Gimm-Young Publishers, Inc., 2010), p. 150.

and furthermore the characteristics and quality of life shared by all human beings are all removed from the realm of justice.

In addition to these methods of understanding justice, Rawls tries to present a new method of understanding justice. As has been pointed out, Rawls's Theory of Justice[11] is recognized as a view of justice that aims for liberal equality in that it reaffirms the priority of personal freedom inherited from classical liberalism even while reconsidering the equality of democratic distributive.[12] Rawls's view of justice can be said to be an ideal view of justice set in an orderly society where everyone follows a public view of justice.[13] This is because the principle of social justice is regarded as the principle that free and rational people who are interested in promoting their own interests will adopt as defining the basic social structure of their communities from an equal initial standpoint. The way to view the principle of justice in this way can be called "justice as fairness."

That's what Michael J. Sandel thinks is an error. A just society cannot be created simply by maximizing the common good or by securing freedom of choice. We must cultivate a culture that is willing to think together about the meaning of a good life and gladly accept differences of opinions that usually arise. Wouldn't it be good if there was one principle or procedure able to properly allocate income, power, and opportunities accordingly? If only we could find such a principle, we would be

11 John Rawls, *Theory of Justice*, translated by Gyeongsik Hwang (Seoul: Leehaksa, 2010).

12 Gyeongsik Hwang & Jeongsun Park, et al, *Rawls' Theory of Justice and Afterward* (Seoul: Philosophy and Reality History, 2009), p. 45.

13 Gyeongsik Hwang & Jeongsun Park et al., p. 51.

able to overcome arguments that arise in the course of discussing the good life, namely several concepts that conflict about honor and virtue, self-respect and approval. This is because justice is not just an issue of correct distribution but is an issue of correct measurement of value.[14]

Rawls's view of justice, which was transformed after justice as fairness, mainly responds to criticism from communalists, revealing that it is not a comprehensive and universal truth, but a political view of justice. Thus, Rawls's view of political justice can be said to be a moral concept that has a specific topic of discussion: the basic social structure of constitutional democracy, that is, politics, economics, and the social system. Therefore, it is constructed based on fundamental beliefs inherent in the public political culture of a democratic society. Rawls's view of justice thus constituted can be said to refer to those alternatives from liberalism to welfare liberalism, from individual liberalism to communal liberalism, and from comprehensive liberalism to political liberalism.[15]

So what is Universal Value? In order to speak of Universal Value, the following refers to Universal Value as a method that speaks of justice. First, it is a view of Universal Value regarding utilitarian justice. Utilitarianism, which seeks to maximize the happiness of the whole society and disregards quantitative and qualitative differences, is different from Universal Value as joint ethics. Since Universal Value considers psychological happiness, it goes beyond measurement and acknowledges qualitative differences. Also, Universal Value does not neutralize the equality of

14 Michael J. Sandel, pp. 362-363.

15 Gyeongsik Hwang & Jeongsun Park et al., pp. 15-19.

the community like libertarianism. This is because the amassing of personal freedom cannot be said to be called the justice of a community, and since Universal Value presupposes human existence as an individual and as a connected being,[16] personal freedom and communal equality are always taken into account. Since Universal Value makes God's love, which is the source of morality, its point of departure, it can be called a practical justice that must realize a good life justly.

## III. The Theory of Universal Value of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*

Before speaking of the theory of Universal Value of the Ideal of Universal Value as revealed in the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* speaks of righteousness and unrighteousness in this way.

> Righteousness refers to that quality in a person which leads him to pursue goodness and further its purpose. Unrighteousness refers to that quality in a person which leads him to pursue evil and further its satanic purpose. A righteous life is absolutely necessary for the attainment of goodness.[17]

The righteousness of the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* can be said to be teleological righteousness. This is because it says that righteousness is an element of life that is ethics for achieving the purpose of goodness. It is clear that this righteousness is the

16 Unification Thought Institute, p. 118.

17 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 40.

original value of creation. Furthermore, righteousness is absolute. This is because human righteousness becomes absolute when determined relative to the righteous God, Who is the standard of absolute value. In other words, the reason that righteousness was not absolute and was relative is because it was centered on the purpose and desire of evil.[18]

Therefore, Universal Value as joint ethics are joint ethics that all people must achieve by practicing them publicly and privately, and Universal Value are the ethical basis for achieving the purpose of goodness, and it can be said that they are absolute and unchanging ethics based on a righteous God. For this reason, Universal Value can be called an ethical view that must be observed by anyone in today's capitalist or socialist societies. The Ideal of Universal Value is an assertion that seeks to achieve a sound moral society, a society of Universal Value, on earth by everyone keeping, anytime and anywhere, morality and ethics.

> The ideal society, which is to come after both the capitalist and communist societies, will be the society of mutual existence and mutual prosperity as explained above and, at the same time, it will be the society of joint ethics, where all people, regardless of their positions, will live with the same ethical attitudes.[19]

The characteristics of a society of the Ideal of Universal Value based on Universal Value are as follows. Among the members of the society placed in a relationship of subject and object, they induce reciprocal love and achieve an ethical society

18 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 36-37.

19 Unification Thought Institute, p. 522.

of love by the subject constantly and infinitely giving each object the love of God. At this time, all human gaps disappear based on such God-like love. In addition, the society of Universal Value is characterized by the idea of an ideal family, a family of love, in which the love of God is received by members of the family, order is established, and norms are established.[20] The theory of Universal Value in the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* can be said to be an ethics of love based on love that is like God.

Therefore, it can be said that the happiness of human beings mentioned in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* and the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* is different from utilitarian maximization of happiness. This is because in the statement that "Everyone is struggling to attain happiness and avoid misfortune"[21] "happiness" does not refer to happiness for happiness's sake. If the utilitarian maximization of happiness refers to the maximization of the uniform happiness of all people, that is, the whole society, happiness of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* cannot be calculated as an average, so it is the maximization of fully self-sufficient happiness that accepts subjective and qualitative differences. This is because the happiness that the theory of Universal Value in the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* establishes and aims to achieve is subjective, moral, self-sufficient, and ethical.

The theory of Universal Value of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* has a wide difference from libertarianism that says the fair distribution of income and wealth is the free exchange of goods and services in an unregulated market and that because

20 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 523-524.

21 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 1.

the act of regulating a market infringes individual freedom of choice it is unjust. As already mentioned, the justice of libertarianism does not require questioning the tastes and desires that human beings reveal in public life. According to the theory based on freedom, the moral value of the purpose pursued by humans, the meaning and importance of human life, and furthermore the characteristics and quality of life shared by all human beings are all removed from the realm of justice.

Furthermore, the theory of Universal Value goes beyond the justice of liberalism by advocating joint ownership over property. As for ownership, it can be said that the theory of Universal Value rejects simple material ownership. This is because the psychological factor is also very important in ownership. The ownership of the theory of Universal Value can be said to be also a holistic liberal ownership of the form that is "joint ownership based on the love of God, and this joint ownership is not simply a materialistic ownership, but rather it is an ownership based on God's true love."[22] Of course, "when we look by means of the Principle of Creation, the world of creation is God's property." It has the premise that "the created world is God's possession, and it was created to be governed by Him through love."[23]

This concept of joint ownership goes beyond private or social ownership. In other words, private ownership is allowed,[24] but it does not acknowledge the maximization of private ownership and the absolute freedom of the market for its own sake like libertarians. Moreover, it does not intend the maximi-

22 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

23 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

24 Unification Thought Institute, p. 510.

zation of social ownership as the maximization of happiness like utilitarianism. This is because happiness is not quantitative. The theory of Universal Value sees the prototype of joint ownership as a form of family ownership, and the reason why joint ownership places that prototype in the form of family ownership is because it sees the existence of the purposeful nature that an individual and connected being have, which is the pattern of human existence in the family. Therefore, the reason why joint ownership cannot but acknowledge personal ownership is that humans resemble both the universal and individual images of God. In other words, an individual possesses common attributes, that is, a universal image in common with all people, and at the same time, attributes unique to that one individual, that is, an individual image. In addition, humans are given the dual purposes of a universal connected purpose[25] and an individualized individual purpose, and are given the freedom to practice love along with desire.[26]

Such joint ownership refers to "reasonable ownership" in consideration of the degree of psychological amount, or psychological quantity, obtained from ownership. Since the psychological amount of reasonable ownership depends on the conscience, which is instructed by God, it is believed that the decision of ownership that is suitable for each one can be

25 *Exposition of the Divine Principle* and the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* conceptualize the purpose of life as a universal human being as a connected being as "the whole purpose," and the purpose of life as an individual, that is, as an individual truth body, as an "individual purpose." However, here, the concept of "connected purpose" is used to distinguish it from the "totalistic purpose" in which the "whole purpose" neutralizes the individual purpose.

26 Unification Thought Institute, p. 511.

made easily.[27] Therefore, although the psychological quantity is reasonable, it will not be the same for each person.

> It should be clarified here that even if the proper quantity and quality of one's private possessions are determined through one's conscience, that quantity and quality may vary from person to person. There are certain reasons for that. First, each person has his or her unique individual image, and therefore unique character, taste, and so on. Second, every person is an individual truth being and at the same time a connected being. A connected being refers to an individual person who is related to others in the six directions of high and low, front and back, and right and left. In order to have such relations, a person, as a connected being, requires at least a certain necessary quantity of personal possessions. Usually, the higher the position a person occupies, the greater the quantity and quality of his or her necessary possessions become. Therefore, the proper quantity and quality of personal possessions will differ from person to person. Thus, if a person has adequate personal possessions necessary to love others, then, those possessions are appropriate, even if the amount of his or her personal possessions is substantially higher or lower than the average.[28]

Therefore, it can be said that the reasonable ownership spoken of in joint ownership is ownership in accordance with Universal Value and corresponds to communalism that goes

27 Unification Thought Institute, p. 511.

28 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 511-512.

beyond utilitarianism and libertarianism. However, if communal equality sacrifices and suppresses individual freedom, it is different from Universal Value. This is because Universal Value refers to freedom and equality for reasonable ownership, as can be seen in joint ownership. Since Universal Value as joint ethics is to give and receive the individual purpose and connected purpose centered on God, the source of Universal Value, it is possible not only to maximize individual happiness but also to maximize the connected happiness through reasonable freedom and equality. It can be said that Universal Value is achieved by practicing God's love, which can be said to be positive morals and ethics for a good life.

## IV. The Theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought

The theory of Universal Value in the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* is based on the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value and among those it can be said that it is the view of Universal Value of the Ideal of Universal Value. This clarifies the point that the Ideal of Universal Value must be understood in relation to the Ideal of Interdependence and the Ideal of Mutual Prosperity. In the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, it clarifies that "the principle of mutual existence, the principle of mutual prosperity, and the principle of mutual righteousness [the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value] are not separate ideas but rather they are integrated as one. When this one, integrated idea is realized, the world of the ideal of creation, which God originally envisioned,

will be realized for the first time."[29] In addition, it emphasizes that "[t]he principle of mutual existence, mutual prosperity and mutual righteousness is the concept which describes the characteristics of the economic, political, and ethical system of our future ideal society."[30] In other words, since the future society refers to political and economic systems that are based and operated based on Universal Value, Universal Value can be said to be realistic rather than metaphysical, and thus can be called political.

The Family Federation for World Peace and Unification refers to the Mutual Prosperity of the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the political thought. The Principle of Mutual Prosperity is "[as a concept that] deals with the political aspect of an ideal society"[31] "a theory concerning joint government. Joint government refers to a government achieved through the joint participation of all people."[32] Therefore, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is "concerned with the political aspects of the future society proposed as an alternative to democracy, which is the political ideology of capitalism."[33] Furthermore, the ultimate purpose of democratic politics is to realize the people's[34] freedom and equality. In this case, freedom and equality are in a two-sided relationship and without freedom there cannot be equality and

29 Unification Thought Institute, p. 524.

30 Unification Thought Institute, p. 533.

31 Unification Thought Institute, p. 513.

32 Unification Thought Institute, p. 518.

33 Unification Thought Institute, p. 513.

34 The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* says that it would be good to interpret the people as "the majority of citizens" rather than the ruling class or the rich and privileged class. (Unification Thought Institute, p. 513.)

without equality there cannot be freedom.[35] Universal Value which is the ethical basis of this Ideal of Universal Value can be said to be the political Universal Value in which freedom and equality are jointly realized.

The political Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification can be said to be a teleological theory of Universal Value. This is because it provides the principled basis concerning that which is right and good, in other words goodness,[36] and provides the ethics for the right and the good that is prepared in that way. This, the teleological theory of Universal Value, whether from oughtness or comprehensiveness, can be criticized a lot when it comes to solving and reconstructing real-world problems. In the case in which one must make some kind of choice in circumstances in which various values are in conflict with each other, if there is a dominant or decisive purpose and value then it will be possible or easy to make a rational choice by principle. However, there are cases in which one hesitates when asking whether such a dominant or decisive purpose or value exists. This is because in order for a value to become the dominant purpose or value, it must not only be able to be an indicator able to reduce a variety of values but must also be reasonable and desirable, and such a dominant objective value does not exist.

This kind of Rawls's criticism can be said to be about value monism. Furthermore, Rawls argues that rational contemplation or choice is not possible because such dominant purposes or values are not reduced to any one dominant purpose or value. He

35 Unification Thought Institute, p. 513.

36 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 280-282.

argues that if human values and purposes are inevitably diverse and pluralistic, it is more persuasive to construct a social system capable of realizing the various goals and values that each person seeks.[37] There seems to be no way for the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification to escape from Rawls's criticism of value pluralism. Nevertheless, it can be said that the methodology of value pursuit and realization of the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification thoroughly has meaning by seeking another path.

In other words, it is because the methodology of value pursuit and realization of the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification is the method of the law of give and receive.[38] The law of give and receive approach is a method in which the realization of value occurs through giving and receiving through reciprocal action with the dominant purpose and value. In other words, it is not a one-way method of applying and realizing the dominant purpose and value, but it is a method of realization of value that opens the way to influencing even what is called the dominant purpose and value. Even while speaking of the dominant purpose and value, we are able to see that it clarifies that truth was "given at various times in history as humankind developed both spiritually and intellectually. The depth and extent of teaching and the method of expressing the truth naturally varied according to each age."[39]

37 Gyeongsik Hwang & Jeongsun Park et al., p. 37.

38 Regarding the give and receive method, Unification Thought Institute, pp. 490-497.

39 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 7.

Therefore, the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification is universal in its method of value pursuit, but in the method of value realization, it can be said to be a practical political thought that carries out realistic social tasks to discover solutions to problems in a specific society or series of societies. For example, in the case of premising a pluralistic society under a democratic system, establishing a foundation for social integration becomes the task of the theory of Universal Value. This is because if there is a theory of Universal Value in which the citizens can share a rational and knowledge-based voluntary political consensus in a modern society that has various positions on different tenets and ideologies, this would be valid as a method of value realization.

Therefore, the political system supported by the theory of Universal Value as Unification Political Thought can be said to be an alternative system to liberal democracy which is the political ideology of capitalism. The alternative system supported by the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation of World Peace and Unification is a system in which freedom and equality are jointly realized. This is in line with Rawls's philosophical aspiration. Namely, this is because Rawls' philosophical aspiration was "to transcend the philosophical Cold War between liberal democracy and socialism, which had divided modern society."[40] The theory of Universal Value also is like that. That is why I will speak of Universal Value while criticizing capitalism and liberal democracy.

The theory of Universal Value as Unification political

40 Research Institute of Christian Philosophy, *Modern Society and Justice* (Seoul: Philosophy and Reality History, 1995), p. 195.

thought can be said to be liberal egalitarianism. The theory of Universal Value sees that inequality and lack of freedom have been brought to this society because of the disparity and maldistribution of wealth created by liberalism, which inevitably flows into selfish individualism, and which is the structural contradiction of capitalism supported by liberalism.[41] The reason why Rawls and other modern liberals care about equality is that the freedom guaranteed by liberalism is not just formal freedom, but must be real freedom, and freedom that is effectively realized from a socioeconomic point of view.[42] The theory of Universal Value also supports liberal equality because it prioritizes the realization of such values, that is, freedom and equality.

In addition, the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification can be said to be a liberal family communalism by clarifying that the value of community, that is, equality, has a two-sided relationship with freedom. The family communalism of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification[43] first aims for the familyization of

41 Unification Thought Institute, p. 514.

42 Gyeongsik Hwang & Jeongsun Park et al., p. 23.

43 Rev. Sun Myung Moon refers to the familyism of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification as a participatory doctrine. "What is a participatory doctrine? A participatory doctrine is the love of God. Simple isn't it? If there is no love, no matter how great the world is, someone is an unhappy person even if he has a stomachache. Yes or no? Participatory doctrine is a doctrine that when parents go, sons and daughters follow their parents forever; when an older brother goes, a younger brother follows forever; and when a younger brother goes, an older brother follows forever. Therefore, if there is a country of the younger brother, the country of the older brother will follow, and if there is a country of the older brother, the country of the younger brother must also follow." Family Federation for World Peace and

individuals. Of course, this is the point that the family communalism of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, which refers to individual familyization, is never overlooked. When talking about the familyization of the individual, it does not submerge individual freedom into the communal value that is called the family. It means that the familyization of the individual does not ignore or overlook the individual's independent value as an individual truth body. This is the same as saying that the family should not be totalitarianized. Because the family communalism of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification refers to the dual purposes of existence, it clarifies that the perfection of the family absolutely cannot be achieved without going through individual perfection for the sake of the perfection of the family in which the purpose of individual perfection is only the perfection of the family.

In addition, by the familyization of the individual, which the communalism of the Family Federation of World Peace and Unification speaks of, clarifies the ontological meaning of the family. It is concerned with the relational nature of the individual and family that can provide training for the preservation of life and the experience of heart and love that is achieved in the family and for their perfection together in the presence of God. This is because, the perfection of the family through individual perfection of course also seeks to achieve the perfection of the individual through the family by means of a give and receive relationship. This also means overcoming the unhappiness caused by the disconnection of relationships, but it also means overcoming the

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Unification, *Blessing and Ideal Families* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing, 1995), p. 188.

familyism caused by overcrowded relationships.

Second, the family communalism of the Family Federation of World Peace and Unification can be said to be the familyization of society. The familyization of society at this time means the socialization of society by means of socializing the communal nature of the family based on the ontological meaning and value of the family. If the socialization and resocialization of the family has progressed through a discourse for the sake of selfish familyism that the family must overcome, then the familyization of society will be a discourse for the society to restore the communal nature of the family. In particular, when social unhappiness is widespread like a catastrophe without a known cause as today, it is necessary to illuminate ontologically the familial communal nature of one society, namely to discuss the familyization of society.

To this end, when we first mention the community, the community is formed by people who are bound in certain relationships, and its members share values and beliefs of the group. Those relationships are personal, direct, and usually face-to-face. What unites those members is a feeling of friendship or duty more than self-interest. The ties between members are not just in a few kinds of aspects but are entangled in the whole of each life. Members feel a sense of belonging, that is, a consciousness of us. Each member's interests and identities depend on and form the overall interests and identities.[44]

The communal nature of the family is that the family

44 Jeehun Lee, *Individual, Community, EducationII: Liberalism, Communism, Socialism* (Seoul: History of Education Science, 1997), pp. 53-56.

communalism of the Family Federation of World Peace and Unification is above all the ontological imperativeness based on the creation of God. In other words, by claiming that God created the family, it clarifies that the family is natural, not artificial. Therefore, the communal nature in which the family community is conceived is oriented towards ontological values. One of them is the integrity of life. As the fundamental group, the family has reproductive, preservation and nurturing functions, and is endowed with responsibility for life. Therefore, neglect of life, which is the basic requirement for human survival, is the greatest threat to human coexistence. Life must be preserved under any circumstances. Since humans do not have the function of creating life, humans have no authority to take life into their own hands. We must have only respect for the integrity of life. The starting point is the family. Given that the starting point of the integrity of life is the family, we must act so that this communal nature is realized in the society, nation, world, earth, and universe.

The next socialization of the family is the socialization of humanization that must be achieved in the family community. The humanization of the family can be measured by the degree of dignity, value, and self-determination of each member. The higher the degree of humanization in the family, the more mutual support among family members is achieved, and at the same time, family relationships in which the autonomy of each family member is important is maintained. In addition, this is possible through mutual understanding by means of smooth dialogue. Therefore, communication between family members must be achieved with clarity.[45] The family is the place where one is able to receive the

45 Conversely, inhuman family rules and family relationships are called dys-

most humane treatment. Relationships within the home are not so much affected by social status and abilities. Whenever someone returns home, he or she is only member of the family. When he or she returns to home like that, one has unconditional relationships and relationships of sacrifice and service as a natural person without specific conditions and standards.

Finally, the socialization of the family is socializing gender equality that maintains the family community. Among family members, there cannot be superiority in relationships according to their function and role. They seek equality of relationships through heart and love before God. There may be a bias in the institutional relationships between men and women in society, but ultimate gender equality in the family is a fundamental characteristic. There can be no difference between men and women because they have the indispensable uniqueness and characteristics in their roles.[46] The fundamental element for family survival is the equality of the paternal and maternal lines. The maintenance of gender equality in society is possible through gender equality in the family community.

It can be said that since the family communalism of the

functional families. In a dysfunctional family, communication between family members and honest emotions are not allowed, which intensifies family conflicts. In particular, these families have children who exist as scapegoats who are subject to reproof and criticism, and they often develop into troubled youths.

46 In Korean society, for example, the tradition of a male-centered paternal society has been passed down. However, the trend of modern society is also increasing non-paternal-centered family consciousness. [Hoyong Ahn, "Two Family Principles and Formation of a New Family Consciousness", *Mental Culture Study* 19 (1996), p. 29.]

Family Federation for World Peace and Unification is the dominant value that can restore individual and community values, it is the foundation for the actual realization of values. Therefore, this can be called communal liberalism, and by going beyond individual liberalism, it can be seen that it is aligned with liberal equality or political liberalism that Rawls pursued. However, it clarifies that there is a difference between the theory of Universal Value, which seeks to acknowledge the dominant value, and Rawls's theory of justice, which denies the existence of a dominant value itself. It can be said that this is also in accordance with the methodology of the theory of Universal Value of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. This is because it seeks a different discourse on value realization based on the law of give and receive and advocates that as an alternative.

## V. Conclusion

The theory of Universal Value as the Unification political thought is consistent with the modern philosophical aspiration to politically solve the issues of freedom and equality that have been discussed since Rawls. The theory of Universal Value goes beyond Rawls's liberal egalitarianism and can be called liberal family communalism. It is safe to say that this is a family communal liberalism. The familyism of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, which puts the core of the community in the family, clarifies that the realization of the values of Universal Value can only be achieved through the

family community.[47] If Universal Value is the idea of joint ethics and is the ethical basis for supporting a joint ethical society, then a joint ethical society must not be a society that pursues the maximization of utilitarian happiness or a society that negates communal equality by pursuing the maximization of libertarian freedom. A joint ethical society can be said to be a society where reasonable equality of happiness is achieved by considering qualitative differences and filling the gaps with love while pursuing the maximization of overall happiness. Such a society is a society in which the politics of Universal Value becomes the ideology, and it can be said that the pursuit of political Universal Value is the political thought of the Family Federation of World Peace and Unification.

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# Cosmopolitanism of a Global Society from the Viewpoint of the Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value♣

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I. The Topic of a Global Society, Cosmopolitanism

II. Various Meanings and Limitations of Cosmopolitanism

III. Religion's Global Citizenship Role as seen by the Principle of Universal Value

IV. The True Love of the Principle of Universal Value and the Global Citizenship Insight of True Familyism

V. Conclusion

## Abstract

This paper examines the main features and limitations of Cosmopolitanism, which is being re-examined as a global

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community theory for a global society and as a discourse on world ethics. I examine whether the Principle of Universal Value of Unification Thought which is pursuing the ideal world of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, is able to present some kind of alternative viewpoint to the issues of Cosmopolitanism. In the recent globalization era, the core of the discourse on global citizenship is to recognize individual beings as themselves, and to fundamentally not exclude true communication with the other by standardizing the other through the logic of universality or essentializing the differences, and to pursue responsible action for the sake of 'being together (living together)' with the other. However, when personal, regional, and national interests are in conflict, it is not easy for these cosmopolitan ethics to operate as more fundamental values or practical principles. It is a difficult problem in reality for the state to become an active agent of universal love and humanity. That being said, when cosmopolitanism is limited only to personal ethics or morality, the communal prospect to take charge at the societal level is insufficiently opened. Therefore, in order for cosmopolitan ethics and values such as justice, equality, and peace to be realized both individually and institutionally, they must be able to move the hearts, purposes, desires and wills of many citizens and be able to stimulate the sensibilities of empathy and solidarity.

As a theoretical search for realizing a world community, which has come to be an urgent task for humankind in the era of the global village, by searching for clues to solve these difficulties of cosmopolitanism, this paper pays attention to three important insights presented by Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value. First, despite the criticisms or concerns about

religious global citizenship raised in secular global citizenship discourse, as Unification Thought points out, the potential and role of religion in realizing a world of justice and peace cannot be overlooked. Rather, it is an indispensable factor. Second, from the true love of God that is the basis of the Principle of Universal Value, we can discover clues of the universality that is required for living together while respecting individuality. By introducing the transcendental, vertical, and perpendicular dimension of God's true love, which is the origin and direction of all love, it opens the possibility of harmonizing individuality and pluralism with universality and unity, which are the difficulties of cosmopolitanism. Third, Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value is based on the ideal of True Familyism, which emphasizes the role of the family as a school of universal love, and through this, a concrete basis can be formed for the principle of global citizenship to expand beyond individuals into social and practical movements. This is because True Familyism of Unification Thought, which advocates one family of humankind under God, teaches that I can learn love for all humankind while loving my parents and siblings, and I can love my parents and siblings through love for all humankind. True Familyism of Unification Thought, which says that all families are global citizenship families and universal families, can provide the logic to enable expanding the ethics of individuals that are based on the family into social movements.

**Key Words:** Cosmopolitanism, the Principle of Universal Value, Religion, True Love, True Familyism

## I. The Topic of a Global Society, Cosmopolitanism

Due to such things as the global financial economy, the rapid development of information and communications technology, ecological and climate crisis, etc. the interdependence of the world is increasing, and because the national borders are loosening amid the increase of transnational mobility and the global diaspora phenomenon, the world is building a global society in which we are getting closer and closer. In particular, the digital revolution and the 4th industrial revolution are accelerating a new era of globalization not only between nations but also within nations, making everything in the world connectable and negating differences in space. "More and more individuals consume and cook while carrying on economic activities internationally, working internationally, loving internationally, and travelling internationally. In addition, children are educated to speak various languages internationally and are nurtured in the popularized space of nothingness on television and the Internet."[1] In the landscape of the global village era where we are living, more and more ordinary people are seeking to routinely connect and combine with many people and various things all over the world.

However, on the other hand, various conflicts and disputes, wars, terrorism and mutual loathing between people of different nations, religions, ethnicities and races, and classes still continue or are deepening with new aspects. There are regions that are also marginalized in global communication (injustice of information),

1 Ulrich Beck, *Power in the Global Age: A New Global Political Economy* (2002), translated by Chansook Hong (Seoul: Book Publishing Gil, 2011), pp. 7-8.

and globally disadvantaged people such as global war refugees and climate crisis refugees are suffering within the contradictory situation where they have lost even their one place to reside on the planet.[2] There is discussion about the 'right to visit,'[3] 'duty of amity,' and the ethics of friendship and hospitality, that Kant presented as philosophical principles for the sake of permanent peace, but not only are there international problems conflicting with the logic of the survival and security of the nation-state, but conflicts within the domestic politics of each nation are also deepening.

Like the discourse on 'globalization of danger,' we seem to be paradoxically becoming part of a globalized community by experiencing that the crisis of a globalized modern society is no longer confined within the geographical boundaries of a nation. Since there are issues with globalized aspects like refugees who cross borders for various reasons such as economic refugees, political refugees, war refugees, unregistered refugees, and climate refugees; climate warming and environmental issues; and global terrorism issues that cannot be solved within the previous national framework, we are appealing for a new viewpoint that

2 Eunkyeong Oh, "Contradiction of Globalization and the Ideal of Global Citizens", *German Literature* 57(4): 2016, p. 167.

3 Immanuel Kant, *Eternal Peace: Philosophical Sketch*, AB41-42, translated with notes by Jonghyeon Baek (Seoul: Akanet, 2013), pp. 132-133. Kant clarifies that everyone has the "right to visit" that stems from the right to co-occupy the Earth's surface. Also, foreigners are going to visit other nations. It is not possible to claim the right to sojourn, but one is treated with hostility when arriving in the territory of a foreign country. The right of goodwill (hospitality) that would not be possible is presented as the condition of universal goodwill in World Citizenship Law.

goes beyond national borders and nationalism. The principle of global citizenship as an "ideal for a post-territorial community that transcends the territorial boundary called the nation-state" is being re-examined in various ways in order to solve the urgent agenda of the reality of the global village that demands global citizenship rights and justice in the realm of contemporary academia and international politics.

The phenomenon, in which there is this new kind of discourse on cosmopolitanism that takes globalization seriously, is bringing about a re-examination of the insight of Hans Küng, who emphasized that fundamental ethics are necessary to overcome discrimination, contradictions and cultural struggles that threaten our existence in the world.[4] As globalization rapidly progresses, there is a growing perception that mankind is a destiny community, beyond the boundaries of ethnicity, race, nation, religion, etc., and global civil law, global civil society, global citizenship and ethics, in which humankind is able to achieve a community where all humankind of the global village can co-exist peacefully and live well together, is becoming the topic that the global village society is directly confronting. Cosmopolitanism is not just an abstract idea or a vague ideal, but is the quest for the universal fundamental right of all humankind who are appealing from such a realistic consciousness concerning the interdependency of humankind, as the philosophical, ethical, political, and religious basis of my/our duty and responsibility concerning the other.[5] Then as it happens, in the context of the

4 Hans Küng, *Projekt Weltethos*, R. Piper GmbH & Co. KG. München, 1990, translated by Myoungock Ahn (Chilgok: Bundo Publishing, 1992), p. 17.

5 Namsoon Kang, *Cosmopolitanism and Religion: In Search of Permanent*

times and in the direction of ideology, this principle of global citizenship has an interface with the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value of 'Unification Thought' that is pursuing the ideal world of one family under God where humankind lives having common ethics and values.[6]

Therefore, this paper examines the main characteristics and limitations of Cosmopolitanism, which is being actively re-examined both as a global community theory and global ethical discourse on the recent global society. And then, I will try to pinpoint the interface with 'the Principle of Universal Value (共義主義)' which is the ethical dimension of Unification Thought's Ideals of Interdependency, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. Furthermore, I will propose from an introductory dimension whether Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value can present some kind of alternative viewpoint to the difficulties of Cosmopolitanism.

## II. The Various Meanings and Limitations of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism, which originated in ancient Greece, is a compound word of '*cosmos*,' meaning the world and the universe, and '*polites*,' meaning citizenship. It is said that it originated from Diogenes Laertius, a Cynic philosopher during the period of the ancient Hellenistic Empire, who answered the question

*Peace in the 21st Century* (Seoul: New Wave Plus, 2015), pp. 24-25.

6 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (*Headwing Thought)* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing House, 1993), pp. 533-534.

'where are you from' with 'I am a global citizen, a citizen of the universe.' Just as people were customarily named by attaching their place of birth in the style of 'So-and so of ….' like Diogenes of Sinope and Philo of Alexandria, in the ancient Greek and Mediterranean worlds, the norms and values of life and the perception of individual identity were generally defined based on the region or city (nation) that a person belonged to. Therefore, the basis of Diogenes' Cosmopolitanism, which rejected the customary attitude and cultural customs of the time to define oneself according to one's region of birth and affiliated group, opened the possibility of an extended affiliation beyond existing boundaries. It is meaningful that he expanded to a more universal dimension the viewpoint regarding the framework of a particular region or city (state) as the standard of order and norm. The Stoic school, which advocated the so-called cosmic (universal) reason, inherited Diogenes' idea and contributed to the development of early cosmopolitanism. Zeno of Citium (c.334-c.262 BC), the founder of the Stoic School, also opened the idea concerning a new world and a political system in which all human beings share common love as fellow citizens and residents belonging to a cosmic city under one law.

This thought was passed on to Roman Stoics, such as Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Marcus Tullius Cicero. This theory was expressed as a theory concerning dual affiliation, dual citizenship in which we are living in two communities, the regional community where we are born and the so-called human nature and ideal community, and as the assertion that all humankind can achieve one commonwealth under the law of universal reason. The human understanding of the Stoic

philosophy centered on universal reason (natura as human nature and nature) extended the ideal of a moral and political community to the cosmos going beyond regional boundaries, and laid the philosophical foundation of Cosmopolitanism by centering on the internal principles of universal reason and conscience.[7] We can see that this Western ancient cosmopolitanism emerged as a vision for a new community and as a proposal of universal ethics within the experience of a changing world while the polis-centered world collapsed and was muddled up. Of course, since the early cosmopolitanism of the ancient Western philosophical groups was not free from the spirit of the times when slaves, women, and people with disabilities or deficiencies were excluded from the status of citizens with rights and responsibilities to the community, their early cosmopolitanism had the constraints and limitations of the times. Nevertheless, the possibility of immigrants, women, slaves and lower class people being embraced within the boundaries of global citizenship, although limited, can be evaluated as a step that went beyond the mainstream viewpoint of the time which was Greek-centered, male elite-centered, and free-people-centered.

Later, the Western thought of cosmopolitanism developed into a religious cosmopolitanism of the early Christian movement of Jesus and Paul, and was engraved in the spirit of Western civilization, while forming one universal Christian world going beyond the geographical boundaries of cities and nations. In the Old Testament, Yahweh in the Old Testament is defined as the universal God of love who illuminates and saves even sinners in the lowest, most humble and dark places, and while proclaiming

7 Namsoon Kang, pp. 78-87.

that the true spirit of the Commandments exists in love (love of God and love of neighbor), the Jesus movement and the early Christianity, which advocated that all are children of God and brothers and sisters within Christ, went beyond differences of status, gender, class and race, popularized global citizenship and spread it culturally by leaping over the limits of the philosophical principle of a global citizen that had remained as an elitist ideology.[8]

Later, this Western cosmopolitanism was succeeded to and developed by the modern philosopher Immanuel Kant. Kant had a vision for a new world called "*Reich der Zwecke*," in which everyone, including oneself and the other, treats each other as an end (purpose), not as a means. He presented Cosmopolitanism as a systematic philosophical theory by exploring the philosophical principle (transcendental principle) that a promise of harmony including a realistic peace treaty must be based on, as a philosophical plan for the sake of permanent world peace. In the 18th century, when the will-to-power of absolute monarchy under the banner of nationalism was rushed up to expansionism, he declared with prophetic insight Cosmopolitan rights and obligations as follows:

> "All people on earth have entered this universal community each on a different dimension. And when a violation of rights occurs in any part of this world, it can be felt everywhere. The idea called cosmopolitan rights is not just a fantastical or extreme idea. It is politically

8 However, on the one hand, there is also the criticism that this religious global citizenship excluded and condemned the other more fatally through the dichotomy between believers and unbelievers.

> necessary to provide a supplement so that the unwritten rules concerning international rights are transformed into the universal rights of humankind. Only under these conditions, can we say that our humanity will continue to move forward toward permanent peace."[9]

From Kant's point of view, the eternal peace of the human community is the 'supreme political good' and the 'supreme good of human beings' as political animals based on reason. In other words, human reason demands a community of eternal peace and that requires consciousness concerning cosmopolitan rights. He said, "The moral-practical reason within us expresses an irresistible veto, saying, 'There must not be any war'. There should also not be war between you and I in the state of nature, nor wars between us without laws (in relation to each other) externally, although it is a state of laws internally. This is because that is not the way for each one to find his or her rights."[10] Hence, Kant presented as the three goals necessary to achieve the permanent peace that moral practical reason demands in a world like this: the consciousness of global citizenship, the universal obligation of hospitality, and the peace and dignity of all people who are dwelling on planet earth.[11]

As such, Cosmopolitanism was revealed as the spirit of the

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9 Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," H. S. Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 107-108 (Re-in from Namsoon Kang, p. 99).

10 Immanuel Kant, *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* A233f, Immanuel Kant, *Eternal Peace*, translated with notes by Jonghyeon Baek (Seoul: Akanet, 2013), p. 21, 23, 26.

11 Namsoon Kang, p. 97.

times in various historical contexts and was spoken of in a positive sense as expressing specific philosophical, religious and ethical ideals. On the other hand, at the same time, Cosmopolitanism was also criticized by writers who referred to it with a negative stigma or critical tone and context. Cosmopolitanism sometimes has been criticized for being a de-political style of life in which one abandons social political duties and responsibilities and wanders about irresponsibly without roots, or for being idealism without substance. It has also been an object of caution that said it was related to imperialism or was only a part of the capitalist project. Criticism of Cosmopolitan literature is divided into two clubs: from the ethno-nationalism or nationalism viewpoint the criticism targeted the anarchistic aspect and the evasion of responsibility as global citizen, and from the Marxist viewpoint its relationship with the capitalist world system, fetishism and depoliticization. Therefore, those re-examining Cosmopolitanism in the recent discourse on globalization, are conscious of these criticisms and seek alternatives. While revealing the differences with globalism that cannot be separated from the capitalist world system, they are investigating actively the ideal and practical aspects of Cosmopolitanism. For example, it can be distinguished from globalization that emphasizes market order and the free movement of capital and that expresses a value-neutral attitude. Global citizenship emphasizes an ethical viewpoint that appreciates the equal value that all human beings have as members of the human community and universal justice and goodness.[12]

12 Martha C. Nussbaum, *For Love of Country: The Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, 1996, translated by Inyoung Oh (Seoul: Samin Books, 2003), p. 11.

Although widely used in various and sometimes contradictory examples, the etymology of cosmopolitanism mentioned above contains two kinds of meaning that we must pay attention to that are relevant in the current globalization phase. In other words, 'universe, world' expresses an expanded range of identity, and 'citizen(-ship)' contains the meaning that one is the subject of responsibility and rights to compatriots of the world. While Cosmopolitanism, which is being re-examined as a new alternative to the urgent problems of humankind to which the survival and future of the global village are attached, emphasizes these two aspects more and more, it claims that it is different from liberal globalism in which there is insufficient sensitivity concerning responsibility, or simple global etiquette that lacks a philosophy concerning existence, and that it is not the same as Western-centered universalism, abstract conceptual universalism, and multiculturalism that are indifferent to sincere communication by uncritically idealizing differences. In recent discourses, while Cosmopolitanism respects the sense of individuality that one belongs to an individual region, nation or something else, at the same time it seeks to adhere to the view that each individual must have a sense of responsibility as a member of and belonging to the universal community of all humankind. In other words, it tries to overcome closed nationalism and regionalism, but seeks to harmonize with global communitarianism while acknowledging open regionalism and nationalism. Such global communitarianism acknowledges and respects the rights and dignity of all human beings living on planet earth, and by seeking to practice responsibility and ethics towards them, it actively explores and practices such things as cosmopolitan rights, cosmopolitan justice, and cosmopolitan ethics.

Of course, the discourse of cosmopolitanism can be divided into a political (institutional) legal dimension and a moral and ethical dimension (cosmopolitan ethics). The discourse at the political and legal dimension focuses more on how to realize Cosmopolitanism not only in international politics and international relations, but also in domestic politics. And the discourse at the moral and ethical dimension focuses more on presenting the underlying principles or ideal state than on actual feasibility itself.

However in fact, the two are strictly inseparable. The questions of what cosmopolitanism is and how it can be practiced are ultimately inseparable from the questions of what cosmopolitanism should be and what it aims for. And this is because the values that Cosmopolitanism aims for do not remain in the moral and ethical dimensions and require constant effort to realize connections with the various societal systems. At least with the two dimensions mentioned above, namely, being concerned with the identity of the wider community while respecting the individual identity, Cosmopolitanism, which cannot abandon rights, a sense of responsibility and ethics, is not able to not wrestle ceaselessly while maintaining creative tension between the two axes of possibility and impossibility, and conditionality and unconditionality.[13] The principle of global citizenship being discussed these days is not only a long held dream of the future, but now even more than ever is an undeniable realistic demand of the global village society that must be explored actively for a method to realize it.

However, in order for the principle of global citizenship to

13 Namsoon Kang, p. 33; Ulrich Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, translated by Ciatran Cronin (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2006), p. 44.

become an alternative of hope for the future of humankind, it must be distinguished from the rhetoric of irresponsible anarchism or capitalist commercialism. But as Ulrich Beck pointed out, it is necessary to keep in mind the danger raised historically concerning global citizenship, namely the warnings and criticism that global citizenship will flow into totalitarianism or absolutism. In order to bring about the development of a global civil society through global citizenship politics and global citizenship ethics, it is necessary to understand how the term cosmopolitanism can enable ideological misuse.

Ulrich Beck, who belongs to the active modern cosmopolitanism theorists, distinguishes between despotic (autocratic) cosmopolitanism and emancipatory cosmopolitanism and cited the ancient cosmopolitanism (Stoic Philosophy), the thought of Karl Japers and Hannah Arendt who conceptualized 'crimes against humanity,' and global citizenship law of the Enlightenment Thought (Immanuel Kant)[14] as historical precedents of emancipatory cosmopolitanism.[15] According to him, despotic cosmopol-

14 Crimes against humanity took over the concept of the Law of Humanity, which was used at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I in 1919. The United States, the United Kingdom, France and the former Soviet Union joined the International Military Tribunal at the London Conference on 8 August. The concept reflected in Article 6 of the Charter was applied as an important criterion for the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. That is, an individual would say, 'State law.' They say that crimes committed against humanity cannot be justified because they followed the law. Jaspers, Arendt, Levinas, etc. probed in the concept of 'crimes against humanity,' developed the world's civic philosophy of 'crime against humanity' that hatred of a particular other, on any basis, is very 'hatred against humanity' and 'crime against humanity.' Namsoon Kang, pp. 110-117.

15 Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Toward a New Modernity*, translated by Sungtae

itanism historically does not acknowledge individual differences and has come to be used as propaganda for a society of imperialism and totalitarianism. On the other hand, the non-repressive emancipatory cosmopolitanism does not remove all differences and begins by acknowledging the other as an individual who has his or her own perspective, desires, and way of life. Specifically, Beck advocates as a condition of emancipatory cosmopolitanism that, first, it acknowledges the cultural differences of the other (different civilizations and different modernities), second, that it acknowledges the differences of the future, third, that it acknowledges differences of nature, fourth, that it acknowledges differences of objectives, and fifth, that it acknowledges of differences of rationality.[16]

Among modern theorists, who are actively thinking about more alternative visions while pursuing emancipatory Cosmopolitanism, not despotic Cosmopolitanism, there are Gayatri Spivak, who is advocating 'planetary love' as a fundamental force that can transform reality, Derrida who actively expresses the philosophy of friendship and hospitality from the philosophy of dissolution, Alain Badiou, who seeks the possibility of individual universality and solidarity through the love called 'the experience of two,' Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck who are exploring as a new alternative the relationship of Cosmopolitanism with reflexive modernity by leveraging the global crisis, and even political theologians who are reinterpreting the cosmopolitan theology of

Hong (Seoul: New Wave, 2006), p. 45.

16 Ulrich Beck, *Power in the Global Age: A New Global Political Economy* (2002), translated by Chansook Hong (Seoul: Gil Publishing Co., 2011), pp. 433-435.

historical Jesus and Paul as alternatives to contemporary issues. They are participating in active discursive practice in a wide variety of fields. Thus, the theories of Cosmopolitanism, which have been explored as alternatives to the world community since the 20th century, even while they differ in detail, have features and orientations that are basically shared. Namsoon Kang, who actively researched the themes of cosmopolitanism and religion, arranged them well. According to him, such common features are respect and inclusion of individuality, individual universality that is applied to all living human beings who are the ultimate unit of interest of Cosmopolitanism, and the responsibility to pursue practices that acknowledge the differences and equality of different people.[17]

In short, the core of the discourse of global citizenship in the era of globalization is that it acknowledges individual existence as itself and does not unify the other by the logic of identity. It does not exclude sincere communication with the other by essentializing the differences of the other, rather it pursues responsible action for 'being together (living together)' with the other. In other words, the ethics of global citizenship actively implies unconditional respect for all people in the global village and the responsibility to welcome them as siblings, as neighbors who have the same dignity and right to live on the planet as I have. However, there are numerous circumstances in which this requirement is very difficult practically within real politics or complex societal situations, as are often manifested in refugee problems. This is the reason global citizenship ethics are still overlooked as unrealistic

17 Namsoon Kang, pp. 63-68; Thomas W. Pogge, "Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty," *Ethics* 103 (1992), p. 48.

principles or vague ideals. Nevertheless, such ethical ideals can, and must, carry out the role as a permanent criterion and reference for choice and will even in situations of specific everyday dilemmas including real politics.[18] Not only is humankind in the global village increasingly actually feeling that the problem of others can realistically become my problem at any time, but like Kant's insight, they are having an undeniable world experience that the guarantee and genuine advancement of human beings can be expected only based on the eternal peace of the global society.[19]

Thus, such things as the interdependence and interconnectedness of the global village, awareness of the dignity of all human beings who have life and of the equal right to live on earth, universal love and mercy, cosmic love, and the ethics of friendship and hospitality are being presented as the foundations of global citizenship ethics. Discussions to establish or justify the logical basis of such ethics include a rationalist approach like Kant, an approach that emphasizes compassion and empathy, and a realist approach that appeals to the universality of the global crisis.

However, when regional and national interests conflict with global citizenship ethics, it is not easy for Cosmopolitan ethics to be acknowledged as more fundamental values or to operate as a primary source of morality. If the global disaster and the safety of a relevant nation are not directly connected, responding to the disaster also becomes a difficult problem for an actor who in reality directly practices love for humankind and universal love

18 Namsoon Kang, p. 29.

19 Immanuel Kant, *Eternal Peace*, p. 22.

for sake of the nation. However, when Cosmopolitanism is limited only to the issue of personal ethics and morality, communal horizons that must take charge at the societal dimension do not sufficiently open up. Therefore, in order for the Cosmopolitan ethics and values such as justice, equality, and peace, and the Cosmopolitan agenda to work and be realized both individually and institutionally, Cosmopolitanism will have to be able to move the hearts, purposes, desires and will of the 'numerous' citizens and it must be able to voluntarily elicit empathy, solidarity, and cooperation.

At this point, this paper will focus on the three mediating factors proposed by Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value. First, despite concerns about religious global citizenship, religion still has potential; second, the introduction of a transcendental and vertical dimension of Divine love; and third, the role of the family as a universal school of love advocated by True Familyism. Unification Thought's Principle of Universal Value can present important insights on the topic of global citizenship by centering on these three factors. First, I think about the role of religion, and in the next chapter, I will examine the meaning of the transcendental and vertical dimension of true love and the implications of True Familyism.

## III. Religion's Global Citizenship Role in the Principle of Universal Value

The Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (hereinafter referred to as 'Family Federation') seeks to restore original human nature and achieve an ideal world of peace

through Godism, the principle of true love, and the True Family movement. Therefore, Unification Thought, which refers to the ideological system of the Family Federation, is also called 'Godism.' Cheon Il Guk, which is the name of world of peace in which the unification pursued by the Family Federation is achieved, is also symbolized as a nation where two people live together by becoming one centering on the true love of God.[20] Also Unification Thought expresses Cheon Il Guk, which is such an ideal world of peace, as a world in which the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value are realized.

*New Essentials of Unification Thought* is a complex ideology that expresses the economic, political, and ethical dimensions of Godism, which strictly speaking cannot be divided, but Universal Value emphasizes the most core principle for achieving the ideal society of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.[21] *Exposition of the Divine of Principle* also clarifies that, "The religion founded upon this truth will lead all of humanity to become one with God in heart. Such people will build an economy in accordance with the divine ideal. These will be the foundations for a new political order which can realize the ideal of creation. This will be the messianic kingdom built on the principles of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universally shared values."[22] It calls the ideology in which we can become one by unifying in the heart of God the ideology of 'Universal

20 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong* (enlarged edition) (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing Co., 2013), p. 1271.

21 The Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing Co., 1993), p. 522.

22 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing Co., 2001), pp. 343-344.

Value.' This is because according to *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, the Principle of Universal Value, as an ideology that can solve the problem of the collapse of values, is the ideology of a cooperative ethical society where all people live having the same ethical attitude without regard to their status or some kind of condition.

Unification Thought sees that since such an ideal society, namely a society of the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, is a society where the purpose of religion has already been fulfilled, and therefore where religion will no longer be necessary.[23] However, it points out that in the course of advancing to achieve such an ideal world, religion provides norms, order and values even if relative and limited while it teaches the truth and heart of God and encourages practice through faith and hope. Therefore, Unification Thought expresses concern about the negative perceptions concerning the historically weakening of religious authority.

Unification Thought declares 'a world without religion' as the ultimate ideal of religion, but on the other hand, it emphasizes the providential role of religion, which awakens the conscience and has been the standard of values and norms, and it sees that religion must contribute to establishing the morality and ethics of Universal Value in the course of achieving a society of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. In addition, it sees that the numerous conflicts and vices in modern society are intensified by the collapse and confusion of values. In other words, the relativization of values has been based on loose

23 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p. 522.

morals and contempt for religion and thought that denies God and conflict among religions. However, if the relativization of religions and the conflict between religions relativize values and becomes the cause for the collapse of values, this means that when the conflicting religions cooperate with each other and achieve harmony for the greater good, they can solve the problems caused by the collapse of values and restore true values.

As repeatedly said, the ideal of a global community and global citizenship ethics is already a realistic demand for humanity in the 21st century. So how can we have a genuine cosmopolitan consciousness and ethics even while we do not ignore ethnic, racial, regional, national and many other individual identities? How can humankind achieve a world community in which cosmopolitan justice is realized? When cosmopolitan rights and justice have to be properly realized, can global citizenship adequately curb individual interests and national interests?

Regarding these issues, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the Ideals of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value emphasize the role of religion in achieving the Principle of Universal Value even while aiming for a world after religion in which the purpose of religion has been realized. Religion has the potential and a role that it must play in the opportunity for the realization of cosmopolitan ethics. This is because the ethics, morals, and values that have guided humanity throughout history have been established based on religion. Of course among those ethics and values, some are no longer valid in the present era, but the important thing is that religion has taught and practiced self-transcendence, sacrifice, kenosis, and humility, and through this has the wealth of experience and potential to

raise humanity through an expanded identity by embracing the other and reforming consciousness. In particular, world religions have an inner structure of global citizenship that can overcome the hierarchies and boundaries that exist among nations, peoples, and races.[24] All human beings are equal before God, and all beings are already Buddha. Religion goes beyond boundaries and also has the power and experience that can place bridges between divided relationships. In addition, the power of religious faith can move the hearts of many people autonomously, and a religious organization that can mobilize such power of faith can cause the development of a dedicated and sustained movement of practice.

Therefore, in the 21st century, while religions conflict with each other with an exclusive attitude while advocating their absoluteness to each other, rather than choosing a path of conflict with the secular realm, if they are able to achieve a 'Federation of Peace' that develops a theology of global citizenship and peace, with Cosmopolitan religion and that represents the world of conscience by transcending themselves, global citizenship will be able to be actualized more effectively through the mediating role of religion (institutions). Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the advocate of Unification Thought, has repeatedly emphasized that a federation and movement of unity for the sake of religious peace representing the world of the mind is the shortcut to overcoming the political and national limitations of a peace movement. Hans King's statement that 'there is no peace in the world without

24 Ulrich Beck, *A God of One's Own: Religion's Capacity for Peace and Potentiality for Violence*, translated by Chansook Hong (Seoul: Book Publishing Gil, 2013), pp. 79-81.

inter-religious peace'[25] can also be interpreted as saying that various different religions must present a model of peace for the realization of a peaceful society of a global village. In addition, the world-renowned peace scholar Johan Galtung pointed to religion as the deeper root and as the element of strong cultural violence that justifies structural violence.[26] On the other hand we can interpretate religion positively with the meaning that religion, which has cultural power, can play a decisive role in creating a culture of peace.

Religion contains the core resources and potential of global citizenship such as universal love, justice, empathy, tolerance, and practical ethics that are urgently needed for the era of globalization. Rather than going the way of co-destruction by becoming one of the pillars of conflict, religion can overcome the conflicts while presenting solutions for conflict. And when it is able to lay a bridge that creates a mutual win-win, it will be able to present the prospect for a solution and vision of hope rather than becoming part of the pressing problem of humankind in the age of globalization that is both an opportunity and a crisis. Religion for the sake of religion cannot escape the path of conflict. When religion becomes a religion of Universal Value that loves peace, for the first time it will be able to carry out its original role to realize a world in which 'religion is not necessary' that the Universal Value of Unification Thought calls for.

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25 Hans Küng, *Projekt Weltethos*, R. Piper GmbH & Co. KG. Münhen, 1990, translated by Myeongock Ahn (Chilgok: Bundo Publishing Co., 1992), p. 211.

26 Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, translated by Jongil Kang (Seoul: Dulnyouk Publishing House, 2000), pp. 424-426.

## IV. The True Love of the Principle of Universal Value and the Global Citizenship Insight of True Familyism

The Principle of Universal Value of Unification Thought aims to realize the common values of human beings by centering on the true love of God. Is this universalism that is called the Principle of Universal Value pursuing the unification where individuality completely disappears? Unification Thought regards human beings as connected beings having the dual purposes of an individual purpose and a whole purpose, and in the Theory of the Original Image acknowledges individual images together with the universal image within the Divine Image. Therefore, as an individual truth body, rather than excluding individuality, it gives great meaning to its inherent value based on the Original Image. If that is the case, then what is the meaning of Universal Value and common ethics that the Principle of Universal Value of Unification Thought speaks of? This will be an important point for eradicating the concerns concerning religious global citizenship, namely the criticisms and concerns about the trend of uniform universalization, and for becoming a vision for the Principle of Universal Value solving the difficulties of cosmopolitanism.

In the circumstances of a global village where various religions and various cultures coexist, there is a danger that common ethics or values will be understood as uniform universalism. When a nation or religion becomes the central model, the possibility that different individualities are not sufficiently respected cannot be overlooked. Then, how can the Universal Value of Unification Thought enable the harmony of universality and individuality in order to realize Cosmopolitanism?

In order to realize the ideal of global citizenship by harmonizing individuality and universality, and universal parity, universally shared values and common ethics must be values that all people like, that is, values that everyone can pursue autonomously. If so, it must present what everyone likes and identifies with, what everyone wants and can pursue voluntarily. This is because universalism and solidarity through genuine agreement, participation, and communication will be possible from there. *The Anthology of the Sermons of Sun Myung Moon* clarifies as follows how God's love becomes the principle of a community of peace and harmony.

> "The sphere of the harmony of love is small in scope, but we must understand that is has contents that can be connected to the cosmos. In expanding and spreading, this ripple of love is an infinite ripple. When we say that there is nothing immoveable in these ripples, it means that the whole universe keeps pace with assimilation and harmony in the world of love. That is why even God who is the center of the universe certainly cannot help but keep pace."[27]

Unification Thought sees that which everyone cannot help but like, that which everyone is able to like eternally and give and receive with infinitely, that which even the omniscient and all powerful God cannot help but like is only love, and even God created based on love, and established the ideal of creation through love.[28] It is very important to know what is God's love,

27 Sun Myung Moon's Speech Compilation Committee, vol. 113 (Seoul: Seonghwasa, 1992), p. 103.

28 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong*

that is true love, which is the basis of the concept of the Universal Value of Unification Thought that is aiming for a society of common ethics. Based on Unification Thought, it is possible for all humankind to form a great family society and live as brothers and sisters based on one ethics and make the true love and truth of God, who is the Parent of humankind, the foundation.

Unification Thought says that the source of truth called Logos is the heart and true love of God. This means that the mind moves, purpose is established, values are established, and practical action can be initiated starting from the heart and love. The genuine ideology of Universal Value will be established only when all people are voluntarily united in the heart of God. Then what is God's true love? Based on Sun Myung Moon's words, God's true love is the source of all life, the origin of original human nature, and the source of true happiness and peace. In addition, true love wants to give infinitely, wants to live for the sake of others infinitely, and has the unchanging attributes of absoluteness, uniqueness, immutability, and eternity.[29] Since God's absolute love is an infinite, unchanging love that is given to everyone without discrimination, without condition, everyone wants it and cannot but like it. Since it does not create boundaries that divide neighbors and enemies and loves even one's enemy, it is absolute love in which there can be no enemies.[30] By acknowledging different religions, even one's enemies as the object of God's true love, namely as the children of God, by loving all

3.1.3.4, p. 281.

29 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong* 3.1.1.1-2, pp. 263-264.

30 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 525-526.

different people as siblings and compatriots, loving God and loving oneself can become the absolute and universal foundation that can realize the fundamental ideal of global citizenship discussed above. Absoluteness and universality associated with the verticality of God's true love are not contrary to horizontal pluralism and individuality and can achieve infinite harmony.

The culture of unconditional love and respect for the individual other, which has been pursued by global citizenship in recent years, can be practiced for the first time as cosmic, universal love centering on the infinite, eternal and transcendental love of God, love that is able to reach everywhere from a vertical dimension. Furthermore, not only it is possible at the dimension of an individual who has become one with the heart of God's true love, but also because the universal, cosmic love of God must be experienced and practiced within the family, it can be revealed as a true social phenomenon by going beyond individualism that can be fragmented. Based on Unification Thought, a true family centered on the love of God is not only the place to learn to love the world by loving one's children and family, but also is a universal school of love to learn to love one's children and family by loving the world and loving God.

The discourse on ethics of global citizenship is often talked about in the context of individualized and introspective individuals. However, can an individualized person, a solitary person severed from connectedness and the experience of relational love with the other have the experience and wisdom as a bearer of universal and responsible ethics? In order for global citizenship not to remain as a slogan, the ethics of a global citizenship family that can connect the individual and

the universal (cosmic) dimension are necessary. In this respect, the True Familyism of Unification Thought offers an important insight that teaches that all families have not only a private dimension, but also a public dimension and going further a cosmic dimension. The Principle of Universal Value does not mean that "this cosmos is liberated just by completing individual salvation," but that it is possible through universal (cosmic) True Familyism that says "by completing universal salvation, the world is liberated and even the nation, people, family, and individual are liberated."[31] Universal Value of Unification Thought can provide the connecting ring that the ethics of global citizenship can realize practically by making it so that they are expanded through the individual purpose and the whole purpose engaging in give and receive action in the family, which is the school to learn true love through universal (cosmic) True Familyism. This is because we can realize a true global community of peace when we become not only an individual global citizen, but also a cosmopolitan family, a cosmopolitan people, and a cosmopolitan nation.

## V. Conclusion

The Principle of Universal Value of Unification Thought seeks to realize an ideal world of peace of one human family under God through common ethics based on love and heart. In addition, the Principle of Universal Value presents theoretical principles and a practical vision worth paying attention to that can concretely realize these ideals. The first is that it is presenting

31 Sun Myung Moon's Speech Compilation Committee, vol. 205 (Seoul: Seonghwasa, 1993), p. 167.

a principle of peace that can embrace and harmonize countless individualities into one through the transcendental and vertical universality of God's love. The second is proposing a movement of love that pursues societal diffusion with the family at the center by going beyond the individual through the ideal and practice of True Familyism which connects my family that is the smallest concentric circle with the family of the universe (cosmos), which is the widest concentric circle. The third is the point that it is clearly conscious of the role that religion, which historically has been the source of values and ethics, must play in order to be able to realize a peaceful world in the global village society and it is developing for the sake of religious harmony and dialogue. This is because religious resources, just as with families, more than peoples or nations, can become the subject of a more realistic cosmopolitan justice between the individual and the world.

Recently, while the global society has become visible based on economic, technological and environmental factors, interest in a world government, a world community, and a global citizenship society has grown, and cosmopolitanism is emerging as an urgent concrete discourse on reality. It is presenting a solution for how to solve the dilemmas from radical global citizenship to moderate global citizenship, from world government theory to liberal global citizenship, individuality and universality, regional identity and global citizenship identity, and between patriotism and global citizenship.

This paper aims to clarify in principle that the Principle of Universal Value of Unification Thought that has pursued an ideal world community of peace presents the logic and realistic direction that is able to solve such difficult problems in the above

three aspects. More meticulous arguments for possible refutation and criticism of these arguments and comparative studies of major cosmopolitan theories remain tasks for the future.

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Part II

# The Principle of Interdependence


4. Ownership as seen from the Perspective of Unification Political Thought: 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'Public Ownership' of Modern Utopianism (Kim, Hangje)
5. A Study of Unification Church's Economic Theory of the Principle of Interdependence (Sun, Jusung)
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# Ownership as seen from the Perspective of Unification Political Thought: 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'Public Ownership' of Modern Utopianism♣[1]

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I. Introduction

II. Concept of 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence

♣ Editor's Note: This paper was originally published in *Research of Unification Thought* 2 (2001).

1 Unification Political Thought can be considered to indicate the political thought of Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. In speaking more concretely, it indicates the political thought of Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon who are the founders of Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. Such Unification Political Thought can be observed in *Exposition of the Divine Principle* and *New Essentials of Unitification Thought*.

III. Modern Utopianism's 'Public Ownership'
IV. 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'Public Ownership' of Modern Utopianism
V. Conclusion

## I. Introduction

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the political-ideological reason for ownership has existed since the beginning of human history. This is because human beings must live together with other people to survive, which means that they are beings living in social relationships. However, it may be said that ownership has appeared in the course of history in the different forms of private ownership and joint ownership, and that the earnest political-ideological discussion on joint ownership in regard to private ownership stemmed from modern utopianism. The reason for this is that the discussion on reforming the evils of private ownership, that is, the private property system which has existed since the time of ancient society, was finally begun with the beginning of modern utopianism.

Today, at a time when the ideology of proletarian public ownership has come to an end, humanity is faced with a new ideology on private ownership called neoliberalism. In other words, humanity is exposed to the wave of neoliberalism, which aspires for the maximization and globalization of private ownership.[2] This does not mean that the public ownership ideology

2 Globalization has its ideological foundation on neoliberalism. Neoliber-

has completely disappeared or is going to disappear, since it is an alternative ideal set forth by humanity. Even if the alternative ideal of public ownership is now facing a temporary ordeal, it cannot disappear forever.

The public ownership ideology that appears in the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* is based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values. These principles are the thoughts and ideologies for the ideal society or ideal world advocated in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle*. In addition, they are the ideologies for the perfect society explained to be the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. According to the *Exposition of the Divine Principle*, "Movements to further the ideals of interdependence, mutual prosperity and universally shared values arose on God's side, while communism was born on Satan's side, in order to demolish economic systems which concentrated a society's wealth in the hands of a privileged few. Each of these movements has sought to establish a system which

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alism, which succeeded liberalism, can be said to be an economic theory that places most importance on the market's naturality and free corporate activities of civilians. The history of rebelling against authority and resisting oppression in aspiring for freedom is as old as human history. However, recognizing individuals' freedom as universal values and actively implementing a social system on that basis to take root as the guiding principle of the state and society was a phenomenon that could only be seen in modern Europe. Though the term liberalism was first used in the 19th century, the actual ideas signified by liberalism were already included in the ideology of bourgeois revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries. Though the 19th century is usually referred to as the age of liberalism, its actual process of development unfolded differently and changed accordingly in different nations based on their historical conditions. [Hoseong Park, *Community Theory* (Seoul: Hyohyeong Publications, 2010), pp. 287-289.]

would distribute wealth more equally among people."[3] Therefore, the society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values will appear and be realized when communism is annihilated.

Accordingly, the original heart of human beings who long for and seek after the world of God's ideal of creation will make progress until they have actualized the ideal world where His purpose of creation has been perfected, where they can cry out for the realization of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values. As can be seen, the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* is quite optimistic about the advent of a society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values, based on the historical view that agrees with the development of history.

Of these Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values, the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* contains some relatively simple but meaningful statements on the ideology of the Principle of Interdependence.[4] This paper will compare and examine the concept of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence with the public ownership ideology of Western modern utopianism in order to refine the former more minutely. Furthermore, it will try to forecast whether the public ownership ideology of the Principle of Interdependence can become an alternative in the life of humanity henceforward.

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3 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2003), p. 343.

4 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1993), pp. 507-524.

## II. Concept of 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence

"The principle of interdependence is a concept dealing with the economic aspects of an ideal society, especially the aspect of ownership."[5] This is how the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* defines the concept of the Principle of Interdependence. It means that the Principle of Interdependence is the economic vision and ideology presented by the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*. Moreover, the Principle of Interdependence is characterized by its prioritized interest in ownership out of all the economic aspects. This is because capitalism, socialism and communism are all based on ownership, and if they were to classify the pure meaning of ownership, capitalism would focus on private ownership whereas socialism and communism would focus on social ownership.

Of course, it can be said that this is an interest that keeps in mind the context of the ideological confrontation based on capitalism and communism. That does not mean that the Principle of Interdependence mentioned in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* or the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* is the fruit of simple context. This is because the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* clearly reveals that the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values "aspire to the world of God's ideal where the purpose of creation is fulfilled"[6], that is, the messianic kingdom, that they are the ideologies on Heaven's side which will appear after utopian socialism has unfolded, and that the Principle of Interdependence is one of the

5 Unification Thought Institute, p. 507.

6 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 342.

three principles.

Then what is ownership under the Principle of Interdependence? It is "joint ownership based on God's true love."[7] This means that it is a mistake to view ownership only as that over material possession, for an important requisite in ownership is the psychological element, which is none other than love. Therefore, ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence is a different concept from capitalism's private ownership and socialism's social ownership and, furthermore, it can be said to be different from public ownership spoken of in socialism. This is because ownership under the Principle of Interdependence is premised on God as the Creator and also love, which is His attribute, and its ideological basis is that all created things are the possession of God the Creator.

God's possession is originally under joint ownership, and this refers to "the joint ownership of God and myself, of the whole and myself and of my neighbors and myself."[8] In other words, we, that is, my neighbors and I, are taking part in managing the possessions of God the Creator. The Principle of Interdependence clarifies that the created world is God's possession more than any other doctrine of creation. "According to the principle of creation, the created world is God's possession, and it was created to be governed by Him through love."[9]

Human beings, who exercise the dominion of love received from God, need to have a clear awareness that they jointly own

7 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

8 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

9 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 77-78.

nature with God. Joint ownership with God means that human beings cannot monopolize nature and that private ownership cannot be acknowledged. Private ownership in capitalism where capital monopolizes ownership created a heaven of the lower class and a world of capitalists who lead egoistic lives placing priority on matter. The Principle of Interdependence believes that, rather than this capitalism, socialism with its aim of joint ownership is much closer to the ideal of creation and development of history, as long as it does not sink down into anthropocentricism.[10]

This conclusion demonstrates that, according to the concept of ownership under the Principle of Interdependence, joint ownership based on God's true love can become the motive for humanity to live interdependently. In other words, the concept of ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is not materialistic; it refers to ownership where matter and mind come together and engage in give and receive action. Unification Thought deems the relationship between God and humankind to be that between parent and children. The base where the parent-children relationship is established is the family. Taking the family into consideration from the aspect of ownership, ownership in the family is ownership of both the parents and the children.

In the original world presented by the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, parents always give true love to their children and accordingly the children preserve their possessions always with a heart of gratitude to their parents. Selfish private ownership cannot take root there. To sum up, the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is the joint ownership based

10 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 343.

on God's true love between 'others and me', in the three stages of God and me, the whole and me and my neighbors and me. Accordingly, this can be formulated as the 'joint ownership between God, the whole and us.'[11]

However, a question still remains to be answered: if the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence involves matter and mind being in a give-and-receive relationship together, is there no place for private ownership at all? Unification Thought's answer to this question is as follows:

> Yes, there is [private ownership], and it is proper that there should be. This is because a human being, in resemblance to God, has both a universal image and an individual image. That is to say, a human being has a common attribute (universality) and at the same time, an attribute peculiar to himself or herself (individual image). A human being has dual purposes: the purpose for the individual and the purpose for the whole, as well as the desire and freedom to practice love. Thus, private ownership is allowed.[12]

At this time, the question on the limits of private ownership or individual ownership also arises. In regard to this, the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* speaks of reasonable ownership (appropriate possession). Reasonable ownership refers to ownership determined by the conscience as being appropriate to an individual's position. The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* goes on to further explain that this does not mean that

11 Unification Thought Institute, p. 509.

12 Unification Thought Institute, p. 510.

reasonable ownership can have uniform equality, for the quantity and quality cannot be the same for all people.

> There are certain reasons for that. First, each person has his or her unique individual image, and therefore unique character, taste, and so on. Second, every person is an individual embodiment of truth and at the same time a connected being. A connected being refers to an individual person who is related to others through love in the six directions of up and down, front and back, and right and left. In order to have such relations, a person, as a connected being, requires at least a certain necessary quantity of personal possessions. Usually, the higher the position a person occupies, the greater the quantity and quality of his or her necessary possessions become. Therefore, the proper quantity and quality of personal possessions will differ from person to person. Thus, if a person has adequate personal possessions necessary to love others, those possessions are appropriate, even if the amount of his or her personal possessions is substantially higher or lower than the average.[13]

The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* forecasts that this reasonable ownership will become possible in the future global economy. Since the world of the future is based on joint ownership with God's true love at its center, human beings' economic activities would also be different from those of the past. In other words, it is because "all economic activities are the unity of spiritual processes, which are the flow of heart, love, gratitude,

13 Unification Thought Institute, p. 512.

and so on, and the material process, which is the circulation of commodities."[14] This forecast should not be deemed as being too ideal, for the global economy is already beginning to learn that accompanying egoistic, profit-oriented economic activities with altruistic economic activities will transform them into sustainable and interdependent economic activities.[15]

## III. Modern Utopianism's 'Public Ownership' Ideology

As is well known, the modern capitalist society has developed on the basis of the private property system. Private ownership, however, has given rise to not only the gap between

14 Unification Thought Institute, p. 512.

15 Human nature of the collapsing old order, that is, globalization and neoliberalism, is that of the Homo sapiens and Homo economicus. In other words, human nature in the industrial society has become selfish individualism under the good name of individual freedom. The human nature that considers only one's own gains and not others' and deems the incapacitation of the value of coexistence and competition based on the survival of the fittest as virtues has come to be regarded as being natural. However, the society of the new civilization established through the values of coexistence will transcend it. The human nature that considers others' gains as well as one's own and encourages cooperation based on interdependency and mutual trust will be the human nature of humankind who will take root in the newly established society of new civilization. This type of humankind will be able to create a society where individuals and the whole can live together in oneness. Since such human beings will not be passive or heteronomous, but will instead have enhanced autonomy, they may be termed as Homo deus or divine beings. [Yuval N. Harari, *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*, translated by Myungjoo Kim (Seoul: Gimm-Young Publishers, Inc., 2017), p. 39.]

the rich and poor and class conflict but also extreme egoism and hostility through antagonism between the strong and the weak. Furthermore, the increase of unemployment and crime is an evil of modern private ownership. The ideology created to reform this evil of private ownership was modern utopianism[16] based on public ownership. This utopianism can be categorized into moderate public ownership ideology, centrist public ownership ideology and radical public ownership ideology.[17] These categories are based on the methods by which the ideology of leading advocates of public ownership, known as utopians, wish to revolutionize the modern private property system. The two extremes are the improvement method and revolutionary method, and in between lies the gradual method.

The moderate public ownership ideology recognizes that it is necessary to reexamine private ownership in creating an ideal society, but it adopts a compromising attitude of deferring complete public ownership of possessions and partially acknowledging private ownership. This moderate public ownership ideology is utopianism founded on an optimistic philosophy

16 'U-topia' is a term coined by Thomas More. The prefix 'U' in Greek connotes both 'ou meaning no' and 'eu meaning good', and topos or topia refers to place. Accordingly, U-topia could mean either 'no place (outopia)' in this world or 'good place (eutopia)'. The actual title of the book *Utopia* written by Thomas More includes the phrase 'how things should be in a state and about the new island Utopia (de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia)'. This shows that he coined the term Utopia bearing its dual meaning in mind. [Yunghan Kim, "Ideal Society and Utopia", *The Citizens' Forum on Korean History* 10 (Seoul: Iljogak, 1992), p. 163.]

17 Gidong Jeong, *A Study of Modern Public Ownership Ideology* (Doctoral dissertation, Chonnam National University Political Science Department, 1994), pp. 7-8.

of enlightenment that believes in the power of reason and the natural manifestation of natural law. Next, there is the centrist public ownership ideology, which does not speak of complete public ownership of possessions, is critical of private ownership and only slightly acknowledges private ownership. This centrist public ownership ideology is utopianism based on the optimistic trend of thought that an ideal society is fundamentally founded on the public ownership of possessions and that this can be achieved gradually. The radical public ownership ideology is utopianism that denounces private ownership and asserts the ideology of complete public ownership. It says that the social economic system should be fundamentally revolutionized in order to realize an ideal society where private ownership is excluded, and it wishes to bring about changes aggressively even if it means resorting to violent means.

Utopians of the moderate public ownership ideology include More, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and Blanc. More is of the opinion that "private property is the source of evil whose motive is greed and extravagance, and public gain comes before individual gain."[18] Saint-Simon's ideology of public ownership says, "Since bringing about complete public ownership in a short time can cause chaos, it should be carried out gradually."[19] Fourier shares a similar belief with Saint-Simon in that he is opposed to complete public ownership and willing to acknowledge partial private ownership. Owen is of the attitude that he "asserted public ownership in the belief that the cause of war, poverty and pain is private property, but he is willing to acknowledge private

18 Gidong Jeong, p. 68.

19 Gidong Jeong, p. 68.

property, albeit limitedly."[20] The opinion of Blanc, a counterrevolutionary reformist, is that "he is not strongly inclined toward bringing about the public ownership of property and he limitedly acknowledges private ownership." This form of utopianism is generally of the attitude that, in regard to public ownership, it is not in favor of complete public ownership and that, though it denounces private ownership, it is willing to acknowledge it to a certain extent.

Utopians of the centrist public ownership ideology are Winstanley, Mably, Morelly, Cabet and Proudhon. Winstanley says, "Though private property should be abolished since it stemmed from human greed, we need to avoid extreme public ownership. Nonetheless, the public ownership of land should be promoted." Mably is of the opinion, "Instead of completely abolishing private property, it should be partially acknowledged and the evils of the private property system eliminated in the meanwhile." Morelly said, "Rather than the complete public ownership of property, public ownership should be limited to land only." Cabet asserts, "Even if we cannot achieve the complete public ownership of property, at least we must acknowledge the public ownership of land."[21]

Proudhon speaks of public ownership in a more active sense. "He asserted the public ownership of property, but he was also interested in the degree of property ownership. Proudhon emphasizes a public ownership ideology where everyone should own a small amount of property." In regard to public ownership, this centrist public ownership ideology excludes complete public

20 Gidong Jeong, p. 68.

21 Gidong Jeong, p. 108.

ownership like the moderate public ownership ideology. It also acknowledges private ownership to a certain extent. The only difference between it and the moderate public ownership ideology is that it wishes to bring about the harmony of reason through the cooperation of capitalists, laborers and farmers as a means of revolutionizing public ownership.

Utopians of the radical public ownership ideology are Campanella, Meric, Babeuf, Blanqui, Desami and Weitling. Campanella takes a very idealistic and radical attitude toward public ownership, saying that "not only production goods but also consumer goods should be under complete public ownership, and even wives, children and marriage should be managed by the state." Meric maintained a "position of absolute opposition to private property, for he believed that it gives rise to endless greed and all evils." Babeuf "knew that it is difficult to confiscate private property all at once, but by principle he asserted complete public ownership." Blanqui also "asserted complete public ownership, but was of the opinion that the abolition of private property must undergo a careful process." Desami was opposed to private property, saying, "Private property twists human emotions and gives birth to egoism and selfish desires."[22]

Weitling, too, was actively opposed to the private property system, because he believed that private property should be abolished for all people to enjoy their desires freely and equally. As can be seen, the ideal of the radical public ownership ideology is not only the abolition of private property but also the realization of complete public ownership. To realize this ideal, it supported

22 Gidong Jeong, p. 160.

revolution and adopted the proletariat as the leading agent of the revolution.

As seen above, the theoretical basis of public ownership utopia comes from the view of human beings as sinners based on Christianity. With the belief that the sinful human nature of greed, arrogance, idleness, jealousy, fraud and so on is the origin of evil, public ownership utopians' main focus was on the remodeling of sinful human beings into good people. All utopians are "much interested in education for this very reason. However, since it is impossible to completely convert the sinful human nature, it was their intention to create a strong social system with which to suppress the evilness of human beings to the utmost."[23]

Herein also lies the reason why utopians adopt strict monastic rules and a severe system of punishment for the ideal society they present. In contrast, the later utopians have their basis in the belief that human nature is good and society has the potential to become perfect. In truth, the progressive view of the philosophy of enlightenment was established on the premise of a positive evaluation of human nature. For example, Morelly was a leading utopian who inherited the ideologies of More and Campanella and developed them systematically. He asserted that human nature was originally good and virtuous, but private ownership and the laws protecting it caused humankind to fall and therefore private ownership is the source of all sins. This was an argument that the origin of all evil and corruption does not lie in human nature, and it was also the common belief of utopian socialists who came after Morelly, such as Babeuf, Saint-Simon,

23 Younghan Kim, *Utopian Ideology of the Renaissance* (Seoul: Tamgudang, 1995), p. 96.

Owen and Cabet.

The earlier utopians or the utopians of the Renaissance period and the utopian socialists who came after them were similar in that they all wished to realize their ideal by reforming the social system, that is, through public ownership. However, the public ownership of the former was based on distrust of human nature whereas that of the latter was based on distrust of the social system. Consequently, the former's public ownership is not important in itself but is rather a means of making humankind good and virtuous, whereas the latter's public ownership is in itself the purpose. This is because humankind will automatically become good when the social system is reformed.

It is also the reason why the former's utopia cannot reach the ideal completely and instead settles for the second best plan, which is the best that can be achieved on earth, whereas the latter's utopia aspires for the perfect, ideal society on earth that will take the place of the Kingdom of Heaven. In this regard, modern utopians were "ideologically the vanguard of the constant secularization movement of modern history, which aims to bring the Kingdom of Heaven down to earth, and in actuality they were the planners of social reform who presented a new model of society based on a concrete social system."[24]

24 Younghan Kim, pp. 97-98.

## IV. 'Joint Ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'Public Ownership' of Modern Utopianism

### 1. Issue of Perspective on Human Beings

By comparing the 'joint ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence and 'public ownership' of modern utopianism, as seen above, we will attempt to refine the concept of 'joint ownership' of the Principle of Interdependence more minutely. To do so, we will take a look at the perspective on human beings premised by the Principle of Interdependence and modern utopianism. The Principle of Interdependence does not fully adopt a negative attitude toward human nature as is premised by modern utopians. In other words, it does not recognize human beings only as sinners or emphasize the destructive aspect of human nature.

The perspective on human beings of the Principle of Interdependence identifies human beings as created beings with a conscience, who are also simultaneously exposed to the sinful reality due to the fall. According to this perspective on human beings, we cannot expect to be liberated from sin, that is, the fallen nature of humankind, by conditions other than that of human beings. The Principle of Interdependence says that humankind's endless greed for private ownership cannot be suppressed by sharing that private ownership, for it can only be restricted by sharing love for the public Being called God.

Moreover, the Principle of Interdependence emphasizes human freedom and responsibility in the joint ownership with God, showing that it acknowledges the duality of human nature.

It recognizes both the human responsibility to overcome the sinful reality through human creativity resembling that of God and the human autonomy to remedy this sinful reality to which human beings are exposed due to the fall. Accordingly, though the Principle of Interdependence speaks of joint ownership, it advocates the joint ownership with God based on true love. In this regard, it is wary of contemplating public ownership from a human-centered perspective. If we were to only consider the material nature of ownership on the basis that human sins come from human nature or the social system, we would restrict joint ownership to only the public ownership over material things.

We will next compare the concept of joint ownership unfolded through this perspective on human beings of the Principle of Interdependence with the concept of public ownership of modern utopianism. The fact that the former takes into account the psychological dimension of ownership, that is, the dimension of love, is the first big difference between it and public ownership of modern utopianism.

### 2. Issue of Private Ownership

As aforementioned, the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence may not be considered to be a radical ideology of modern utopianism in that it does not advocate for complete public ownership. This is because the Principle of Interdependence positively recognizes private ownership, that is, private property. It speaks of limits in private ownership or individual possession, referred to as ‘reasonable ownership’. The concept of reasonable ownership as advocated by the Principle of Interdependence has multiple meanings. One is the aspect that it does not

speak of complete equality of ownership, and the other is that it refers to the psychological factor in the idea of ownership.

Therefore, an individual's reasonable ownership can be realized when that individual attains perfection as a created being of God as is premised by the Principle of Interdependence, for it is only possible to have reasonable ownership when he or she has escaped from the shadow of selfish desire. An individual's reasonable ownership refers to the ownership that restricts his or her material wants according to his or her conscience, and which instead is ownership that gives satisfaction when he or she has made material sacrifice based on true love. This is premised on the religious understanding of ownership and may be said to be a rather visionary form of utopianism.

This does not mean that it acknowledges the equality of individual ownership. Since individual ownership under the Principle of Interdependence recognizes the individuality of human beings as individual embodiments of truth, there cannot, and should not, be uniform equality. Consequently, individual ownership under the Principle of Interdependence is based on the equality of position. It focuses on the fact that an individual is a being of position. Since each individual is not only an individual embodiment of truth but also a being connected to others, he or she comes to stand in a certain position. To put it another way, an individual is a relative being who is connected in the directions of up and down, front and back and left and right in their relationships with others.

At this point, the Principle of Interdependence recognizes that there may be a difference in ownership depending on that

position. Nonetheless, that difference only exists if that ownership is necessary for giving true love. This is what the Principle of Interdependence refers to as reasonable ownership. Hence, reasonable ownership under the Principle of Interdependence could be another term for private ownership that the Principle of Interdependence aspires for. Since this reasonable ownership is based on a rather subjective element called true love, it may be pointed out that it cannot be calculated or limited. However, the Principle of Interdependence is premised on the perspective of human beings that human beings can be good and conscientious, and so it might be accused of being idealistic but not illogical.

Therefore, reasonable ownership under the Principle of Interdependence is in the same position as the moderate and centrist modern utopianism, which acknowledges an individual's private property to a certain extent. However, moderate and centrist modern utopianism only contemplated private ownership over material possessions and questioned its limits accordingly. In contrast, reasonable ownership under the Principle of Interdependence incorporates a wider concept of ownership, for it says that private ownership can mean the ownership of matter as well as love. This attitude comes from the perspective of human beings of the Principle of Interdependence that the material greed in private ownership can be controlled through love, and is the same as the attitude of the moderate and centrist modern utopianism, which was condemned by radical modern utopianism as being fanciful and nonscientific. In other words, the moderate and centrist branches of modern utopianism often have their premise on the perfection of human nature, and assert that material greed for private ownership can be controlled or eliminated through

education or institutional changes. They tried not only to limit material desire through the conscience, but also chose to adopt the rather passive method of limiting public ownership instead of private ownership.

### 3. Issue of Complete Public Ownership

As examined above, the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is similar to the public ownership ideology advocated by the moderate and centrist branches of modern utopianism but is different from the complete public ownership of the radical branch. Complete public ownership refers to the complete disregard of private ownership. In short, the radical utopianism of modern times opposes private property and asks for the abolition of that system. The position of the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is one that acknowledges private ownership to a certain extent but cannot acknowledge anthropocentric public ownership. The Principle of Interdependence says that, even in the case of complete public ownership, if it is anthropocentric, it cannot really be public ownership on a fundamental level. This is because the Principle of Interdependence deems it impossible for anthropocentric public ownership to restrict human egoism. It is historically and realistically accurate to say that human beings' selfish desire for material fundamentally cannot be suppressed.

Accordingly, it is impossible to systemize complete public ownership, and the way to achieve complete public ownership is to open new horizons of ownership that are also practicable. These new horizons should avoid being anthropocentric, and the non-anthropocentric system of ownership should exclude neither public ownership nor private ownership. To that end, the joint

ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is expanding the horizons of ownership with God at the center. First of all, the Principle of Interdependence deems the relationship between God and humankind to be that of give and receive, and in regard to ownership, it opens the way for joint ownership between God and humankind.

The Principle of Interdependence also says that, since joint ownership is based on the joint ownership with God, there is existential validity for human beings who are individual embodiments of truth with their own individuality to have private ownership. And since they are connected beings and thus their positions are determined based on their relationships with other people, they also come to have existential validity for public ownership. Accordingly, the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence can be deemed to be non-anthropocentric and capable of suppressing selfish greed for matter. In joint ownership with God, at the basis of that ownership lies God's love, and the human beings possessing that love do not fall into the swamp of private ownership and are not swayed by the ideology of joint ownership.

The joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence does not only correct the error of complete anthropocentric ownership, but also points out the imperfection of the system of complete ownership. A point to note here is that the Principle of Interdependence also does not present the system of joint ownership in more detail. The Principle of Interdependence only hints at it by explaining the original world, but this original world is in truth the utopia that has never been realized in history. Hence, it exposes its weakness, which is that it is unable to overcome the

unrealistic defeatism to which utopianism is subjected.

Nonetheless, when we take into account that the Principle of Interdependence is an ideology still in its embryonic stage, we can forecast that it can actually be established in the process of practice in real life. At any rate, the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is similar to the public ownership ideology advocated by moderate and centrist utopianism in modern times in regard to material possession, but it cannot be considered to be the same since it differentiates itself by adopting the premise of psychological ownership.

The joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence does not disregard the psychological aspect of ownership and thus expands the horizons of ownership to the psychological level and, furthermore, it says that ownership is the "unity of the spiritual processes and the material process."[25] As such, ownership refers to not only material goods but also heart, love, gratitude and harmony that accompany them. This concept of ownership also makes it impossible for public ownership to take the form of complete public ownership.

## V. Conclusion

The ideology of 'ownership' in Unification Political Thought can be examined through the Principle of Interdependence of Unification Thought. Ownership under the Principle of Interdependence advocates public ownership while acknowledging reasonable private ownership. In regard to ownership, the Unifi-

25 Unification Thought Institute, p. 512.

cation Political Thought has great significance in that it was proposed to realistically overcome communism, which asserts complete public ownership by the proletariat. That does not mean that it is an ideology of ownership created solely as a strategy against communism.

In fact, Unification Political Thought is a result of historical contemplation and basically comes from the existential basis presented by Unification Thought. That does not signify that there is no historical background for reasonable ownership or the public ownership ideology based on the Principle of Interdependence in Unification Political Thought. This is because it is comparable to the ideology of ownership advocated by the moderate and centrist modern utopianism of the West. Accordingly, joint ownership as advocated by the Principle of Interdependence in Unification Political Thought still has to answer the question of how it can become an ideology to overcome the trials and errors historically undergone by modern utopianism.

Since the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is an ideology that supports the Principle of Interdependence, achieving a society of joint ownership leads to the perfection of the Principle of Interdependence, which leads to the realization of a society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values, and this in turn will lead to the restoration of God's ideal society. Therefore, as has already been manifested, the only way for Unification Political Thought to follow is that of systemizing and practicing the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence. This will also pave another path, the path of perfection for human beings who can willingly achieve joint ownership with God based on true love.

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# A Study of Unification Church's Economic Theory of the Principle of Interdependence♣

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I. Introduction

II. Historical Origin of the Principle of Interdependence

III. Onership and Distribution under the Principle of Interdependence

IV. Economic Theory of the Principle of Interdependence

V. Conclusion

## Abstract

This paper is a study on how the Unification Church's economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence can progress into a realistic economic discourse. The Principle of Inter-

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dependence presented by Unification Thought is a logic that can supplement ethical obligation, transparency and responsibility, which have been overlooked by economic systems of the 21st century based on neoliberalism, financial capitalism and jungle-type capitalism. It also provides the theoretical basis on which an alternative to the evils and shadows of patrimonial capitalism can be proposed. Despite this, however, the reality is that it will continue to remain as an unrealizable discourse if it is not premised on feasible policy proposals, law enactments and administrative regulations, for it fails to make sufficient mention of the attributes and effects of modern capitalism. In order to overcome this, Unification Thought's theory and economic system of the Principle of Interdependence should commence from the religious community of the Unification Church. Moreover, for the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence to win recognition as a possible and realistic alternative economic system, interdisciplinarity and collaboration should be carried out to provide the theoretical basis for presenting a fresh discourse on modern economic theory and economic systems.

**Key Word**s: Unification Church, the Principle of Interdependence, economic theory, ownership, distribution

## I. Introduction

After the collapse of the former Soviet Union and socialistic camp in 1989, capitalism came to be recognized as their alternative in the global economic order. Neoliberalism, which fully guarantees the logic of capital, profit of shareholders and freedom in economic activities, led the mainstream of global economic

policies. However, even though neoliberalism was considered to be the alternative to communism, in the course of two or three decades it brought about the economic bubble phenomenon, which in turn caused the breakdown of the economy in all nations concerned. In short, there was a feeling of danger in the neoliberal economic system. The economic crisis led by the United States in 2008 caused the belief that the neoliberal system of financial capitalism should be rectified at its very roots.[1] It is a well-known fact that the demand for economic democratization, which swept across the Korean society in 2012, is in line with the realization of ownership and distributive justice.[2] In 2014, Thomas Piketty pointed out the appearance of Patrimonial Capitalism as a risk factor in the neoliberal economic system.[3] The global economic sector is reflecting on the problems and limitations of the neoliberal economic system and animatedly discussing an alternative economic system to overcome them.[4] In the emerging global economic crisis of recent years, both parties' viewpoints on the issues of welfare and economic democratization are conflicted once again in the Korean society. The question is whether they should pursue growth-oriented distribution policy or distribution-friendly growth.[5]

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1 Joseph Stiglitz, *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy*, translated by Gyeongdeok Jang (Seoul: 21 Century Books, 2010), p. 134.

2 Jongil Yoo (comp.), *Economic Democratization, Is Distribution-friendly Growth Possible?* (Seoul: Motive, 2013), pp. 34-45.

3 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Seoul: Geulhangari, 2013), pp. 292-325, 589-643.

4 *Pressian*, May 27, 2012.

5 Jongil Yoo (comp.), *Economic Democratization, Is Distribution-friendly Growth Possible?*, pp. 6-28.

The Unification Church has adopted the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal values as the ideological basis for the realization of utopianism.[6] The theory proposed for the realization of Unification Church's utopianism is the economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence. This paper will take a close look at the open possibility of whether the Principle of Interdependence can take root as an economic system and problems thereof. To bring about the realization of utopia, the Unification Church has made proposals not only in the field of religion but also in a wider range in the fields of politics, economy, society, culture and art. This characteristic has caused the Korean society to classify it as a religion-business conglomerate.

This paper, however, will exclude the relationship between Unification Church's economic view based on the Principle of Interdependence and the actual conditions in its business management from the range of research. The reason for this is that, if it were included, problems could be pointed out only after a thorough financial analysis and management analysis of Unification Church's affiliates. The Principle of Interdependence as the economic ideology of the Unification Church and the actual conditions and analysis of its business management, which would showcase the application of the said principle, are the standard for determining the success or failure of the actualization of Unification Church's Principle of Interdependence. This is because, as long as the Unification Church dreams of utopia, the actualization of the economic ideology based on the Principle of Interdepen-

6 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1993), pp. 507-524.

dence and the creation of a detailed system are in an inseparable relationship.

Accordingly, this paper will present transitional paradigm showing the direction in which the economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence will develop in regard to the actual economy and its issues. Even for the Unification Church, which has pursued the realization of utopia based on the liberal market economic system and neoliberal economic system, the matter of harmonizing economic democratization and distribution as well as economic growth and liberal market economic system is an important agenda. This is because the question of how the issues of ownership and distribution, joint ownership and private ownership, reasonable ownership, interdependence and symbiosis can be resolved economically is a core theme running through the ideological issues of the Unification Church, which has endeavored to bring about the realization of utopia ever since its founding.

## II. Historical Origin of the Principle of Interdependence

### 1. Ideological Background of the Principle of Interdependence

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the ideological root of the Principle of Interdependence lies in John Locke's liberalism. Liberalism is an ideological system that asserts that human freedom, life and property are the natural and God-given rights bestowed on humankind and that an individual's right to private

property is inviolable. However, while John Locke absolutely defended an individual's freedom, life and right to private property, he made the mistake of acknowledging inequality in wealth. Since he emphasized guaranteeing an individual's rights, human rights, right to life and right to property in opposition to the contradiction of constitutional monarchy, he could not but be remiss in the matter of distribution.

Adam Smith, the father of liberal economics, asserted that, in order to facilitate the guarantee of free economic activities, the state should implement democratic free competition and not intervene. He judged that a market economic system of free competition was the best economic system for state prosperity and individual profit. He also claimed that, to maintain the free market economic system, the market should uphold an open and competitive system and exclude the economic monopolization phenomenon. He believed that an individual's economic activities were led by an 'invisible hand' to contribute toward the gain of the entire society.[7] Adam Smith was of the opinion that a decentralized, competitive and democratic social system should be maintained to prevent actions manifested by individuals' selfishness from standing in the way of the profit of the entire society. In other words, by minimizing the state's intervention in individuals' economic activities, he wished to prove that a free and competitive market economic system was the best economic system. Adam Smith came to believe that personal profit and public profit come from free competition between human beings

7 Irving Kristol, "Rationalism in Economics", Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol (eds), *The Crisis in Economic Theory* (New York: Basics, 1981), pp. 204-205.

who are the economic subjects, and not from the state itself. If John Locke set the framework in the ideological aspect, Adam Smith set the framework in the economic aspect.

However, when social issues like unemployment and poverty arose as side effects of the uncontrolled, free and competitive capitalist economic system after the industrial revolution had taken place in the British economy, liberalism had to alter its previous viewpoint. John Stuart Mill had defended excessive private property, saying that the inviolability of private property was important in protecting an individual's way of life and providing compensation in proportion to his or her efforts. He, however, came to change his position and point out the side effects of excessive private property and free competition. In short, he broke away from his one-sided defense of the right to private property and came to perceive the resultant problems of side effects caused in the process of forming excessive private property.

Capitalism of the 19th century was liberal capitalism that left the economy to run by itself, following the natural laws of operation, whose structure separated politics and economy. From the time of the Great Depression in the 1930s in the early 20th century was the period of forming monopolistic capital. The modern industrial society encouraged the development of productivity through a free competitive market. With the increase in population, urbanization and rise in national income, large companies combining purchase, production and distribution played a role in mass production and mass distribution. Enlargement, integration and advancement of production facilities led to the concentration of capital. Competition between

large companies brought about overinvestment in equipment. Though the Sherman Act (1890) and Clayton Antitrust Act (1914) were enacted to stop large companies' market monopolization and industrial control, the expansion of trusts was continued.[8] It became possible to establish large monopolistic companies with bank capital and, the more these large monopolistic companies grew, the stronger became the tendency for them to be subordinated to bank capital.[9] Monopolistic capitalism, which caused the Great Depression worldwide in the 1930s, was the result of human greed. Institutional devices were strengthened on a large scale to prevent monopolization, and the United States was finally able to escape from economic depression and emerge as a great global power. The political and economic model for preventing monopolization declined in the 1970s and was replaced in the 1980s with neoliberal financial capitalism.

After the end of the Cold War, the liberalistic system and capitalistic economic system were accepted as being proven superior to socialism. The neoliberal solution gave maximum freedom to the capital markets and financial markets. An important factor that sustained neoliberalism was that household debts were increased and redeemed by the capital markets. The real estate bubble phenomenon and economic crisis that began in the 1990s appeared across the world in intervals of three to four years, mostly in model nations of the neoliberal economic system.

However, the limitations and problems of the capitalistic system begun with the US-led financial crisis of 2008 gave

8 Youngseok Seo, *Economic History* (Seoul: Daejin Media Group, 2010), p. 320.

9 Youngseok Seo, *Economic History*, pp. 317-318.

clear proof of the catastrophic despair that would be caused by the ugliness of capital and absence of economic ethics. The financial crisis begun in Europe in 2009 is still to be resolved. In light of this series of phenomena, some criticize that capitalism is definitely not a superior economic system.[10] The neoliberal economic system has revealed its problem of maximizing shareholders' profit and encouraging better performance in the process of pursuing profit in order to set aside enormous bonuses. In contrast, there are opinions that this crisis of capitalism is not the crisis of capitalism itself, but rather the issue of the neoliberal economic system caused by the fact that the state has failed to appropriately manage the greed of capital.[11] Both sides share one similarity: they both recognize the need to change from the jungle-type capitalistic paradigm to a paradigm that emphasizes social responsibility and restricts monopolization and noninterference.[12]

Karl Marx, upon witnessing the side effects of industrial revolution and problems of poverty and unemployment in Great Britain, analyzed and criticized the internal structure of the capitalist mode of production and production movement based on the law of exploitation of surplus value, and proposed the ideology of socialism as an alternative. However, Karl Marx failed to clearly explain the socialist economic view of the future,

10 *Pressian*, May 27, 2012.

11 Ian Bremmer, *The End of the Free Market: Who Wins the War Between States and Corporations?*, translated by Baekman Cha (Seoul: Dasan Books, 2010), pp. 74-77.

12 Joseph Stiglitz, *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy*, pp. 240-242.

which would replace the capitalist mode of production.[13]

The ideological difference between the economic views of liberalism and socialism lies in how the justice of personal ownership and distribution can be realized. If capitalism emphasizes private profit and ownership, socialism emphasizes distribution and equality.

### 2. Problem of Public Ownership in Modern Utopianism

Modern utopianism claimed that, in the development stage of human history, joint ownership was the original form of ownership in the primitive society.[14] It said that the primitive community society maintained a system of joint ownership and joint distribution as a group. However, with the creation of surplus products, there arose class distinctions between the exploiter and the exploited, the dominator and the dominated and the rich and the poor. The creation of surplus products became the basis for private property and repetition of private ownership led to the power concentration phenomenon, and thus nations were created. With the creation of private property, the peaceful primitive society began to experience an increase in property-related criminal acts, such as the gap between the rich and poor, exploitation, domination and plunder.

The problems of public ownership and private ownership are the oldest issues common to humankind, which developed along

13 E. Mandel, *The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx, 1843 to Capital*, translated by Taek Kim (Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing Group, 1985), p. 46.

14 Yoohwa Cho, *Human History* (Seoul: Dongnyok Publications, 1992), p. 36.

with the development and changing process of human history. As long as human beings continue to carry out productive activities and economic activities, the problems of private ownership and joint ownership will form an inseparable dynamic. Modern utopians judged the origin of social evil to come from 'private ownership' and held discussions to prioritize profit of the whole over individual profit, while at the same time carrying out a community movement. According to ideological differences, the community movement can be classified into those who advocate total public ownership based on radicalism, those who advocate partial public ownership from a centrist viewpoint and those who wish for a loose, moderate community. The community movement recognized the need for joint ownership and moved toward actual social reform and practice. They endeavored to take the next step toward a utopian society where an ideal system of public ownership can be realized.

In this context, Unification Thought's concept of joint ownership is similar to the community movement based on the moderate and centrist perspectives. Since the Principle of Interdependence acknowledges private ownership, it denies the human-centered system of complete public ownership. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it recognizes God to be at the center of the relationship of ownership, and its values expand the horizon of ownership accordingly. To put it another way, it justifies the private ownership of an individual, who is an individual embodiment of truth with his or her own individual image. At the same time, since an individual is a being connected to others, the concept of joint ownership is premised on public interest from the perspective that the joint profit of the society should be equally shared by all.

## III. Ownership and Distribution under the Principle of Interdependence

### 1. Private Ownership and Joint Ownership

In contrast to the communist concept of ownership, which is interested in the alienation phenomenon of human beings from the capitalist production relationship, Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence is interested in the issues of distribution and form of ownership arising from the interrelationship between God and humankind and between human beings themselves. The Principle of Interdependence takes more interest in the psychological issue related to ownership and distribution, that is, reasonable ownership, rather than in changes in production relationships and differences in the right to property.

The ownership concept in the Principle of Interdependence is, first and foremost, 'joint ownership' based on God's true love.[15] On the premise of love that is an attribute of God the Creator, the Unification Thought takes as its basis the joint ownership of God and humankind, the joint ownership of society and humankind and the joint ownership of my neighbors and me. This is premised on an awareness that the entire world belongs to God as His creation, and that humankind is God's possession and as such cannot monopolize nature (matter). The concept of joint ownership under the Principle of Interdependence has its root in the issue of public ownership in modern utopianism.[16]

15 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p. 508.

16 Gidong Jeong, "A Study of Modern Public Ownership Ideology" (Doctoral dissertation, Chonnam National University Graduate School, 1994), p. 64.

The Principle of Interdependence defines 'joint ownership as the process of uniting matter and mind as one.'[17] This process of uniting matter and mind as one refers to the fact that economic activities are the process of distributing material goods as well as heart, love, gratitude and harmony. In order to construct an economic system that can realize the harmony of production activities, consumption and distribution by economic subjects based on the Principle of Interdependence, greed, collective egoism and obsession over ownership must be kept in check, and the theoretical basis that makes this possible is a change in the view of ownership that is for coexistence, interdependence and symbiosis. This, in short, is called the theory of reasonable ownership. Activities emphasizing corporate social responsibility (CSR), the cooperative union movement and activities of social and interdependent companies are based on social participation, sharing, distribution and social responsibility of economic activities expanded on the foundation of changes in the ownership concept. Though the ways in which it can be implemented are diverse, inherent in the theory of reasonable ownership are the concepts of moderation and economization and, furthermore, changes in the mental paradigm for transforming the ownership concept of greed. In this regard, joint ownership under the Principle of Interdependence signifies 'reasonable ownership' in which the purpose for the whole and the purpose for the individual are harmonized. In short, reasonable ownership is the point where the two purposes come together in harmony. In other words, escaping from greed and obsession over ownership is the starting point of reasonable ownership. The question is how

17 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p. 512.

reasonable ownership is to be determined.

It must be accompanied by a system that can monitor and check human greed and obsession.

Second, the Principle of Interdependence recognizes the desire of human beings as ‘individual embodiments of truth’ and at the same time as ‘connected beings’ to pursue ‘private ownershiip’. It says that human beings should pursue social responsibility and the public good as organic beings. Unification Thought acknowledges humankind’s right and desire to pursue personal gain, which is recognized by liberalism as their fundamental right. The realization of human desire and economic ambition are basic prerequisites of economic activities. Human desire, creativity and curiosity were the driving force behind the development of human history, culture, society, science and technology. Individuals’ economic activities and the resultant personal profit and private ownership should be guaranteed. Though Unification Thought acknowledges private ownership, it is wary of such side effects as monopolization and inheritance of wealth, which in turn worsen social inequality and contradictions.

> Because each individual has his or her unique individual image, everyone has different characters, interests and tendencies. Every person exists as an individual embodiment of truth and also a connected being. A connected being refers to an individual who is related to others through love in the six directions of up and down, front and back, and right and left. To attain such a position, a person requires a set minimum amount of matter as his or her private property. The minimum

> in quantity and quality is determined based on the amount of wealth attained by the person depending on his or her position. This disparity in quantity and quality arising from difference in position vary from person to person. However, simply following the standard of the conscience is not adequate in determining the limits of appropriate possession, for it is stipulated that even excessive possession can be determined to be appropriate if it is necessary in giving true love to others. In this regard, the principle of interdependence accepts a wider range and limits of possession.[18]

The Principle of Interdependence says that it is just for human beings to pursue private ownership, since each and every one of them is special and unique as individual embodiments of truth who are in pursuit of the purpose for the whole and the purpose for the individual. This can be understood to be in the same context as liberalism, which says that human beings have God-given rights to life, human rights, freedom and property.

Third, the Principle of Interdependence pursues an organic economic system based on interdependence, symbiosis and the common good. Today's economic theories cannot explain everything about the ever-changing actual systems and reality of the economy. This is because basic human desire, collective gain, personal gain, role of the state and the economic system are one great mechanism operating with complexity. By experiencing changes and vicissitudes in history and society, humankind has come to learn that the maximization of personal gain and monop-

18 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, pp. 511-512.

olization, planned economy, production method and sharing of profits are not all correct. As a result, a welfare system that deals with individuals' desire to pursue economic activities and provides opportunities for them to attain profit, while at the same time offering welfare and joint investment for the social class excluded from the process of economic development and suffering from the gap between the rich and poor, has begun to show potential as a new, alternative economic system that can overcome the shortcomings of capitalism and socialism through interdependence and symbiosis.

> According to the principle of creation, the entire world is God's possession. This is because it goes through the process of creation, change and development under God's dominion of love. The created world does not have such perspectives as monopolization or possession. Since God's love was bestowed to humankind as their dominion, nature does not belong to humankind alone. God, humankind and nature has joint ownership. Therefore, destroying nature or monopolizing wealth goes against the way of Heaven. The relationship between God and humankind is that between parent and children, and therefore joint ownership should be expanded over three generations with the family as the basis. This joint ownership of three generations refers to that of God, parents and children. If this were to be applied to a company, it would be expanded to the joint ownership of employees and owner, and if it were expanded on the national level, it would form an economic view that encompasses and acknowledges an individual's

individual image and universal image and the purpose for the whole and the purpose for the individual.[19]

The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence is premised on interdependence[20] and symbiosis,[21] and aspires for

19 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, pp. 508-512.

20 Interdependence is originally an ecological discourse focused on restoring the ecosystem and recovering the relationship between humankind and nature. It was begun from the reflection that environmental pollution stemming from extreme dominance over nature, destruction of the ecosystem, immoderate consumption, unlimited free competition and economic growth arose from human greed. The system of mass production and mass consumption created at the cost of destruction to nature cannot but face limitations and worsen the economic structure of inequality. It means that, from the viewpoint of interdependence, the contradiction of the capitalist economic system must be overcome.

21 Symbiosis was understood as the concept of resolving the bitter grief of the public by such folk religions as Jeungsangyo and Won Buddhism. Jeungsan Kang believed that people were superior to Heaven. His human nobility ideology considered the social governance system and its contradictions to be conflicts and struggles of the divine world and resolved them as such. Rather than trying to reform the social system, he understood the resolution of the bitter grief of the divine world as symbiosis through resolution. Moonhwan Oh, "The Causes and Resolution of Bitterness and Grief in the Thought of Kang Jeung-San", *The Korean Review of Political Thought* 4 (2001), p. 67. Though symbiosis was a religious discourse on resolving conflicts and grievances arising in human relationships, the Korean economic sector uses the term as a concept meaning such issues as banning the large companies from taking over local commercial districts, encouraging cooperation between large companies and small and medium businesses and urging cooperation between unions and companies. It is also reinterpreted from the economic viewpoint of distribution of wealth, expansion of employment and mutual survival.

an organic economic circulation system where distribution, equal opportunity and individuals' talents are respected and shared by the entire community in coexistence. Therefore, social solidarity and responsibility are required as the principle and range for the realization of the common good. Interdependence is the universal standard for the economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence. It is also the root of the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence.

Since capitalism deems the pursuit of individual gain and shareholders' gain as its highest value, it needs to keep in check the irregularities, corruption and collective egoism generated in the process of attaining wealth, and also keep an eye on the movement of capital. To do so, it must supplement financial ethics, economic ethics, corporate ethics and individual ethics through which the common good and public interest can be realized. If capitalism turns a blind eye to issues related to public interest like improving public welfare, raising quality of life, distributing income, abolishing poverty and implementing economic democratization, social polarization cannot but be worsened. However, if capitalism, which deems the pursuit of individual gain and shareholders' gain as its highest value, were to entrust the common good and public interest to individuals' conscience, this could infringe on the profit of the socially weak and neglected class. Therefore, they need to be kept in check through institutional devices and not just through the conscience or values of individuals.

The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence, which prioritizes interdependence, symbiosis and realization of the common good and public interest, is an economic discourse

that can easily be adopted by economic policies and financial support policies for the low-income class, socially weak class and those excluded from the process of economic growth. It could be an alternative ideology that resolves the problems of corporate politics, which accumulates massive capital and influences national policies through its mighty power, and thus guides it to fulfill its social responsibility. It could even lead companies to fulfill their social responsibility and effect the redistribution of the companies' income. The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence based on reasonable ownership, joint profit, common good, interdependence and public interest has the potential to supplement the contradictions and limitations of the capitalist economic system. Since the neoliberal financial system minimizes the role of the state to realize the profit of individuals and shareholders, a contradiction arises where the lack of institutional supplementation cannot but bring about the bubble phenomenon and financial crisis. This is because the neoliberal economic system is a form of jungle-type capitalism lacking an organic perspective. Therefore, a change in awareness to the effect that members of the society and the economic system are mutually and organically connected should be supported by improving and supplementing the system. The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence could pave the way for social integration and economic democratization on the basis of an alternative economic system incorporating fair trade, microcredit, social companies, cooperative unions and local currency.

## 2. Reasonable Ownership

There are several differences in the concept of joint ownership

between the Principle of Interdependence and communism. First, the Principle of Interdependence emphasizes the psychological and mental aspect in the distribution of ownership rather than changes in the production relationship or right to property. This is because matter should not be the subject of private ownership, accumulation and exploitation of only certain people or groups, for the question of ownership comes from God. The theory of joint ownership under the Principle of Interdependence places importance on the realization of joint profit, protection of the socially weak and fulfillment of the public interest.

On the other hand, the socialist concept of joint ownership focuses on the matter of human alienation from the production relationship. After the centralized, planned economic system based on joint ownership in the production method went bankrupt, a new socialist model is now in experimentation, which is attempting to combine private ownership founded on the joint ownership in the production method and the market economy.[22] It has been manifested in diverse examples of the interdependent economic system like the Catholic Focolare Movement, the cooperative union movement and local community currency movement. Accordingly, non-possession and joint ownership limits an individual's desire for economic activities and basic rights. However, if the public interest is harmed by an individual's pursuit of private gain, for instance through monopolization, inheritance of wealth, gap between the rich and poor, deprivation of opportunity, discrimination and social polarization, the

22 Youngjin Kim, "A Study of Karl Polanyi's Economic Anthropological Approach: In Search of an Alternative to Market Economy", *Korean Journal of International Relations* 44(4) (2004).

situation must be supplemented through institutional devices. This is because such institutional devices can protect the socially weak, the common good and public interest.

Second, the Principle of Interdependence acknowledges private ownership and private gain generated by an individual's economic activities. In contrast, socialism limited human desire, individualistic differences and creativity, denied private ownership and ran a standardized and planned economic system with complete control based on joint production and joint distribution. As a result, it failed to satisfy the necessity and desire for production required by the society at large, and side effects of overproduction cropped up one after another. The collapse of the socialist economic system in former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe proved the limits and failure of standardization, which cannot satisfy individuals' desires. In mid-1980s, even in the Soviet Union, the leading nation of communism, the shortage of goods and food worsened across the entire society to the point where high inflation and financial difficulties could not be overcome, and the economy headed toward destruction. In 1986, Gorbachev announced glasnost and uskoreniye urging economic development, as well as perestroika for political and economic reform.[23] The collapse of the former Soviet Union and socialist camp proved that the socialist economic system of complete control was a failure.

There are also several differences in the concept of private ownership between the Principle of Interdependence

23 Jongil Ra, Seunghee Lee, Jongchul Park, Jaekyeong Kim, Gwangyeop Hong, Gayi Hong & Korea-EU Research Centre, *Impact and Effect of Perestroika* (Seoul: Yejin, 1990), pp. 7-16, 75-115.

and capitalism. First, the concept of private ownership under the Principle of Interdependence focuses on the fact that the neoliberal and socialist view of the economy fails to resolve the problems of ownership and distribution and presents an alternative. The Principle of Interdependence aspires for the harmony of joint ownership and private ownership. In contrast, the capitalist concept of private ownership justifies private ownership because it deems creating an individual's right to property and having the power to attain that property as its most prioritized value. Revised capitalism, neoliberalism and patrimonial capitalism are all modified versions of capitalism.

Second, the theory of private ownership under the Principle of Interdependence should be understood from the perspective that it is a human being's God-given right as an individual embodiment of truth. The Principle of Interdependence emphasizes harmony between public profit and private profit in order to overcome the chronic evils of private ownership like the worsening of economic inequality, monopolization of wealth, and the gap between the rich and poor. The Principle of Interdependence says that the common good and principles should be secured to realize public profit based on the concept of complete equality, which recognizes individuals' God-given human rights like the principle of equal opportunity, equality before the law, equality of conditions and equality of starting point, as well as differences in their talents, in attaining their private gains.

On the other hand, liberalism understood private ownership as a means of securing political freedom and economic equality. When liberalism recognized private ownership as a political and economic right, it resulted in indifference toward the reali-

zation of common good for the joint profit of the community and society. Rousseau defined an individual's private property as special property and the property contributing toward the profit of the community and the society as general property. In a passive sense, Rousseau determined that an individual's accumulation of wealth by illicit means should not provide a theoretical basis for justifying accumulation of wealth, but should instead combine personal profit with public profit.

## IV. Economic Theory of the Principle of Interdependence

### 1. Distribution-friendly Growth and Poverty Alleviation

The issues of poverty and inequality are social and economic structural problems arising from failed distribution and, at the same time, an economic structural phenomenon with multiple causes and characteristics related to human capital and business fluctuations.[24] The dictionary defines poverty as a state of being unable to satisfy the most basic necessities for survival.[25] The Korean society's poverty situation of today is such that the number of households in a state of long-term or repeated poverty is 27.4% of the total, and the percentage of unemployed people in a state of poverty is 66.3%, which means that they will continue

24 Indices related to income inequality are income quintile share ratio, income deciles distribution ratio, percentiles ratio (p90/10, p80/20) and Gini coefficient. Wansub Lim & Jumi Lee, *Research Report 2014-19: Statistical Yearbook of Poverty 2014* (Seoul: Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs, 2014).

25 Sungtai Kim, Seungrae Kim, Jinyoung Kim, Byungin Lim & Youngjun

to be in poverty or have been in a state of long-term poverty.[26]

Because the results and benefits of the highly compressed economic growth in the 1970s were not distributed equally, these benefits of economic growth were concentrated on the minority privileged group and the quality of life of the general public has not improved. The divergence between corporate income and personal income is also increasing.[27] As of 2015, corporate income and personal income is showing the widest gap in history.[28] The current net income of large companies is increasing, whereas the net pay in personal income is showing a downward trend. The income gap between permanent employees and part-timers is gradually widening. The problem of youth unemployment is adversely affecting marriage, childbirth and population growth.

The Principle of Interdependence should face the problems of the real economy and carry out an in-depth analysis of alternatives to policies on employment, labor, finance, management, macroeconomics, microeconomics and welfare based on distribution-friendly growth. Distribution-friendly growth is the type of economic policy by which inequality can be lessened in the process of economic growth. In contrast, growth-friendly economic policies are those that give the first consideration to

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Chun, *Korea's Poverty Trap* (Seoul: Haenam, 2013), p. 17.

26 Heesook Yoon, "Transition of Welfare Policy Paradigm and Policy Agendas", *KDI Focus* 14 (Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 2013), pp. 2-8.

27 Cheonsik Woo et al., *Change in Economic Structure and Polarization* (Seoul: Korea Development Institute, 2005).

28 Soohun Kim, "Income Increase Rate after 2000 is '9.7% to 5.7%'… Widening Income Gap between Companies and Households is Threatening 'Stable Growth'", *Hankyoreh* (Mar 23, 2015).

growth. In Korea's current economic situation, what is needed is a change in the policies for employment, welfare and market economy. The fastest way to alleviate poverty is to improve the quality of life by creating jobs and thus escaping from the vicious cycle of poverty. The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence has not shown interest in the problem of structural poverty. The issue of poverty alleviation is the basis for realizing the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values. Because the worsening structural poverty in the Korean society has led to a lack of jobs both in quality and quantity and a decline in the quality of life, the demand for welfare is rapidly increasing. Therefore, attention must be paid to poverty alleviation.

### 2. Joint Investment and Welfare

Since the IMF crisis of the 1990s, the phenomenon of income polarization is rising in the Korean Society. The coming of long-term depression has brought about structural poverty caused by reduction of jobs in quality and quantity and the rise of youth unemployment. Among OECD nations, Korea has the highest senior poverty rate. According to OECD data, the senior poverty rate of Korea in 2009 reached a serious level of 45%. Moreover, 20% of the rural population are super-aged seniors.[29] Because the fruits of economic growth only reached large companies and high-incomer earners and failed to bring about an improvement in personal income, the gap between corporate income and personal income has become the widest in history. The path of escape from

29 Sungtai Kim, Seungrae Kim, Jinyoung Kim, Byungin Lim & Youngjun Chun, *Korea's Poverty Trap*, p. 103.

poverty and income reduction of the low-income class remains distant due to economic depression. In this regard, the issue of welfare is the touchstone for gauging changes in Korean society. Today's welfare policies are transforming their paradigm into custom-made welfare policies intended for the classes that need welfare benefits to become independent, rather than pursuing welfare in general.

Welfare refers to social insurance, public assistance and social services that protect all citizens from social risks like childbirth, childrearing, unemployment, old age, disability, disease, poverty and death and guarantee income and services necessary for improving their quality of life.[30] In order for the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence to take root, it should be able to propose public discourses and macroeconomic policies that can support a discourse on distribution-friendly growth in such fields.

Internally, the Unification Church needs to approach welfare from the concept of joint investment based on the theory of joint ownership in order to make provisions for the gap between the rich and poor among its members and the demand for the welfare of the low-income class, for it is directly connected to realizing utopia. At present, the welfare benefits of the Unification Church are limited to medical expenses of church leaders, college scholarships for children of church leaders, four major insurance policies for church leaders and the scholarship project of Wonmo Scholarship Foundation. This is because the Principle of Interdependence is closer to distribution-friendly economic growth and

30 National Assembly Budget Office, *2015 Sectoral Budget Proposal Analysis I* (Seoul: National Assembly Budget Office, 2014), p. 3.

distribution theory. Due to the phenomenon of crisis and anxiety in the Korean economy, welfare should be approached from the concept of 'joint investment' to expand the social safety net for future generations.[31]

## V. Conclusion

The problem of Unification Thought's economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence is that it has failed to progress into a realistic economic discourse and only remains on the level of an idealistic discourse. As such, it cannot present discourses on or insight into aspects of the real economy like real estate policy, macroeconomic policy, microeconomic policy, finance, exchange rate policy and monopoly prevention policy. What is more, it is also failing to evolve into a welfare discourse to realize social integration in the field of welfare. I wish to conclude with the following suggestions by which Unification Church's economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence can progress to the next level as a realistic economic discourse:

First, the essence of the US-led financial crisis of 2008 stemmed from human greed and the lack of an economic system to check and monitor that greed. Reasonable ownership, which is the ethical aspect of the Principle of Interdependence proposed by the Unification Thought, is actually only an unrealizable discourse in jungle-type capitalism. As the economic history of the world progressed, human desire created diverse economic systems, grew through mutual checks and developments and

31 Heesook Yoon, "Transition of Welfare Policy Paradigm and Policy Agendas", *KDI Focus* 14 (2013), pp. 7-8.

sometimes degenerated into collective egoism. Human desire for ownership is not a simple issue. The monopolistic capitalism of the 1920s was dissolved only when laws were enacted to check and monitor them. Capital moves, not according to God's Will or motives of goodness, but in endless pursuit of profit. Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence makes almost no mention of the attributes and effects of capital. It is a clear fact that the concept of appropriate possession is not enough to keep in check the borderless movement of speculative capital and irregularities arising from the pursuit of profit. Without being premised on realistic policy proposals, law enactment and administrative regulations, it will continue to remain an unrealizable discourse.

Second, the theory of the Principle of Interdependence and the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence should be realized within the Unification Church community. The Unification Church is not exempt from the real-life problems of Korean society like the phenomenon of social polarization, the issue of gap between the rich and poor and an increase in the demand for the welfare of the low-income class. In order for the Unification Church to realize utopia, it needs to internally ponder, venture and experiment on such alternative economic systems as the cooperative union movement and social companies. The problem of distribution within it should be discussed in a forum of public debate. The Unification Church has carried out religious and business activities simultaneously. It will be able to develop an alternative economic system only when a virtuous cycle is set up where the business achievements of Unification Church companies are invested internally in its community and the profits are reinvested, and thus sound corporate management is put in

place. It requires a distribution policy connected to the creation of jobs for its members and distribution of wealth within it.[32]

Third, the Principle of Interdependence is premised on an excellent theoretical basis called 'joint ownership'. Regrettably, it is unable to expand and develop the theory of joint ownership into a realistic alternative economic system. There is no room for argument in the fact that Max Weber's protestant ethic and capitalism became the theoretical basis for the establishment of Western capitalism. Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence, joint ownership, and theory of reasonable ownership are logics that can supplement ethical obligations, transparency and responsibility, which have been overlooked by the economic systems of the 21st century based on neoliberalism, financial capitalism and jungle-type capitalism. The core issue is the creation of institutional devices based on joint ownership and reasonable ownership. This should be proposed on a case-by-case basis on the foundation of analyses on the real economy and its problems.

32 Through the Bolsa Familia policy, Brazil's Lula government is killing three birds with one stone through its policy of providing opportunity of education to the low-income class; through the policy, it provides welfare and economic independence in addition to opportunity of education. This policy delivered 28 million people of the poor class from absolute poverty and raised 36 million to the level of middle class. In short, it transformed Brazil from being a nation with the worst polarization to a nation with the strongest middle class. The Unification Church should also establish and execute such groundbreaking policies based on the principle of interdependence. Keumjoa Choi, "Lula Government's Social Policy in Brazil: in the case of PBF (Programa Bolsa Família)", *Journal of Social Paradigm Studies* 26(3) (Kyung Hee University Center for the Reconstruction of Human Society, 2011), pp. 159-192.

Fourth, as Thomas Piketty asserted, capitalism was transformed into revised capitalism and neoliberalism and now into patrimonial capitalism. This prevents individuals from attaining private ownership and discourages their economic activities, thus leading to capital monopolization. Capital thus accumulated results in the inheritance of wealth that obstructs the common good and public interest and worsens the structure of inequality. The Principle of Interdependence failed to see through the evils and shadows of patrimonial capitalism.

Fifth, the reasonable ownership theory based on the Principle of Interdependence plays an insignificant role in actual finance. Finance is the blood vessel of capitalism. Financial theories have evolved through practice by undergoing innumerable crises over a long period of time. Finance can sway the fate of individuals, organizations, companies, societies, nations and the world. As theory and practice, macroeconomics and microeconomics expanded their spectrum, they changed the flow of individuals, companies, societies, nations and the world. Though the role of finance has been strengthened, the theoretical system of the Principle of Interdependence currently lacks discussions on the role and function of finance. Even though attributes of financial engineering like futures options or financial derivatives are giving rise to financial crises in the global village, the Principle of Interdependence does not present any discourses on preventing this financial crisis other than its macro-discourse on reasonable ownership. Accordingly, the flow of huge amounts of capital cannot be entrusted to individuals' conscience or judgment and, what is more, common profit cannot but be destroyed in the face of capital monopolization and the negative attributes of financial

engineering.

What effect could the Principle of Interdependence have on the real economy and economic system? The economic theory of the Principle of Interdependence is at the stage where it should progress from the level of idealistic discourse and begin discussing macroeconomic discourses. Recognizing money, capital and economic system as God's possession cannot have any effect on today's financial markets or capitalism. When we take a look at problems in the structure of distribution and the dominance by large companies from the viewpoint of the P economic system of the Principle of Interdependence based on public interest and interdependence, we see that the essence of those problems is monopolization. This is a point that needs to be seriously discussed even in the corporate management of the Unification Church. The issue of ownership and distribution is a core subject in economic history from the time of the primitive society to the present. It is directly related to the realization of utopia. Many discourses were proposed to resolve the issue of ownership and distribution, but they disappeared into the mists of history when their efficiency was lost. In order for the Principle of Interdependence to have a certain level of influence in the real economy, it needs to evolve into an economic theory that can present institutional and legal alternatives based on the analysis of the real economy and its problems. At the same time, for the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence to win recognition as a possible and realistic alternative economic system, interdisciplinarity and collaboration should be carried out. Based on the research results, it should present a discourse on economic theory and an economic system.

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# A Study on the Economic Thought of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence of Unification Thought[♣]

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I. Introduction

II. Fundamentals of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

III. The Elements of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

IV. Economic Thought of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

V. Conclusion

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## Abstract

Unification Thought presents an economic theory based on the Principle of Interdependence as an alternative to economic theories based on profit motive. In contrast to private ownership, the Principle of Interdependence argues for joint ownership. Additionally, the economic participation of economic players based on the theory of joint ownership, will lead to an ideal economy rooted in the Principle of Interdependence. This paper studies economic thought based on joint ownership which derives from Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence.

The theory of joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence can be defined as the management of a modern economy centering on the heart of God and the co-management of the created universe by human beings on behalf of God. The theory of joint ownership recognizes the necessity of private ownership that constitutes the market economy for fundamental economic activities, however, it also demands that private ownership be based in Unification Thought. The theory of joint ownership is composed of three main aspects: unconditional conditionality, interactivity, and developmental nature. Each of these aspects is derived from Unification Thought's principles of true love, give-and-receive action, and a new being [multiplied being]. Therefore, the theory of economic joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence is achieved when we participate in an economy that engages in giving and receiving centered on true love.

A government that bases its economic theory on joint ownership, designs and implements a market economy system

that can accomplish joint ownership. In order to narrow the gap between rich and poor in today's economy, it is necessary to design a framework based on joint ownership for the market economy, which is currently centered on the wealthy class. Such a society is one in which all economic entities can enjoy the economic fruit and produce a virtuous cycle in which all members can live fairly. In other words, it transforms modern shareholder capitalism into capitalism for all stakeholders. The realization of an economic joint ownership theory is the realization of the Principle of Interdependence and the heart of God in today's world.

**Key Words:** The Principle of Interdependence, Joint Ownership, True Love, Give and Receive Action, New Being, Unconditional Conditionality, Interactivity, Developmental Nature

## I. Introduction

Since the end of the twentieth century the gap between rich and poor has worsened and surrounding this issue, criticism has mounted over neoliberal economic thought that prioritizes economic freedom for the individual in modern economics. People have lost trust in governments attempting to resolve the wealth gap through neoliberal economic thought. Meanwhile in response to this, people have begun a *sharing economy* in which individuals share their own resources. The sharing economy was a new attempt at solving one another's shortages by exchanging resources, however, at present many sharing economy platforms have changed into systems that aim for economic profit.

Economic sharing took off because people wanted to financially help one another through give and receive. Yet the reason its sole purpose is changing to personal economic profit is because the sharing economy operates based on a theory that finds all behavioral principles of the individual in economic motives while honoring the profit motive under the existing rights to private ownership.

Unification Thought presents the theory of joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence as the alternative to the economic thought motivated solely by personal profit. The Principle of Interdependence, which concerns ownership, comes from the ideological belief that the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value can realize Godism in the ideal world. The type of ownership the Principle of Interdependence promotes is joint ownership. This does not deny private ownership. Rather, it assumes the guarantee and successful operation of private ownership. On that ground, the theory of joint ownership, in which each individual is motived by love, can be defined as the endeavor to achieve reasonable ownership by evaluating one's own property and exchanging private property with others to the extent possible. Hangje Kim refers to the concept of interdependent ownership as *private ownership for a public purpose*.[1] In other words, on the presupposition of a market system that pursues economic gain based on existing private property, motivated by caring love, joint ownership based in the Principle of Interdependence aims for the voluntary sharing of

1 Hangje Kim, "The Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value and T. More's Utopia". *Proceeding of the 99-1st Academic Seminar on Unification Thought* (1999), p. 113.

one's private property with others. This paper will present these types of characteristics in the economic joint ownership theory. In addition, I will attempt to argue an economic joint ownership theory based in Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence, in which one strives to participate in the economy for not just one's own economic gain but also for the gain of those related to oneself.

Within modern economic society, the anti-utilitarianism movement, which seeks to criticize and improve modern utilitarian economic thought, is advancing social economics. In 1981 Alain Caillé founded MAUSS (Mouvement Anti-Utilitariste dans les Sciences Sociales: Anti-utilitarian Movement in the Social Sciences) which criticized the economic and human thought which presupposed neoliberal economic thought based on utilitarianism.[2] He found the rational for his criticism in Marcel Mauss's three types of obligations: "giving, receiving and reciprocating" and argued that human beings seek to build reciprocal relationships.[3] Caillé believed that originally the nature of human beings relies on social relations rather than economic relations and explored an economic theory from the position that human beings give, receive and reciprocate mutually. Mauss calls the economy of mutually giving and receiving social economics and aims to

2 MAUSS (Mouvement Anti-Utilitaliste dans les Sciences Sociales) means a movement for anti-utilitarianism in the social sciences. It also refers to the movement of economic decentralization which is against the universalization of market norms for human activities. Alain Caillé, *Critique de la raison utilitaire Democracy, Gifts, and Community*. translated by Toshihiro Fujioka (Tokyo: Ibunsha, 2011), pp. 11-12.

3 Osamu Nishitani, *To examine Economy: Is Human Society Economic One?* (Tokyo: Serika Shobo, 2011), pp. 128-129.

establish it in place of neoliberal economics.[4]

In that regard, this study will present the elements that constitute the theory of joint ownership referred to in Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence, and an economic thought based on them. The theory of economic joint ownership grounded in the Principle of Interdependence aspires to collectively manage modern economics centering on God's heart and the natural world on behalf of Him. While acknowledging private ownership to support the market economy, the theory of joint ownership realizes itself through private ownership rooted in Unification Thought. On the other hand, the economy of each country or region will have developed different conditions or characteristics. Therefore, the economic theory in this paper is not meant to be applied as is to every society. In other words, the theory of economic joint ownership rooted in the Principle of Interdependence should be established appropriately to the economic situation of each country or region. This paper will suggest just one model of this type of economic theory.

## II. Fundamentals of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

Unification Thought presents to modern society a theory about the economy, politics and ethics for an ideal society. It calls each of these the Principle of Interdependence, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity, and the Principle of Universal Values, respectively. Since one cannot exist without the other, it is commonly

4 Alain Caillé, P. 217.

called the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values. This is a compound concept that Rev. Sun Myung Moon created to reflect Godism in economics, politics, and ethics, and a theory to be applied in a world that has achieved God's ideal of creation.[5] Godism is the theory to achieve peace by uniting with God centering on love.[6] In the Unification Principle, the ideal society which has achieved God's ideal of creation means a society where humankind united with God's heart has attained a political society that realizes the ideal of creation on the foundation of an economy centered on one ideology.[7] Therefore, when designing a society that has achieved the ideal of creation, we must first present an economic theory based on Unification Thought and apply it accordingly. This study focuses on the Principle of Interdependence from the perspective of economic thought being the foundation for shaping God's ideal world of creation. Specifically, I will discuss an economic thought based on joint ownership.

Within economic thought, the Principle of Interdependence is a concept specific to ownership and is an alternative to private ownership rooted in individualism that is part of the

5 Unification Thought Institute, p. 507.

6 "Godism means that we meet God and become one with Him in love. We then start anew through the peace-centered way of thinking. That is how the basis for the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth, as it was meant to be, will emerge. Those who live their entire lives in that kingdom will certainly enter the eternal world without any formalities." Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2013), pp. 1062-1063.

7 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2014), pp. 342-344.

system that makes up modern capitalism. Joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence becomes the foundation to all types of ownership on the basis of God's true love. Hence, in the Principle of Interdependent ownership begins with joint ownership between 'God and I.'[8] God wanted to feel joy through gifting the created universe to human beings. Human beings are entities that have inherited such love from God. Therefore, human beings also have a desire to feel joy through giving their property to others and this develops joint ownership. Joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence begins with God's love, that is, the joint ownership between 'God and I,' which progresses to 'the whole and I' and 'my neighbor and I.' Unification Thought formulates this as the joint ownership on all three levels of the 'other and I' which is the joint ownership of 'God, the whole, my neighbors, and I.' The joint ownership between God and human beings is the starting point for all levels of joint ownership. This derives from Unification Thought which recognizes the natural world as a gift from God.[9] The starting point to considering the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is the theory of ownership which strives to freely share one's own property among one's neighbors or with the whole just as God freely gave to all humankind.

The empathetic sharing of private property that makes up the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence differs from the modern ideology of sharing. Modern ideology of sharing

8 Hangje Kim, "The Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value and T. More's Utopia". *Proceeding of the 99-1st Academic Seminar on Unification Thought* (1999), p. 97.

9 Unification Thought Institute, p. 509.

refers to utopianism's ideology of sharing prevalent from the 16th to the 18th centuries, while the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is rooted in an ideology of sharing that presents an alternative to private ownership.[10] The modern ideology of sharing divides into three models. They are typified into the ideology of moderate sharing in which the state or charitable bourgeoisie is regarded as the main body of realizing an ideal society based on sharing while partially recognizing a system of private property; the ideology of centrist sharing in which the state, businesses, and workers seek balance and share property while critically acknowledging private property; and the ideology of radical sharing led by a handful of revolutionaries or laborers in which the private property system is completely abolished, and property is all shared fully.[11] The modern ideology of sharing solely emphasizes the material side to ownership and takes place in only a material dimension. On the other hand, the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence approaches sharing from the dimension of love. The greatest difference between utopianism's modern ideology of sharing and the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is that its practice is motivated by love.[12]

Joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence does not deny private ownership. Rather, private ownership is necessary

10 Jusung Sun, "Observation on the Economic Theory of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity of the Unification Church", *Research of Unification Thought* 9 (2015), p. 114.

11 Kidong Jeong, *Study on modern ideology of sharing* (Doctoral dissertation, JeonnamNational University Graduate School, 1994), pp. 7-8.

12 Hangje Kim, *Research on Unification Thought II* (Asan: Sunmoon University Publication Department, 2002), p. 160.

for the sake of individual characteristics. All human beings have attributes that resemble God's attributes, and every person possesses both common attributes and unique attributes. Private ownership, therefore, must exist in accordance with each person's individuality.[13] Such standards for private ownership are fulfilled according to a standard reasonable to each individual in the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence. This is called reasonable ownership. There are two elements to determining the standard for reasonable ownership. First, each person's original mind decides one's necessities according to his personality or hobbies. Second, it decides according to one's relationships with other people, which is the characteristic of a connected being.[14] Therefore, reasonable ownership is determined based on one's individuality and relationship with others. Only one's conscience can know what the reasonable standard is, no one else can decide for another. The theory of joint ownership rooted in the Principle of Interdependence utilizes private ownership according to one's original mind and also develops reasonable ownership that strives for joint ownership by considering the lives of one's neighbors and oneself.

Both the material perspective on ownership and the spiritual perspective on joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence develop an economy that uses the market economy system.[15] The market economy system creates a fair economy

13 Unification Thought Institute, p. 511.

14 Unification Thought Institute, p. 512.

15 "Second, I would like to ask you to invest your efforts into developing a "personal motivation system" that can help you attain an even broader foundation in the areas of business and trade. People work harder and produce more when they are stimulated. This is the secret to the free market

by autonomously finding a balance between supply and demand, which is no different from the theory of joint ownership. However, its difference with the existing market economy is that when private ownership is earned and used, joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence possesses both an economic perspective and a spiritual perspective. In such a market economy, exchange will take place with not only economic remuneration, but also with love and gratitude. Therefore, joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence applies the preexisting market economy by pursuing private ownership for the individual while simultaneously striving to accomplish joint ownership through give-and-receive action with part of that private property. From that point of view, Sangseok Hwang believes that the Principle of Interdependence is the theory that supplements what is missing from private ownership that a capitalist economy pursues, and from state ownership which supports a socialist economy.[16]

Therefore, the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence lays its foundation on the distribution of private ownership through the existing market economy system and builds upon that a joint ownership economy based on material and spiritual give-and-receive action.[17] The household and the

economy system." The Sunhak History Committee, *Are You the People who will Come Back? - Q&A with Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Mrs. Hak Ja Han Moon* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2018), p. 110.

16 Sangseok Hwang, "The Principle of Interdependence from the Perspective of Economics: Centering on the Search for a New Alternative to Capitalism", *The Principle of Interdependence from the perspective of economics*, symposium in commemoration of True Parents' Birthday and the 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day (Jan 18, 2017), p. 47.

17 "Therefore, the concept of ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is

firm are the main bodies that hold private property. So, the two are also the main bodies that exchange private ownership and aim for collective ownership. Moreover, the government is the main body that should lead the enactment of policies in approaching the facilitation of ownership based on the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence between households and firms. To achieve private and joint ownership motivated by love, the government's policy goals should be for households and firms to proactively form joint ownerships. In an economy based on the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence, both firms and households each determine the reasonable level of private and joint ownership and the government designs and executes policies to accomplish a system that promotes ownership through love.

Finally, the standard of joint ownership does not mean the development of the theory of joint ownership. It simply means that an economy based on the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is achieved when human beings approach all their property from both a materialistic and love perspective. Therefore, in realizing joint ownership there is no prescribed method. When we approach ownership from the point of view that ownership begins with the sharing between 'God and I' and with a monetary motive and a love motive, an economy based on the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence can emerge.

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not materialistic, and can be said an ownership in which material and mind go hand in hand and one that engages in give-and-receive action between material and mind." Hangje Kim, *Research on Unification Thought II*, p. 153.

## III. The Elements of Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

Joint ownership takes place on the basis of private ownership. Joint ownership occurs when private ownership engages in give and receive motivated by love. In this section I hope to clarify the logic by which private ownership should engage in giving and receiving when aiming for the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence. I propose the following three elements that constitute the theory of joint ownership: unconditional conditionality, interactivity, and developmental nature. These are elements of joint ownership that derive from the Unification Principle's logic on true love, give-and-receive action, and the four position foundation's new being, respectively, and I will define and discuss each term in turn.

### 1. Unconditional Conditionality

The first quality of joint ownership is unconditional conditionality. Joint ownership must begin unconditionally, and it is formed when another person corresponds and engages in joint ownership with you. This creates an opportunity to build a reciprocal relationship with the other person through using and exchanging private property centering on Heart.[18] What I mean by *Heart* is God's heart and God's heart is the emotional impulse to feel joy through love. In other words, the core of the Heart is the infinite impulse to love others.[19] Human beings can attain true happiness through a life of love and through a life compassion-

18 Unification Thought Institute, p. 33

19 Unification Thought Institute, p. 23.

ately striving for the happiness of others. Unification Thought defines the love in search of true happiness as true love.[20] The impulse of true love cannot be repressed and when the unconditional true love that seeks to live for the sake of others manifests in the form of ownership, it becomes the unconditional attribute of joint ownership.

A reciprocal relationship begins with unconditional love that does not expect anything in return. A reciprocal relationship is formed when a common base is established centered on a common goal of both engaging in joint ownership. The practice of joint ownership is to give unconditionally, and when there is a return, a common base in joint ownership is established. Put another way, if the other person does not reciprocate, a reciprocal relationship does not form. When this relationship leads to loss, a relationship of joint ownership is not achieved.[21] To build a reciprocal relationship by sharing a goal of joint ownership means that there must be a return for the gift activated by unconditional true love. Thus, the first quality is unconditional conditionality.

At this point I would like to clarify the attribute of joint ownership by comparing it with exchange. Like the act of giving, exchange is an act of voluntary transfer; it is not established

20 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 23-24.

21 "When a subject partner and object partner are interacting, neither side can work if one side suffers a loss. However, when something does start to happen, it means that the subject's goal and the object's goal have a requisite that adds something to themselves. Interaction cannot take place if there is not a plus requisite. That is, there can be no interaction with a loss." The Publishing Committee of the Sermons of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, *The Sermons of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon* vol. 53, p. 103.

through some external force or power. However, exchange differs from giving in that along with the transfer one receives money or goods in return. In an exchange, there is always a simultaneous two-way transfer. This is the principle of contract and the condition of exchange that moves the market economy. Therefore, there is no difference between joint ownership and exchange at the time when a gift or transfer takes place in both directions. Unlike joint ownership however, exchange is established by having the same market value based on the market economy.

The quality of unconditional conditionality also separates joint ownership from *pure gift*. A pure gift is to give without any return. For example, philanthropic activities such as volunteer work fall under the category of pure gift. Meanwhile, joint ownership is only possible when there is a return. Marcel Mauss calls this the 'total system of giving,' which gives, receives, and reciprocates.[22] If the other person does not reciprocate one's gift, joint ownership ceases to operate. Pure gifting stops after one time and does not form a common base under joint ownership. This differs from joint ownership which creates a reciprocal relationship in which giving is circulated.[23] Thus, unconditional conditionality distinguishes the economic theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence from the ideology of philanthropic pure gift.

22 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Sangryul Lee (Paju: Hangilsa, 2002), p. 53.

23 Stefano Zamagni & Luigino Bruni, *Economia Civile (Civile Economy)*, translated by Hyunjoo Je (Seoul: Bukttodeum, 2015), p. 237.

### 2. Interactivity

The second quality is interactivity. Joint ownership takes places when the act of giving is mutual. Joint ownership cannot form if the giving is one-sided, and it will end as a pure gift. When an independent but voluntary giving occurs mutually in both directions, joint ownership rooted in the Principle of Interdependence is achieved.

According to Unification Thought, when a subject and object partner form a reciprocal relationship centering on Heart or a purpose, and engage in give and receive action, in that position they will form a four-position foundation.[24] Here, purpose refers to the purpose of creation based on Heart. When Heart is at the center of a four-position foundation, a union is realized as a result, and when purpose is at the center, a new being appears as a result.[25] In joint ownership, a new being appears when one gives, by realizing a purpose to share one's private property with another based on God's heart. The object partner who receives a gift from the subject partner, establishes a purpose to have joint ownership, then in return gifts private property of his or her own to the subject partner. In this way, joint ownership is accomplished. Joint ownership is when the subject partner and object partner give in both directions, thus, interactivity is a quality of joint ownership.

Alain Caillé believed that this type of interactivity in human relations was only possible in close relationships with those you know. He called this primary sociality. Meanwhile in the market

24 Unification Thought Institute, p. 53.

25 Unification Thought Institute, p. 41.

economy secondary sociality takes place, which is when strangers form relationships. Therefore, the primary sociality with only those you know is inevitably limited to a very narrow range. The relationship of joint ownership can only form when it is one of mutual trust based on true love. It can be considered that the market economy has overcome this limited characteristic of joint ownership. The market economy has made exchange possible between strangers and for more and more people to be involved.[26] Thus, depending on the concentration of human relationships we can distinguish the types of exchange that transpire in joint ownership and the market economy.

The perspective of interactivity draws a clear line between joint ownership and pure gift. As mentioned above, a pure gift is a one-time gift without any return. In other words, a one-way gift. Mauss denies the existence of the one-way pure gift.[27] He believed that the gift that takes place in social relationships always forms a joint ownership system. According to him, there is no completely altruistic gift. In joint ownership, relationships are only formed when there is two-way interactivity and return is assumed. Yet it is also not entirely selfish because the gift has

26 Osamu Nishitani, p. 176.

27 Imamura says the following about the gift not existing in reality: "Therefore, we must not perceive giving a pure gift as an act of gifting. The other person should not consider this either. Pure gift not only does not expect a return, but the giver must not regard it as giving. Nevertheless, if the receiver does not at least recognize the act of the giver as a gift, it is impossible to understand whether there was a gift or not, and if the act is not recognized, the act itself will not be objectively shaped and therefore cannot exist." Imamura Hitoshi, *Trading Humans: the Study on the Gift and Exchange* (Tokyo: Kodansha Academic, 2016), p. 124.

the quality of unconditional conditionality. The quality of interactivity is when both parties engage in joint ownership for the sake of one another centering on true love.

### 3. Developmental Nature

The third quality is developmental nature. According to the Unification Principle, development is the multiplication of new beings and is the equivalent to creation when seen from a resultant point of view.[28] Therefore, development in joint ownership is the instrument for broadening and deepening of joint ownership. According to the law of give and receive action, joint ownership achieves development through circular motion.[29] Joint ownership is applied and developed when the subject partner and object partner form a round, harmonious and smooth reciprocal relationship. Here, the core of circular motion lies in the subject partner.[30] In other words, the purpose that strives for joint ownership based on the subject partner's true love becomes the core to the circular motion between the subject and object. Joint ownership manifests and develops this.

If a group of people practicing joint ownership gathers, a joint ownership society whose common goal is the theory of joint ownership is built. In a joint ownership society, joint ownership can also occur between the individual and society. A joint ownership society is a society in which all its members aim for joint ownership. In such a society, joint ownership begins with a subject partner giving to an object partner who then gives

28 Unification Thought Institute, p. 555.

29 Unification Thought Institute, p. 148.

30 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 133-134.

to another individual. In a society where everyone lives by the theory of joint ownership, all its members are both subject partners and object partners in which even the object can give to others. This is called a joint society.

Martin Hollis called the attribute of joint ownership between the individual and community achieved within a joint ownership society generalized reciprocity. When a reciprocal relationship is formed between individuals and shared in a community, individual reciprocity becomes generalized.[31] As for the motivation behind generalized reciprocity, Richard M. Titmuss examines blood donations. He considers the blood that is supplied through modern-day blood donations as gifting. People donate their blood to someone they do not know, do not expect anything in return and give it freely without moral pressure.[32] However, according to a survey conducted on those who participate in blood donations, it was discovered that participants were not fully motivated by altruistic reasons. They donate their blood because they may be the ones who need it in the future.[33] They give an altruistic blood donation today with the hope that others will give an altruistic donation in the future.

Titmuss calls this kind motivation behind blood donations creative altruism. He defines creative altruism as a voluntary act of giving like in the case of blood donations which relies

31 Martin Hollis, *Trust within Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 144-145.

32 Richard M. Titmuss, *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), p. 279.

33 Richard M. Titmuss, p. 239.

on the altruistic acts of others in the community.[34] As a generalized reciprocity, blood donations are neither entirely altruistic nor entirely self-centered by nature. Blood donations which are fulfilled by creative altruism, achieve generalized reciprocity because an altruistic blood-donating community exists. The reciprocity to donate blood becomes generalized because the community as a whole agrees on the altruistic act of giving blood.

In the economy of joint ownership, all participants accept their participation in unconditional joint ownership. This is similar with the generalization of the creative altruism of blood donations. If the theory of joint ownership becomes generalized in society as creative altruism is, joint ownership can transcend a one-to-one relationship and be achieved on the societal level. The so-called prisoner's dilemma does not arise because joint ownership is recognized as a common purpose by society as a whole. The free riders that are always a concern in a liberal economy will not exist in the joint ownership economy. Therefore, joint ownership begins one-to-one but develops the joint ownership economy with one-to-many. Joint ownership is neither entirely altruistic nor entirely self-centered. It relies on the unconditional joint ownership of other members of society. Joint ownership, which desires to give joy to others centering on true love, unfolds with the qualities of unconditional conditionality, interactivity, and developmental nature.

34 Richard M. Titmuss, p. 279.

## IV. Joint Ownership Economic Thought Based on the Principle of Interdependence

In an economy rooted in the theory of joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence, all economic units—the household, the firm, and the government—participate on the foundation of the joint ownership theory. This is because the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence is motivated by love in its approach to private ownership, therefore, to earn and use private property for one's own sake while also sharing part of one's private property with others is an original attribute that resembles God. If the focus is on joint ownership, households seek to share private property with other households and the firm seeks to share profits with households or other firms. Governments formulate and implement policies that support households and businesses to participate in joint ownership freely. This does not deny the economic participation of households and firms for economic gain. Households seek to possess and consume private goods and firms seek economic profit for themselves. Households and firms should participate in the economy with the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence. The motivation for private property and the motivation for joint ownership for the sake of others go hand-in-hand. In this section I will discuss the economic thought behind economic units rooted in this theory of joint ownership.

First, I will examine the theory of economic joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence that is practiced by households as a case study of the sharing economy that has drawn a lot of interest this year. Next, I will examine an institutional design of the market economy to realize joint ownership of a government

based on the theory of joint ownership.

### 1. Theory of Household Economic Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

Households are inclined toward joint ownership of their private property when they participate in an economy rooted in the theory of joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence. A joint ownership economy guarantees the individual's right to private property and acknowledges the entitlement and desires in pursuit of monetary gain.[35] Therefore, households rooted in the theory of joint ownership satisfy their desires and feel joy through consuming their property while simultaneously feeling joy in sharing their private property with other households so that everyone can live happy lives. The household shares its private property with other households on the premise that their private property is under a joint ownership with God.

Before we can discuss the joint ownership of household private property, I would like to discuss the ideology households have when participating in the market economy. A household that is already rooted in joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence attempts to realize its economic desires when participating in the market economy. In the joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence, ownership, as mentioned above, is a concept involving material and mind.[36] This concept also applies in the market economy. When participating in the market economy to consume a firm's product, households look at it both materially

35 Jusung Sun, p. 115.

36 Hangje Kim, *Research of Unification Thought* 2, p. 153.

and mindfully. Households seek to fulfill their economic desires while appreciating the result by the firm that produced the item.[37] Unlike in a liberal economy, households that live by joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence, in addition to economic fulfillment of their desires, have appreciation for the firm. Hence, when the household and the firm trade, they offer both compensation and appreciation for the goods. In this way, households engage in joint ownership based on the private ownership obtained through such participation in the market economy.

Joint ownership begins with offering one's property to another household centering on selfless love. Therefore, by sharing one's property with another household you are giving them joy and that joy also becomes your joy. Households that have received private property through joint ownership will experience gratitude and in turn will also share their own property with others through joint ownership. An example of household joint ownership could be two neighbors exchanging fruits and vegetables. Here, the household is not attempting to receive something of equal value to what was given. The purpose of exchanging between households is to build a give-and-receive relationship through joint ownership to multiply joy. In doing so, a two-way give-and-receive relationship is formed in which the quality of unconditional conditionality that responds to a gift with another act of giving appears.

Next, the households build and develop a community that engages in joint ownership. A community is built when several

37 Sanghun Lee, *The Coming of the Age of Head-Wing Thought* (Cheonan: Sun Moon University Unification Thought Institute, 2001), p. 119.

households that have created give-and-receive relationships gather and undertake in joint ownership consumption. With these two qualities, households build relationships of trust on the foundation of giving and receiving unconditional love. This relationship of trust is shared among all households in the community. In other words, the one-to-one joint ownership relationship becomes the one-to-many joint ownership relationship that grows into a community of households engaging in joint ownership and consumption.

Now I will examine the sharing economy from the point of view of households living by the theory of joint ownership of the Principle of Interdependence. The sharing economy seeks economic gain by providing one's private property to others. In other words, it is an economy that shares one's property for profit. On the other hand, economic joint ownership prioritizes unconditional giving, and economic gain is secondary. Yochai Benkler defines two types of sharing economy from the perspective of economic gain. He called the type of sharing economy in which prices are the primary sources of information about, and incentive for, market production, and the sharing economy in which social relations are the primary sources, social production.[38] The former refers to the modern-day universal sharing economy and the latter refers to a sharing economy comparable to economic joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence. Here, the idea that social relations are the primary sources of information and incentive means that social relations are the primary motive

38 Yochai Benkler, "Sharing Nicely: On Shareable Goods and the Emergence of Sharing as a Modality of Economic Production", *Yale Law Journal* 114 (2004), p. 282.

for starting the act of giving in a sharing economy. From the perspective of Unification Thought, joint ownership is achieved when it is motivated by social relationships connected through love. Therefore, when we change the economy of market production to one motivated by love, we can realize the economy of joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence.

In order to explore methods of improving the modern sharing economy from the perspective of economic joint ownership, I will take a closer look at the social economy. Benkler describes social production in the gift economy defined by Lewis Hyde.[39] According to Hyde, the gift economy's purpose is to promote social bonds.[40] The gift economy based on social bonds strengthens bonds through giving. The gift becomes an instrument of strengthening social solidarity by uniting the hearts of people. Benkler saw a social production that was not dependent upon the market mechanisms of the sharing economy. To not be dependent on market mechanisms is to share without the profit-based goal. From the perspective of economic joint ownership, an economy that shares through social bonds based on joint ownership can be considered a sharing economy grounded in the theory of economic joint ownership.

On the foundation of the gift economy, the household achieves a sharing economy based on economic joint ownership when both social production and market production are combined. This is the hybrid economy defined by Lawrence Lessig that

39 Yochai Benkler, pp. 275-276.

40 Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Creativity and the Artist in the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books), p. 45.

forms within economic joint ownership.[41] He differentiates between market production as the self-centered sharing economy in which participants focus on profit, and social production as the altruistic sharing economy which focuses on others.[42] Social production begins with the incentive to share in order to give joy to other consumers, and as its result, a market producer receives joy from its consumers. When these two are combined, an economy based on joint ownership is achieved. However, in the modern sharing economy, Benkler and Lessig both point out that the social production side is lacking, and that it rather focuses heavily on profit-based market production. In order to achieve economic joint ownership in the household, we must start by establishing a social economy based on joint ownership.

41 Lessig explains the hybrid economy with Wikipedia as an example. Wikipedia is an online encyclopedia. Those who participate in contributing to Wikipedia do so to improve it and feel a sense of responsibility and pride in creating storage for knowledge. Their purpose is not for compensation but voluntarily taking interest in, and participating, to feel a sense of satisfaction at working for the world. Wikipedia is possible because of those who want to contribute to the knowledge of humankind. Lawrence Lessig, *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), pp. 161-162.

42 Moreover, in a hybrid economy in which two types of sharing economy are combined, Lessig defines the sharing economy in which the incentive is self-centered, a thin sharing economy, and one in which both a self-centered incentive and an altruistic incentive coexist, a thick sharing economy. Lawrence Lessig, pp. 151-152.

## 2. Theory of Government Economic Joint Ownership Based on the Principle of Interdependence

Next, I would like to discuss government economic thought rooted in the theory of joint ownership. In modern capitalist society, the path to establishing a government that follows the theory of economic joint ownership exists in the government designing a market economy system that reflects a joint ownership economy. In the Unification Principle, since politics should unite religion and economics, modern politics should take on the role of designing an economic system based on joint ownership.[43] On the other hand, the current situation of modern economics around the world is research concentrating on operating the market economy by a normal price mechanism, research on the impact of public policy on a national economy, as well as a research on market design to achieve efficient results.[44] The theory of government economic joint ownership applies to all these processes, but there is especially a demand in modern society to establish a market economy rooted in joint ownership to handle the serious gap between the rich and the poor.

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43 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle*, p. 335.

44 Market design is a relatively new field about designing efficient market systems. Sakai says the following about the theory of market design: "Following the function of the free market economy as considered by Adam Smith in the 18th century, the economics as a technology emphasized by Leon Walras in the 19th century, and the idea of competition expressed by Friedrich Hayek as a *means of discovery* in the 20th century, their insights are intellectual decisions that are coming to fruition in in the 21st century." Toyotaka Sakai, *Market Design: Cutting-Edge Practical Economics* (Tokyo: Chikyuma Shinsho, 2013), p. 217.

This does not mean that the government should decide to independently control the market economy and force households and firms to comply with government joint ownership. The government consists of members elected by the people. The concept for politics in Unification Thought is Mutual Prosperity which presents a joint politics in which all people take part. Joint participation is when all citizens participate in politics through their state representatives.[45] The Principle of Interdependence is part of the compound concept of the harmonized Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value. Therefore, a government based on Mutual Prosperity is the requisite to the Principle of Interdependence. This is how a government reflecting an economic theory of joint ownership for households and firms is accomplished through the joint participation of all people in elections. The government is established according to the economic joint ownership of households and firms and designs a market economy system.

Joint ownership is an ideology that strives for all people to have joint ownership over the created world that God bestowed to human beings. The method in which economic joint ownership is applied varies according to each economic situation, but for the purpose of discussing government economic joint ownership I expand on the discussion of designing a market economy system. In order to understand government joint ownership within the market economy system design, I will discuss reformation of taxation on income and on capital gains, and benefit corporations that manage their businesses in the interest of all stakeholders and stockholders.

45 Unification Thought Institute, p. 518.

First, a government based on economic joint ownership should design a tax system that allows economic performance to be shared with the whole society by reforming the marginal tax rate on income for the wealthy to prevent the market economy from skewing distribution to firms and households in a particular class. Taxes are a resource for public services and a factor that can mobilize people as a means of encouraging socially desirable behavior. Therefore, the increase of taxation on the wealthy is a means of increasing public investment and contributing to the well-being of the people. Tax reform begins with raising the highest tax rate targeted at the wealthy. At the same time, we can change the tax system that favors some of those in the wealthy class who receive enormous capital gains by designing a fair tax system with tax rates on long-term capital gains at the same level as income taxes.[46] The wealthy class and corporations often evade paying taxes by either finding countries with low taxation on income and capital gains, or even countries in which there is some adjustment for a lower tax rate. Therefore, to respond to these cases there is a need to establish a minimum tax rate standard for global income.[47] The modern economy should root itself in economic joint ownership which aims for the prosperity of all its citizens. We are arriving at a time in which we must negotiate an international taxation standard that can solve income inequality

46 According to Joseph Stiglitz, cuts on the capital gains tax rate contributed to rewarding investment: "[I]n 2013 the U.S. government lost $161 billion in revenue as a result of low capital gains tax rates. Further, the CBO estimated that 90 percent of the benefits of this provision went to the wealthiest 20 percent of Americans and 70 percent to the top 1 percent." Joseph Stiglitz, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy: An Agenda for Shared Prosperity* (New York: Roosevelt Institute, 2015), p. 71.

47 Joseph Stiglitz, p. 72.

across different nations while taking into consideration each nation's circumstances.

To reform taxation, it is necessary to sever the unfair ties between politics and the economy.[48] Those who are to decide on these unfair close relations are the citizens who are hoping for a national economy based on economic joint ownership. Therefore, there is a need to provide access to information that can become the basis of their judgement. This starts with transparency on all political expenses, revealing the relationship between politics and the economy, and establishing a system in which politics are independent from the economy. One method for politics to become independent from the economy is by limiting politicians for a certain period of time after their retirement from profiting from golden parachutes with corporations or organizations that have developed a close relationship with politics.[49] As for Korea, the relationship between *chaebol* and politics becomes the basis for discussing an economy in which all citizens can enjoy the results of economic growth based on joint ownership. This does not deny all relations between politics and the economy. Rather, based on economic joint ownership, we must prevent situations in which the economy restricts politics with economic power or, conversely, politics restricts the economy with political power. To

48 In the 1980s' American economy, about 15% of campaign contributions came from 0.01% of the upper class. This percentage continued to rise and in 2012 they occupied of about 40% of the entire contribution. These were people that were earning 5% of the national income and through their contributions they built a market economy environment that benefited themselves. Robert Reich, *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, not the Few* (New York: Vintage Books, 2016), p. 177.

49 Robert Reich, pp. 191-192.

do so, it is clear that the people's public opinion based on joint ownership should be the starting point on which the foundation of the theory of government economic joint ownership is laid.

The following discusses the cultivation of corporations that practice stakeholder capitalism by giving a corporate personality that is distinct from general for-profit corporations to corporations that pursue both economic benefits, like that of existing corporations, and social benefits, including long-term communities. This is the transfer from shareholder capitalism to stakeholder capitalism. Shareholders are considered the owners of a corporation and business is carried out with the primary goal to give the profit made through the business as dividends to shareholders. In shareholder capitalism, corporations prioritize shareholder profit and pursue short-term benefits in the interest of increasing dividends rather than pursuing social responsibility. As a result, such a corporation ignores the impact it has on its employees' wages, work environment, well-being, or the region. Whereas stakeholder capitalism is rooted in the ideology that the corporation's growth should be shared with the growth of its employees and community. A corporation's employees support their families and purchase homes with their wages, by doing so communities are formed, and communities maintain roads and schools. In this way, members of the community and the corporation create an environment in which both prosper.[50] Stakeholder capitalism is where we can see support for corporations that conduct their business in a way that is considerate of community benefits.

A representative example of stakeholder capitalism is the

50 Robert Reich, pp. 198-199.

benefit corporation.[51] A benefit corporation is a for-profit corporation that considers not only the interest of its shareholders, but also states in its articles of incorporation that it considers the interests of its employees, the community, and the environment. Patagonia and Kick Starter are prime examples.[52] As of 2018, 35 states in the United States have passed benefit corporation legislation and over 3,000 businesses have been legally recognized as a benefit corporation.[53] Having accreditation does not offer any special tax cuts, yet those who agree with the prioritization of long-term social interest rather than short-term profit buy stock which, in addition to stakeholder dividends, allows the corporation to operate in the interest of its stakeholders. Benefit corporations give regular performance reports and third-party institutions such as B Lab evaluate them.[54] Benefit corporations, which have been established in nations around the world, are a new

51 The benefit corporation differs from social business in that it is a for-profit organization that primarily pursues social interest over purely financial gain. Muhammad Yunus, *Building Social Business: the New Kind of Capitalism that serves Humanity's Most Pressing Needs* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), p. xvii.

52 Robert Reich, pp. 199-200.

53 Fredrick H. Alexander, *The Public Benefit Corporation Guidebook* (Delawere: Arsht & Tunnell LLP, 2017), p. 2.

54 "Certifying as a B Corporation goes beyond product- or service-level certification. B Corp Certification is the only certification that measures a company's entire social and environmental performance. The B Impact Assessment evaluates how your company's operations and business model impact your workers, community, environment, and customers. From your supply chain and input materials to your charitable giving and employee benefits, B Corp Certification proves your business is meeting the highest standards of verified performance." B Lab, "Certified B Corporation," https://bcorporation.net/certification (accessed on November 30, 2018).

business model that was implemented based on the preferences of consumers and local society. There is no special taxation benefit from the government, but since many people's goals align in their pursuit of long-term social benefits, corporations are voluntarily operating in this way, creating regular reports, and then non-profit organizations evaluate their activities. Such activities have the effect of liberating corporations from the pressure for short-sighted gains. It can also be said that the government, the firm, and the household share in economic joint ownership, thus, becoming a model of an economy in which everyone has joint ownership of long-term benefits.

To reform the neglected gap between the rich and the poor in today's economic society, it is necessary for the government, the firm and the household to participate in the economy together based on the theory of economic joint ownership. All main bodies should participate in the economy from a position of joint management caring for the created universe given by God on His behalf. The theory of economic joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence is an economic thought that seeks sustainable growth for both oneself and others, and seeks to achieve reasonable ownership.

## V. Conclusion

This study defined joint ownership based on Unification Thought and conceived of a theory of economic joint ownership. The theory of joint ownership is based on Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence and is also an ideology that constitutes the Principle of Interdependence. The suggestions of joint

ownership raised by the Principle of Interdependence can be considered a clarification of the relationship between the theories of joint ownership and private ownership, which is the basis of modern economic thought. I have broken down the theory of joint ownership into three elements of unconditional conditionality, interactivity, and developmental nature which correspond to Unification Thought's true love, give and receive action, and new being. Each individual engages with others through true love in give-and-receive action of one's private property which results in all entities' participation in the economy based on joint ownership.

Meanwhile in reality, an economy based on profit motive has been formed and right now it is impossible to achieve an economy based on joint ownership rooted in true love. However, even in the modern economy, we can find economic thought that maintains a profit motive with an underlying practice of joint ownership. The sharing economy which has connected many people through the use of advanced science and technology is one example of an underlying joint ownership. Although, the modern sharing economy began when people voluntarily decided to share their private property after the Lehman Shock, currently most of the economy sets its goals in economic profit. One path to realize an economy based on joint ownership is to change tracks from a sharing economy based on profit motive to that based on joint ownership. This can start from building a good model of the sharing economy that is close to the ideal of a joint ownership economy. Therefore, the realization of a hybrid sharing economy that shares both economic profit and social profits relates to an economy based on the theory of economic joint ownership.

In an economy based on joint ownership, the government should design a market economy system and implement policies toward achieving joint ownership. Regarding today's economic society, there is a need to build a structure for a joint ownership market economy to replace the market economy centered on the wealthy and improve the gap between the rich and the poor. That is a society in which all economic entities can enjoy the economy's fruits and is a virtuous circle society where everyone lives equally.[55] Put another way, it is the change from modern shareholder capitalism to capitalism for all stakeholders.

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55 *Enjoyment* means having one's own and enjoying it.

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# A Study of Economic Democratization based on the Unification Thought[♣]

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I. Introduction

II. Major Issues of Economic Democratization

III. Critique of Economic Democratization based on the Unification Thought

IV. From Economic Democratization to Economic Standardization

V. Conclusion

## Abstract

At present, both the ruling and opposition parties in the political circles of Korea are adopting economic democratization as their major policy. The reason why the discussion on economic democratization has emerged as a hot social issue is

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not unrelated to the ever-worsening economic situation of recent days, with its stagnation in economic growth, recession and rising unemployment rate. The increase in the number of economically disadvantaged individuals has led to a more extreme polarization of wealth, and there is increasing demand for the high-income group, the so-called Chaebols (conglomerates), to redistribute their wealth. Economic democratization is an attempt to solve the problem of polarization in capitalism by implementing democratic elements in the economic sector, just like the political sector, and its basis can be found even in Article 119, Clause 2 of the Korean Constitution. According to the principal arguments of economic democratization, the power of labor unions should be strengthened in order to achieve a balance of power between the management (capitalists) and the employees (laborers), and the state should actively intervene in the redistribution of wealth by utilizing all kinds of means like expanding the welfare system, regulating Chaebols and implementing a progressive tax system.

However, from the viewpoint of the Unification Thought, the problem of the redistribution of wealth cannot be solved fundamentally through this economic democratization method. First, the Unification Thought deems democracy to be a transitional system and not an ideal system in the age of restoration through indemnity, and has clarified its limitations by defining it as a parentless and unsteady fraternalism that determines everything only by the agreement of the majority. Moreover, the imbalance in wealth is a natural result in realizing one's value as an individual embodiment of truth, and the standard for an individual's appropriate possession differs based on not only his or her conscience but also his or her status as a being connected

to others. Therefore, an attempt to uniformly enforce the standard for an individual's appropriate possession through the power of unions or the state would not satisfy anybody. Instead of economic democratization, which tries to forcefully determine the appropriate possession of the minority through the power of the majority, Unification Thought proposes what it calls the economic standardization movement, that is, a panhuman project to awaken the conscience and a sense of connection in human beings. It believes that this movement is the right direction to follow in realizing the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. In order to shift society's interest from economic democratization to economic standardization, organic cooperation between the economic, political and media sectors is required.

**Key Words:** Economics, democracy, economic democratization, economic standardization, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.

## I. Introduction

Economic democratization is a newly-coined term that combines economics and democratization. Similar to how democracy is characterized by group decision-making, economic democratization can be interpreted to mean that the group's opinion should be reflected in the production and distribution of wealth.[1]

1 According to Sooyoun Hwang, the concept of economic democratization differs from that of economic democracy. Democracy in the concept of economic democratization emphasizes the combination of group decision-making and economic problems through the 'one vote per person sys-

At present, both the ruling and opposition parties of Korea's political circles are adopting economic democratization as their major policy.[2] Just as the monopolization of power by the minority was prevented through the power of the majority through political democratization of Korea in the 1980s, today's economic democratization movement also aims to stop economic monopolization by the minority through the power of the majority.[3] The legislative basis for economic democratization legislation of the National Assembly can be found in Article 119, Clause 2 of the Korean Constitution.[4]

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tem'. In contrast, democracy in the concept of economic democracy speaks of the realization of democracy through 'one vote per won system' from the perspective of the consumer's share. Korea Economic Research Institute Publication ed., *The Trap of Economic Democratization* (Seoul: Korea Economic Research Institute, 2012), pp. 17-18.

2 Though economic democratization is a common issue for all political parties, they are focusing on different aspects. The economic democratization of Saenuri Party emphasizes 'fairness and transparency in the market economic order', whereas the economic democratization of the Democratic Party of Korea stresses 'balance between growth and distribution'. See for reference: Saenuri Party's website, 'Promise to the people' http://saenuriparty.kr; Democratic Party of Korea's website, 'Party's platform and policies' http://theminjoo.kr.

3 Hyungyoon Byun expressed the process of pursuing economic democratization as the process of realizing economic justice. Hyungyoon Byun, *Economic Justice and Economic Democratization* (Paju: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2012), p. 40.

4 Article 119, Clause 2 of the Constitution: The State may regulate and coordinate economic affairs in order to maintain balanced growth and stability of the national economy, to ensure proper distribution of income, to prevent the domination of the market and the abuse of economic power and to democratize the economy through harmony among the economic agents.

The discussion on economic democratization comes from the idea to regulate the economy through political power, and is premised on the understanding that the capitalist market economy referred to as the neoliberal order caused polarization of wealth through its failure in redistribution. However, this does not mean that economic democratization denies capitalism itself. Rather, it follows the logic that democracy can work as a kind of braking device to guarantee the sustainability of capitalism. Though there have been arguments for economic democratization policies and enactment of related laws from a decade or so ago,[5] the reason why it has rapidly become a hot social issue of the current times is not unrelated to the ever-worsening economic situation of recent days, with its stagnation in economic growth, recession and rise in unemployment rate. Thereupon, the expansion of the low-income class resulting from involuntary unemployment has led to an increasing demand for the high-income group, the so-called Chaebols [conglomerates], to distribute their wealth.

However, a closer inspection of the discussion on economic democratization shows that the problem is not that simple. For instance, what is the appropriate standard for the government's

5 Academic papers on economic democratization can be found from as early as 1987, and it emerged as a hot issue in the political circles in the general election of 2012, when Saenuri Party, a conservative political party, shockingly recruited Assemblyman Jongin Kim, the proposer of Article 119, Clause 2 of the Constitution of Korea, also called the 'Economic Democratization Law (Jongin Kim's Clause)'. In addition, Korean scholars leading the discussion on economic democratization include Prof. Hyungyoon Byun of Seoul University called the 'Godfather of the Progressive Economics World' and Prof. Ha-joon Jang of Cambridge University in the UK among others.

intervention in this redistribution? What is the standard for classifying the conglomerates group, and how much more tax should they be levied? Is the current power of unions appropriate? What is the appropriate amount for the minimum wage? And when political interests are included into this mix of real life problems, the matter becomes more complex and diverse and can occasionally even cause fierce conflicts.[6]

This monograph will examine major issues in regard to the argument for economic democratization (II) and critique these issues from the viewpoint of Unification Thought (III), after which it will take the theory of the 'Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value' and the 'standardization' activities carried out by the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (hereafter FFWPU) as the two keywords (IV) in search for fundamental solutions and alternatives for problems in reality.

6 According to those who oppose economic democratization, the economic democratization policy was a failed policy first experimentally implemented and later self-abolished by the Social Democratic Party of Germany. They say that, in other countries, not even the concept of economic democratization can be found, and that anti-market bills that harm the market order are being pursued imprudently in the name of economic democratization on the back of political populism. For diverse criticisms of liberal economists, refer to Korea Economic Research Institute Publication, *The Trap of Economic Democratization* (Seoul: Korea Economic Research Institute, 2012). For in-depth critical materials on the arguments of major scholars including Jong-in Kim, refer to Hwapyeong Heo, *Criticizing Economic Democratization* (Seoul: Kiparang Press, 2014).

## II. Major Issues of Economic Democratization

### 1. Social Democracy: Progressive Alternative for Resolving Polarization

When we review the world's history, we find that the passion for democracy began with the Reformation. It passed through religious democratization to political democratization, after which it moved on to economic democratization. Just as religious democratization and political democratization are referred to as religious reform and political reform respectively, in the minds of those who advocate economic democratization, it is considered to be the same as economic reform and at the base of this thought lies the belief that economic democratization is the progressive alternative and necessary demand of the age.[7]

Such discussion on economic democratization is based on the theory of social democracy. Social democracy is a value that places more importance on equality than freedom, and the aim to implement democracy in the market economy that prioritizes freedom reflects the will to create a more equal society. Social democracy recognizes the market system and capitalism in principle, but because the market system cannot enforce regulations on itself, social democracy tries to control those regulations through a political process. Accordingly, it attaches great importance to agreement and solidarity between members of the society.[8]

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7 Korea Economic Research Institute Publication, *The Trap of Economic Democratization* (Seoul: Korea Economic Research Institute, 2012), p. 24.

8 Jinseok Noh, "Korean Constitution and Economic Democratization" (Doctoral dissertation, Korea University, 2014), pp. 48-51.

As can be seen, economic democratization is an argument presented on the theoretical basis of social democracy,[9] and since it acknowledges the gravity of the income gap issue, it often cites income inequality statistics like the Gini coefficient and Deciles distribution ratio.[10] It also proposes all kinds of policies as economic democratization policies or bills to lessen the income gap and expand the middle class.[11]

9 There are also scholars who deem the Hongik Ingan (humanitarian) philosophy, which is the founding ideology of the Republic of Korea, as the basis for economic democratization. This philosophy says that the state and humanity should be developed based on freedom and equality, and they assert that economic democratization is the path that leads to the balanced realization of freedom and equality. Choongu Lee, *Economic Democratization: Balance of Liberty and Equality* (Seoul: Iji Publishers, 2013), p. 8.

10 Both the Gini coefficient and Deciles distribution ratio are inequality indices of income distribution that show the degree to which income is uniformly distributed. The lower the Gini coefficient is (between 0 and 1), and the higher the Deciles distribution ratio is (between 0 and 2), the lower is the level of income inequality. Based on the Gini coefficient, the level of inequality is considered to be quite high when it is above 0.4; as of 2013, Korea has a coefficient of 0.302. http://terms.naver.com (refer to Doopedia and Hankyung Economic Dictionary).

11 At present, the Democratic Party of Korea is preparing to pursue the legislation of 34 issues on economic democratization. Seulgi Juhn, "Preexisting Cross-shareholding will be 'Resolved within Three Years'… Looking Into 34 Bills on Economic Democratization", *Chosun Biz* August 24, 2016. The legislations proposed by the Democratic Party of Korea can be largely classified into fair trading, financial democratization, symbiosis of large companies and small and medium businesses and the work environment. To see related materials, refer to Collaboration of 20 Assemblymen under the Democratic Party's Economic Democratization Group, *March for the Underdog* (Seoul: Medici Media, 2013).

## 2. Cause of Polarization: Reagan and Park Chunghee

When we take a look at the causes of wealth polarization pointed out by economic democratization advocates in the United States and Korea, we can discover an interesting point. Though the causes are similar in that they are attributed to the failure of governments' policies in both nations, the cause of polarization in the United States is said to be the neoliberal policy that entrusted too much to market autonomy whereas the cause in Korea is said to be the economic development plan of a government that exercised too much power.

The appearance of neoliberalism in the United States coincided with the election of President Reagan in 1980. He asserted that the government should not try to solve problems, for the government itself was the problem, and should become smaller instead. His assertion has been termed as Reaganomics, and the global economic order was once again reorganized with the market at its center. In addition, Margaret Thatcher, elected as the prime minister of the United Kingdom a year before Reagan, was also highly affected by Hayek's theory of a free market economy based on spontaneous order and became the other axis of Reaganomics.[12]

The neoliberal ideology trusted in the market's self-purification capacity and believed that things should be left to the market order instead of the government's intervention in order to maximize individuals' creativity and bring about prosperity. Moreover, it forecast that, when free production activities caused

12 Jongin Kim, *Why Economic Democratization Now?* (Paju: Donghwa Publishing, 2013), p. 74.

the benefits of wealth to overflow, the so-called trickle-down effect would be triggered and that wealth would be passed down to the lower economic classes, and thus distribution would take place naturally.

However, scholars advocating economic democratization say that today, thirty years later, the assets of the higher class have rapidly increased while the assets of the lower classes have markedly decreased due to Reagan's progressive tax exemption. And yet it is difficult to find instances of the rich giving back to the society or traces of the trickle-down effect and income polarization has in fact become even more severe. Moreover, since the economic situation has worsened to the point where stimulative economic measures are ineffective, the advocates conclude that neoliberalism has been a complete failure.[13]

On the other hand, in the case of Korea, advocates say that the powerful economic development plan meticulously carried out by the Park Chunghee administration worsened the polarization between large companies and small and medium businesses, between regions and between industries. Therefore, they assert that this gap should be balanced even now. In the matter of Chaebols in particular, they claim that Chaebols swiftly accumulated wealth through all kinds of preferential treatment and corruption based on their unhealthy alliance with the government during the period of rapid growth. Accordingly, they take a negative stance toward the astronomical wealth of Chaebol families, for they deem that wealth to have been acquired through unfair means. The so-called Chaebol-targeted policies arise from

13 Jongin Kim, pp. 76-77.

this awareness of the times.[14]

### 3. Solution for Polarization 1: Balance of Power between Employers and Employees

Advocates of economic democratization point out the imbalance of power between employers and employees as one of the fundamental causes of wealth polarization. Originally, shareholders should determine the appropriate wage of the employer and prevent him or her from making decisions high-handedly, but the reality is that there are no forces to keep the so-called 'Chaebol president' in check, and so his or her wrongful acts like creating a separate slush fund and giving privileges to relatives have been overlooked. In addition, some conglomerates have continued to worsen the working conditions of employees for their own benefit, for instance only hiring them as subcontractors or part-timers. The cause of this problem is deemed to be the fact that employees, who are in a command-and-obey relationship with the employer, are not strong enough to assert their own rights by themselves. Accordingly, they need to have the power to negotiate working conditions on an equal footing with the employers, and the means of increasing the power of employees are the various labor union revitalization systems.

Meanwhile, they are also working to prevent the employers from taking advantage of employees by treating them harshly or hiring them as irregular part-timers. Through the set of laws

14 Committee for the Publication of the Collection of Papers by Dr. Hyungyoon Byun (Hakhyeon) in Commemoration of His Retirement, *The Path of Economic Democratization* (Paju: Korean Studies Information Co., Ltd., 2004), pp. 197-316, 430.

commonly known as Labor Laws, which include the Labor Standards Act, Labor Union Act, Occupational Safety Act and Minimum Wage Act, they try to legally regulate actions by which employers can make working conditions unfair to employees. Even now, they are trying to pass various related legislations like strengthening the regulations of Labor Laws, creating industry unions and enacting the Part-time Worker Protection Act. In addition, they also propose the dispersion of Chaebols' wealth and a system for encouraging employees' participation in management (employee stock ownership plan, etc.) in order to prevent employers from assuming absolute power.[15]

### 4. Solution for Polarization 2: Government's Active Intervention in Distribution

Economic democratization advocates say that the behavior of the rich including Chaebol families until now has shown endless greed. The rich enjoy privileges by lobbying politicians through their economic power, prevent the growth of weaker subcontractors by taking the latter's technologies and profits by force, monopolize by price fixing, carry out unfair actions and evade taxes. There is no end to their greed. Therefore, if the rich are allowed to continue harboring this greed, polarization cannot help but worsen. Accordingly, the advocates say that the government should actively step forward and take a hand in regulating this unfair and illegal or legal but unethical greed of the great economic forces. They assert that, just as the democratic

15 Committee for the Publication of the Collection of Papers by Dr. Hyungyoon Byun (Hakhyeon) in Commemoration of His Retirement, pp. 221-227.

constitution is in place to prevent a dictator from taking control of the nation, the government should have more authority and stronger power in order to prevent the great economic forces from taking over the nation.[16] However, without an immense addition of resources, it would be impossible to resolve pending issues like strengthening the welfare benefits of the economically weak and making bold investments in education and childcare,[17] which appear as policy tasks of economic democratization. Moreover, once such a welfare system is put into place, it would cost enormous resources every year to maintain it. Therefore, it would be difficult to maintain the policy without increasing taxes on the rich by raising the ratio of taxes levied on the high-income group. However, under the present regime, increased taxes on the rich can only be implemented through preexisting tax laws or special laws. This fact gives us a general idea on why economic democratization became a hot issue in the media, not through economists but rather through politicians at the 2012 general election through which assemblymen with legislative power are elected.

16 Jongin Kim, pp. 60-61. Among the advocates of economic democratization, there are scholars who do not consider greed for wealth negatively. Chulhwan Chun asserts that, though it is not a sin for a wealthy person to accumulate wealth based on selfishness, it can only be justified when that process of accumulation is productive and justifiable. Chulhwan Chun, *Economic Democratization and Philosophy on Reaction to Crisis* (Paju: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2002), p. 160, pp. 163-164.

17 Jongin Kim in particular is strongly of the opinion that, since education and childcare go beyond welfare and are the driving force of a nation's growth, the state should take responsibility for them even if it means having to incur a debt. Jongin Kim, pp. 170-173.

## III. Critique of Economic Democratization based on Unification Thought

### 1. Democracy: Transitional System Headed toward the Ideal World

In Unification Thought, democracy, regardless of whether it is liberal democracy or social democracy, is deemed to be a transitional system for the realization of the ideal world. Unification Thought's interpretation of democracy can be understood from two general directions: first, that it is about creating the environment to receive the Messiah; and second, that democracy is also divided into democracy on Cain's side and democracy on Abel's side in accordance with the principle of God's providence of restoration through indemnity.

First, let us take a look at how human history has unfolded in order to receive the Messiah. It has passed through clanism, feudalism and monarchism on its route to democracy, and this was part of God's process of creating the environment to prevent a repeat of Jesus' death on the cross as had happened at his first coming. After the First World War, the defeated nations set their colonies free, and after the Second World War, even the victorious countries gave up their colonies and encouraged small nations to join the UN, while at the same time providing the latter with financial support as well as equal rights and duties to make them into brother states. This phenomenon can also be understood from the context of the providence of restoration through indemnity to receive the Messiah. This phenomenon of pursuing the value of originally created individuality at its highest level through the protection of human rights, gender equality and equality for all

is termed in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* as the signs of the Last Days foretelling the return of the Messiah.[18]

Second, democracy can be divided into Cain-type and Abel-type depending on the dispensation of God's providence of restoration through indemnity. First of all, the Cain-type democracy began in France. In order to establish the Cain-type view of life, the philosophy of the Enlightenment headed toward materialism overthrew the absolutist society, which led to the French Revolution and consequently the announcement of the 'Declaration of Human Rights'. As can be seen, France's democracy had a tendency to transform into totalitarianism, and this was externally developed and systemized to become Marxism in Germany and Leninism in Russia, which then went on to create the communist world. On the other hand, the Abel-type democracy manifested in the United Kingdom and the United States. Democracy in the two nations can be called the Abel-type democracy because it was created by devout Christians, the fruits of the Abel-type view of life, who underwent the Puritan Revolution and the Glorious Revolution for religious freedom and found their way to the new land of America in search of perpetual religious freedom, where they established an independent state by their own hands in 1776.[19]

However, according to the *Exposition of the Divine Principle*, the ideology that can guide humanity to the one ideal world cannot come from the Cain-type democracy, because the Cain-type view of life blocks the internal disposition of human-

18 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2006), pp. 86-87, 97.

19 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 358-361.

kind's original nature. Therefore, a new ideology must emerge from the Abel-type democratic world established through the Abel-type view of life. It says that, by establishing the perfect Abel-type view of life based on the new truth, the perfected foundation of democracy must be laid down on which all humanity can be led toward the one world.[20]

To sum it up, we need a new ideology because modern democracy is imperfect, and this new ideology should come from the democracy of the United Kingdom and the United States, which is the Abel-type democracy. In light of the fact that the two nations' democracy is called liberal democracy and that France's democracy is called social democracy, the new ideology should appear with liberal democracy as its basis.[21]

## 2. Cause of Polarization: Re-examination of Reagan and Park Chung-hee

In this chapter, before discussing America's neoliberalism and Korea's economic development, the two figures, Reagan and Park Chung-hee, should be mentioned first. The reason for this is that, from the viewpoint of Unification Thought, both were central figures in the age of the providence of restoration through

20 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 376-377.

21 Though there are no direct expressions in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* showing that the democracy it talks about is liberal democracy, in the *Sermons of Rev. Sun Myung Moon*, the economic aspect of democracy is referred to as the free economic system and that of communism as the material sharing system. The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, *Sermons of Rev. Sun Myung Moon* vol. 24 (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1984), p. 106 (July 13, 1969).

indemnity.

Rev. Sun Myung Moon said that, while praying for the providence in the United States, he received an answer from God to the effect that He had made preparations to save America through Ronald Reagan. Afterward, on the day before the 40th American presidential election was to take place in November 1980, Rev. Moon hazarded putting a special feature prophesying the landslide win of Reagan on the front page of the *News World*, a newspaper he had been running at the time. This played a decisive role in the election of Reagan, who was in a disadvantageous situation during the whole election period. After Reagan was elected, Rev. Moon started a conservative daily newspaper in May 1982 with his support and brought together the forces of liberal democracy. The Reagan government was also able to carry out the SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) policy, which had been opposed by the media due to its astronomical cost, thanks to the full support of the *Washington Times* through its feature articles and interview with Reagan. Later, the SDI policy played a major role in making the Gorbachev administration give up communism.[22]

According to the Unification Principle, Korea is the Adam nation as the birthplace of the Messiah. Rev. Sun Myung Moon, who led the age of restoration through indemnity with the mission of True Parents, said in the 1970s that Korea, then a poor nation, should go through an economic revival in order to raise its prestige as the Adam nation. Therefore, with the help of his followers in Japan, the Eve nation, Rev. Moon brought German

22 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity Support Foundation, *Wake Korea to Save the World* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2013), pp. 55-56.

technology to Korea, and President Park Chung-hee's economic development plan focused on rapid growth also began during the same period around 1970.[23]

As seen above, Reagan and Park Chung-hee were selected as central figures on Heaven's side in the age of restoration through indemnity. However, that does not mean that neoliberalism is unconditionally right or that the state-led economic development policy of President Park Chung-hee was right in every aspect. This is because, in the age of the providence of restoration through indemnity, those on the good side (Abel's side) and those on the evil side (Cain's side) are conditionally classified in accordance with the situation of the times, and those who are closer to God's side are chosen and led in the direction of goodness. Therefore, the values themselves are neither perfect nor absolute.

The truth is that there is no room for dispute when it comes to the argument of economic democratization advocates that the neoliberal policy or President Park Chung-hee's economic development policy is the cause of polarization. This is because the wealth gap arising from economic activities is a by-product of rapid growth in a free economic system. However, when we additionally consider the fact that the central figures chosen by God made the Soviet Union give up communism and the close military alliance between the United States and Korea helped Korea to focus on its economic growth, it would be an overreach to assert that the economic policies were failures because they worsened the wealth gap. It is therefore necessary to understand this comprehensively in the context of the providence of resto-

23 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity Support Foundation, p. 12, 17, 26.

ration through indemnity.

### 3. Solution for Polarization 1: Transforming Employer-Employee Relationship to Parent-Child Relationship

From Unification Thought's viewpoint, employers and employees are one great family whose aim is to achieve the company's goals. Since they are a family, the employee's wage is not a cost, but a distribution of the profits. From this perspective, the employer should not monopolize the fruits of the company's success and, similarly, the employee should not avoid taking responsibility for the company's failure. The essence of payment for a product is how a customer expresses gratitude for helping to realize his or her value of creation, and a pay raise and improved welfare for employees can be understood to be the method by which the employer can express his or her gratitude to them for the company's success and satisfaction of customers.[24]

Nonetheless, the difference in the role, capacity, effort and performance of each employee naturally results in differential distribution of wealth. In reality, however, the employer often takes too much or gives the employee too little and thus worsens polarization, which makes it necessary to find a solution for such greed shown by the employer. If an alternative based on Unification Thought were to be proposed in regard to these real life problems, instead of forceful measures asserted by economic democratization advocates like setting an upper limit for the

24 Sanghun Lee, *The End of Communism* (New York: Unification Thought Institute, 1985), p. 261, 285, re-quoted from Thomas Ward, "Unification Thought, Politics, Economy and the New Millennium", *Treatises on the Study of Unification Thought* 7 (2000), p. 230, 235.

employer's wage, raising the lower limit of the employee's wage or minimum wage or strengthening the union's power of negotiation, it would be more desirable to consider employees' wage as profit and thus formulate the principle of distribution with the net profit excluding employees' wage as the standard.[25]

Rev. Sun Myung Moon understood labor unions from the context of communism and was very wary of them. Rev. Moon believed that it is not right to pursue a horizontal relationship with people without the parent-centered vertical principle and order and that it would inevitably bring about violence. For instance, the union leading demonstrators to get a hold of the company's president, who is in the position of its parent, and taking action against him or her, is very similar to how communists operate.[26]

Rev. Moon also proposed the creation of a 'shareholders' union' as a realistic alternative that can defy the labor union, so that they can vie with each other. This could actually be an alternative to the employee stock ownership plan, which is presented as a method of carrying out economic democratization.[27] His

25 For example, if the year's net income were 7 billion Won and the wage of all employees were 3 billion Won, the total income would be 10 billion Won. Of this amount, if 3 billion Won or 30% were set aside as resources and the distribution ratio of management to employee were 20:80, employers would receive 600 million Won and employees would receive the rest, 2.4 billion Won, in distribution. Sanghun Lee, p. 281, 288. Re-quoted from Thomas Ward, p. 229.

26 The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 225, p. 147 (January 12, 1992).

27 Rev. Sun Myung Moon considered the labor union to be similar in character to the organization of the communist party, and reinterpreted the labor union to mean the Russian community party organization and not the actual

words in regard to this subject are as follows:

> Just as there are unions for laborers and farmers, a union for stockowners should be created. The two (labor union and shareholders' union) should come together and say, "Because we need to provide for our children and wives at home, we need to produce more this year than we did last year. Since that is the case, you and we, the laborers' union and the shareholders' union, should work together and vie with each other." Then for three years or so, the profits should not be given to the owner but should instead be shared out between the two unions, and if the labor union worked harder, it should receive a bit more, and if the shareholders' union worked harder, it should be the one to receive more. … (omitted) … What would happen to the unions if someone said, "Since the company is about to go down, I will work for free. If that's not possible, I will give back thirty percent of my wages to the company as I continue to work for it." … (omitted) … Then unions would have to retreat. And then the communist party would also have to retreat. Are there unions in the Soviet Union? 「No.」 Are there unions in China? 「No.」 Are there unions in North Korea? 「No.」 What does that mean? Why are there unions in advanced countries? They were created by the diplomatic policy of the Soviet Union to destroy advanced countries. The unions are trying to take without doing any work. If you followed my words, would it be possible or impossible to

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labor union. The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 168, p. 107 (September 13, 1987).

banish unions that encourage social evil? 「Possible!」 Is it possible or impossible? 「It is possible.」[28]

### 4. Solution for Polarization 2: Appropriate Possession can be Realized only by Appealing to the Conscience

According to the Unification Thought, the determination of an individual's appropriate possession can only be made by the conscience of the person concerned; other people or specific organizations cannot make that determination in that person's stead. On the other hand, human beings are individual embodiments of truth and connected beings, and as such they may have different desires to realize value[29] and those desires may differ in intensity.

According to the advocates of economic democratization, the standard for appropriate possession should reflect the popular will depending on the economic situation. Various methods could be used to determine that standard, such as voting to elect a representative in charge of appropriate possession who can bring in experts to draw up policies, setting that standard by law, or determining it by majority through a referendum. However, no matter what method is used, such a standard could not but be a uniform

28 The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 342, pp. 236-237 (January 1, 2003).

29 In Unification Thought, the desire to achieve the purpose for the whole is called the desire to realize value, and the desire to achieve the purpose for the individual is called the desire to seek value, and the two concepts are differentiated. Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1993), p. 205.

standard applied to all. If such a uniform standard were applied, those who have great desires to realize value and high status as connected beings would not be satisfied because they would feel that standard to be unreasonably low, whereas those who have small desires to realize value and low status as connected beings would not need to follow their conscience even when they believe that they possess more than the reasonable standard. In short, no one will be satisfied by a uniform standard of appropriate possession.

In reply to this interpretation by Unification Thought, advocates of economic democratization could ask the following question: "Then what is the realistic method of controlling those living in a society of people with a clouded conscience?" Scholars may be able to answer this by proposing a better system for awakening the conscience as a realistic solution, but that would only be the second best policy; the attempt to solve a problem through a specific system cannot be seen as the fundamental solution. Rev. Sun Myung Moon said that a principle or thought is only a crutch in the process of seeking the purpose, and therefore that principle or thought should not become the purpose itself. If a name were to be given to that principle or thought, it could be called parentism or Godism, but this does not mean that Godism has a specific form.[30]

30 *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong* also says that a peaceful world cannot be realized only by external factors like systems without individual embodiments of truth whose body and mind are united as one in true love. The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of True Parents Publication, *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2013), p. 208.; The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 21, p. 156, 331.

On the other hand, from the perspective of God's ideal of creation, God wishes to provide everyone with equal environments and living conditions because the originally created value bestowed by Him, the Parent, to human beings, who were created as His children, is equal for all. Therefore, economic activities made up of production, distribution and consumption should also have an organic relationship like that between the stomach, heart and lungs within the human body. Since human beings were created with such an ideal, when they begin to seek their way toward original human nature in search of democratic freedom, they would come to demand a socialistic life system where everyone is equal. Once the will of the people begins to demand this, politics based on that will could not but move in such a direction. Consequently, it can be forecast that, in the end, a God-centered socialistic society will come into existence.[31]

However, this socialism is also divided into Heaven's side and Satan's side. Heaven's side pursues the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value and Satan's side pursues communism. According to the *Sermons of Rev. Sun Myung Moon*, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value is described in various expressions like 'God-oriented humanism', 'unificationism', 'cosmos-centered principle', 'parentism', 'heart-centered principle', 'Lovism' and 'Godism', but their core can be said to be socialism operated through God's true love.[32]

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31 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 341-344.

32 The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 8, p. 180; vol. 10, p. 118, 231; vol. 14, p. 319; vol. 15, p. 267; vol. 90, p. 312; vol. 105, p. 25.

To sum it up, the question is how the socialistically oriented economic democratization can shift its direction from communism to the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. Tyler Hendricks expressed true love as the invisible hand that maintains social order.[33] The best way to fundamentally solve the problem of wealth gap would be to look for various methods by which each person can recover his or her conscience and carry out redistribution voluntarily.

## IV. From Economic Democratization to Economic Standardization

### 1. Instilling a Sense of Connection based on True Parentism

As mentioned above, economic democratization refers to diverse attempts to implement democracy in the economic sector. However, from the viewpoint of Unification Thought, democracy is parentless fraternalism. Therefore, these diverse attempts to resolve inequality of wealth through democracy can lead to conflicts. The fight between the haves and the have-nots based on hatred is more likely to follow the direction of communism rather than the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value for living together in harmony. Even if fallen human beings, who failed to practice fair distribution in the market due to their greed, decided to entrust distribution to the government made up of fallen human beings, the result would

33 Tyler Hendricks, "Equality and Order in the Unification Ideal Society", *Treatises on the Study of Unification Thought* 1 (1996), p. 235.

be the same as long as the nature of fallen humankind did not change. Based on God's perspective, the only way to resolve the gap between rich and poor siblings would be for the parent to intervene and guide the siblings to compromise with each other.

Unification Thought says that the ancestors and parents of humanity should have been Adam and Eve, the first man and woman, but due to their fall, humanity lost their ancestors and parents and thus the true love inherited from God. Therefore, humankind needs to find their true parents once again through the providence of restoration through indemnity, be reborn through the Blessing of the True Parents and recover true love through their lineage. FFWPU refers to the first married couple who achieved this oneness of God and humankind in love, Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, as the True Parents of Heaven, Earth and Humankind. They are the first God-centered human ancestors, and all human beings can achieve oneness in heart with God only by receiving the Marriage Blessing, through which they are engrafted to the True Parents of Heaven, Earth and Humankind.

According to God's original purpose of creation, all human beings are one family under the one parent. When all human beings experience the union of God and humankind in love through the Marriage Blessing, they can be instilled with a sense of connection, which shows them that they are all connected beings with the True Parents at their center. Feuds about possession arise from the selfish desire to own more than others; if we all shared the awareness that every form of property is received from the parents who have given birth to us and that we have only temporarily borrowed the property we own now

for the duration of our time on earth, there would be no reason for conflicts between brothers in regard to ownership to result in violence.

### 2. True Parents' Proposal for Economic Standardization

From early on, Rev. Sun Myung Moon and his wife made various proposals for the well-being of all humankind as the True Parents of humanity, in order to guide all fallen humanity to True Parents and at the same time to resolve all difficult human problems and to guide them to follow a better direction. Their representative proposals are as follows:

a. To construct an international highway connecting Tokyo and the United Kingdom.

b. To develop global fisheries based in South and North Americas to solve humanity's food shortage problems.

c. To create a model for the ideal society of the future through the Pantanal Project (conservation and improvement of the ecosystem) in Latin America.

d. To bring about global technological standardization including state-of-the-art technologies.[34]

34 Unification Thought Institute, *Advent of the Age of Head-Wing Thought* (Asan: Sun Moon University Publication Department, 2001), pp. 128-129. For details on Rev. Sun Myung Moon's activities for standardization, refer to Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity Support Foundation, *Wake Korea to Save the World* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2013), Part I.

In regard to the above plans, Rev. Moon often used the term, economic standardization. The word standardization[35] was his favorite word, and he frequently explained it using water as a simile. The level of water changes depending on the lay of the land and the wind, but it naturally flows into the ocean and achieves horizontality. Moreover, when water on land evaporates and thus raises its temperature, water falls down in the form of rain to cool it.

Considering human economic problems from this perspective, it is the logic of economic standardization that, if human beings had not fallen, they would have achieved standardization naturally through true love and there would not have been a wide gap between the rich and poor even without the 'unnatural intervention' of the state.[36] These plans for global economic standardization are still valid today, and each of them could be put into practice to lessen the economic gap between nations and regions and to lead the world toward the society of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.

Economic democratization is similar to economic standardization in that it also aspires to converge on an average, but its method is different. The method of adjustment in economic democratization is involuntary adjustment through law and policy,

35 Standardization differs from equality in concept in that the former signifies bringing the overall standard to converge at the average level while recognizing differences between each entity, whereas the latter emphasizes sameness.

36 The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon Publication, vol. 181, 142 (September 5, 1988); vol. 198, 130 (January 28, 1990).

whereas in economic standardization it is voluntary adjustment based on the conscience.[37] The argument for economic democratization leaves out the possibility that the rich with a cloudy conscience may give up what they have voluntarily. Nonetheless, even though human beings have fallen, they still have their original nature and so the path to the recovery of conscience always remains open even to the most evil person.

This economic standardization is not an ideal that can easily be achieved by the one-sided effort of companies, the political sector or the media. Just as the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value emphasizes the unity of the economic, political and ethical fields for the realization of the one world centered on God, the possibility of realization of economic standardization will be increased only when the three subjects were united as one through organic cooperation.[38] In particular, the voluntary cooperation of the rich will be decisive in resolving inequality in wealth. However, in order to encourage

37 The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* also leaves the determination of appropriate possession to the individual's conscience. This is because all human beings are individual embodiments of truth and connected beings, and their individual desires as individual embodiments of truth may differ individually and may become greater depending on their statuses as connected beings. Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 511.

38 In the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value is used as a single term, though each concept is explained separately to make it easier to understand Godism. It says the realization of the world of the ideal of creation is possible only through the unity of the three principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 511, 524.

the voluntary cooperation of the rich, it will be very important for the media in its independent position to play the role of mediator in the stead of the true parents. Humankind cannot be satisfied by matter alone, and the mental satisfaction they gain from having their achievements recognized is an important part of gratification. Therefore, if the media can encourage the voluntary redistribution of the rich and educate them and point them in the right direction by discovering good precedents and setting them as an example to others, it would be able to contribute greatly toward creating the culture of standardization.

## V. Conclusion

As has been discussed above, the ideal of socialism lies in the ideological basis of economic democratization. Though socialism resembles the ideal structure in form, depending on its actual contents it could head toward the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value or regress to communism. The discourse on economic democratization may also unfold in the positive direction of maturing the culture of voluntary standardization, but it could also deteriorate to become violent communism where the wealth of the rich is taken by force through the power of the majority.

The reason for the failure of the communist attempt lies in the fact that, having been too optimistic about human change, it made the wrong assumption that human selfishness would be eliminated if a society without private property were created. In reality, a change in the system without a change in human selfishness was even more perilous, for it brought about a dicta-

torship based on selfish greed and desires. Therefore, an institutional approach without insight into original human nature is very risky.[39]

When we witness the present phenomenon where economic democratization has become a major issue in the political sector and legislation related to it is actively pursued like never before, we can understand it to be a warning from the general public to the effect that the amount owned by the rich has risen far above a appropriate level. In this regard, the rich will need to feel a deeper sense of responsibility as connected beings and step forward to carry out voluntary redistribution, for only then can they have their achievements recognized and their ownership justified.

However, even if the rich do not distribute their wealth, it will not do to solve the situation by enforcing the redistribution of their wealth through the power of the majority. The contents and amount of every individual's ownership cannot but differ since everyone has different individuality, and whether that standard is reasonable or not can only be determined by that person's conscience. Therefore, if a person or a group with power were to set a specific level of reasonableness and pursue forceful redistribution, it could weaken the desire to seek value and the will to realize value, which are bestowed to human beings as the motivating power for their fundamental growth and development.

Economic standardization advocated by Rev. Sun Myung Moon is a voluntary redistribution movement where Blessed families united as one with True Parents take the first step to make

39 Jaewan Joo, *Exploring Unification Theology II* (South Choongcheong Province: Sun Moon University Publication Department, 2014), pp. 226-227.

sacrifices for public welfare as the subject partner with a sense of connection. This movement requires the organic participation of not only individuals, nations and international organizations, but also of economics, politics and the media as subject partners. For this culture headed toward economic standardization to take root, the role of the media will become especially important. If the media were to actively carry out a public campaign through which the rich can contribute toward economic standardization, discover conscientious businessmen who practice the redistribution of wealth voluntarily and keenly perform a series of activities that can give mental satisfaction to them, it would be able to play a part in guiding the society toward the direction of goodness.

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# Basic Income from the Perspective of Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence♣

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I. Introduction

II. The Economic View of Unification Thought

III. Understanding Basic Income

IV. Discussion of Basic Income from the Perspective of Unification Thought

V. Conclusion

## Abstract

This study addresses basic income from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence, Unification Thought's view on economics. In order to do so, I arranged the core concept of the

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Principle of Interdependence—reasonable ownership—found within *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, with basic income. Through this I was able to obtain a few implications with which to view basic income from the Principle of Interdependence. From the perspective of Unification Thought, the basic income notion, first, is a concept that can be positively assessed as a system that fundamentally acknowledges private ownership upon which basic income needed for survival is provided, although the range and the degree by which basic income is executed may differ. Second, if the labor required to obtain basic income can be regarded as labor for joy instead of labor for survival, or as non-profit activities for the community instead of for-profit economic activities, then it can be considered as a possible system for future-oriented economic activities based on love and gratitude, as proposed by the Principle of Interdependence. Third, we can obtain implications regarding the process required to implement the economic system of the Principle of Interdependence, through democratic procedures that will be needed to implement the basic income system, which will include a phased search, talks, and a referendum or voting. Fourthly, a mature civic awareness will be essential to implement and apply basic income in accordance with its purpose. For that to happen, I conclude that it will be essential that education be conducted in parallel to restore the conscience centered on God's true love, so as to bring about the realization of reasonable ownership.

**Key Words**: Unification Thought, Principle of Interdependence, Reasonable Ownership, Basic Income

# I. Introduction

On June 5, 2016, Switzerland voters rejected the initiative for an unconditional basic income which led to heightened interest about basic income in Korean society. If the initiative were approved the basic income would have been about 3 million KRW (2,525 USD) for adults and 760,000 KRW (631 USD) for minors per month without any conditions attached. Yet over 70% of the voters rejecting this initiative made headlines.

Those negative toward the basic income initiative acclaimed, "a rational choice of the Switzerland people toward popularism." However, the analysis was that rather than the introduction of basic income itself, it was complex factors such as the effect on administrative preparation and circumstances with neighboring countries that brought about this result. These included the lack of preparation to introduce the policy, lack of necessity due to the affluent existing welfare system, and the concern for a rapid increase of immigration. It was published that in a survey many Swiss citizens said they sympathized with the purpose behind basic income but thought that it should be implemented in a few years once other issues were resolved, such as coordination with the existing system or refugee influx, through an administrative preparation process.[1]

The reason people believe that implementing a basic income is only a matter of time is because they expect a continuous decline in jobs. People are forecasting that labor-based income is no longer viable as they face the reality of the decline in jobs

1 Hyeonseung Lee, "Why Switzerland Rejected a 3-million-won Monthly Basic Income: Misconception and Truth",*Chosun Biz*, September 24, 2016.

since the end of the fourth industrial revolution as changes in the working environment, represented by fully automated systems, accelerate. Therefore, many other countries besides Switzerland are showing keen interest in basic income. Finland, one of the leading welfare states, officially introduced basic income as an experiment starting in January 2017. They chose 2,000 people at random between the ages 25 and 58 and decided to distribute 700,000 KRW (616 USD) every month for two years. Their objective was to see whether the chosen experimental group, upon receiving basic income, would have significant positive change in employment rates.[2]

With the 2017 spring presidential election approaching in South Korea, basic income has become a heated topic of debate. There are differing opinions among the presidential candidates on introducing basic income. Yet amidst declining jobs and deepening inequality, people are becoming aware of the difficulty to respond to these issues with the existing welfare system alone.[3]

Of the several presidential candidates pledging a basic income, Seongnam city Mayor Jaemyung Lee is formally creating a plan to introduce it. Jaemyung Lee pledged that through applying the public concept of land ownership and establishing land ownership tax, he would distribute an annual basic income of 300,000 KRW ($279 USD) to all citizens, and 1 million KRW ($930 USD) to minors under eighteen, those with disabilities,

2 Jeongmin Ha, “Finnish Prime Minister Juha Sipilä Experiments Basic Income”, *Donga Ilbo*, February 23, 2017.

3 Yerang Hwang, “Calculating the Conditions to Unconditional Basic Income”, *The Hankyoreh 21*, issue 1152, March 13, 2017.

farmers and the elderly over sixty-five.[4] Although the payment amounts per person are not large, in terms of payment without any conditions, it is evaluated as having started formal discussions on introducing basic income. Of course, criticism has been raised over Mayor Jaemyung Lee's pledge, saying there is no realistic funding plan, and it would conflict with existing welfare benefits. In addition, there is debate on whether income without labor is fundamentally possible.[5]

Is basic income, widely debated in our country and abroad, a future alternative to be introduced in just a matter of time? What does this discussion look like from the perspective of Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence? This paper will begin with determining how to view basic income based on Unification Thought by first summarizing the grounds on which basic income and the Principle of Interdependence will take place. Then I will present a point of view from which to see basic income from the perspective of Unification Thought.

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4 Hyungsuk Lee & Sangsu Kim, "Basic Income is a Growth Policy: Will Remain Permanently in Korean History", *The Korea Herold Business*, February 23, 2017.

5 If Korean citizens were to receive a basic income of 300,000 Won every month rather than every year, the analysis says there would need to be 180 trillion Won (158 billion USD) of additional funding per year. In response, Namhoon Kang, chairman of the Basic Income Korean Network (professor at Hanshin University) presented a financial model which showed it is possible to raise funds of 180 trillion Won per year by introducing a system that imposes a land ownership tax of 0.6%, twice the pledge of Mayor Jaemyung Lee, as well as other taxes including environmental tax and city tax. According to this model, 82% of Korean citizens are net beneficiaries who would receive more basic income than the taxes they paid. Yerang Hwang, "Calculating the Conditions to Unconditional Basic Income", p. 29.

## II. The View of Economics in Unification Thought

### 1. Unification Thought's Principle of Interdependence

In its preface, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* depicts the human responsibility of our times, saying "Unification Thought—with its spirit of promoting love for others from the perspective of a God-centered view of values—" can eradicate the hatred and materialism of Communism, and the self-centeredness of democracy, and guide both sides "to advance together toward the realization of an ideal world."[6]

In particular, by applying Unification Thought to reconcile conflicting ideologies, religions, nations and peoples, any difficult problems that afflict humankind can be fundamentally solved and one human family can be realized.[7] Although Unification Thought does not directly address the systemization of politics or economics, it does add that it may refer to them when necessary.[8]

With this narrative in mind, during the time *New Essentials of Unification Thought* was written, it was the task of the times to end the Cold War system brought about by ideological confrontations between democracy and communism. Therefore, I believe this book critiques the limitations of communism and democracy and presents an alternative ideology. The Cold War came to an end after the 1990s when communism declined. Entering the 2000s, humankind was no longer fascinated by communism's

6 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1994), p. x.

7 Unification Thought Institute, p. x.

8 Unification Thought Institute, p. xv.

claims, yet the intensifying of self-interested capitalism led to the lengthening shadow of economic inequality, and acute competition and conflict. Individuals, societies, and even nations are living in a structure that pursues economic benefit over ideological orientation.

As *New Essentials of Unification Thought* pointed out, we needed to eradicate communism's hatred and materialism and democracy's self-centeredness, but even more so, due to intensified selfish competition, we have come to be facing a situation in which polarization caused by income and wealth inequality has brought about a crisis in capitalism. Now this is the appropriate time to present the capitalist crisis with a new solution centered on Unification Thought's economic viewpoint.

*New Essentials of Unification Thought* does not address economics in a separate chapter. It introduces economics as part of the Principle of Interdependence in Godism in the section on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.[9] The text defines the Principle of Interdependence as "a concept dealing with the economic aspects of an ideal society, especially the aspect of ownership." By overcoming the limitations of material ownership without spiritual ownership in both capitalist and communist economies, the Principle of Interdependence suggests spiritual ownership—especially the element of love—as the foundation to material ownership.[10]

The Principle of Interdependence proposes a change of perspective of all materials as the "joint ownership of God and I,

9 Unification Thought Institute, p. 507.

10 Unification Thought Institute, p. 507.

the whole and I, and my neighbors and I, all based on God's true love." In the next sentence it proposes a family as the original form of joint ownership based on true love and explains that the family "is the joint ownership of all three levels of the 'other and I'. In short… 'the joint ownership of God, the whole, my neighbors, and I'."[11] The reason the Principle of Interdependence considers the starting point of joint ownership as God rather than human beings is because all things originated from the ownership of the Creator God. Human beings are borrowers of the universe which God created. Therefore, they must treasure material things with a heart of gratitude, care for it with love, and pass it on to their descendants.[12] *Exposition of the Divine Principle* describes the Principle of Interdependence as the future economic structure; from the perspective of God's ideal of creation, all human beings are bestowed with the same value as all people are equal in the eyes of God their Parent. Just as parents love all their children equally, God too, possesses the heart to give all His children an equal environment and equal living conditions. Therefore, the future society in which God's ideal of creation is realized will become a socialist society in which equal economic conditions are guaranteed.[13]

However, the future socialist society should not be one centered on material but centered on God. In other words, production, distribution, and consumption have the same organic relationship as the functions of digestion, circulation, and metab-

11 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 508-509.

12 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508; Sunmyung Moon, *As a Peace-Loving Global Citizen* (Seoul: Gimm-Young Publishers, Inc., 2010), p. 339.

13 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1995), pp. 341-342.

olism in the human body. Therefore, the Divine Principle explains in detail that this society should produce only what is needed, equal distribution without excess or shortage, and reasonable consumption which is in harmony with the purpose of the whole.[14]

However due to the Fall, human beings are ignorant of this perspective, and up until now, they have believed that all creation is their own, attempted to possess it selfishly, and used it for their own human purposes. Not only do these actions destroy nature, but human beings have fought to possess more than they needed. Conflict for the possession of more and more resources on the global level has resulted in imperialism. *Exposition of the Divine Principle* analyzes that just as democracy came after monarchism, socialism emerged to break through imperialism and achieve a democratic economic society. This differs from communist socialism rooted in a materialistic conception of history as a socialist society founded on God's true love.[15]

Hangje Kim evaluates the Principle of Interdependence as a "future-oriented ideology that presents a post-capitalism and post-communism alternative, although it was presented as a realistic alternative toward communism, which claimed complete sharing by the proletariat."[16] He assesses, "the Principle of Interdependence is a theory that deals with the aspect of ownership. It supplements 'areas of deficiency' in both private ownership, pursued by the capitalist economy, and state ownership supported by the socialist economy." Continuing, he says, "[The Principle

14 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, p. 342.

15 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, pp. 337-344.

16 Hangje Kim, *Research of Unification Thought* 2 (Asan: Sun Moon University Publications, 2002), p. 164.

of Interdependence] adds the concept of spiritual ownership, and moreover joint ownership, to the concept of material ownership which supports the systems of capitalism and socialism. The Principle of Interdependence presents an alternative of establishing an ideal economic system that operates on the basis of both private and joint ownership."[17]

However, the Principle of Interdependence, which is based on God's true love, is therefore based on religious ideals. This leads to a characteristic that presupposes a change of awareness and implementation on a religious level. Sunyoung Moon said that "the Principle of Interdependence presupposes the perfect human image at the origin of creation that is based in the religious ideal world in the form of an economic human being." What she means is that the starting point of the Principle of Interdependence unfolds on the premise of ideal human beings and an ideal world. "The Principle of Interdependence demands constant self-discipline and self-reflection to become altruistic human beings rather than selfish ones. In other words, to become human beings who can follow their conscience to control their greed, while embodying the ideal to voluntarily practice religious spirituality of generosity and caring based on true love."[18] Hwamyung Kang also believed that "an economy of the Principle of Interde-

17 Sangseok Hwang, "Interdependence from the perspective of economics: centering on the search for a new alternative to capitalism", *Symposium in commemoration of True Parents' Birthday and the 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day* (2017), pp. 47-48.

18 Sunyoung Moon, "Commentation: Interdependence Seen from the Study of Economics: Centered on Sun Myung Moon's theory of economics", *Symposium in commemoration of True Parents' Birthday and the 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day* (2017), p. 7.

pendence demands that private property rights be understood not for an individual's selfish enrichment but as an asset for which the community is responsible."[19]

Regarding these points Hangje Kim said that the Principle of Interdependence is achieved when the ideal world is realized and called this "visionary utopianism." He points out that in order to avoid getting sucked into utopianism, we need systematic institutionalization within the real world.[20] Sangseok Hwang also pointed out that the Principle of Interdependence was not presented as an alternative to new capitalism because no practical models and measures sought by the Principle of Independence were explored.[21] The Principle of Interdependence—socialism based on God's true love—must present a systematic model or solution to overcome the capitalist crisis.

## 2. Principle of Interdependence and Reasonable Ownership

Reasonable ownership is a new concept within the joint ownership presented by the Principle of Interdependence. Economics in capitalism is based on private ownership and economics in communism is based on socialist ownership. Although they differ between these two types of ownership, absent the element of love, both are no more than material ownership. On the other hand, the economics of the Principle of Interdependence requires joint ownership between God and I, and

19 Hwamyung Kang, "Economic Neoliberalism and Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Economic Peace Theory", *Theology and the Word* (2014), p. 23.

20 Hangje Kim, p. 163.

21 Sangseok Hwang, p. 49.

my neighbors and I, rooted in God's true love based on reasonable ownership, which is the ability to control one's desires according to one's conscience.[22]

Reasonable ownership is understood the reasonable amount, that is, the proper quantity and quality, for each individual. If your conscience is clear, God can teach you through your conscience and you will be able to easily determine what the appropriate amount is based on your conscience. First however, the amount of something will not be the same for every person as each individual has unique characteristics, personalities and hobbies. Second, each individual is unique while at the same time is a mutually connected being with each in a different position; therefore, the material amount to be given to each person will also be different. Hence, the appropriate amount of a material can only be determined by oneself.[23] Regarding reasonable ownership Hangje Kim said, "It differs from socialism in that it does not require complete equality of property and suggests the spiritual element of ownership.[24] He also establishes that private ownership and public ownership are different concepts; joint ownership is the accompaniment of both material and mind and the give and receive action between material and mind.[25]

Jusung Sun approached reasonable ownership with the view that it pursues the public interest or common good. In contrast to communism's joint ownership, he believed that the Principle of Interdependence's reasonable ownership emphasizes the psycho-

22 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.
23 Unification Thought Institute, p. 511.
24 Hangje Kim, p. 160.
25 Hangje Kim, p. 153.

logical and spiritual level of property distribution and acknowledges private interests as long as they do not infringe on public interests. Jusung Sun brought attention to the fact that reasonable ownership differs from capitalism's private ownership in that it pursues harmony between private and joint ownership and emphasizes the common good for the realization of public interests.[26]

Hwamyung Kang suggests the proper quantity for reasonable ownership is the minimum standard at which one does not give material harm to others. She claimed that ownership is not a method of endlessly fulfilling a particular individual's or social class' material desires but should be shared reasonably among all people. It recognizes the differentials of ownership according to a person's skills and achievements as human beings were created as individual truth beings, nevertheless Kang emphasizes that private ownership must not exceed that which causes the material destitution of others.[27]

In reasonable ownership, an individual's reasonable amount of private ownership should not only avoid infringing on another's ownership but should also pursue public interests. However, this presupposition has limitations in realizing the ideal society. Criticism is also raised that the explanation of

26 Jusung Sun, "Observation on the Theory of Economic Interdependence of the Unification Church," *Research of Unification Thought* 9 (2015), pp. 118-120.

27 Hwamyung Kang, "Commentation: Principle of Interdependence Seen from the Study of Economics: Centered on Sun Myung Moon's theory of economics", *Symposium in commemoration of True Parents' Birthday and the 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day* (2017), p. 34.

one's conscience naturally knowing what the proper amount is in reasonable ownership will have little actual meaning to modern society. This is primarily due to imprecise plans on how to systemize joint ownership based on reasonable ownership in pursuit of the Principle of Interdependence.

Beommo Seong pointed out, "to claim reasonable ownership in the matter of ownership is ambiguous in its meaning."[28] Since reasonable ownership is the basis of capitalism, Seong interprets reasonable ownership as not the determinate of the limits of private ownership, but as the ethical sense of adhering to the greater principle of not being greedy over wealth and not profiting from or gaining an unfair advantage over the poor.[29]

The economics of the Principle of Interdependence acknowledges private ownership referred to as reasonable ownership; thus, we must also examine the opposing argument that claims consideration within the framework of capitalism's economic system. This is because as mentioned above, the economy of the Principle of Interdependence is the economic structure of the ideal world, which is specified as socialism based on Godism. Since an economy of the Principle of Interdependence is "joint ownership based on God's true love",[30] Hangje Kim says, "Rather than capitalism, [the ownership of the Principle of Interdependence] is systematically much more akin to the ideal of creation and the

28 Beommo Seong, "Principle of Interdependence Seen from the Study of Economics: Centered on Sun Myung Moon's theory of economics", *Symposium in commemoration of True Parents' Birthday and the 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day* (2017), p. 7.

29 Beommo Seong, pp. 56-57.

30 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

historical development seen in socialism, which aims for joint ownership, as long as it does not fall into anthropocentrism."[31]

Looking through the lens of the global economic changes in the 21st century, it may be meaningless to discuss how similar the system of the Principle of Interdependence based on reasonable ownership is to capitalism or socialism. This is because as an economic crisis has arisen caused by capitalism's limitations, various forms of capitalism such as "capitalism 4.0" or "warm capitalism" are already being explored as solutions to reality's circumstances of greater polarization provoked by the inequality of income and wealth. Basic income is being examined as a possible system to overcoming the polarization of income and wealth and there are several points to consider from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence in Unification Thought.

## III. Understanding Basic Income

### 1. Concepts and Characteristics

Basic income is an unconditional income paid by a nation or a political administration to all citizens. It is a system that periodically distributes a set amount of cash payments to all members of society without an income and asset assessment and regardless of employment status. Basic income has three representative characteristics: one, it is a universally guaranteed income that is paid to all applicable members; two, it is unconditionally guaranteed

31 Hangje Kim, p. 153.

without screening or limitations; and three, it is an individualistic guaranteed income paid to the individual not collectively to each household or family.[32]

According to the level of or goals that society aspires for in income support, basic income can be divided into full basic income, partial basic income, or transitional basic income. Full basic income provides enough unconditional income to satisfy the basic necessities to live. Partial basic income distributes an amount that does not fully meet the basic needs but is meant to supplement other sources of income such as wages or welfare. Transitional basic income is a transitional system that is implemented before introducing full basic income or partial basic income and is restricted to a small geographical area or age group.[33] Currently in the Republic of Korea, examples of implemented transitional basic income are free meal plans at elementary schools and middle schools or free education at preschools.[34]

Up until now welfare systems have steadily expanded with the purpose of ensuring all citizens meet the minimum quality of human life. However, problems arise such as unfair supply and demand and blind spots due to administrative limitations

32 Materials on basic income can be found in detail on the "Basic Income Korean Network" website formed in 2009 in connection with the "Basic Income Earth Network" which is the global network pursuing the introduction of basic income. http://basicincomekorea.org/all-about-bi_definition/ (Accessed March 1, 2017).

33 Heungkyu Park, "Basic Income Research", *Democratic Legal Studies* 36 (2008), p. 135.

34 Hochang Roh, "An Introduction to Basic Income and the Brazilian Law-Making Example of Basic Income". *Labor Law Review* 36 (2014), p. 407.

during the systems operational process, which leads to a decrease in economic efficiency. In particular, with the goal of achieving full-time employment during one's financial growth period or stabilization period, [welfare systems] concentrate on paying the minimum cost of living, providing jobs, and supporting poverty relief for the poor. Yet the meaning of welfare is declining as the economy becomes stagnant, benefit requirements are further limited, and unemployment prolonged.[35]

Another issue is that there are limitations to reducing dependency on welfare of benefit recipients. Until now, welfare systems developed with in-work benefits or productive welfare to deter decreasing labor productivity. Welfare used a method of funding general living expenses to the poor or those in need through social jobs or a desire to work. Yet now, this method is transforming into providing welfare on the premise that a recipient does part-time labor or completes a career course that enhances the quality of one's labor. However, it is reported that even the application of such in-work benefits does not fundamentally boost the will to work. Although most benefit recipients participate in career education or public labor, their will to work does not improve. The system also receives the criticism that those who have insufficient or any labor skills such as the elderly or the severely disabled, become more isolated.

An even more fundamental issue is the reality that full-time employment is no longer guaranteed because of industrial mechanization. Our reality is that basic social security is achieved through employment, but the increase of irregular workers and

35 Gwangeun Choi, *Basic Income for Everyone* (Seoul: Park Jong Chul Publications, 2011).

unemployment means an increase of selective welfare candidates. This will inevitably lead to difficulties for in-work benefits and its effectiveness. This shows that conditional welfare, which grants welfare rights on the premise of one's obligations and conditions of wage labor, has reached its limit.[36]

To resolve such problems, the basic income debate is calling for the rejection of the current welfare and in-work benefits programs in exchange for the provision of welfare as a basic right for all citizens.

### 2. History and Case Studies

1) History of the Discussion on Basic Income

Thomas More is known for first introducing the idea of basic income in his book Utopia in the 16th century and More's friend, Johannes Ludovicus Vives, is responsible for establishing a practical and theoretical plan to achieve it.[37] Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet took these plans in the 18th century and proposed the application of social insurance for all citizens, which his friend Thomas Paine later specified. Paine called for the creation of "a national fund that would unconditionally pay a fixed sum to young adults when they turn the age of twenty-one and pay a civil pension from the age of fifteen." He suggested acquiring these funds through regular ground-rent on land which was a common property. Paine's claims are considered the first of

36 Myounghyun Lee et al, *Issues on Basic Income and an Alternative Society* (Seoul: Park Jong Chul Publications, 2014), p. 152.

37 Refer to the Basic Income Korean Network website.

such proposals that resemble [modern] basic income.[38]

Early French socialist Charles Fourier claimed that it was necessary to ensure the right to live by providing minimum food and housing to those unable to enjoy basic natural rights and satisfy their basic living. In addition, Joseph Charlier in 1848 insisted that the land dividend be paid monthly to all citizens in an amount equivalent to the rent of the land.

In the 20th century, rather than questioning employment, Bertrand Russell and Dennis Milner among others continued the discussion on the argument that everyone should be granted sufficient income for survival. First, during early 20th century Britain, several proposals on unconditional universal basic income were discussed under names like "social dividend", "state bonus" and "national dividend." These types of proposals were never implemented but in the 1960s in the United States a systematic introduction was tested. In 1968, James Tobin along with 1,200 economists suggested a universal basic income called "demogrant." This proposal was even included in [George McGovern's] Democratic Party platform for the [1972] presidential election and it received a lot of public support. Furthermore, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. said, "One of the answers it seems to me, is a guaranteed annual income." However, Europe too began to actively discus basic income in the 1970s. Faced with real problems such as slowing growth, rises in unemployment and decreasing birth rates, Europe's interest in basic income as a solution rose. Later in 1986 the Basic Income European Network (BIEN) was founded on the strengthened solidarity among

38 Heungkyu Park, p. 127.

supporters of basic income which later led to the re-interpretation of its acronym to Basic Income Earth Network in 2004.[39]

2) Case Studies on the Introduction of Basic Income

Despite theoretical debate, no country or other case study has fully and systematically implemented basic income. At present, the system is limited to a specific area or it is in the stage of being tried experimentally for a small group. The one place that has successfully implemented the object of systematically distributing basic income to all individuals regardless of age or income is the state of Alaska in the United States. Alaska's governor, Jay Hammond, proposed to invest part of the revenue from oil mining into a fund to be distributed to Alaskan residents. In 1976 the State Constitution was amended to include the Alaska Permanent Fund (APF) and beginning in 1982 all citizens that have been a resident of Alaska for more than six months began to receive an annual dividend. This basic income system is evaluated to have helped Alaska become the most egalitarian state in America.[40]

Besides Alaska some regions in India or Africa, have also experimented with basic income on small scales. In India, from June 2011 to August 2012 Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) received funding from UNISEF to pay adults 200 rupees (appx. 4.46 USD) and children 100 rupees (appx. 2.23 USD) to the citizens of Madhya Pradesh state each month. The following year, they raised the amounts to 300 rupees (appx. 6.69 USD) for adults and 150 rupees (appx. 3.34 USD) for children. It was

39 Refer to the Basic Income Korean Network website.

40 Nowan Kwack et al, *The Global Situation and Outlook for the Basic Income Movement* (Seoul: Park Jong-chul Publications, 2014).

distributed equally to all citizens regardless of gender or age and as a result, there was significant improvement for malnourished children and the attendance rate in schools went up. Moreover, 21% of families who received basic income saw improved income levels leading to positive evaluations of the experiment.[41]

In the village Omitara in Namibia, Africa, private organizations came together to establish the Basic Income Grant Coalition. From January 2008 to December 2009, 930 residents received monthly payments of 100 Namibia dollars (14.7 USD) as a basic income experiment. These were some of the results: 30% of the entire population before basic income said that they "did not have enough to eat each day" but after the experience that percentage was reduced to 12%; 42% of the children were suffering from malnutrition before the experiment and after it was reduced to 17%; the unemployment rate was reduced by 15% from 60% to 45%; and the average income for adults increased from 200 Namibia dollars (29.39 USD) to 389 (57.17 USD). Their income increased to surpass the amount even with basic income.

The experiments in India and Africa were implemented for small populations living in underdeveloped regions without any proper welfare system and funded by external organizations. Despite these conditional limitations, the results contributed to dispelling the fear that basic income would weaken the will to work.[42]

41 Yoonjung Lee, "Sarath Davala 'Indian Experiment was Successful, the Money Robot Made for Humankind'", *Chosun Biz*, November 14, 2016.

42 Yoonjung Lee, "Basic Income Trials in India and Namabia: Between Hopes and Limitations", *Josun Biz*, September 26, 2016.

While successful basic income trials have been attempted under limited circumstances in underdeveloped countries, Europe is still in the process of discussing and experimenting with basic income. As I mentioned in the introduction, Switzerland held a general vote on introducing basic income and Finland decided to do a two-year trial beginning in 2017 to distribute a monthly basic income of 560 euros (628.26 USD) to 2,000 randomly selected unemployed citizens. If its outcome is a success, the plan is to gradually expand the recipients to low-income groups such as freelancers, small business owners, or part-time workers. The Finnish government hopes that implementing basic income will boost willingness to work and lower administrative management expenses needed to maintain the existing welfare system. The Netherlands is also preparing to begin basic income trials with nineteen municipal governments including Utrecht. Reportedly, Utrecht's plan is to pay 660 pounds (853.98 USD) a month in basic income to social security recipients instead of existing allowances.[43]

### 3. Pros and Cons

Due to the absolute trait that basic income is an unconditional payment, there is lively debate between supporters and opponents of discontinuing labor and welfare. However, the interesting thing is that the conservative groups and progressive groups do not divide by being for or against basic income, but advocacy for and opposition to basic income existed within the various ideologies. For instance, among economists with a

43 Sooyoon Park, "Advanced Countries on an Untrod Path…'Basic Income' Experiments Around the Globe" *Yonhap News*, December 25, 2016.

market oriented view, some advocated basic income to revitalize the market and minimize government intervention, while among economists with a Marxist view some opposed basic income based on the belief that it would dismantle the cause-and-effect relationship of labor and social development.

These differences in viewpoints appear conspicuously according to the arrangements such as how much should be paid and to what age group. Generally speaking, libertarians tend to argue for a minimum basic income whereas progressives argue for a full basic income of sufficient levels. Because of these diverse perspectives, the basic income debate is changing from the level of advocacy or opposition on basic income's universal qualities to the level of what form basic income should take. Therefore, oversimplifying the points of debate on basic income is prone to error.[44] Despite such limitations, if I were to establish two main discussion points for the implementation of basic income in order to advance the discussion, they would be the ethical aspects such as free riders and work ethic, and the technical aspects such as funding.

The leading criticism on the ethical side is based on "reciprocity". Reciprocity says that individuals who willingly enjoy economic benefits attained through social cooperation have a corresponding obligation to contribute productively to the cooperative community that provided those benefits. Of course, here, the obligation to contribute is not an exact ratio to the value of one's benefits. Even if one cannot contribute as much as one

44 Hyeyeon Kim, "A Study on the Characteristics of Basic Income Proposals from the Various Ideological Spectrum", *Journal of Critical Social Welfare* 42 (2014), p. 95.

received due to disability or other differences in abilities, he or she still has an obligation to perform the minimal contribution activities within his or her capacity.[45]

However, if basic income is implemented, there will be social free riders who violate the obligation of mutual reciprocity between the individual and society. This is because the society will unconditionally reward the individual although he or she has not made any contribution to society. Even those who are healthy may not contribute especially since with basic income one can sustain oneself without working.

In a strict sense, if people who have the ability to contribute to society stop doing so in this way, those who are working will end up working harder to make up for them. In the end, those who do not work are not free riders on society but free riders on those who work. If such a structure is created, it will lead to another form of parasitism or exploitation as the workers will have to work and pay taxes to provide basic income for those who do not.[46]

In this context, John Rawls believed that it was unjust to use taxes collected from hard-working citizens to support those who choose to give up on labor and play. A person who is capable but chooses to play, that is, those who are not minimum beneficiaries must find their own means to support themselves.[47]

45 Hyunjin Jo, "Criticism of Basic Income on the Basis of Reciprocity and its Implications in Korean Society". *Humanities for Unification* 62 (2015), p. 372.

46 Hyeyeon Kim, p. 99.

47 Giup Nam, "Basic Income and Just Financial Resources", *Academic Presentation Journal of Korean Society for Public Administration* (2015), p. 480.

Moreover, if reciprocity falters, there are concerns that individuals who contribute to society through labor will disappear, leading to less social productivity and the eventual collapse of society. Under the agreement that production and development support the state, if healthy workers leave the workforce when provided with basic income, society's entire productive capacity will decline and the foundation of the taxation system on which basic income is possible will collapse.[48] In raising the ethical problems, basic income proponents argue that basic income is not sharing the gross product of labor, but a return equivalent to the value of the per capita share of the state-owned assets. In other words, non-working persons would not be exploiting working persons as basic income would not rely on the results workers produce. They believe that it can play a greater function by preventing injustice caused by the inherent inequality of income and wealth. Furthermore, if distributive justice is guaranteed through the implementation of basic income, proponents claim that the true meaning of the principle of reciprocity will be activated, leading to the free choice of labor for all people.[49]

Even Rawls theory, as cited above, says that we may have no control over actual inequality caused by skill-based pay arising from the original distribution of ownership and innate talent, however, property-owning democracy should maintain an equal state for all people by fair asset distribution from the beginning. From this point of view, based on land income, inheritance/donation income, stock transfer income, basic income must be introduced on a level that ensures equal liberty and fair equality of

48 Hyeyeon Kim, p. 100.

49 Hyunjin Jo, p. 400.

opportunity (FEO).[50] Regarding the technical and realistic aspect, a huge amount of revenue is required to pay basic income and its greatest obstacle to its implementation is an inevitable tax rate increase. Hence, we are faced with the realistic issue of how basic income revenue will be collected. Simply due to the immense sum that must be paid to all citizens, basic income cannot be connected to self-contribution through wage labor so instead there is no choice but to connect it to the overall wealth of society.

In response to these criticisms, Baptiste Mylondo of France said that the issue is not securing revenue but what method is used to do so. Depending on that method, the effects it will have on changes in society and the distribution of wealth will differ and he emphasizes a need for caution in the approach to deciding a method of securing revenue.[51]

There are several methods that have been presented: one, redistribute existing resources by eliminating similar budgets for social security and administrative expenses incurred in operating selective social security systems. Two, collect resources by sharing financial systems, implementing new tax plans such as Tobin tax, environmental tax, and wealth tax, reforming the income tax system, and increasing VAT. Three, collect resources through profits from the use of nationally shared natural resources and the nationalization of major companies. Four, collect resources through heavy taxation on speculative or unearned income.

50 Giup Nam, p. 481.

51 Hochang Roh, p. 428.

## IV. Discussion of Basic Income from the Perspective of Unification Thought

### 1. The Future of Labor and Humankind

In section two I discussed the point that Unification Thought's value system of the Principle of Interdependence, which is based on God's true love, pursues joint ownership based on reasonable ownership according to the conscience. I would like to examine the debate over introducing basic income from this perspective. From an ethical aspect, the presupposition for basic income is the regulation and future prospect of human nature. In other words, basic income may have problems if only seen from the mutual reciprocity of one's contribution to society through labor and then receiving a return from society. However, as observed earlier in the paper, if just distribution is guaranteed, the arguments can break from the framework of human labor being income for survival and instead can ensure true mutual reciprocity.

In *New Essentials of Unification Thought* human beings who were created as God's children in the image of His true love do not know love due to the Fall. It criticizes the selfish behavior of monopolizing parts of creation and describes in detail how human beings ignore the suffering of their neighbors living in poverty and are numb to their guilty conscience.[52] Fallen human beings only think of ownership as a material thing and have forgotten its purpose of love. An individual's ownership is not his own but is "an object bestowed to give love to others." Unaware of this

52 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

truth, human beings live unhappy lives in their strife to possess more. Therefore, in order to return to the original state intended for human beings at the start of Creation, we must understand the human nature of working and owning for the purpose of loving more people.

Moreover, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* predicts that the future economy will be entirely different from the past economic model— "the totality of activities related to the production, exchange, distribution, and consumption of goods." It also explains that "all economic activities are the unity of spiritual processes, which are the flow of heart, love, gratitude, and so on, and the material process, which is the circulation of commodities."[53]

For economic activity to change from commodity-centered activities to a harmonious process of love and gratitude, it must be liberated from labor for the sole purpose of human survival. In 1995 Jeremy Rifkin already predicted that with the third industrial revolution represented by technological innovation, mechanization, and information technology, machines would rapidly replace human beings in the 21st century, and that it would become a civilization in which people are no longer required. Labor was a key area in human activities since the stone ages when human beings gathered in groups and worked to survive. However, in the 21st century, the practice of labor is on the precipice of disappearing. Rifkin said that "human labor is being systematically eliminated from the production process" and that "within less than a century, 'mass' work in the market sector is

53 Unification Thought Institute, p. 512.

likely to be phased out in virtually all of the industrialized nations of the world."[54]

As Rifkin published his 2004 revised version of this book, he describes how jobs are already disappearing as he predicted, and that the essence of labor would have no choice but to change during the 21st century. By 2050, he says that only about 5% of the adult population will be necessary to run and manage the traditional industrial sector. More and more, from repetitive simple tasks to conceptual professional tasks, labor will rapidly be replaced by efficient machines that can offer cheap physical and mental labor.[55]

Regarding the loss of human employment, Rifkin positively interpreted the end of human work as an opportunity for a new renaissance. Since human beings would no longer have to rely on work as a means for profit, they would find the meaning of life through meaningful social or cultural non-profit activities. By the 22nd century, Rifkin believed that most people would study and train for jobs in the cultural areas, and that people would be freed to create intrinsic value and revitalize a shared sense of social community.[56]

However, to be freed from survival-based labor and ensure a basic livelihood with creative and meaningful non-profit labor, the guarantee for a basic income that can support one's basic needs is essential. In other words, it may be impossible to guarantee

54 Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work*, translated by Youngho Lee (Seoul: Mineumsa, 2005), pp. 47-57.

55 Jeremy Rifkin, p. 21.

56 Jeremy Rifkin, p. 45.

the same amount of full basic income for every person, but there is a need to scrutinize ways to ensure individual income on the foundation of providing the minimum basic income to sustain the needs of life. Given the changes in the work environment, we need to consider the appropriate time to introduce minimum basic income that can sustain survival while allowing people to engage in non-profit activities. If basic income is guaranteed, people do not have to endure poor working conditions for the sake of survival in economic activities to produce goods, but as it says in *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, they can expect the assurance of reasonable ownership on the foundation of joint ownership in economic activities that are able to share love and gratitude.

### 2. Problems of the System and Education

*New Essentials of Unification Thought* emphasizes that the key to these types of changes hinges on one's conscience rather than a system. In other words, if we arrive at the ideal society in which human beings are aware of and can control their own reasonable amount of ownership by listening to their conscience, any system will automatically follow suit in building a society of joint ownership through reasonable ownership. Then how can we achieve such a society based on the Principle of Interdependence? As discussed previously in chapter two, we must systematically search for a way to heal the human conscience.

From this perspective, when we examine the current process of basic income being introduced around the world, we discover an interesting point. First, the implementation process for basic income is democratic and accomplished in phases. Past

communism overlooked the human characteristic as an individual truth being and desire, the source of ownership. It viewed ownership as only materialistic and forbade private ownership. Materialistic communism, which forced shared ownership in which all ownership must be equal, was implemented briefly before failing. On the other hand, capitalism neglects joint ownership based on God's love. It recognizes only selfish human desires, maximizes private ownership, and intensifies income and wealth inequality. Basic income emerged as a solution to these realities. It can meet the Principle of Interdependence on the foundation of recognizing a minimum basic income, which ensures survival and just distribution, as joint ownership, while also acknowledging private ownership according to the differences in personal tastes and desires. If the implementation process includes much discussion, experimental application, and national voting, we can overcome the limitations of communism and democracy by valuing the democratic choice of the people.

The implementation of basic income is an alternative system for the future. Therefore, it is not a system that can be hurriedly implemented unilaterally or forcefully. The alternative basic income which meets the minimum survival requirements is right now slowly undergoing experimental trials around the world. Through this process, basic income can be introduced at the time and in the form that is wanted by the consciences of members of society. Just as the people of Switzerland voted against the basic income of approximately 3 million KRW (2,525 USD) in 2016, the people's choices should be reflected through direct referendum or election voting based on a presidential candidate's election pledges. Since the process of voting needs policy-level discus-

sions and time-based effort in order to form a national consensus, the implementation can be gradually sought after through the formation of democratic public opinion, discussion, and review.

Moreover, we should attempt various forms of experimental application before systematic implementation. India, Africa, Europe, the United States and Canada have or are in the process of basic income trials targeted at small areas or a specific class as possible future systems. Areas that have already tried unconditional minimum basic income have not made its people worse off or less than they were. It guaranteed their basic rights to live by maintaining material comfort, and experiencing a healed conscience, more time to love their families, and put more children back in school. These types of trials gave hopeful reports that the human conscience can heal if a person's basic right to life is guaranteed. In addition, we can consider that education for conscience healing goes hand-in-hand with the introduction and implementation of basic income. In doing so, a successful execution of a system may be possible if there are many conscientious citizens, but if there are few, there is high probability that the system may fail or become distorted.

When discussing the Principle of Interdependence, the most debated topic is how to interpret the reasonable standard of reasonable ownership. If we were to say that the individual accepts reasonable ownership on the foundation of accepting joint ownership based on the Principle of Interdependence, then each individual would decide this standard based on his or her conscience. However, we would also need to systemize a minimum standard of reasonable ownership that is applied according to the minimum ethical standard of society. In that

regard, we could establish basic income distribution models that apply to joint ownership into full basic income, partial basic income, and minimum basic income, with the guarantee of a minimum standard of basic income that could satisfy the minimum, if not all, needs for survival. If we were to do so, then income earned according to one's free will can guarantee the reasonable ownership of the individual. What determines the minimum standard of basic income is related to the reasonable standard of reasonable ownership. Hence, the efforts to heal the human conscience, which is rooted in God's true love, will determine the successful establishment of the objective to implement basic income as well as guarantee individual reasonable ownership.

## V. Conclusion

This paper was a study examining the recent debate on basic income in our society from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence, the economic theory in Unification Thought. To accomplish this, I first summarized the concept of the Principle of Interdependence presented in *New Essentials of Unification Thought* and then summarized the discussion on its key issue, reasonable ownership. As a result, I was able to deduce that the Principle of Interdependence pursues "joint ownership based on God's true love." Joint ownership considers the heartistic aspect centered on love rather than the material aspect of ownership and acknowledges private ownership on the basis of the desires of human beings, who are individual truth beings. To realize this principle, only when the human conscience becomes our standard,

we can freely practice reasonable ownership by reasonably controlling our private ownership for the sake of God and our neighbors. The Principle of Interdependence is a fundamental economic solution to overcoming the limitations in communism, which only emphasizes shared ownership, and capitalism, which only emphasizes private ownership. Yet its exploration into process-based system as a system for an ideal society has been lacking.

Basic income is a system that unconditionally pays a set amount at regular intervals to citizens. It is being discussed as a future system that could solve the deepening income gap due to income and wealth inequality and loss of jobs due to the development of artificial intelligence and industrial mechanization. Policy experiments and institutional discussions are taking place around the world, and based on this, the pros and cons are being actively debated. From a Unification Thought perspective, the concept of basic income is joint ownership as a public resource which provides income for survival while simultaneously recognizing private ownership and providing a positive aspect institutionally. In addition, on the point that basic income could transform work for survival to work for feeling joy, and for-profit economic activities to non-profit activities, the Principle of Interdependence suggests the possibility of love and gratitude becoming the foundational system for future economic activities.

The basic income introduction process of democratic policy-based trials through phased exploration, discussions, referendums, and election ballots, is an implication for the introduction of an economic system of the Principle of Interdependence. When survival is guaranteed through policy-based basic income trials,

the reports say there is an increase in conscientious behavior of love and gratitude. In that sense, we can surmise the possibility of realizing the Principle of Interdependence through reasonable ownership in the ideal world. Moreover, depending on how much the human conscience is healed, we can predict the success of the introduction, application, and the realization of the institutional goals. We can conclude that education to restore the conscience centered on God's true love must go together with the introduction and implementation of basic income.

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# A Study on the Economic Movement of Cooperatives from the Perspective of the Principle of Interdependence♣

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I. Introduction

II. Understanding the Principle of Interdependence

III. Understanding Cooperatives

IV. Examples of the Cooperative Economic Movement: Cooperatives Movements in the Wonju Region

V. The Economic Movement of Cooperatives seen from the Perspective of the Principle of Interdependence

VI. Conclusion

## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the theoretical

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implications of the cooperative economic movement from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence, which is the theory of an ideal economy in the Unification Thought. Through this, it is intended to reveal that cooperatives have significant value as an economic organization to realize the Principle of Interdependence, which dreams of an economy of solidarity based on true love. Cooperatives are voluntary associations created to cooperatively solve the common needs of free citizens in their lives. The cooperative economic movement aims for an economy of mutual benefits in which citizens gather for a common purpose and interests, centered on a region which is their concrete living base, and overcome the problems of daily life together based on collaborative ownership and democratic management. The cooperative economic movement, which emphasizes the value of people rather than capital, and of cooperation and the community more than competition, is thought to have many aspects in common with the Principle of Interdependence, which seeks to realize an economy of true love that contributes to the well-being of all people from the perspective of one family of humankind. Therefore, it is necessary to actively examine the cooperative economic movement for the realization of the Principle of Interdependence.

**Key Words:** The Principle of Interdependence, Cooperatives, Social Economy, Economy of Solidarity

## I. Introduction

Economic neoliberalism, which has led the paradigm of the global economy since the 1980s, has actively promoted small

governments, flexible labor markets, deregulation, free trade agreements, etc. and has reorganized the global economic order while asserting that the maximization of free markets is the best device to increase efficiency. In this process, the market power was excessively expanded, resulting in a collapse of the balance between social and economic values, and various problems and side effects such as unemployment, poverty, polarization, community collapse, and ecosystem destruction. The system of infinite competition, brought about by the globalization of the economy, is amplifying the anxiety that we may fall behind and the pressure concerning social exclusion, making our daily lives more difficult.

In these circumstances, a social economy is attracting attention as an alternative to cure the problems and dysfunctions created by a neoliberal economy. A social economy is an evolving concept and it is not easy to define its meaning in a few words, but it can be said that it is generally an economic organization that focuses on realizing social values, not maximizing profits while performing for-profit activities.[1] The social economy criticizes

1 Social economy is an abstract concept that categorizes and calls various economic practice organizations, such as cooperatives, social enterprises, mutual aid associations, and other associations, village enterprises, and self-supporting enterprises, created by the realistic needs of citizens, and there is no clear concept that everyone agrees on. In each country, various definitions and terms such as ‘social economy’, ‘third sector’ and ‘non-profit sector’ are used in the background of the unique historical experiences and practices of civil society. The reason why there is no clear consensus on the concept of a social economy is that it is difficult to adapt to the new economic environment which is continuously evolving as existing social economy-related organizations change or new types of organizations emerge. Externally, various and complex social and economic problems emerge, and

neoliberalism's unilateral emphasis on separating the market from the social and unilaterally emphasizing only the expansion of the free market, and believes that the market should be re-established around social values. In other words, the market should contribute to human society on a broader level, and the operating mechanism of the market should be combined with social values such as trust, solidarity, and community creating a reciprocal economic community centered on people and labor, not capital.

Cooperatives are a representative organization of social economy that pursues the integration of social and economic values. Cooperatives have played a leading role in creating a social and economic ecosystem over the past 170 years as autonomous, self-reliant, and self-help economic organizations organized to solve common economic needs that are difficult to meet through individual power. Cooperatives seek an economy of solidarity in which free citizens gather for common needs and interests, in a specific living area and overcome everyday problems with reciprocal power based on joint ownership and democratic operations. The cooperative economic movement, which originated from this purpose, initially focused on improving the economic status and protecting the rights of the underprivileged from large capital but has recently become an alternative economic community movement to increase regional economic independence and revive regional communities.

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new policies, organizations, and cases to cope with them show a pattern of fusion with existing related organizations, and the conceptual horizon of the social economy is also continuously expanding and reorganizing. Euiyoung Kim and Hiroki Miura, *Mapping of Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Social Economy* (Gwacheon: ZinInZin, 2015), pp. 57-58.

The cooperative economic movement, which seeks to overcome the crisis of life caused by neoliberalism based on the value of respect for humanity, is thought to be basically in line with the Principle of Interdependence, the ideal economic theory of the Unification Thought. Based on God's original ownership, the Principle of Interdependence is aimed at an economic community of true love that can contribute to the well-being of all by insisting on common ownership of me and my neighbors and reasonable ownership according to our conscience. Solidarity, cooperation, and participation in the world created by God have the aim to realize God's just economy in which the fruits of growth are distributed evenly to all members through reasonable ownership, taking into account the material alienation and lack of others, with everything owned, managed and evenly distributed to all members according to the same community method.

It is believed that this economic ideal of the Principle of Interdependence can be better revealed in reality through cooperatives. Therefore, this paper examines the meaning of the cooperative economic movement from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence and examines the possibility that cooperatives can operate as an alternative economic organization capable of realizing the Principle of Interdependence in the market capitalist system. To this end, first, through theoretical review, we will examine the Principle of Interdependence in the Unification Thought, and then examine how the cooperative movement is unfolding in the local community, focusing on the concept of cooperatives, characteristics as an economic organization, and examples of the cooperative movement in Wonju. Next, I would like to discuss the theoretical implications of the cooperative

economic movement from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence.

## II. Understanding the Principle of Interdependence

Self-regulating market capitalism, which started as a defensive logic against state intervention, has been transformed into the principle of the omnipotence of the market and has dominated the world economic order for the past 30 years under the name of neoliberalism. With the collapse of socialism, capitalism has been considered a universal economic system and has been unrivaled, and in this process, it has been believed without doubt that neoliberalism is the only alternative to infinite competition, the survival of the fittest, and winner-take-all. However, the globalization of the economy is not the only system that defines and regulates the capitalist market economy. As Karl Polanyi pointed out, the current market system is not a type set in stone but may be just one type of special economic system that appears in human history.[2] For us, even without competition

2 Hungarian economic anthropologist Karl Polanyi is looking for a new alternative to market capitalism through comparative analysis of numerous economic systems found in human history. According to him, before the advent of the market economy, the economy was buried in social and cultural relationships. However, as the market economy began to develop, the economy gradually began to be separated from the social and cultural context, and eventually, as it moved according to the laws of the economy itself, even social relations became subject to market rules. Accordingly, Polanyi emphasizes that by reintegrating the market position back into society, a society in which basic social values have been restored should be achieved.

and profit, there can be a better way to lead a more prosperous economic life. Therefore, it is necessary to break away from the logic of neoliberalism and explore the possibilities of various types of market mechanisms that create communal values such as solidarity, cooperation, and interdependence.

The Unification Thought is looking for this alternative in the Principle of Interdependence. The Principle of Interdependence is a theory that academically established the economic aspect of the ideal society presented by Unification Thought. It clarifies in detail that on the foundation of God's true love the mind and the body should be unified to perfect one's character and become a loving human being. And on this foundation, the economic system of the original world that God intended should be realized at the community level, national level, and on the world level, based on the concept of reasonable ownership which is based on joint ownership and conscience between God and me and my neighbors.

The Principle of Interdependence sees that human economic behavior is in no way inseparable from the happy community life of all of humankind. In other words, the economy is not a domain that exists independently from society, but it should operate as a social mechanism that creates values of true love by being integrated into the framework of a single human family society,

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For Polanyi's review of these economic thoughts, see the following. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944); Karl Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Karl Polanyi, *The Livelihood of Man*, ed. by Harry W. Pearson (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

which is the ideal of God's creation. As long as the economy and society are closely related, human economic activities cannot be separated from social values such as solidarity, public character, and sharing. In short, the economy must be able to contribute to the better life of all human beings, who are children of God.

The Principle of Interdependence specifically expresses this as an economy that contributes to the promotion of human welfare.[3] In the Principle of Interdependence, the purpose of the economy is not to maximize profits based on the principles of supply and demand of goods, as today's free-market capitalism claims. The ideal purpose of economic activities is to freely exercise one's creativity based on cooperation and solidarity-based joint activities, and distribute the results produced through them evenly with neighbors to contribute to the promotion of individual welfare.

Therefore, in the Principle of Interdependence, economy goes beyond the general meaning of the summation of activities related to the production, exchange, distribution, and consumption of goods. This is because it contains the value of love and dignity to serve a comfortable and prosperous life of all who participate in economic activities based on God's heart.[4] Based on the heart of God, producers actively demonstrate their creativity with love for their neighbors and produce quality products necessary for their lives. Consumers appreciate the work and efforts of the producers, pay a reasonable price, and use the product with joy.

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3 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwasa, 1994), p. 513.

4 Sanghun Lee, *Advent of the Age of Head-wing Thought* (Asan: Sun Moon University Press, 2001), pp. 116-118.

In this way, in the Principle of Interdependence, the economy is regarded not only as a process of circulation of goods, but also as a unified process in which heart, love, thanks, and harmony flow together without distinction.

The Principle of Interdependence proposes co-ownership and reasonable ownership without distinction as concrete measures for realizing an economy that contributes to the promotion of human well-being. Co-ownership is a relative ownership established on the basis of recognizing God's original ownership, which means jointly owning and supervising all things with neighbors according to God's will. God, the Parent of humankind, created all human beings as His children and object partners of love and created an environment in which they could all live comfortably. It is God's will for humans to use nature to obtain food and to enrich their lives.[5] Nature is a common good given to everyone, and humankind shares its responsibility as the owner of everything that will enrich the community by efficiently supervising it through creative cooperation.

Unification Thought is looking for the prototype of the common ownership of God and humans in an ideal family. Household ownership, although legally in the name of the parents, appears in the form of shared ownership, both belonging to the parents and belonging to the children.[6] Parents are always willing to give their children material benefits, and children take care of their parents responsibly, giving thanks for their love. The experience in which parents and children share the goods

5 Sunmyung Moon, *As a Peace-Loving Global Citizen* (Paju: Gimm-Young Publishers, 2009), p. 348.

6 Unification Thought Institute, p. 509.

necessary for life within the boundaries of the family transcends blood ties and expands to a relationship with their neighbors further into the community. The love felt in the home expands with the heart of loving neighbors like brothers and sisters in the community, and the experience of sharing material goods with the family naturally expands to activities in society to jointly manage and govern all things in the creation with those neighbors.

In the Principle of Interdependence, ownership is joint ownership of God, me, and neighbors, but private ownership according to an appropriate purpose is partially recognized. Humans have private ownership for the purpose of the whole, giving love to others based on their individual purpose and freedom to maintain their own distinctive individuality. At this time, the scope and limits of ownership that an individual can have is determined by each individual's conscience. In the Principle of Interdependence, the criterion for determining the degree of private property depends on the moral criterion of the individual, the conscience. In the original world of God's creation, human beings were to be loving beings who practiced true love, and so they would naturally know the reasonable degree of ownership through their clear conscience. However, even if it is reasonable ownership according to conscience, the quantity and quality of ownership are not the same. This is because each individual's personality and hobbies are different as individual truth bodies, and each person's status as a connected being is different. In general, the higher you are in the position of giving more love, the greater the amount of goods you need. Therefore, personal ownership cannot be defined as the same amount, and in principle, reasonable ownership is decided by one's own conscience.

## III. Understanding Cooperatives

### 1. The concept of cooperatives

The International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), founded in 1895 and serving as the focal point of the global co-operative movement, aims to create a common foundation for the continued growth and development of cooperatives and cooperation and solidarity among cooperatives. For this purpose, in 1995, *The ICA Statement on Cooperative Identity* was released.[7] This statement defines cooperatives as:

> "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically-controlled enterprise."[8]

According to the above definition, a cooperative is understood as an economic organization with a dual character as a 'business entity' and an 'association'. First, a cooperative is an enterprise that pursues profits through the purchase, production, sale, and provision of goods. Like corporations, cooperatives have a for-profit characteristic that aims to meet the interests of members through a specific business to achieve the purpose of starting the cooperative. Therefore, securing marketability according to social demand becomes a key factor for economic independence and sustainable operation of cooperatives. Since

7 Kisup Kim, *Wake Up Cooperatives* (Gyeonggi: Dulnyouk Publishing House, 2013), p. 8.

8 Andrew Mcleod, *Cooperatives Seen from the Bible (Holy Cooperation)*, translated by Byungryeol Hong (Seoul: Abba Book House, 2013), p. 36.

cooperatives are also a type of enterprise that runs their business, they can only survive by producing economic results.

Next, cooperatives are associations. Here, an association means that it is a self-governing organization created voluntarily by individuals to realize the needs, aspirations, and values of the local community.[9] Cooperatives are created based on free solidarity among people in need of a business, and their operations are also carried out by members. Any member of the cooperative has equal voting rights and is free to express his or her opinion by attending the general assembly of members. In addition, all members share responsibility for matters determined by democratic agreement. As such, a cooperative is a self-governing organization managed and controlled by free users who voluntarily gathered for a common purpose. Therefore, the more members participate in the project with passion and responsibility, the more competitive the cooperative will be.

In December 2012, Korea enacted the Framework Act on Cooperatives to establish a legal support system to revitalize the cooperative movement. According to this law, when five people gather, various types of cooperatives can be established in all industries except finance and insurance, regardless of the size of capital. According to the Framework Act on Cooperatives, a cooperative is understood as "a business organization that seeks to improve the rights and interests of members and contribute to the local community by cooperatively operating the purchase, production, sale, and provision of goods or services."[10]

9 Hyokbae Lee, "The Limits and Possibilities of Cooperatives", July issue in *Christian Thought* (2013), p. 201.

10 Ministry of Economy and Finance, *Business Guidelines for Cooperatives*

Based on this definition, the characteristics of cooperatives can be summarized as collaboration, cooperatives members' rights, contributions to local business, and business organization. The purpose of a cooperative is to contribute to the rights and interests of its members and the development of the community, and the means of achieving this goal are to purchase, produce and sell goods or services, and the way in which businesses are led is collaboration, which is the basic spirit of cooperation. In other words, a cooperative is a form of profit-making enterprise for the benefit of its cooperative members, that is voluntarily organized to do business using the power of collaboration to share with and help those who agree with the purpose of establishing the local cooperative.

## 2. Characteristics of the cooperative economic organization

Cooperatives are primarily a kind of organization for profit-making, but their purpose and operation are different from those of general companies. Since cooperatives seek a balance between social values based on respect for humanity and solidarity and economic values based on the operating principle of the market, they are distinctly contrasted with investor-centered businesses whose top priority is the pursuit of profits.

First, cooperatives and corporations have different business entities. In a joint stock company, the owner is the shareholder who has invested capital, but the owners of cooperatives are the members who actually use the cooperative. Cooperatives are businesses that are jointly owned by their members. These differ-

(2017), p. 16.

ences also change the purpose of doing business. Companies do business in the market to maximize the profits of shareholders, but cooperatives do business to meet the common life needs and purposes that members want. For example, a consumer cooperative in response to the common desire of residents to purchase high-quality daily necessities or safe organic agricultural products at a reasonable price, an apartment housing cooperative due to the desperate need of young people to get a warm home, anda joint parenting cooperative established by those seeking a child daycare center that can be trusted in response to the desperate need of working couples to have a place that their children can be taken care of.Since the primary purpose to establish a cooperative is to overcome the urgent needs of life through solidarity with neighbors, cooperatives place the benefits of their members as a top priority. In general, corporations are valued by profits distributed to investors, but cooperatives put meeting members' needs and improving their quality of life before economic profits. In this respect, cooperatives can be said to be economic organizations centered on members, that is, people, unlike companies in which capital is the center.

Next, cooperatives have the distinction that their operating methods are more democratic than companies. The stock company is operated based on the voting rights of one vote per share. It is a structure in which people who invest a large amount of money can exert more power and influence in the policy-making process than those who do not. In contrast, cooperatives, regardless of the amount of investment, are subject to equal person-centered voting rights, one vote per person. Despite being a business that pursues economic profit, the reason why a person with a large amount

of investment cannot exercise more voting rights is because it is based on the belief that higher participation and responsibility can be elicited through equal relations among members. Cooperatives are run in a democratic manner based on the spirit of human respect and equality, not on a small number of shareholders, but on the common needs of members.

Finally, cooperatives differ in the way they pay dividends from corporations. In principle, in a corporation, investment dividends based on investment are paid as compensation for the risk of investment, but in cooperative unions, use dividends are prioritized. Here, the 'use dividend' literally means that the surplus is allocated in proportion to the performance of the business.[11] Cooperatives promote user-centered dividend policies because they aim to create economic value by means of cooperation. The original value pursued by cooperatives is economic activity based on solidarity, trust, and balanced participation among members who have invested funds jointly which is distant from the logic of survival of the fittest and infinite competition. As such, cooperatives are a kind of business that pursues profit, but they differ from general companies in terms of the subject of the business, the method of voting, and dividends. The core of making cooperatives human-centered economic activities is that the purpose of doing certain projects that residents need is not to maximize profits but to benefit these people, and the method is also to cooperate together based on trust, not on survival of the fittest or competition.

Then, where does the power to create social value and

11 Seoul Coop Support Center, *Cooperatives* (2016), p. 21.

exercise dominance in the market come from? What is the secret to continuing to generate profits in the market even though it is a business that is managed by the cooperation of many people? The competitiveness of cooperatives is its members, cost management, and joint action.[12] In corporations, workers who work for wages, work for the benefit of a small number of the corporation's investors. Therefore, corporations try to increase efficiency by setting wages and other production costs as low as possible in order to generate higher profits for the shareholders. In short, sacred human labor is reduced to a tool for maximizing someone's profits. However, in a cooperative, members work for themselves and also for the community as co-owners, not for someone they don't know. With the pride of producing the goods that local residents need, the owners understand that they are the owners of the cooperative, actively promote their cooperative's business, and continue to buy goods from it. These loyal customers are the most important asset of a cooperative. Even if they do not actively engage in recruitment activities, cooperatives naturally secure customers who participate in the union with enthusiasm.

Next, cooperatives can secure competitiveness in the market through cost management. Cost management here refers to a price that is more favorable than a competitive for-profit company, and at the same time, the best price at which members can use the business services they need. Ordinary companies try to increase the price of goods to increase the profits of their investors. However, since cooperatives do not have a structure

12 Hyundae Kim, Jongran Ha, & Hyungseok Cha, *Cooperatives are Really Good* (Seoul: Purun Jishik, 2016), pp. 58-59.

that distributes profits to investors, they can supply goods more cheaply without suffering any losses. This creates price competitiveness in the market.

For example, suppose you have a cooperative that sells a laptop for 1 million Won.

If you disregard other production costs and spend 700,000 Won on workers' wages, a profit of 300,000 Won remains. In general companies, this 300,000 Won goes back to the investors' share and disappears, but cooperatives do not need to do that, and use it for the benefit of their members. Consumer cooperatives will spend 300,000-Won profit on cheaper agricultural products or daily necessities, while producer cooperatives will buy cooperative members' agricultural products at a high price, which they will use to improve their workers' well-being or to increase their wages. Social cooperatives will invest the generated profits in hiring one more socially disadvantaged person, such as the disabled and the elderly living alone, or providing social welfare services. Price competitiveness can be secured in the market without lowering workers' wages and without raising the prices of products.[13]

Joint action is also a key tool for the competitiveness of cooperatives. Cost management of cooperatives is done through the cooperation of members, i.e., joint action. The power of one farmer producer is weak, but if they organize a local producer cooperative to unite their power, they can also get the right price in negotiations with large discount stores. Similarly, the combined

13 Hyundae Kim, Jongran Ha, Hyungseok Cha, *Cooperatives are Really Good*, pp. 19-21.

power of consumers becomes a source of affordable and reliable delivery of daily necessities.

### 3. Operating principles of cooperatives

What principles and norms are necessary to achieve the original identity of a cooperative, where people are prioritized over capital and cooperation over competition? The International Federation of Cooperatives summarizes this into seven categories.[14] The first is that there should be voluntary and open membership. Cooperatives are voluntary organizations, open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political or religious discrimination. However, what should not be overlooked at this time is the fact that the motive for becoming a member should be based on voluntary choice of the individual, not by force or for other purposes. If someone fails to persuade others to join or intentionally hides other purposes and participates in activities, the purpose of the cooperative as a resident self-governing organization will inevitably fade. Therefore, it is important to transparently disclose the purpose, goals, and operational methods of the cooperative to those who are interested in the cooperative so that individuals can choose whether to participate or not.

The second is Democratic Member Control. Cooperatives should be run in a democratic way by members who choose to share their will. To this end, all members should actively partic-

14 Jongik Jang, *Business Strategy for Cooperatives* (Seoul: Dongha, 2008), pp. 21-22.

ipate in the policy-making process of the cooperative based on the equal voting rights of one member, one vote, and share responsibility for all matters finally determined through agreement.

The third is the principle of Member Economic Participation. The initial capital for implementing the cooperative business is raised through the contributions of members. In addition, effective management of capital, allocation of dividends to the utilization and accumulation of surplus funds are also made based on the decision of members. Therefore, members are obliged to democratically manage their capital after participating fairly in the process of raising capital for cooperative projects and implementing them.

The fourth is Autonomy and Independence. Cooperatives must maintain autonomy and independence so that they are not subordinated to or interfered with by governments, agencies and other organizations. Cooperatives are self-governing, self-help organizations based on voluntary solidarity between those who feel a common aspiration and need. In order to maintain this characteristic of cooperatives, the autonomy and independence that members of the co-operative can control by themselves must be guaranteed.

The fifth is the principle of education, training, and information. The person who leads the cooperative is a member of the union who works with passion while sympathizing with the purpose of the union. Therefore, education and training to develop members are essential to the development of cooperatives.

It is necessary to accurately understand the value and purpose of cooperatives and to continuously educate members on

why these projects are needed and what benefits they will receive from them. It is also important to provide information about cooperative activities to local communities. When many people become aware of the social values and advantages of cooperatives, the region's interest in cooperatives may increase and the number of members who want to work together may increase.

The sixth is Cooperation among Cooperatives. Cooperative activities are not limited to within one's own organization. Solidarity and networking among cooperatives are possible across regions, societies and countries. Cooperatives should actively cooperate with other cooperatives at the national and global level in order to serve their members most effectively and strengthen their ability to survive global competition.

The seventh is Concern for Community. In cooperatives, 'community' has a special meaning. For general corporations, the community is only a profit-making target to sell goods to, but in cooperatives, the community is a valuable base for members to make their lives and place of business. The cooperative movement has a special responsibility for the local community because it is built on strong cohesion with members in a specific local space. Thus, cooperatives must be able to work for the development of their local communities while serving their own business.

## IV. Cases of a Cooperative Economic Movement: Cooperatives movements in the Wonju Region[15]

### 1. The beginning of the Wonju Cooperatives

Wonju, located in the southwestern part of Gangwon-do, is deeply rooted in the cooperative movement. Over the past 50 years, cooperative economic movements based on resident autonomy have continued to take place through generations instead of remaining in the past. In particular, Wonju is more meaningful in that it is attempting various experiments to turn the entire community into a cooperative economic ecosystem through solidarity and mutual assistance among cooperatives beyond the

15 In this paper, the reason to take a look at Wonju as a typical case of economic movement of cooperatives is as follows. Firstly, it is because Wonju is pointed out as the Mecca of Korean movement of cooperatives. It is very Wonju where the movement of cooperatives that was begun from 1960s has been developed most actively generation to generation. Also, it has a great meaning in that Wonju region is moving on to present a blueprint of future for development of cooperatives such as establishing an ecosystem of cooperative economy through solidarity among the cooperatives beyond individual organization of cooperatives, preparation of the fund of cooperatives, etc. The second is the point that Wonju movement of cooperatives was conceived in a close relation with religion. Roman Catholic Diocese of Wonju has influenced tremendously to the movement of cooperatives in Wonju region. Bishop Haksoon Ji and Ilsoon Jang a lay Catholic in 1960-70s initiated for the first time the economic movement of cooperatives which was a movement of residents' self autonomy based on biblical values such as communal character, neighborly love, and justice, and their spirit has been becoming the root of Wonju movement of cooperatives up until today. In that regard, it is judged that Wonju movement of cooperatives can provide with important implications in moving on to seek actualization of the Principle of Interdependence.

category of individual cooperative organizations.

As of 2013, about 35,000 citizens, or 11% of the population, joined cooperatives as members, and are active in Wonju. The cooperatives have annual sales of 18.4 billion won and 388 people are employed.[16] Wonju is creating a social and economic ecosystem where many people gather to organize cooperatives needed in the region, and several cooperatives continue to work together to create new cooperatives. Through cooperatives, people in Wonju buy safe food, entrust their children in daycare centers, receive medical treatment, and if necessary, borrow the living expenses needed by each household. In a word, a cooperative living community has been formed.

The first cooperative economic movement in Wonju began in 1966 when Ilsoon Jang founded the Wonju Credit Cooperative with 35 Catholics with the help of Bishop Haksoon Ji of the Catholic Diocese of Wonju. Ilsoon Jang launched a cooperative movement to protect farmers and small merchants suffering from high interest rate loans and to build a mutual win-win community that lives humanely against capitalism through cooperation among residents. Afterwards, Ilsoon Jang opened cooperative lectures at the Wonju Catholic Center in 1968 and organized the 'Cooperative Education Research Institute' in 1969, actively carrying out educational projects to cultivate talented people who would lead the cooperative movement.

The Disaster Countermeasures Committee, organized in 1972, served as an opportunity for the spread of the cooperative self-governing movement centered on Wonju. The group, which

16 Hyundae Kim, "Wonju Cooperatives", *Hankyoreh* June 14, 2012.

was established to support rural and mining areas damaged by the flooding of the Namhangang River basin, gathered activists who continued their activities through the cooperative research institute to actively carry out village-level cooperative movements.[17] The 'Wonju Balgeum [Bright] Credit Union', which plays a key role as the eldest brother of the Wonju regional cooperative movement, was also established at that time. Since then, thanks to the support of the Balgeum Credit Union, Wonju Consumer Cooperative, the predecessor of Han Salim, Korea's first livelihood cooperative, was established in 1985, and Wonju Life Cooperative was established in 1989, centering on local farmers.

However, Wonju's cooperative organizations, which had been actively engaged in reciprocal economic activities, suffered a major blow amid the rapid social and economic changes in Korean society. As a result of rapid urbanization and industrialization in the late 1970s, large-scale migration of the population from rural to metropolitan areas accelerated, and village-level cooperatives and various associations organized by the Disaster Countermeasure Project Committee began to collapse.[18] In addition, the crisis caused by the price of cows in the 1980s also dealt a serious blow to cooperative production communities in rural areas, and after the oil shock, the mining area turned into ruins due to changes in the government's energy policy and the credit unions and small co-ops were also faced with a crisis.[19]

17 Yongwoo Kim, "Life and the Cooperative Movement and the Wonju Community", *Review Wonju* 8 (2002), p. 20.

18 Gyuho Jeong, "The Meaning and Role of Grassroots Social Economic Governance", *Civil Society and NGOs* 6 (2008), p. 128.

19 Gyuho Jeong, "City Community Movement and Cooperative Community Creation", *Research on Mental Culture* 36 (2013), p. 18.

Above all, the IMF financial crisis in 1997 was a major challenge for the Wonju cooperative movement. Economic neoliberalism, based on efficiency, infinite competition, and winner-take-all logic, rapidly changed Korea's financial markets and economic structure, and deepened mass unemployment, job insecurity, the collapse of the middle class, and economic inequality by promoting flexible labor policies. These changes became a critical factor that jeopardized the existence of the cooperatives in the Wonju region. Individual cooperative organizations that had put down roots in the region collapsed amid the immense change caused by the IMF crisis. On the other hand, however, the foreign exchange financial crisis served as an opportunity for the cooperative movement to protect the economically underprivileged and to pursue a human-centered economic community, based on community awareness and cooperation.

While enduring the IMF crisis, young cooperative activists in Wonju began to realize the need for close solidarity between cooperatives. In order not to be swept away by the overall changes in Korean society, cooperation between cooperatives was promoted in earnest as the perception was shared that cooperative networks should be formed to create a stronger foundation for self-reliance.

As a result, the Wonju Cooperative Movement Council, which prepared a new turning point for the Wonju Cooperative Movement, was established in 2003. Based on the 'principle of cooperation between cooperatives,' the council and eight participating social service organizations, they conducted various economic movements aimed at building a true local community, such as revitalizing the local economy, creating an economic

structure in harmony with the ecosystem, and returning profits to the region.

### 2. Establishing a cooperative regional ecosystem

In 2009, the Wonju Cooperative Movement Council changed its name to 'Wonju Cooperative Social and Economic Network' and was approved by the Ministry of Economy and Finance in 2013. Twenty-three social and economic organizations in the Wonju region participated as members, creating the first 'cooperative to support cooperatives', a secondary cooperative. As of 2017, 34 social and economic organizations, including cooperatives, social enterprises, community movement organizations, farmers producers' organizations, and village communities, have joined as members of the network of organizations that lead the cooperative social economy in Wonju.[20] They have established a collaborative system with each other based on the Balgeum Credit Union and Livelihood Cooperative to create a community cooperative economic ecosystem that combines Wonju's production, consumption, finance, welfare and education into a single communal network.

20 See Wonju Cooperative Social and Economic Network homepage, www.wicoop.or.kr

## <Current Status ofWonju Cooperative Social and Economic Network Organizations>

| Classification | Participating organizations |
|---|---|
| Credit | Balgeum [Bright] Credit Union |
| Consumption | Wonju Hansalim [One Living], Wonju Living Association, Sangji Living Association |
| Production processing | Wonju Food Cooperative, Deobureosallim [Together Living] Cooperative, Wonju Life Agricultural Cooperative Ltd., Wonju Saengmyeongnongeop [Life Agriculture], Haetsalnanum [Sunshine Sharing], Toyoyeongnongjohapbeobin [Saturday Agricultural Cooperative Inc.], Damoin [All Gathered up] Cooperative, Chenzincho [Heaven Earth Humankind Grass] Ltd., Co-operative Hub Story |
| Social services | Wonju Medical Association, Wonju Senior Citizens' Association, Successful Members' House, Wonju Regional Self-help Center, Nonamegi Co. Ltd., Da Jiwon Ltd., Dream Site Social Cooperative, Gangwon Archive Cooperative, Gilgori [Street] Social Cooperative, TodakTodakMam [Patting Patting Mom] Cooperative, Durubareun [Widely Right] Social Cooperative |
| Education | Community Child Care Playing House Madang [Ground], Chamkot [True Flower] Children's After-School, Wonju Career Education Center Saeum [New Dugout], Keunnamu [Big Tree] Social Cooperative |
| Village Community | Seogok Eco Village Inc. |
| Distribution | Gangwon Local Food Cooperative |
| Culture | Music Making Ensemble Inc., Aul Korean Traditional Art Group Inc., Gilteo [Road Site] Travel Cooperative, Pungryu [Picturesque] Village Cooperative, Story Hanmadang [Festival] |

The specific methods for the Wonju Cooperative Social and Economic Network to form a reciprocal community by linking social and economic organizations are ‘mutual aid’ and ‘trust’. These are the core value and method of solidarity shared by all organizations and members of the Wonju local social economy.

Mutual aid is embodied in the establishment of a cooperative system in which cooperatives support other cooperatives. This includes creating a financial foundation for the cooperative movement by unifying the payroll accounts of local member organizations and their members through the Balgeum Credit Union, encouraging members of each group to join as members of other organizations, and establishing policies that require each organization to purchase goods and services produced by other organizations within the region.[21]

Based on the collaboration of the network, the government is also actively pursuing policies to organize new cooperatives that local residents jointly need. Established in 2011, ‘Matdure’ is a representative example of providing eco-friendly food within the region.[22] Founded jointly by Wonju-hansalim, WonjuSaenghyup, NamhangangSamdoSaenghyup, and Wonju Farming, it became a successful social enterprise with annual sales of more than 1.5 billion Won. The ‘Nuri Cooperative’ and the ‘Galgeori Cooperative’, which opened loan projects for the poor and the homeless, also suffered from legal problems, but were able to start their businesses thanks to a business agreement with the Balgeum

21 Gyuho Jeong, “City Community Movement and Cooperative Community Creation”, *Research on Mental Culture* 36 (2013): 27.

22 Hyundae Kim, “Wonju Cooperatives Secure Even in the Global Financial Crisis”, *Hankyoreh* June 14, 2012.

Credit Union.[23] As such, network organizations are not only strengthening the existing social and economic organizations based on the mutual assistance of various organizations but also incubating new types of organizations.

Deep trust among union members is also a key foundation for network organization activities. This is why the Balgeum Credit Union, which was hit hard during the 1997 financial crisis, did not collapse.[24] In the aftermath of the 2000 financial crisis, the Balgeum Credit Union recorded losses, but with the help of union members who waited without taking out their investment, it overcame the crisis and achieved 100 billion Won in assets in 2011.[25] The Balgeum Credit Union, revived due to the trust among union members who support each other, is currently playing a role in supporting the finances necessary for social and economic activities, helping the new cooperative movement and

23 Hyundae Kim, Jongran Ha, Hyungseok Cha, *Cooperatives are Really Good*, p. 223.

24 In response, Hyukjin Choi, Policy Director of Wonju Medical Association, said, "The Wonju Cooperatives have not collapsed and have been able to come so far because they are based on the beliefs that union members have built together through difficulties. This is the reason why the Balgeum Credit Union, which had relatively many unsecured credit loans to low-income families compared to other banks, and was hit hard during the 1997 financial crisis, did not collapse. Investors in ordinary banks try to retrieve their money if no proper dividend is made, but members of the Balgeum Credit Union have not received a single dividend for five to six years, but did not try to recover their original investments." Jiin Jung, *The Joy of Living in Wonju, a participatory society created by beautiful people*, January 2006 issue.

25 Gyuho Jeong, *City Community Movement and Cooperative Community Creation*, p. 28.

civic movements to do business in a stable manner.

Since 2012, Wonju's cooperatives have been jointly working on a project to designate a certain portion of their profits as a cooperative savings fund every year. They plan to build a strong financial foundation through cooperation that supports the creation of cooperatives and business expansion and provides funds when neighboring cooperatives are in trouble. Going beyond individual cooperative organizations, they are realizing their dream of creating an economic community based on interdependence against economic neoliberalism by creating a cooperative economic ecosystem as good as the Mondragon Corporation in Spain and the Bologna region cooperatives in Italy.

## V. The cooperative economic movement through the Principle of Interdependence

The Principle of Interdependence, which aims for God-centered joint and reasonable ownership, has important meaning as an alternative economic view that can heal the side effects and harm caused by the globalization of neoliberalism. Various social problems that threaten human life have arisen in the process of the global expansion of a free market based on human rationality and selfishness. In this respect, the Principle of Interdependence which promotes cooperation, solidarity, and community is valuable in that it convincingly provides a new frame of thought that can overcome today's false reality and social values which are immersed in the economic logic of pursuing profits.

On the one hand, however, it is true that the Principle of

Interdependence did not actively respond to the realistic question of what specific institutions or models can be realized in the current market capitalist system for a reciprocal economy that aims for the welfare of all people. In other words, it can be said that it was passive in presenting an economic model that could operate efficiently in the market while creating the value of true love and solidarity pursued by the Principle of Interdependence. Accordingly, criticism has been raised that the Principle of Interdependence is only an abstract general theory with no real specific economic theories, that the ideology of reasonable ownership is also a moral recommendation that should be made on a personal ethical level, and that its meaning is ambiguous and has limitations to operating in the real economy.[26] Of course, this argument is controversial because it easily overlooks the social and ethical aspects in the Principle of Interdependence but it can be said that discourse on the Principle of Interdependence only remains at the

26 Beommo Seong pointed out that reasonable ownership in the Principle of Interdependence is ambiguous, saying, "The modern meaning of ownership is not to set a limit on ownership, but we should not be greedy to acquire wealth, and the person who has 99 should not try to take from the person who only has one. Keeping the principle that you should not lie in the business and that you should not try to make undue profits can be seen as a means of earning wealth." In the same vein, Sang-seok Hwang also pointed out that the Principle of Interdependence is not an alternative to new capitalism because no specific economic models and measures have been presented to realize it. Beommo Seong, "Economic Interdependence: Sun Myung Moon's Economic Ideology", *True Parents' Birthday Celebration and 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day Academic Conference Archives* (2017), p. 6; Sangseok Hwang, "The Principle of Interdependence seen from the perspective of Economics: Searching for New alternatives to Capitalism", *True Parents' Birthday Celebrationand 4th Anniversary of Foundation Day Academic Conference* (2017), pp. 47-48.

theoretical level of criticism of major economic ideas.

Therefore, research on alternative economic organizations or models that can realize the economic ideals pursued by the Principle of Interdependence step by step within the actual capitalist system is urgently needed. This paper suggests that it is necessary to positively review cooperatives, which are social economies, as economic organizations that realize the Principle of Interdependence. Based on the relationship between people and people, the cooperative movement, which aims to achieve ethical values such as human respect, equality, solidarity, and sharing, is thought to be a model that can realize the Principle of Interdependence in reality. In this section, we will look at the theoretical implications of the cooperative economic movement from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence.

### 1. An economy that contributes to the promotion of human welfare

In the *Exposition of the Divine Principle*, it says that there can be no difference between people in terms of the natural value of creation given to each human being. Therefore, God is trying to give everyone an equal environment and equal living conditions, just as human parents treat their children. All human beings universally have the right to enjoy an equal material life as children who are the object of God's love. This is a blessing and a common right given to all human beings as children by God, the parent of humankind. Consequently, the goods and all things necessary for life cannot be monopolized by a few and must be used for the public good of all. The Principle of Interdependence also seeks the ultimate purpose of economic activity in promoting

the welfare of members of society. Humans do not maximize profits to satisfy material desires, but rather do economic activities for a better life for members of the community.

This human-centered economic idea of the Principle of Interdependence is also in line with the basic spirit of cooperatives. As discussed earlier, cooperatives are distinct from for-profit companies of capitalism in that they are businesses organized to meet the common needs or aspirations felt by free citizens. Problems might be hard to solve alone, but the purpose of the establishment of cooperatives is to overcome the problems of life, such as daycare, housing, medical care, and education, which are essential things in our lives, with the power of cooperation to share with and help each other. Therefore, in cooperatives, the benefits for members are more important than making a profit. Cooperatives do not seek to increase efficiency by lowering workers' wages and production costs as much as possible so that investors benefit more. Rather, they aim to improve the quality of life of their members by dividing up the share of those who did not participate in economic activities and distributing it evenly to consumers, producers, and economically disadvantaged people.

Take the Wonju Health Cooperative as a more specific example. The Health Cooperative is a social cooperative established in 2003 by 2,300 residents of Wonju, the Wonju Balgeum Credit Union, and Wonju Hansalim, to guarantee residents' right to receive medical treatment. General hospitals are established for the purpose of profit-making to provide medical services and make money, but the Health Cooperative was established based on the common desire of the residents that a local hospital is needed where patients are the owners and patients' rights are

protected.

Therefore, the purpose of the Wonju Health Cooperative is not to seek economic benefits. Since the primary purpose is to provide high-quality medical services to members and support their healthy lives, medical treatment for residents is provided, such as avoiding drug abuse or over-treatment, as well as taking more than 30 minutes to see a single patient. The reason for the active promotion of rural home care projects, long-term care institutions operation projects, Wonju residential welfare center operation projects, and medical support projects for the poor which are not done well in general hospitals, is also to increase the benefits of the union members. Since the members who use the local hospital are the co-owners of the cooperative, a project is promoted when a majority of users agree that it is needed.

As such, cooperatives are considered to be meaningful as an economic organization that can realize the economic ideal of the Principle of Interdependence in pursuit of the well-being of all people in that it aims for economic activities that prioritize people and society, not capital.

### 2. Economy as a unified process

The Principle of Interdependence sees the economy as an integrated process in which mind and material are given and received. In general, the economy is defined as the totality of the activities of producing, distributing, and consuming goods or services in order to satisfy the needs or desires of people, and the order and actions associated with them.[27] However, the

27 Sangsik Lee et al., *Lecture on Economics* (Seoul: Hakmun Publishing,

Principle of Interdependence can be an ideal economy only when psychological factors such as God's true love and appreciation of one's neighbors' hard work are combined. In other words, all processes of producing, distributing, and consuming goods should contain the heart and values of love, gratitude, trust, community, and solidarity. The Principle of Interdependence firmly rejects an economic system in which selfish motives for owning more wealth by excluding and sacrificing someone else are at work. Human economic activity should be a joyous service and practice based on the desire to better serve others.[28]

I think this economic ideal of the Principle of Interdependence can be better revealed in reality through cooperatives. Cooperatives aim for an economy of solidarity in which producers, workers, and consumers can have a sense of responsibility for each other. In the Principle of Interdependence, the economy is understood as being a process in which the subjects of economic activities care for each other, help each other, and live together, going beyond simply producing and selling goods using money. We can understand this more clearly through the iCOOP living cooperative.

Korea's representative cooperative, iCOOP, aims at ethical consumption and green consumption and has been running Natural Dream stores, which sell eco-friendly agricultural products since 2007. Eco-friendly, organic products handled by the cooperative are affected by the climate and insect damage,

2000), pp. 24-27.

28 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU), *Cheon Seong Gyeong* (revised edition) (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing Co., 2013), p. 1062.

so it is difficult to control the timing and volume of shipment. In order to alleviate the difficulties of these producers, cooperatives trade with producers in a different way from ordinary companies. It is ethical consumption based on 'advance purchase' and 'responsible consumption.'[29] The term 'advance purchase' means the payment of 10% of the expected sales amount of one month or one year to the producer in advance as a down payment. It is a way of paying for goods in advance, believing that producers will provide safe agricultural products.

Responsible consumption is consumption that cooperates with producers, which means that we are responsible for consumption both quantitatively and qualitatively. For example, when certain agricultural products are shipped late due to climate effects and supply is exceeded, it is a way of consumption that reduces the burden on producers who are suddenly unable to find a market by joining forces to consume more. Through advance purchase payments and responsible consumption, iCOOP Cooperatives takes care of producers so that they can farm more stably without worrying about loans or sales routes. They still receive the same organic agricultural products from the producers, but the cooperative activities contain a kind heart to sympathize with the difficult reality faced by producers and they try to help each other.

In order to repay the trust of these consumers, the producers of the food for the iCOOP Cooperatives adhere to the principle of honestly farming organically without using any pesticides or chemical fertilizers. All producers affiliated with the iCOOP cooperative produce agricultural products in a way that preserves

29 Jiae Hwang, "Focusing on the experiences of mutual benefits of iCOOP members", *Cooperative Network* 68 (2015), pp. 105-108.

the principles set by the iCOOP certification center: product safety, circulation, biodiversity, reliability, and sustainability of products, saving the environment, and contributing to the healthy life of consumers. If any farm fails to abide by these principles, the entire farming community is jointly responsible. Rather than having the purpose of simply trying to make more money, the producers of the cooperatives repay the expectations of consumers who want reliable food, and build eco-friendly farming without any deception in order to preserve the global ecosystem through natural circulation farming methods.

In the iCOOP cooperative, producers and consumers practice ethical production and ethical consumption together with a win-win attitude of helping each other. Based on a sense of responsibility for producers to think of consumers and consumers to be considerate of producers, rather than 'maximizing utility' at the point of consumption, economic activities are carried out in a reciprocal way in which producers and consumers can live by helping each other in the long term. This cooperative movement of iCOOP contains a feeling of appreciation, trust, joy, consideration and support for producers and consumers. Accordingly, cooperatives are considered to be closer to the economy as a unified process, which is pursued by the Principle of Interdependence.

### 3. Joint ownership and reasonable ownership

The Principle of Interdependence aims for the common ownership of God, me, and neighbors based on true love. God, the Parent of humankind, has entrusted the ownership of all creation to humans with love. All humankind share in God's

ownership and jointly own and manage all things. Basically, although the principle of common ownership is the principle, private ownership of an individual is partially allowed within a reasonable purpose, and the amount and scope of reasonable ownership is naturally determined according to the conscience of each individual.

The Principle of Interdependence states that in accordance with the principle of common ownership and reasonable ownership, goods should be used for the purpose of promoting the welfare of all. All natural things are common goods for God and humans, so no one can possess more than necessary. If someone possesses more than this, it is a surplus for others and should therefore be used for those in need. Today, however, humans with limited selflessness due to the Fall are engaged in exploitation and violence that robs others of their needs to satisfy their own infinite material desires. As the Unification Thought well points out, many capitalists possess enormous wealth, but do not thank God and show selfishness feeling no remorse while watching their neighbors die of starvation.[30]

Based on God-centered brothers and sisters, a high moral consciousness and practical actions of individuals are needed for a solidarity economy that does not neglect the need of neighbors and cares for the socially weak. We can consider cooperatives as a specific field of action for this.

In order to realize the ideal of common ownership and reasonable ownership in this reality, ethical efforts are required to limit one's material desires based on the value of the Principle

30 Unification Thought Institute, p. 508.

of Interdependence. Based on the love for brothers and sisters centered on God, individuals need a high moral awareness and practical action toward a solidarity economy that does not neglect their neighbors' poverty and takes care of the socially disadvantaged as well. We can consider cooperatives as a specific field of activity for this purpose.

As noted, a cooperative is a voluntary economic organization that is jointly owned and democratically operated. It is not simply an ordinary business that produces or sells goods and makes a profit. Unlike corporations that operate for the profit of a small number of investors, cooperatives are joint businesses created to solve common problems that local residents are concerned about with the power of reciprocity supporting and leading each other. Cooperatives established in one region are common property that exists for a better life for local residents, and the resulting profits are used not only for the benefit of the members as a whole, but also for creating stable jobs and improving the quality of life for local residents.

In addition, the cooperative economic movement is also a venue for economic activities to realize proper ownership according to one's own conscience. Its representative form is a social cooperative. A social cooperative refers to a cooperative that conducts a public service project business based on the motivation of realizing social purposes and that does not aim for profit.[31] The main purpose of social cooperatives is to realize public interest values, such as the promotion of the rights and welfare of local residents, the provision of jobs for vulnerable

31 Seoul Coop Support Center, *Cooperatives*, p. 45.

groups, and the provision of social services. Therefore, social cooperatives do not pursue excessive profits, and even if profits remain, they do not distribute the profits to individual members but use most of the profits to support the vulnerable and needy. ‘Happy Dosirak [meal-box] Social Cooperative’, ‘Yeonliji Social Cooperative’ which helps families who are caring for family members with disabilities, and ‘Hoehyeondang Social Cooperative’ are all representative social cooperatives in which residents invest capital to create businesses and use the generated profits to care for underprivileged neighbors in the region. From this perspective, the cooperative economic movement, which consists of companies created by investing in themselves, but do not attribute their profits to themselves, but sharetheir profits with their neighbors, has meaning as an economic organization that can realize the possession of true love that the Principle of Interdependence aims for.

## VI. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to examine cooperatives, which are seen as alternative economic organizations to overcome various life crises caused by neoliberalism, from the perspective of the Principle of Interdependence to see if cooperatives can function as economic organizations that realize even if only a little the Principle of Interdependence’s economic ideals in real market capitalism. The study found that cooperatives could be positively considered as an economic model that can realize the Principle of Interdependence aiming for a mutually beneficial economic community of true love.

Unlike ordinary businesses that exist for the benefit of a few investors, cooperatives, differ from ordinary businesses that exist for the benefit of investors. It can be said that a cooperative is an economic organization in which people are the center. Free individuals participate in cooperative economic activity based on a common desire to achieve a better life and society. In this regard cooperatives that have made the promotion of the well-being of the people as the ultimate goal of economic activities seem to be in line with the Principle of Interdependence.

Next, cooperatives are considered a meaningful system that can realize the Principle of Interdependence also in the point that they are economic movement that moves on to achieve reciprocal economy that is beneficial with each other such as producers, workers and consumers participating in the business on the basis of trust, consideration, gratitude and cooperation among members. Human economic activity is not just a process of producing and consuming goods through the market. It is a creative activity of human beings who show their unique creativity to contribute to the well-being of their neighbors and to appreciate the hard work and consideration of others. This ideal of the Principle of Interdependence, which identifies the economy as a process of giving and receiving materials and minds, could become more tangible through cooperatives.

Finally, cooperatives also have significance in terms of co-ownership and reasonable ownership. The cooperative operates in a structure in which revenue from producing and selling goods is distributed evenly for the benefit of the union as a whole, rather than for a small number of investors. In addition, social cooperatives invest most of their profits for public interest purposes,

such as creating jobs and providing social services to neighbors in need. These cooperative economic movements are thought to be in line with the values of the Principle of Interdependence in that they control the selfishness of fallen human beings and make them oriented toward good ownership that fully considers the material needs and wants of their neighbors. In conclusion, cooperative economic movements can be positively considered for the realistic institutionalization of the Principle of Interdependence.

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Part III

# The Principle of Mutual Prosperity


10. A Study on the State Theory of Cheon Il Guk based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value (Hwang, Jinsu)
11. Analysis of the New Political Thought based on Unification Thought: Freedom, Equality and Love (Yagasaki, Hidenori)
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# A Study on the State Theory of Cheon Il Guk based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value♣

**Hwang, Jinsu**

*SunHak UP Graduate University*

I. Introduction

II. A State based on the Dynamic Relationship between Idea and Reality

III. Core Principle of the State Theory of Cheon Il Guk: the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value

IV. Experiential Reality of Cheon Il Guk's Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value

V. Conclusion

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## Abstract

This paper is focused on presenting a preliminary discussion on the state theory of 'Cheon Il Guk', that is, the ideal nation aspired to by the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, from the viewpoint of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. Among modern state theories, the 'cultural state theory' says that a state can maintain and develop a dynamic life of its own when the overall idea of the state as projected by its citizens is re-created as the reality of the state, and when the presentation of that state is shared more concretely in the minds of its people within that reality. This logic is an idea closely related to the reality of the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, which is continuously agonizing about setting up the concept of Cheon Il Guk and trying to translate the idea of Cheon Il Guk projected in those concerns into an actual way of life.

The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value presented by Unification Thought play the role of an ideological signpost guiding the citizens of Cheon Il Guk to live their lives in their respective fields of life with a clear picture of the overall idea of Cheon Il Guk in their minds. As the economic, political and ethical ideologies of an ideal society, these principles adopt the method of first projecting the management method of the society formed by human beings with loving hearts, who prioritize the purpose for the whole in resemblance to God's heart, and then implementing it in reality to promote qualitative changes in the present management method of capitalistic and democratic systems. The more the spirit of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal

Value is repeatedly and continuously experienced by the citizens living in actual Cheon Il Guk, the more the vision of Cheon Il Guk can be displayed through the lives of its citizens and not just remain an ideal. This paper reveals that this Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value forms the basis of the state theory of Cheon Il Guk.

**Key Words:** The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, Cheon Il Guk, cultural state theory, ideal world, idea and reality

## I. Introduction

The Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (hereafter FFWPU) declared the age of 'Cheon Il Guk,'[1] a

1 Cheon Il Guk signifies the 'nation (國) where two people (天) have become one (一)'. The Chinese character for Cheon (天) in this context has been newly interpreted to mean the union of two (二) people (人). Two people refer to the structure of dual characteristics, which is fundamentally inherent in the existence and relationships of this world, created to resemble the reciprocal relationship of dual characteristics that are the traits of God Himself. Cheon Il Guk can be realized only when a man and a woman, created as God's substantial objects, achieve the unity of mind and body and become husband and wife to ultimately attain oneness in body with God in love, that is, oneness of God and humankind in love, and stand tall as the true parents of humankind. The family, tribe, people, nation, world and cosmos formed by descendants who have inherited the love, life and lineage of the true parents come to become one family of humanity that attends God as their Parent; in short, they form Cheon Il Guk. The sovereignty of Cheon Il Guk comes from the love of God and true parents; the citizens of Cheon Il Guk are those who attend the true parents and follow their teachings and even include spiritual beings. In addition, the territory of Cheon Il Guk is

new division in the providential age, as of 'Foundation Day' on January 13, 2013. Cheon Il Guk shares the diverse views presented by other religions in regard to a religious ideal world in the sense that it is an ideal world aspired to by FFWPU. And yet, Cheon Il Guk is very different in the sense that, whereas most religions propose a utopia that transcends the dimension of the present world, it aspires to become a nation that has been substantially realized 'at this point in time.' In other words, Cheon Il Guk has taken root at the place where the gap between the ideal world and reality has been dissolved within life and where the relationship between the two has been unified completely. It would not be an exaggeration to say that all the problems faced by FFWPU today are focused on how to 'substantialize' the nation proclaimed as Cheon Il Guk. However, in order to substantialize something, the image of the object to be substantialized must first be comprehended through concrete ideas. In this context, the purpose of this paper is to give an answer to the question, 'What is Cheon Il Guk?', which should be asked endlessly in the consciousness of its citizens in the process of substantializing Cheon Il Guk. In short, its purpose is to present a basic discussion for establishing the 'state theory' of Cheon Il Guk.

Since Cheon Il Guk refers to a comprehensive world that cannot be considered within the limited context of religion, its meaning cannot be adequately conveyed through the dichotomous structure of religion and state, for instance through the existing Christian state theory. It should be understood to mean

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the cosmos, including both physical and spiritual worlds. See the following for reference: Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2013), pp. 1271-1278.

a substantial world that brings together the elements of life, such as religion, politics, culture and economics. Therefore, in order to establish the state theory of Cheon Il Guk, discussions should be held beyond the limits of religion to include the existing political and sociological views of the 'state' on a macro level. However, since it would be difficult to adopt the general concept of the state in consideration of the various practical contexts of FFWPU, it is necessary to contextualize and apply the existing concepts to befit FFWPU's peculiar position in life.

This paper will contemplate modern state theories developed after the 'cultural turn', which emphasizes the cultural aspect in the interface between a state's idea and reality, entirety and parts and discourses and systems, and will apply them and ruminate on them in regard to the dynamic context of Cheon Il Guk, whose aim is to implement them in its ideal and reality. The cultural state theory says that a state can maintain and develop a dynamic life of its own when the overall idea of the state as projected by its citizens becomes its reality, and when the representation of that state is shared more concretely in the minds of its people within that reality. This logic is an idea closely related to the reality of FFWPU, which is continuously agonizing about setting up the concept of Cheon Il Guk and trying to translate the idea of Cheon Il Guk projected in those concerns into an actual way of life.

Based on this viewpoint, in Part II, this paper will deal with the flow of modern state theory that culturally interprets the dynamic totality of idea and reality. On this basis, the characteristics of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, specified as the basic ideology of Cheon Il Guk in the 'Cheon Il Guk Constitution', will be presented as the

'conceptual' state theory of Cheon Il Guk in Part III. And Part IV will discuss the experiential reality of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as a way for Cheon Il Guk's identity and reality as a 'nation' to coexist.

## II. A State based on the Dynamic Relationship between Idea and Reality

What, indeed, is the substance of a state? On the one hand, the state is perceived simply as a national organization that exercises authority. From this viewpoint, we face the contradiction of the nation being reduced to only a 'part' that makes up the nation. On the other hand, the nation is recognized to be the imagined 'whole' whose precise substance cannot be discerned. From this perspective, we face the paradox of the nation being degraded to an abstract idea whose substantiality based on intricate relationships between its micro and individual elements has been disregarded. Is the state indeed a 'reality' that can be reduced to corporeal and incorporeal elements, or an abstract 'idea' that can be recognized as the whole of these corporeal and incorporeal elements?

According to Jinwoong Kang, the difference between the neo-Marxist state theory and the neo-Weberian state theory, which have taken root as the two axial state theories in modern times, is the way in which they resolved the paradox of the concept of a state that must lead the 'whole, even while being a 'part.'[2]

2 In other words this could be a question on the relative 'autonomy' of the nation in regard to the society. Jinwoong Kang, "The State Research after the Cultural Turn: The State as an Ensemble of Reality and Imagination",

To put it another way, this could be a question on the relative 'autonomy' of the state in regard to the society. Neo-Marxism emphasizes that the state, which actually exists as one part of society, is in the end reduced to play the role of an instrument that represents the interests of the economic ruling class. In other words, it denies the state's aspect as the abstract whole and only perceives the state's partial instrumental aspect as the substance of the state. In contrast, neo-Weberian state theory recognizes the state as the substantialized concept of the whole and asserts that it enjoys independent autonomy from the lower structures. In short, it stresses that the state is not an instrumental part subordinate to the society, but rather that it is the principal figure working to bring about the universal gain of society in the most autonomous way. The former can be said to be a socio-centric state theory that considers the state as a part, a reality and an instrument while subordinating it to the society, while the latter can be said to be a state-centric state theory that considers the state as a whole, an idea and a principal figure that leads the society independently.[3] Though neither has shown the satisfactory 'truth' about the state due to their extremely one-sided nature, it is evident that both theories have inherited the modern state theory the viewpoint that the state's substance is formed by the constant and reciprocal infiltration between the state as a conceptual whole and the state as an instrumental part.

The flow of state theory in today's sociology is progressing toward emphasis on the role of culture in forming the state

*Korean Journal of Sociology* 48 (2014), pp. 174-175.

3 Hyochong Park, "A Study on State Theory: Based on the Discussion of State Autonomy", *Korean Political Science Review* 20 (1986), pp. 121-129.

after the so-called 'cultural turn' of the 1990s. Though both neo-Marxism and neo-Weberianism showed their limit by recognizing culture only as a fruit of the state's influence, state theories after the cultural turn have opened a new paradigm that says that culture is not a secondary by-product of the state, but rather that it socially makes up the state itself.[4] In the process of understanding the substance of a state, the problem may arise where the relationship between the whole and its part and idea and reality is simply reduced to the field of culture. However, the explanation that the moment when the state as an overall idea is created takes place within the reality of the state and that the image of the state thus projected is reproduced and reconstituted as the reality of the state, and that therefore culture is the reciprocal link between the two, is quite persuasive.

Clifford Geertz asserted through his study on the 19th century kingdom of Negara in Bali, Indonesia, that the ceremonial process continually maintains and reconstitutes the social order by bringing about the "perception, representation and actualization" of the idea of the state.[5] According to Bob Jessop, 'state effects' are produced through strategic 'state projects', and the historical and political aspects of these state effects form the reality of the

4 George Steinmetz, *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 2.; Jinwoong Kang, "The State Research after the Cultural Turn: The State as an Ensemble of Reality and Imagination", p. 179.

5 Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 130.; Jinwoong Kang, "The State Research after the Cultural Turn: The State as an Ensemble of Reality and Imagination", p. 183.

state.[6] What is important here is that the reality of the state guides its citizens to form the overall abstract idea about the state, while at the same time the actual conditions of the state are dynamically reconstituted through the idea thus generated. Therefore, in order to have a more complete understanding of the state, we need to "take a look in detail at the process of state-making from the dynamic aspect."[7]

Discourses on such modern sociological state theories provide a very important methodological framework in the process of establishing the state theory of Cheon Il Guk. This is because, as FFWPU continues to ponder upon setting up the concept of Cheon Il Guk on the path toward its substantialization, the idea of Cheon Il Guk projected through such worries endlessly intersects with today's reality of Cheon Il Guk. In other words, the 'conceptual Cheon Il Guk' and the 'substantial Cheon Il Guk' are constantly engaged in 'give and receive action' in the awareness and actions of our everyday lives as it continues to expand the horizons of Cheon Il Guk. As the substance of Cheon Il Guk is refined through this dynamic relationship between idea and reality, we can, instead of being disappointed in the gap between the proclamations 'already' made and the reality that they have not been substantialized 'yet', adopt the awareness and take actions to lessen that gap.

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6 Bob Jessop, *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 7-9.; Jinwoong Kang, "The State Research after the Cultural Turn: The State as an Ensemble of Reality and Imagination", p. 177.

7 Taesung Kim and Kyungryung Seong, *Theory of Welfare State* (Paju, Gyeonggi Province: Nanam, 2014), p. 16.

For example, today's FFWPU is considering two different methods in regard to the concept of Cheon Il Guk. One is to convert an existing nation to God's nation through the 'restoration of sovereignty', and the other is to recognize Cheon Il Guk to be on the cosmic level encompassing both the physical and spiritual worlds and thus to increase the number of 'Blessed families' on this planet in whom God can dwell.[8] Let us first consider approaching Cheon Il Guk based on the concept of its being similar to a general secular state. Whether this method of approach can be justified will not be ascertained by the concept itself but will rather depend on whether the 'effectiveness' as a realization of this national concept of Cheon Il Guk is taking place in today's FFWPU community through the various 'state projects' carried out by FFWPU. In other words, even if the substantialization of Cheon Il Guk were to be pursued based on the secular state concept, unless this state concept were to be repeatedly 're-ritualized' and 'actualized' through the ceremonies or projects of FFWPU, it would be very difficult for the national identity of Cheon Il Guk to take root. Similarly, even if Cheon Il Guk were to be approached as a 'cosmic' state encompassing both the physical and spiritual worlds transcending the general secular state concept, unless these prospects were reconfirmed through the ceremonies and projects of FFWPU and unless FFWPU passed through the process of newly reconstituting itself in such a direction, the identity of Cheon Il Guk as a cosmic ideal nation

8 See the following manuscript for reference: Jinsu Hwang, "The Way to the Substantialization of Cheon Il Guk: Based on Establishing a Life System with the Cheon Il Guk Constitution at its Center", *Cheon Il Guk Leaders Educational Contents Development Project under the Leadership of the True Parents of Heaven, Earth and Humankind* (2015, unpublished).

could not be established in the gap between concept and reality.[9]

Accordingly, the process of establishing the state theory of Cheon Il Guk should satisfy the following two aspects simultaneously: first, that of theoretically clarifying and refining the blueprint of the ideal world called Cheon Il Guk in order to make it possible to implement its realistic prospects in everyday lives; and second, that of making this blueprint to be continuously recognized and represented in the lives of the members of the FFWPU community through diverse ceremonies and 'state projects' of Cheon Il Guk, in order to guide them to substantialize the overall idea of the state 'here and now.' Neither of these two axes can be achieved while excluding the other, for they are in an inseparable relationship where by nature they support each other, and it is only through this relationship that the national identity and substance of Cheon Il Guk can finally be revealed.

In this regard, we will next examine the 'Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value', which are specified as the basic ideology of Cheon Il Guk in the 'Cheon Il Guk Constitution', in the context of the first aspect of the state theory of Cheon Il Guk, that is, theoretically making the blueprint of Cheon Il Guk concrete. We will discuss the core values of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the rules of life in the ideal world that should be aspired

9 In this regard, the role of the 'Eight Great Holy Days' upheld by FFWPU as a tradition can be said to be very important. Rather than maintaining that tradition simply as a perfunctory ritual, focus should be placed on how the image of realizing an ideal world incorporated in each of the Eight Great Holy Days can be recognized and represented by the entire community through the ritual in order to share a common sense of purpose.

to by Cheon Il Guk. Thereafter, we will take a look at how these principles can be represented in the daily life of the FFWPU community, based on the second aspect of the state theory of Cheon Il Guk, and search for a way for Cheon Il Guk to be revealed completely, both in idea and in reality, as a 'state.'

## III. Core Principles of the State Theory of Cheon Il Guk: The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value

The Cheon Il Guk Constitution, proclaimed after Foundation Day, can be said to be some kind of a blueprint that connotes the concept of Cheon Il Guk ultimately aspired to by FFWPU. It incorporates all the elements of Cheon Il Guk as a national concept, leading with the Family Pledge that is the creed of FFWPU. Even though the reality of FFWPU today is that it has to live in the form of a religious community within the legal confines of existing nations, from the viewpoint of Cheon Il Guk, no barrier of any kind exists, not that of national boundary, race, culture, religion nor any others. Its territory encompasses both the spiritual and physical worlds in their entirety (Cheon Il Guk Constitution Article 11), and the essence of Cheon Il Guk is for "those who attend True Parents and follow True Parents' teachings" (Article 19 Clause 1) under the absolute sovereignty of God and True Parents (Article 10) to live actualizing freedom, peace, unity and happiness (Article 8 Clause 1) based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value (Article 9).[10] Creating a community on the national and

10 "For Heaven's nation to exist, it must have Heaven's constitution. If it

global level on this foundation may be said to be the fundamental directionality that FFWPU should adopt in substantializing Cheon Il Guk.

Article 9 elucidates that "Cheon II Guk is based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universally Shared Values." Just as the Constitution of the Republic of Korea specifies its national identity to be a 'democratic republic' and France identifies 'liberty, equality, fraternity' as its national motto, the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value have been adopted as the national policy of Cheon Il Guk. It means that these principles are not only the ideological basis of the overall national administration of Cheon Il Guk, but they also play the role of the fundamental rules and rudder of life. Accordingly, in order to clearly reveal the theoretical blueprint of Cheon Il Guk, a profound study of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value must be carried out first.

However, the truth is that, of the studies carried out by FFWPU on theology and ideology until now, despite their importance, the study of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual

takes the form of a nation-state, the constitution written for it will include provisions about sovereignty, land and citizens. But in reality, can we find a territory today that God governs? What about God's sovereignty or God's citizens? These are not to be found. Who, then, has been entrusted with the mission to bring these into being? God has entrusted this work to the returning Lord, the True Parents. Since the first ancestors, who should have been the True Parents, lost the world-level foundation, I have to surpass that standard. I must establish the sovereignty of God's love and proclaim it. I have to proclaim a world united under God." Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Cheon Seong Gyeong*, pp. 1280-1281.

Prosperity and Universal Value has been insufficient. The reason for this oversight can be found in the fact that there is a lack of texts on the meaning of these principles.[11] The *Exposition of the Divine Principle* only mentions the term, 'the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value,' in passing as the divine ideal as it speaks of the coming of a time when "all of humanity [will] become one with God in heart. Such people will build an economy in accordance with the divine ideal. These will be the foundations for a new political order which can realize the ideal of creation."[12] *The New Essentials of Unification Thought* (hereafter Unification Thought) alone introduces the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value in more

11 "The moment when a man and a woman open the door to a new world with heavenly love and step forward is the moment when the Kingdom of Heaven we have hoped for is begun. Only then can the Last Days of heaven and earth come through them and can the goal and destination of hope desired by humanity be created. When that moment comes, the age where one asserts oneself alone will pass by. It will be an age where one cannot say, 'I am the best.' From then on, we will live in a common world. In other words, it will be a world of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. That is why the Unification Church is promoting Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. That world cannot be realized by oneself alone. Do you understand? The world of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value is the world of the ideal Kingdom of Heaven long desired by humanity. That world is a world that can never be realized alone." The Committee for the Publication of the Teachings of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, *Sermons of Rev. Sun Myung Moon*, vol. 24 (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1989), p. 298.

12 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *Exposition of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 2002), p. 343-344.

detail through the words of Dr. Sanghun Lee.[13] Until now, most of the papers on these principles presented by FFWPU scholars have been based on the limited contents elucidated in the *Exposition of the Divine Principle* and Unification Thought.[14]

In regard to the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, Unification Thought says that they are "compound principles consisting actually of three simple concepts: Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the principles addressing a certain dimension of Rev. Moon's concept of Godism, namely, the dimension including economics,

13 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)* (Cheonan: Sun Moon University Publishing Department, 2007), pp. 507-524.

14 See the following papers for reference: Yushin Choi, "The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the Third Alternative", *Research of Unification Thought* 2 (2001). Yushin Choi, "Issues of Justice in Establishing the Political Thought of Unification", *Research of Unification Thought* 3 (2002).; Hangje Kim, "The Theory of Universal Value as a Political Ideology of the Unification Church", *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 24 (2011).; Hangje Kim, "The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value and T. Moore's Utopian Ideas", *Treatises on the Study of Unification Thought* 5 (1999).; Hangje Kim, "The Structural Contradiction of the Korean Society and the Search for Peace based on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity", *Journal of Peace Studies* 7 (2006).; Kyejeong Kim, "Political and Ethical Issues in Establishing the Political Thought of Unification", *Research of Unification Thought* 3 (2002).; Gyeongjoon Min, "The Principle of Interdependence as an Alternative to Communism", *Collection of Dissertations from Sun Moon University Graduate School of Theology* (2001).; Incheon Kim, "A Study on the Method of Realizing the Principle of Universal Value through an Understanding of Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian Realism", *Journal of Graduate Academic Research* 2 (2000).

politics and ethics."[15] The three Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value can be considered to be three separate principles dealing with the three aspects of human life, economics, politics and ethics, respectively. At the same time, the three can also be regarded as one unified idea because they "are not separate ideas but rather they are integrated as one. When this one, integrated idea is realized, the world of the ideal of creation, which God originally envisioned, will be realized for the first time."[16] In addition, Unification Thought elucidates that "the Principle of Universal Value is the very core of the future society of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value."[17] This shows that these principles are ideologies that emphasize a religious and ethical spirit based on love above all else.

The Principle of Universal Value can be defined as a "perspective needed for the realization of the society of joint ethics", "where all people, regardless of their positions, will live with the same ethical attitudes", "everywhere and at all times."[18] In a chaotic age where the standard of ethics and morality itself has become obscure due to the collapse of values, the claim of the Principle of Universal Value that it is necessary to set up common ethical beliefs identified with by all humankind is not ungrounded.

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15 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 507.

16 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 524.

17 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 522, pp. 533-534.

18 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 522.

Of course, the truth is that it is quite doubtful whether we can avoid feeling deep skepticism at whether common ethical beliefs or values can be established in the flow of pluralism. Nevertheless, the Principle of Universal Value imputes the basis of those common ethical beliefs to God, the origin of all created things, thereby raising the Universal Value to their absolute standard. Moreover, the search for the essence of common ethics within the boundaries of 'true love'[19], which cannot be fully reduced to the rational domain of humankind, transcends the relativist limits that logical positivist arguments must inevitably face. Of course, that does not mean that the Principle of Universal Value strictly differentiates the logic of love from social justice based on the logic of power, like the ideology of Reinhold Niebuhr. The love indicated by the Principle of Universal Value manifests its universal experience and principle starting with the family, which can be

19 FFWPU speaks of true love as a core attribute of God. God, as proclaimed by FFWPU, is the Original Being of heart who wishes to love boundlessly, and from this heart stems true love that desires to give infinitely to the object of love. Similar to how a mother holds her baby in her bosom and breastfeeds, or how a child feels joy from practicing filial piety toward his or her parents, true love is the love that gives endlessly without expecting anything in return and forgets even the fact that it has given. According to Unification Theology, human beings created to resemble this attribute of true love in God should live their lives practicing true love with their family as the basis. God's true love appears in the form of the four classifications of love during the growth process in the lives of human beings: the love of children, the love of siblings, the love of husband and wife and the love of parents. When we experience these four great loves and thereby deeply experience the true love of God, the origin of all these different kinds of love, and our families expand to become one great family of humanity attending God as our Parent, the ideal of creation can finally be realized with God's true love at its center.

said to be the most basic society in the lives of human beings.

The fact that this Principle of Universal Value forms the basis of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value signifies that, even if these principles incorporate economic and political elements, they are principles that fundamentally emphasize the internal maturity of human beings through which they can form altruistic relationships by internalizing the ethics and morality of love in their lives, rather than principles that present elaborate external procedures, structures and systems of economics and politics. This is possibly the reason why the conclusion of various discourses on the Principles of Interdependence and Mutual Prosperity tends to return to the altruistic nature of humankind.

In regard to the Principle of Interdependence, Unification Thought defines its meaning with emphasis on the various aspects of economics, particularly the aspect of ownership.[20] Generally, its context can be summed up through the concepts of 'common ownership' and an individual's 'appropriate ownership' as follows: common ownership refers to the concept where God and I, all people and I, and neighbors and I jointly own all created things based on the order of creation that dictates that human beings, the children, should jointly manage the possessions of God, the Parent; and appropriate ownership refers to the concept of individual ownership that, in order for a human being with both the purpose for the whole and purpose for the individual

20 This perhaps stems from the fact that Unification Thought was first begun in the context of overcoming communism, and therefore it aims to present the correct correlation between national possession and individual possession.

to achieve the former through the latter, he or she should be able to own an 'appropriate amount' as permitted by his or her conscience.

In a word, the core point of the Principle of Interdependence dealing with the economic aspect of an ideal society is to amicably and harmoniously maintain and develop this relationship between common ownership and appropriate ownership (individual ownership) within the complementary order of the subject partner and object partner. In other words, it means that the appropriate ownership of an individual should be realized while prioritizing the common ownership on a more fundamental level. If an individual's ownership is prioritized over common ownership, the balance between individual ownership and common ownership could not be achieved amicably because it would be difficult to set the standard for determining the 'appropriate amount' of the appropriate ownership. The appropriate amount of an individual's ownership can only be determined on the basis of the conscience prioritizing the common ownership.

As can be seen, the Principle of Interdependence emphasizes the mature awareness (heart) of citizens who strive to prioritize public ownership, that is, common ownership, and says that an individual can personally determine his or her appropriate ownership only on that heart-based foundation of public awareness. As aforementioned, the development of the altruistic heart of true love emphasized by the Principle of Universal Value becomes, in the end, the keyword by which the Principle of Interdependence can be realized. If the appropriate amount of individual ownership is determined by the conscience, though that conscience may be an echo of the spirit within an individual, its

basis promotes a profound awareness of public ethics that wishes to prioritize the purpose for the whole. The Principle of Interdependence, which asserts that individual ownership is necessary in the process of infinitely pursuing the common good, opens up the possibility of achieving the balance of 'interdependence' in the end where the entire community tries to guarantee as much individual ownership as possible. Therefore, the Principle of Interdependence can be said to be the philosophy of ownership that pursues the common good first and foremost, with God at its center.[21]

In regard to the Principle of Mutual Prosperity, Unification Thought introduces it as a "concept concerned with the political aspects of the future ideal society proposed as an alternative to democracy, which is the political ideology of capitalism."[22] If the Principle of Interdependence was proposed as the alternative to the abolition of private ownership and national ownership of communism, the role of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is to be an alternative to democracy based on capitalism. In the flow of capitalism, inclined toward placing individual profit first, today's liberal democracy has been changed so much that it is difficult to expect liberty, equality and fraternity from it, due to "entrepreneurs' persistent pursuit of profit and politicians' insatiable desire for power."[23] Strictly speaking, the object (liberal democracy)

21 Jinsu Hwang, "A Study on John Locke's Concept of 'Possession' and Unification Thought's Concept of the 'Principle of Interdependence'", *Tongil Segye* October Issue (2015).

22 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 513.

23 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 515.

called into question by Unification Thought at this point could be said to mean the 'liberalism' that prioritizes an individual's private profit over 'democracy' in dealing with fair representative procedures.[24] This is because, in 'liberal democracy', liberalism in the first part can easily guide democracy in the second part to formal proceduralism and thus lose its directionality.

The Principle of Mutual Prosperity pursuing "politics participated in by everyone" advocates true representative politics. At this point, 'true' representative politics does not refer to proposing a new form of politics, but rather to promoting 'qualitative' changes in the process of electing representatives, which can be said to be the flower of democracy. It proposes the method of recognizing the interrelationship of the candidates as the "familial relationship between brothers and sisters" through the world view based on cosmopolitanism, of having the candidates run for office based upon others' recommendation and of determining the result of an election at the place where the will of the people and the Will of Heaven come together, that is, by combining a simple voting method and lottery method.[25] As has been seen above, it can be said that the possibility of the realization of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is determined by the God-centered altruistic hearts of the candidates taking part in the representatives' election, as well as the minds of the voters who take part in the election for the purpose for the whole without any personal motive. Thus, the core of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity lies

24 Yushin Choi, "The Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value as the Third Alternative", pp. 111-112.

25 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 518.

in the changing awareness of citizens taking part in the procedural process of democracy. In this context, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity, as an alternative to today's democracy that has degenerated due to selfish individualism, promotes a change in perspective to view the purpose for the whole and purpose for the individual as complementary.

At this point, we can see that the way Unification Thought clarifies the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value is very consistent. Instead of following the method of seeking for elaborate legal devices and supplementing the current system while facing the limits of selfish human desire, it projects in reverse the way by which a society formed by human beings with hearts of public love similar to that of God would be managed and adopts the method of promoting qualitative changes in the current system by applying that projection to it. Some may say that the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value are utopian ideologies isolated from reality because they are ideas based on the ideal world, but the fact is that they maintain a very realistic attitude where they wish to reestablish an amicable, harmonious and complementary relationship between the purpose for the whole and purpose for the individual, as well as between the society and individuals, within the current framework of capitalism and democracy. Given that the fundamental power that can change the current society comes from the perspective of each and every individual who creates social phenomena, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value emphasizes that changes in the present society will remain distant unless people change first, that is, unless they change their minds. This is because,

even if great policies, systems, treaties and the like are prepared to keep the likelihood of conflict and anguish at a distance, their directionality and value can only be determined by the sense of purpose with which people manage them, for in the end it is up to the people to manage them.

Accordingly, Unification Thought concludes the explanation of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value by presenting the model showing what kind of a person a human being should become. This refers to the three ideal human types known as the 'Three Great Subject Partners Principle', that is, the principle of true parents, true teachers and true owners. "The three great subjects—namely, parents, who are the center of the family, teachers, who are the center of the school, and managers or leaders (company presidents, leaders of organizations, heads of state), who are the center of dominion—give God's true love continuously and limitlessly to their object partners, namely, children, students, employees or the people of their country, all based on the Three Great Subject Partners Principle. Subsequently, mutual love among object partners will be induced, and the entire society, a highly ethical society, will resemble, metaphorically speaking, a garden of love."[26] Such is its goal. It aspires to change this entire world qualitatively by presenting the model of human beings who practice true love in the family, school, company or country, which are their universal fields of life, to bring about the world of "mind-changing love"[27]

26 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, pp. 523.

27 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 383.; Namsoon Kang, *Cosmopolitanism and Religion:*

as expressed by Gayatri Spivak. Since the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value place the root of life in the family and view this society and the world as an expansion of the family, the models of true parents, true teachers and true owners are ultimately boiled down to the model of true parents. In other words, when "oneness of God and humankind in love", that is, the ultimate union of God and humankind in love, is realized in the loving heart of the parents, the standard of 'oneness', 'togetherness' and 'accompaniment' that are the signposts of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value can be established.

To sum it up, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value incorporate the spirit asking of all humanity to live as true parents who resemble the loving heart of God as our Parent and thus qualitatively change the economic, political and ethical aspects of the present world. These principles advocate that the society should guarantee the autonomy of individuals as much as possible, so that they can newly realize that all human beings are God's children and endeavor to elevate each and every individual's individuality and value. This concurs with the essence of today's liberalism.[28] In addition, the attitude of true love that aspires for the greater good and places the purpose for the whole above the purpose for the individual also shares similarities with today's communitarianism, which places the society's common good above an individual's rights. The question

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*In Search of Perpetual Peace in the 21st Century* (Seoul: New Wave Plus Press, 2015), p. 8.

28 Yushin Choi, "Issues of Justice in Establishing the Political Thought of Unification", p. 51.

is how the core elements of the two major summits of modern political history, namely liberalism and communitarianism, and republicanism that is attempting to fill in the gap between the two, can come to coexist harmoniously, and the answer may be a simple one.[29] Matters like an individual's God-given rights and freedom advocated by liberalism, the common good prioritized by communitarianism and the preferential establishment of a 'free community' emphasized by republicanism are, rather than being in inter-contradictory relationships, actually the various aspects that appear depending on where the focus is placed in the dynamic relationship between the whole and the individual. The Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value stresses that the place where these various elements can be encompassed mutually and harmoniously can only come from the human heart embracing parental love, and that structural changes in the society should arise from such a heart and take place in the direction which can strengthen that heart even further.

As aforementioned, the identity of a state can be firmly established only when its actual conditions are dynamically reconstituted through the overall idea generated by its people in regard to their dream nation. Therefore, the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, which are the economic, political and ethical philosophy guiding the 'national spirit' of Cheon Il Guk aspired to by FFWPU, can be likened to a compass

29 See the following for reference in regard to the relationship between liberalism, communitarianism and republicanism: Jooman Maeng, "Rawls and Sandel, the Common Good and the Sense of Justice", *Philosophical Investigation* 32 (2012).; Seungrae Cho, "Who's Afraid of Liberalism?: Republicanism, Communitarianism and Republicanism", *History and Discourse (Journal of Historical Review)* 54 (2009).

that leads the citizens of Cheon Il Guk to live their lives in their respective fields of life with a clear picture of the overall idea of Cheon Il Guk in their minds. Just as Cheon Il Guk is aspiring, by means of religion, to become a substantial nation that rises above religion, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value guiding the national spirit of Cheon Il Guk aspire to bring about a nation where religion and state are united as one by leading the aspects of economics, politics and ethics based on God's true love as advocated by religion. The more the spirit of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value is repeatedly experienced by the citizens living in actual Cheon Il Guk, the more can the vision of Cheon Il Guk be displayed through the lives of its citizens and not just remain an ideal.

## IV. Experiential Reality of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value of Cheon Il Guk

Ever since it was first launched as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity in 1954, FFWPU has grown rapidly as a global religion under the leadership of True Parents, Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon. The activities of FFWPU show that it has continued to present a model of ideal life that is not limited to the field of religion but actually encompasses every field of life like economics, politics, culture, sports, foodstuffs and the environment. We can interpret these omnidirectional activities based on the state theory of Cheon Il Guk, which, as discussed above, needs to

continuously recognize and represent the idea of Cheon Il Guk in order to substantialize it in actual life. Since Cheon Il Guk is a world manifested by leading a cosmic life transcending not only the difference between the sacred and the secular but also that between the spirit and the flesh, its identity could not be fully revealed if FFWPU were to only remain in the context of a church on the antipode of the secular world. From this perspective, the extensive activities carried out by True Parents, Rev. Sun Myung Moon and Dr. Hak Ja Han Moon, can be interpreted to be the process of preparing the ground for ultimately substantializing the idea of Cheon Il Guk in the lives of humankind in actuality. And when the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, which guide Cheon Il Guk's economic, political and ethical spirit, can finally shed its light in reality through this foundation established by FFWPU, the point of contact between Cheon Il Guk's ideal and reality will be able to finally take root in our everyday lives.

The spirit and formal ideal of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value are already realizing their potential in the modern society. For instance, when we witness the appearance of 'self-management companies' in which the company's profits are not monopolized by the few but shared out fairly, or the examples of model companies that practice the spirit of sharing by giving back their profits to society, it seems as if the social realization of the Principle of Interdependence is already in progress. The flow of modern democracy is also making an effort to minimize the side effects of the principle of majority vote arising from selfish individualism, by implementing 'deliberation democracy' and 'participatory democracy'

that guarantee more open and broader participation by citizens in the decision-making process, and also by implementing 'associative democracy' where the social groups existing in the civil society are invited to participate in public affairs.[30] The realization of the spirit of the Principle of Universal Value, which aims to construct a moral society by firmly establishing universal ethics and main principles of peace, is also being encouraged through such means as the United Nations' 'Resolution for the Promotion of Interreligious Cooperation for Peace' and the diverse voices calling for peace in the religious world including that of the World Council of Churches (WCC). Though today's global environment is still suffering from problems like corruption, violence, war and starvation, on the other hand the attempts to pursue freedom, equality and happiness are creating moments that resonate with the spirit of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value.

In order to accelerate this flow of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value taking place in the society, it is necessary to transform the various providential projects carried out under the influence of FFWPU into the models of these principles that can lead the culture of the present age. In other words, FFWPU's providential projects should be deeply linked to the political, economic and cultural context of the present society based on the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value in exhibiting the creativity

30 See the following for reference: Wongyu Jeong, "Two Faces of Democracy: Participatory Democracy vs. Deliberative Democracy", *Society and Philosophy* 10 (2005).; Seunggook Ahn, "Associative Democracy and Political Community: The Search for the Great Transformation of State-Civil Society Relation", *Korean Political Science Review* 31 (1997).

of give and receive action. Only then can the activities of FFWPU go beyond the confines of the private space of religion and the identity of Cheon Il Guk become enrooted in all parts of the society.

For example, until now the providential companies of FFWPU have been perceived mainly as a financial means for supporting church activities, but in the age of Cheon Il Guk, they should lead the way for the idea of the economic aspect of Cheon Il Guk to be continuously substantialized on the national level, by adopting a management system based on the Principle of Interdependence that can lead the corporate culture in the present society. To put it another way, in determining the direction of the company's management, they should not focus on creating the maximum amount of profits – even if those profits are used for providential purposes – but should instead focus on creating a culture where labor and management can work together in a familial atmosphere to realize the spirit of common ownership emphasized by the Principle of Interdependence, and spread that culture to the society. Though it may be difficult for one company to change the economic structure of the entire society, it is clear that one single model of ideal management based on the Principle of Interdependence can play the role of a catalyst in accelerating the economic phenomenon of the Principle of Interdependence already taking place today. When the providential companies of FFWPU thus make the transition from a profit-driven paradigm to the paradigm of the culture of the Principle of Interdependence, the members of FFWPU can also witness the actuality of Cheon Il Guk as its citizens and reconfirm the concept of Cheon Il Guk.

Furthermore, in order for the idea and reality of Cheon Il

Guk to meet dynamically within FFWPU to cultivate its identity as a nation, all the citizens of Cheon Il Guk should experience representative politics in which every citizen takes part based on the spirit of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity. As has been seen above, FFWPU is carrying out its reorganization in the form of a state by enacting and promulgating the Cheon Il Guk Constitution. The Cheon Il Guk Constitution incorporates 'Cheon Eui Won', 'Cheon Jeong Won' and 'Cheon Beob Won', corresponding to other nations' legislature, executive and judiciary respectively, and has thus prepared the way for realizing true representative politics pursued by the Principle of Mutual Prosperity, which will require the implementation of concrete systems like an election system based on recommendation and lottery. Within the system of its Constitution, Cheon Il Guk should create a desirable model for the process of electing representatives that harmoniously reflects the Will of Heaven and the will of all the citizens, and the five agencies in charge of legislation, administration, judicial function, finance and media should establish a governance model of organic and complementary cooperation and enroot it within the FFWPU community. Moreover, a culture and philosophy based on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity should be firmly established, where the will of the individual members of communities is not carelessly scattered and instead is brought to resonate with the will of the whole through organic cooperation within each church community and between the various churches, organizations and companies under FFWPU. Since the Principle of Mutual Prosperity has been presented as the alternative of existing democracy, when the process of electing representatives leading the age and "an organic and harmonious system

of cooperation"[31] of each organization are experienced within the FFWPU community, the cultural ripple effect caused by the accumulation of such experiences will provide an opportunity for Cheon Il Guk to expand rapidly across the society.

The point to emphasize once again is that this context of the Principles of Interdependence and Mutual Prosperity cannot be established unless they are experienced, repeatedly and continuously. It is only when we experience the realization of the spirit of common ownership within the system, even in a small range, and also experience the official process of electing representatives through others' recommendation and lottery to achieve the purpose for the whole, that Cheon Il Guk can draw closer to us in actuality and not remain as only an idea. Of course, at the bottom of these experiences, the Principle of Universal Value of true love, the Three Great Subject Partners Principle and ultimately the true parents' ideology will function as their internal root. When the 'mind' with the love of God and True Parents at its center is experienced through the 'body' that is the living system and the national system of Cheon Il Guk, Cheon Il Guk will reveal itself in a more concrete, substantial form and its ideal destination will be engraved in the mind even more deeply. Cheon Il Guk's state theory of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value will be established in theory as well as in practice by comprehensively recognizing this dynamic field of life.

31 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought (Head-Wing Thought)*, p. 520.

## V. Conclusion

Until now, we have taken a look at the state theory of Cheon Il Guk, the ideal nation aspired to by FFWPU, from the viewpoint of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value. Modern state theories, particularly the cultural state theory that views the process of state-making from the dynamic aspect, provide a very important methodological framework in the process of establishing Cheon Il Guk's state theory. The cultural state theory says that a state can maintain and develop a dynamic life of its own when the overall idea of the state as projected by its citizens becomes its reality, and when the image of that state is newly created and shared through the reality of its representation and reconstitution. This logic makes us reflect on the reality of FFWPU, in which we continuously worry about establishing the concept of Cheon Il Guk and try endlessly to intersect the idea of Cheon Il Guk projected through such worries with today's reality of Cheon Il Guk.

Today, as the conceptual Cheon Il Guk and the substantial Cheon Il Guk are constantly engaged in give and receive action within the awareness and actions of our everyday lives that are expanding its horizons, Cheon Il Guk of FFWPU is still a work in progress. In order to increase the life force of Cheon Il Guk and accelerate its substantialization, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, specified as the basic ideologies of Cheon Il Guk in the Cheon Il Guk Constitution, should play the role of a cultural tie connecting the concept and reality of Cheon Il Guk, and their spirit should be revealed concretely in the life of FFWPU.

The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value incorporate the spirit that asks all humanity to live as true parents who resemble the loving heart of God as our Parent and thus qualitatively change the economic, political and ethical aspects of the present world. These principles, which are the economic, political and ethical philosophy guiding the 'national spirit' of Cheon Il Guk aspired to by FFWPU, are like an ideological signpost guiding the citizens of Cheon Il Guk to live their lives in their respective fields of life with a clear picture of the overall idea of Cheon Il Guk in their minds. Just as Cheon Il Guk is aspiring, by means of religion, to become a substantial nation that rises above religion, the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value guiding the national spirit of Cheon Il Guk aspire to bring about a nation where religion and state are united as one, by leading the aspects of economics, politics and ethics based on God's true love as advocated by religion. The more the spirit of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value are repeatedly and continuously experienced by the citizens living in actual Cheon Il Guk, the more the vision of Cheon Il Guk can be displayed through the lives of its citizens and not just remain as an ideal. When we refine the substance of Cheon Il Guk revealed through the dynamic relationship between idea and reality based on the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, the gap between ideal and reality will be narrowed down and the individuals, families, tribes, peoples, nations, world and the cosmic community surrounding us will finally be able to assume the form of the 'Nation of Cosmic Peace and Unity.'

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# Analysis of the New Political Thought based on Unification Thought: Freedom, Equality and Love♣

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I. Introduction

II. Democracy and the Characteristics of the Theoretical System of Communism

III. Flaws Entailed in Communist Thought

IV. A New Political Thought Grounded in Unification Thought

V. Conclusion

## I. Introduction

Ideologies have always emerged for the purpose of solving a task of that period and all tasks were caused by its times or

♣ Editor's Note: This paper was originally published in *Research of Unification Thought* 3 (2002).

environment. During the latter half of the twentieth century, the world was divided between the two large camps of democracy and communism. If, those who had chosen between democracy and communism experienced abundance and joy, and if those ideologies had sufficiently benefited humankind, there would be no need for a new third ideology to appear. Although communism once exceeded one third of the world, far from abundance and happiness, it brought poverty and oppression and led to the destruction of both realistically and ideologically just as we have seen with the fall of the Soviet Union, the representative communist nation, at the end of the twentieth century. Then what about democracy? Democracy is not in a situation in which it can blindly rejoice at winning against communism. If the United States is the representative nation of the democratic camp the various phenomena manifesting in America clearly show the limitations of democracy.

While democracy and communism differ is many aspects, they do share a commonality of both being ideologies that have transcended the national level. Just as communism was not exclusive to the Soviet Union, democracy is also not exclusive to the United States. In that sense, today in the twenty-first century the advancement of globalization is such that we are familiar with the term, global village. It goes without saying that the new ideology should not be one centering on a single people or nation, but that which transcends nations. Moreover, whether democracy or communism, both have problems, but it should not be overlooked that the political thoughts that have been accomplished until today have many positive achievements. Especially even today, democracy is widely supported by many

people. When you think about the ideological role democracy plays, the new political ideology should always have democracy at its foundation. It should also raise democracy to a new level and overcome communism. On that note I would first like to reexamine the two ideologies of democracy and communism, analyze their flaws and ideological limitations, and pursue a new ideology that could unite them.

This study is based on the thesis I presented at the Theology Department of Sun Moon University in June 2000. I have considered important concepts in political thought, especially, freedom, equality, and love, while supplementing parts I could not fully argue due to time constraints and parts that were inadequate.

## II. Democracy and the Characteristics of the Theoretical System of Communism

First, I will analyze the history of democracy and communism up until today. Of the many characteristics in the theory of communism it largely exhibits the following four. One, the theoretical system of communism integrates and unifies several elements. Lenin (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov 1870-1924) said the following on this topic:[1]

> "It [Marxist doctrine] is the legitimate successor to the best that was created by mankind in the nineteenth century in the form of German philosophy, English

1 International Federation of Victory Over Communism, *Theory of Victory Over Communism* (Tokyo: International Federation of Victory Over Communism, 1972), p. 21.

political economy and French socialism."[2]

In other words, the theoretical system of communism was created by learning from and then integrating and combining the theory of labor value in German classical philosophy led by Hegel (1770–1831) and Ludwig Feurbach (1804–1874), and socialism led by French philosophers Charles Fourier (1772–1837) and Saint Simon (1760–1825).[3] This integration caused a lot of criticism toward different parts of the communist thought. Nevertheless, it is no exaggeration to say that it has influenced the world over a long period of time because there was no comprehensive theory able to overcome it.

The second characteristic of the theory of communism is that it has a clear vision for the future. Whereas capitalist societies brought about a worsened wage gap between 'those who have' and 'those who do not have,' communism called for an equal society, and especially for the emancipation of the working class at the bottom of society. From here, the society that is established is one that is free from human marginalization and Marx said that it would be "a united shared society in which the free advancement of the individual would be the condition for free advancement for all people."[4] In this way, the world of communism suggested the emergence of an ideal world in which there would be no exploitation and 'the people would work according to their skills and be given according to their needs.'[5]

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2 Vladimir Lenin, *The Three Sources and Three Component parts of Marxism* (Tokyo: Kokumin Bunko, 1966), p. 85.

3 Vladimir Lenin, p. 21.

4 Vladimir Lenin, p. 31.

5 "In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination

While democracy did not have a blueprint for an ideal world, communism, with its vision for the future, appealed to many minds.

The third characteristic of the theory of communism is that it is not simply an armchair theory but is a behavioral philosophy that demands action in the form of social revolution. Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) says the following:

> "Our doctrine…is not a dogma, but a guide to action."[6]

Here, action refers to class struggle or overthrowing capitalism through a communist revolution, and the next quote is from the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

> "[Proletarians] have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property."[7]

As we can see here, revolutionary action is overthrowing capitalism, the proletarian is the main body of the action, and the method is a violent revolution.

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of the individual to the division of labor, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, have vanished, after labor has become not only a livelihood but life's prime want, after the productive forces have increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly--only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois law be left behind in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!" Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, "Critique of the Gotha Programme," *Selected Works* 3, Moscow, 1875, p. 23.

6 Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, p. 31.

7 Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (Tokyo: Aoki Bookstore, 1964), p. 48.

> "They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."[8]

In this manner, with the Russian Revolution of 1917, communism was able to expand its power worldwide.

As I have already pointed out, the theoretical system of communism is made up of several different elements from philosophy, economics, and socialism. Nevertheless, we get a glimpse of its characteristic of consistently applying all these theories by dialectic materialism.[9] Next is a quote from Lenin:

> "The application of dialectical materialism to history, natural sciences, philosophy, and working-class policies and tactics was the part that Marx and Engels paid most attention to. In this regard, indeed, that is the most essential and the newest aspect they have brought, and in this regard, indeed, that is the genius advance they have made in the history of revolutionary thought."[10]

There is a materialistic conception of history which applies such dialectical materialism to it. According to this materialistic view, human history is one of class struggle and the last war was the war between the bourgeois and the proletarians. This view attempted to prove that the proletarians won this war, thus, making way for the communist society. Therefore, their views on war and on peace both differ greatly from those of

8 Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (Tokyo: Aoki Bookstore, 1964), p. 82.

9 International Federation of Victory Over Communism, p. 22.

10 "Marx and Engels's Letters in Exchange", *Karl Marx* (Aoki Bookstore, 1964), p. 174.

the democratic camp, and communism employed the theory of dialectical opposition to everything. In other words, they did not believe that peace was simply the absence of war, but that peace was only possible with the obliteration of capitalism. They also differentiated between just wars and unjust wars. Just wars were the struggles by the oppressed classes or peoples and unjust wars were the wars in opposition of the direction that communism was taking.[11]

Now that we have overviewed communism's characteristics, how will democracy's characteristics differ? For instance, representative democratic philosophers John Locke (1632–1704) and James M. Mill (1773–1836) both place the key concept in freedom.[12] In other words, the significance of democracy as a political principle is the acknowledgement of the value of freedom and human dignity. According to them, freedom of human personality is the source of lasting progress, and political and social progress also relies on the freedom of the individual. The only instance in which the state can restrict an individual's freedom is when it is necessary to prevent that individual from harming others. Clearly this principle of freedom is so important that it should be respected in any political society. In that sense,

11 Mao Tse Tung in *Quotations from Mao Tse Tung*: "History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars; we actively participate in them."

12 Loche's political theory is an ideology that has formed the basis for today's free world starting from the United States. Roger D. Masters, "Theory and Reality in International Relations," 1980, p. 45.

those who point out this factor highly evaluate the democratic ideology. However, unlike communism democracy is not comprehensive or systematic. Moreover, despite the fact that its key concept of freedom presupposes the self-reliant individual above all else, the reality in democratic nations of today is that freedom is being abused and self-indulged due to the deterioration of religion, which should be leading the way to creating self-reliant individuals. In that regard, the following critique by Plato (427–347 B.C.E.) on democracy still applies today.

> "[U]nless the rulers are very gentle and provide a great deal of freedom, it punishes them, charging them with being polluted and oligarchs…And it spatters with mud those who are obedient, alleging that they are willing slaves of the rulers and nothings…while it praises and honors—both in private and in public—the rulers who are like the ruled and the ruled who are like the rulers…. And…for it to filter down to the private houses and end up by anarchy's being planted in the very beasts?
>
> That a father, I said, habituates himself to be like his child and fear his sons, and a son habituates himself to be like his father and to have no shame before or fear of his parents—that's so he may be free;
>
> As the teacher in such a situation is frightened of the pupils and fawns on them, so the students make light of their teachers.
>
> And, generally, the young copy their elders and compete with them in speeches and deeds while the old come down to the level of the young; imitating the young,

> they are overflowing with facility and charm, and that's so that they won't seem to be unpleasant or despotic.
>
> Then, summing up all of these things together…do you notice how tender they make the citizens' soul, so that if someone proposes anything that smacks in any way of slavery, they are irritated and can't stand it? And they end up, as you well know, by paying no attention to the laws, written or unwritten, in order that they may avoid having any master at all."[13]

As we can surmise from Plato's comments, the democratic system is prone to the claim for unlimited authority over one another. Hence, without a function that can control this authority, there is a potential for immediate conflict and confusion.[14] Originally these types of disagreements and conflicts would be disputed by centering on a religious doctrine based on Christianity playing a neutral role. However, the deterioration of religion, which should have become the foundation for democracy, along with democracy's inability to fully harness the function of religion, led to a partial ideology of fragmentary freedom.

Furthermore, in comparison to communism that presented a clear future vision, today's democracy has not been able to present a clear vision that can rival communism's. At best it has suggested building an 'abundant society' or a 'welfare society,' which requires active support from the Korean nation

13 Plato, *The Republic of Plato,* translated with notes and an interpretive essay by Allan Bloom (New York: 1968), p. 241.

14 Sanghun Lee, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1973), p. 178.

for the elderly and socially disadvantaged. Yet even countries like Sweden, which are fully equipped with social security, are gradually losing their future vision as they face high suicide rates among the elderly, loss of will to work, and high tax rates.[15] These welfare states have eliminated mass unemployment, expanded social security, shortened working hours, and raised the standard of living. Although the pleasures of life, which were once exclusive to the privileged, became popularized, we are beginning to see signs of deepening isolation, exhaustion, and nihilism. After the end of the nineteenth century, socialist fought against the unforgiveable oppression of all human values by the irrationalities of politics, economics, and society. Although the high-level industrial societies of northern and western Europe began to look forward to the mass elimination of these irrationalities, it seems that deeper underlying anxieties stemming from human existence itself, unfortunately, have begun to surface. Moreover, a Japanese diplomat in Sweden said the following in regard to the Sweden society: "In this country, Sweden, if you say anything without prejudice, they accept all objects practically. That is, you could say they are not romantic or spiritual. Their national traits are materialistic while pushing religion into the background. Under the administration of socialism, complaints are subject to preoccupation so there is no one to rebel against. With the decline of stimulation and ambition, sex has taken on a special meaning as the only revival of human solidarity."[16] Therefore, Sweden may be viewed as a nation in which free sex is most rampant, yet the fact that its citizens are unhappy also contributes to high suicide

15 Mitsuro Muto, *Revolution Thought and Existential Philosophy* (Tokyo: Sōbun'sha, 1973), p. 175.

16 Mitsuro Muto, p. 187.

rates in the elderly.

As I already mentioned, communism is a behavioral philosophy which emphasizes taking action while the philosophy of democracy is conceptual and is limited as the subject of action. Hence, rather than focusing on doing something for the nation or the world, democracy has become a hot bed of individualism focusing on one's personal life.

In addition, communism consistently applies dialectical materialism to not only natural phenomena, but also to all social phenomena while democracy lacks such a clear consistent philosophy; and if I had to give one example it would be democracy's tendency to change to the circumstances. It even has several different views on war and peace. Sometimes they define peace as a state without war and other times they establish peace of the human mind as a requisite for peace. The interpretation is subject to the individual. Moreover, even the concepts of just war and unjust war are growing unclear while at the same time the Christian worldview that supports democracy is weakening.

To summarize the ideological characteristic that we covered thus far, communism, up until today, has been proactive, aggressive, and expansive whereas democracy has been passive, protective and defensive. For this reason, the democratic camp has always been on the defensive in the international situation of the Cold War. Then what kind of flaws are there in the communist ideology which stands above this?

## III. Flaws Entailed in Communist Thought

Democracy has only emphasized human being's subjectivity and free personality which leads to flaws of a disregard for objectivity, discipline, and collectivism. Also, another flaw is that it does not have a clear common purpose for human interaction or human relationships which leads to a tendency for war, confusion and decadence due to discord, rivalry and conflict between one another. Nevertheless, in comparison to communism I would have to admit that it is an outstanding political theory.

The errors in communist thought are debated from various angles today. However, one of its most disastrous flaws is the philosophy of materialism which does not accept the existence of an ultimate Being of this world. Because it is standing in the position of materialism, it does not accept spirituality, which would prove the existence of an ultimate Being. It claims that there is not enough proof to require respect for love or spiritual values such as human individuality, freedom, dignity of character, or truth, goodness, and beauty. If we take individuality for example, in materialism it is a simple and coincidental fusion of physical elements, that is, something that appeared without purpose or meaning. There is no significance whether you exist or not. How is there any respect for individuality from this point of view? On the value of freedom, communism claims the importance of individual subjectivity and self-determination. However, if one believes that human beings are simply material as materialism suggests, then all one must do is achieve material satisfaction to sustain one's life, but communism does not offer any proof for why such subjectivity should be accepted. On the value of character, if human beings are the result of a coincidental

union of material and are no more than high-level animals derived from a species of monkeys, can there be any dignity of earthly life? Furthermore, on the value of truth, goodness and beauty, these values exist as means of war with nature (production) and with class, and there is no need to respect them as they are no more than relative ideas that change according to the economic structure.

Therefore, even if a tactical suggestion is made for respecting these values, it is either ignored or greatly neglected. Communism also does not recognize the existence of a god nor does it have a worldview in which love is the foundation of human nature. Hence, it lacks a sense of respect for a god or an awareness of sin, and if there are those who do believe in a god, they are labeled enemies of the class and killed like pests or forced into slave labor. Under the name of a historic mission communism created cold-hearted people who are void of love and forgiveness. The harmful consequences result from not acknowledging the existence of a transient Being (i.e., god, Buddha) include the hardening of one's own opinion and if one's opinion is not achieved or if there is something lacking in a relationship, he or she feels discontent. When such discontentment accumulates one cannot feel appreciation. Furthermore, since there is no fundamental or ethical reason to suppress desires for possessions, power, or sex, in places where no one is looking these people tend to tell blatant lies or resort to cruel behavior.

Another problem lies in communism's philosophical justification of such cruelty and hatred. In other words, communists believe that the world we live in is composed of the law of unity and conflict of opposites and stand on the dialectical worldview

that conflict is permanent and absolute. In this way, communism adopted policies that actively encourage hate for the sake of conflict. To settle internal struggles, it ruled the people autocratically with military and police force.[17] In short, according to this philosophy, human beings are reduced to animalistic entities that continue to struggle forever. Communist societies emphasize hate rather than love and create a community where one has no choice but to abandon human dignity.

## IV. A New Political Thought Grounded in Unification Thought

As we observed above, both democracy and communism, which represent modern times, have major flaws. Then what conditions should a new political ideology have so that it can guide the twenty-first century? First, just as when democracy was formed on the foundation of religious thought, it needs to return to its roots grounded not in materialism but in Godism by centering on God.[18]

However, from the perspective of love being God's essence, Godism is a theory centering on love. Up until now, communism

17 "The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, and relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute." Vladimir Lenin, *The Philosophical Notebooks* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bookstore, 1964), p. 198.

18 Rev. Sun Myung Moon said that Godism, the ideology of true parent, is the real truth of peace which will lead the 21st century and asserted that Godism is really what builds world peace in the 21st century. "The Mission of Media in the 21st Century," *Family* December issue (Tokyo: Kogensha, 1992), p. 20.

has instigated struggle and conflict between classes and created chaos in society. Historical evidence shows that hate cannot bring about the ideal world. Therefore, the new political thought must be centered on love instead of hate.

The new political thought must promote harmony between the individual and the whole centering on love. The first question is how to define the whole. Until now, there have been many instances in which political ideologies disguised themselves as being for the whole but in reality they were only for a part of the whole. For example, during the period of the Japanese Empire, the Japanese emperor may have represented the whole of the nation of Japan, yet when he attempted to expand the scope to other Asian countries in order to become the center of them as well, this was not an act of genuinely living for the sake of the whole. This attempt to become the single top nation has been a cause of destruction for Japan and several other nations throughout history.

This also applies to Nazism. Until now Germany's Nazism, and Japan's imperialism have been treated as collectivist thought in political science. This would be appropriate in the sense of emphasizing the whole over the individual, however, from a true interpretation, these ideologies are not actually for the whole. This is the same for communism. From the outside communism's position is to transcend the nation and live for the world, yet it is just another partial ideology that cannot overcome the partial position of a social class. However, if one partial idea sets absolutes as if it were representing the whole, it will inevitably lead to conflict with another partial idea. Therefore, the true meaning of the whole demanded by humankind must be capable of embracing everything. Spatially, it must overcome class, ethnic

peoples, and nations and stand in a position of all humankind. This applies not just to space but also to time. In other words, all the people of the world are building a single history through the accumulation of time so we must not exclude a single part of the passage of time from the past, the present, and the future. For example, we should not waste our natural resources by only thinking of the present and if we neglect to develop new resources the next generation will become destitute.

In that regard, a new political ideology spatially would need global universality and temporally would need historical permanence both centered on a common goal. To create adhesion between these conditions the political ideology must stand in the position of Godism which transcends time and space centering on God. Then how should Godism view the individual and the whole?

According to Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Thought in the following text, all entities should be considered entities with dual characteristics.

> "All entities have dual purposes. As was explained earlier, every entity has dual centers of movement, one of internal nature and another of external form. These centers pursue corresponding purposes—for the sake of the whole and for the sake of the individual—whose relationship is the same as that between internal nature and external form. These dual purposes relate to each other as cause and result, internal and external, subject partner and object partner. In God's ideal, there cannot be any individual purpose which does not support the whole

> purpose, nor can there be any whole purpose that does not guarantee the interests of the individual."[19]

From this point of view, our task is to harmoniously solve the contradictory relationship between the individual and the whole by denying extreme collectivism—the misconception of being collective when it is actually partial— that ignores the individual, and correcting individualism that ignores or belittles the whole.[20]

Moreover, the political theory of love cannot be established unilaterally. With that in mind, Unification Thought emphasizes the basic unit of the family where love is most prominently found.

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19 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *Expositions of the Divine Principle* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publications, 1978), p. 33.

20 "In an ideal world realized by humankind having perfected God's love, the purposes of the whole and of the individual would be naturally harmonized. As human beings have the desire and need for material things and a natural inclination toward love, an ideal society would permit individual ownership and individual purpose. Even so, citizens would not seek to have unlimited personal belongings or to fulfill an individual purpose detracting from the whole purpose. Human beings perfected in true love would wish to own an amount of property commensurate with their conscience and original nature. In particular, economic activity by ideal human beings who have become true owners of all things based on true love would manifest love and gratitude. There could be no greed or corruption. Similarly there could be no emphasis on national or regional interests inconsistent with the purpose of the whole. The aim of economic activity would be the overall welfare, rather than the mere pursuit of gain." Sun Myung Moon, "True Knowledge, True Family and World Peace" (This speech appears on p. 24 of *Family* October 1995 issue and was given on August 22, 1995 at the Sheraton Walker Hill Hotel in Seoul for the 20th International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences.) [Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*, p. 795.]

Rev. Sun Myung Moon said the following on the importance of the family.

> "Human beings come to know God's love through stages of growth. First, they experience the heart of children; second, the heart of siblings; third, the heart of husband and wife; and fourth, the heart of parents. The smallest unit in which God's love can be realized is the family. Accordingly, the family is the foundation for human happiness, ideals and life."[21]

However, in fact, both democracy and communism consider family breakdown a serious problem in their societies. Among the causes of family breakdown, the devastation of sexual morals deserves mentioning. The tragedy of infidelity and the pursuit of sex as pleasure has produced homosexuals and lesbians, and AIDS is so widespread that it threatens human survival. These phenomena are not just the problems of America and other democratic nations. It is also a serious issue in socialist nations which have strictly controlled culture in the past. For example, as pornography became an open topic in the East-European bloc, huge lines formed to see the movie "Emmanuelle" (1974) in Poland, and pornographic magazines and videos from western countries explosively increased in Hungary. In China, the government, feeling a strong sense of crisis over the prevalence of prostitutes and pornographic magazines, launched a campaign to wipe out pornography. In this manner, the family, a crucial foundation to human life, is being destroyed. Amidst this the new ideology must offer humankind with the salvation from

21 Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*, p. 793.

family breakdown and to do so it needs to aim for establishing good sexual morals and family values. This is because the family is the environment in which human relationships naturally form centering on love between parents and children, husband and wife, and brother and sister. Families are also regarded as the most basic form of human relationships in which ethical values and human character are developed. It must also advocate for one great family that transcends skin color and racism and overcomes narrow-minded democracy and nationalism.[22]

Next, the new ideology needs to stitch together the spiritual desires (truth, goodness, and beauty) and physical desires (food, clothes, shelter, and sex). Communism believed that physical desires came before spiritual desires.[23] However, this idea is backwards. Physical desires originally lean toward gaining more than giving so if human beings act in a way that puts physical needs first, they become selfish and quarrelsome. Therefore, a peaceful ideal world can never come from this. The new ideology centered on love should put spiritual desires first. Yet this does not mean that it would neglect physical desires. Because only when both are satisfied can human beings achieve true happiness. However, spiritual desires must be established as the subject

22 "If all people are to meet as brothers and sisters by virtue of this one truth, what will that world be like? Under the light of the new truth, all those who have struggled over the long course of history to dispel the darkness of ignorance will gather. They will form one great family." Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *Expositions of the Divine Principle*, p. 9.

23 "Marx's great discovery—he points out that before human beings can study politics, science, art or religion, they must first eat, be housed, and clothed." Friedrich Engels, *Speech at the Grave of Karl Marx*.

partner of the two.[24] In the Gospel Jesus said, "It is written, 'One does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God'" (Matt. 4:4). This does not mean that the bread in unimportant, but that there is something greater than the bread which should be the subject.

### 1. The Meaning of Freedom

Next is the issue of freedom, equality, subjectivity, and order. Up until now democratic thought has emphasized freedom, and communism has emphasized equality. However, the concepts of freedom and equality, emphasized as is, are contradictory to one another. If you emphasize freedom, you harm equality and if you emphasize equality, you harm freedom. Therefore, to contemplate how we are going to solve this problem, lets first contemplate the concept of freedom. No matter how satisfied human beings are with their material desires, if they do not have freedom of choice in how they directly live or exist, they cannot be happy. Needless to say, freedom is a crucial element in the realization of human happiness.

However, there are two definitions to the state of being free. One is Liberty (freedom from) and another is Freedom (freedom to). This Liberty is from the renaissance period meaning

24 Unification Thought uses the positional concept of subject and object and accordingly, spiritual desires are the subject and material desires are the object. Here the term "position" refers to the distinction between positions. This concept has a close relation to the concepts of Unification Thought's yang and internal nature. For more detail on these concepts please refer to Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *Expositions of the Divine Principle*, pp. 47–51.

'freedom from restraint.' Although this interpretation of freedom is important it can also be called a negative type of freedom. Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) separates human existence into four states of *dasein* (existence), consciousness-in-general, spirit, and transcendent mode of *existenz*, and calls into question the meaning of freedom.

The first stage *dasein*, regards freedom as satisfying some kind of emotional desire or the freedom to choose one's social status, rank, or career. According to Jaspers, all of these are external and human beings lose their spirit to and are at the mercy of these external things. "Therefore, human freedom as *daesin* is endless anxiety and endless instability and human beings cannot find ultimate satisfaction in this type of freedom."[25] Not only are they dissatisfied, but Erich Fromm (1900–1980) clearly suggests in his book *Escape from Freedom* that, unable to carry the heavy burden of freedom, people instead try to escape from it.

> "Because in the fight for freedom in modern history the attention was focused upon combating old forms of authority and restraint, it was natural that one should feel that the more these traditional restraints were eliminated, the more freedom one had gained. We fail sufficiently to recognize, however, that although man has rid himself from old enemies of freedom, new enemies of a different nature have arisen; enemies which are not essentially external restraints, but internal factors blocking the full realization of the freedom of personality. (p.90) - Aloneness, fear, and bewilderment remain; people cannot

25 Mitsuro Muto, p. 50.

> endure it forever. They cannot go on bearing the burden of 'freedom from'; they must try to escape from freedom altogether unless they can progress from negative to positive freedom (p.115).[26]

Then what is the essence to fulfilling the positive interpretation of Freedom (freedom to)?

When we consider this problem, *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* presents several implications.[27]

> "[T]he word for Breakfast Flock flashed through the air, till a crowd of a thousand seagulls came to dodge and fight for bits of food. It was another busy day beginning. But way off alone, out by himself beyond boat and shore, Jonathan Livingston Seagull was practicing" (p.1)

> "He spared no time that day for talk with other gulls, but flew on past sunset. He discovered the loop, the slow roll, the point roll, the inverted spin, the gull bunt, the pinwheel" (p.4).

> "Who is more responsible than a gull who finds and follows a meaning, a higher purpose for life? For a thousand years we have scrabbled after fish heads, but now we have a reason to live" (p.5)

> "And then another hundred lives until we began to learn that there is such a thing as perfection, and another

26 Erich Fromm, *Escape from freedom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1941).

27 Richard Bach & Russell Munson, *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, 1970.

> hundred again to get the idea that our purpose for living is to find that perfection and show it forth" (p.11).

*Jonathan Livingston Seagull* presents a story of how human beings will be dissatisfied unless they fully realize their potential. In this way, the thing human beings hope for most is to build themselves into someone deeper, broader, and more complete. And if this dream is not fulfilled, no matter how perfect an environment or status one may be given, he will continue to feel insecure and anxious that he has not done everything he was meant to do. As he gets older, he is bound to feel an even stronger frustration. Therefore, for humans to experience meaningful freedom, they should not choose objects and situations that have nothing to do with the issue of one's own character. Rather, it lies in the choices of deciding how one wants to exist, and in fulfilling self-realization and self-creation toward reaching perfection.

Then why do human beings pursue such perfection and strive to realize it on their own front lines? To put this another way, the endless pursuit of perfection is the desire to realize and reveal all the value without leaving any potential within themselves, and this desire, which has two sides, also hopes to receive recognition, understanding, and love. The desire to receive love, or reversely, the desire to give love from the position of the subject, is the fundamental consciousness of existence for human freedom. Love and the realization of value both emerge when one is free, and it is meaningless to force it as that will only lead to less joy. The true significance of freedom lies not in force, but in feeling a vivid sense of fulfillment when giving joy to others.[28]

28 In Unification Thought, it sees that freedom itself does not have value but rather that its value is determined by how much happier all people (and ulti-

## 2. The Meaning of Equality

Next, I will examine equality. However, I would like to first establish the presupposition that the foundation to realizing the ideal is forming order in human society. There can be no peace without order; and without peace there can be no freedom, equality, or material prosperity. Without peace, love, creation of value, and other human cultural statuses are impeded. Therefore, order is the foundation for all human lifestyle and without it nothing can start. Then what is the origin of order? According to Unification Thought, all entities are made up of subject and object, and when the subject and object engage smoothly in give-and-receive action, all the power necessary for an entity to exist, that is, the power of survival, reproduction, and action, is produced. However, the concept of subject and object referred to here is not the same as the concept of subject and object in existing philosophy. In existing philosophy according to epistemology, the subject is the consciousness of cognition or the self, and the object is the thing that is cognized—inside cognition (idea) and outside of cognition (material) (generally in epistemology, the terms subjectivity and objectivity are also used). In an ontological or practical sense, subject refers to a cognitive entity (human beings) and object refers to the entity which relates to the subject. In short, existing philosophy says that the relationship between subject and object is the relationship between cognition, or human beings, and the things that relate to them. However, in contrast to

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mately God) become through freedom. Therefore, it is meaningless to think about the value of freedom without considering the results, and I think that there can be no freedom without responsibility rooted in principle. Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *Expositions of the Divine Principle*, p. 74.

philosophy thus far, Unification Thought states that the concept of subject and object applies not just to human beings and things, but to the relationships between two human beings or two things.[29]

However, when this type of subject and object is applied to human beings the question remains whether the differences in status between subject and object are an inequality. Yet to achieve permanent order, such differences, in other words, the differences between the qualifications of subject and object, or *gyeokwi* [格位; status or position of one's character] must be established. As we previously observed with give and receive action, it can only take place when the *gyeokwi* of subject and object are established as give and receive action cannot form between two subjects or two objects without a counteraction. For example, when both sides want to be the subject. One person needs to actively control (subjectivity) another or passively be controlled by another. If not, a counteraction of two sides both trying to exclude the other appears. Also, if both sides neglect taking responsibility as the subject and try to remain the object, one's ability for self-determination (subjectivity) will become lost and one will fall into a state of confusion. The source of confusion that we see today in democratic societies could be the lack of such ability to establish *gyeokwi*. Here *gyeokwi* means the distinction of status and the different levels of responsibility that must be taken according to status. Therefore, the higher one's status is, the heavier the responsibilities are, and distinctions between the public authority one carries will depend on the amount of responsibility one has to fulfill. Democracy until today thinks in fantastical terms so it

29 Sanghun Lee, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Tokyo: Kogonsha, 1991), p. 45.

was stuck in a delusion that equality of status and authority could be realized, yet it is intrinsically impossible to realize equality of status or power. We can determine this by the fact that not all citizens can be prime ministers or that not all employees can be CEOs. Moreover, equality of status or authority is not what human beings truly desire. For instance, if an incompetent person became the national president or CEO, the person would still be miserable. Then what kind of equality is it that human beings hope for? The fundamental impulse to pursue equality could be called the equal 'satisfaction of happiness.'

Thus, the problem lies in how to bring about equal levels of satisfaction in happiness. Happiness is a state of mind. It is originally subjective, and it is impossible to compare it with the happiness of others. Hence, the problem is not the objective state of something we label as 'equal' but the 'sense of equality.'

In this regard, let's learn more about the sense of equality. In reality, human beings feel joy largely in two different ways. One is when one's desires are completely fulfilled, and we will call this state of satisfaction 'complete satisfaction.' The other is when one feels joy when comparing the level of satisfaction of others with one's own satisfaction. When one feels as if his level of satisfaction is lesser than another's he feels a 'sense of inequality.' This type of comparison is essentially subjective and greatly differs depending on what an individual considers his own, what he considers as the gift of grace, or what he considers reasonable. In that way, the active condition for human beings to feel a sense of equality is to acquire a sense of complete satisfaction; and the passive condition is the nonexistence of a sense of inequality.

1) Acquiring a sense of complete satisfaction

When human beings' stomachs are full, they do not want to eat anymore. Even if there is someone near them who can eat more, they do not envy them because they are already satisfied. 'Complete satisfaction' means this type of maximum satisfaction. Therefore, the state of complete satisfaction is when there is no more satisfaction to be had beyond that point nor is there any reason to envy others.

In Unification Thought, God gave desire to each human being as a gift to realize their own purpose of creation. Complete satisfaction is when desire and satisfaction reach a balanced state. However, desire gradually grows as human beings grow. For example, babies are satisfied with simple toys, but when they are about middle-school age, they are no longer satisfied with those level of toys.

In addition, there are differences in one's amount of desire depending on the gift or mission bestowed to him by God. Desire exists for the purpose of achieving a goal so a person must have deeper desires in order to achieve greater goals.

However, human beings have a sphere of freedom in which other people cannot interfere. Therefore, it is principally impossible to satisfy such desires with only things outside of that sphere. There are areas of which a person must directly satisfy himself. Hence, there are two conditions that can fulfill such desires to achieve complete satisfaction: an objective condition like the right environment, and a subjective condition like one's own subjectivity.

2) Subjective conditions to removing a sense of inequality

No matter how much one is satisfied, human beings naturally compare themselves to others and tend to often feel a sense of inequality. Therefore, no matter how much people are equal from an objective aspect, the sense of inequality does not disappear. Then how can we remove this sense of inequality? The most important point is how a person thinks and feels personally.

In the Old Testament, Job is described saying the following: "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return there." (Job 1:21) Just as we can understand from this Bible verse, one's body, talents, environment and circumstances are gifts from God, and it is important to think of 'nothing.' Therefore, you should be grateful and appreciative of the very fact that you 'have.' You will be grateful for everything if 'not having' is what you take for granted. Yet if you take 'having' for granted then you will be discontent with everything. Therefore, it is important not to have a concept of ownership over your body, talents or assets. Whether your talents are superior or inferior, you should not have a sense of superiority nor a sense of inferiority as it was bestowed by Heaven. What is important is whether you are using your God-given talents to the fullest. If you are not using your gift, then you should have an apologetic heart toward Heaven and if you are using your gift, you should be joyful and give glory to Heaven. This is how you display your God-given gift 120 percent with love and creativity.

3) Objective conditions to removing a sense of inequality

Thus far I have discussed the subjective conditions to

removing a sense of inequality. On the presupposition of those points, objectively there is also a need to treat each individual equally.

Within the political principles of modern nations, equality is protected under the law. People cannot be discriminated against on the basis of gender, skill or household backgrounds. Women especially in the past have been treated with inequality in comparison to men within their families and societies. However, we must rectify this. Equality must be guaranteed within political rights, political administration and at work. This is because men and women, before one's gender, are both human beings. They are God's children and His precious individual truth beings, and their value cannot be exchanged for anything. There must not be discriminative treatment based on gender within the family, society, or nation. Up until now throughout human history women have been discriminated against. When we think about this fact, we must correct it moving forward from the perspective of Unification Thought which equally regards men and women as God's individual truth beings.

However, one thing to be cautious about is that when we say gender equality, it is easy to misunderstand that men and women have to be completely the same. There have often been radical movements that have excessively insisted on women's liberation being that they should be the same [as men] in all respects, yet such claims are often impossible to realize and are prone to cause more social confusion and disorder. As long as men and women have distinct physical features, it is natural for men and women to play different roles in the family or at work. According to Unification Thought, men and women have clear *gyeokwi* as yang and

yin, but this does not mean that men are always the subject and women are always the object. Women can become the subject in areas she excels at and the opposite is true as well. One may establish the relationship according to the circumstances while respecting the reciprocal qualities of subject and object. By doing so, it is important to ensure that both the man and woman are mutually happy and satisfied. This should especially manifest in the family. Unlike authoritarianism of the feudal system of the past, families should establish heartistic relationships of love and beauty while respecting the natural statuses of husband and wife, parent and child, and brother and sister. In addition to these natural *gyeokwi*, our social lives also demand the rationality that determines one's *gyeokwi* according to one's public services, competence, adaptability to time and space, and needs.

4) Fair value assessment and equal opportunities for value realization

As stated above, an individual's talent and personality are gifts from God, but those qualities in themselves are not a person's value. It is appropriate to praise Heaven for bestowing one's remarkable talent and one can do so by perfecting one's talent.

In the New Testament there is this verse: "For by the grace given to me I say to everyone among you not to think of yourself more highly than you ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith that God has assigned. For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of

another." (Romans 12:3-5)

According to Unification Thought, for human society to operate organically, each individual needs to play different roles like the different parts of the human body. Therefore, no two people will have the same skill or personality as another, and there will always be qualitative and quantitative differences. Metaphorically, human beings are like pearls; there are large pearls, small pearl, and various colored pearls like red, yellow or blue. However, once a pearl is fully grown, all pearls are beautiful. Even if there are differences in their beauty, there is no difference in their value. A human being's value does not change regardless of what level or *gyeokwi* one is at, or what God-given talent one has. All that matters is one's level of individual perfection one has reached and how much joy one gives to God and other people. According to Unification Thought, the very core of human value depends on how aligned one is with God's heart. More specifically, it depends on how much joy and inspiration one gives to those in both higher and lower positions. God's purpose for creating human beings is to spread joy and the opportunity to experience this heart of God means that all people are originally equal.[30]

As mentioned above, the level of which one manifests his God-given talent determines his value. If a person possesses a level-100 talent, but only realizes 80 percent of it, and another person has a level-20 talent but realizes all or more of it, the latter is more beautiful and valuable. This is how a small sparkling pearl has greater value than a large but dun pearl.

30 Nomura Yagasaki, *Introduction to Unification Thought* (Tokyo: New Thought Research Institute, 1980), p. 42.

5) Equality in receiving love

Until today, we have confused high status with high value. This is because the higher one's status, the more love they seem to receive. Regrettably, the lower one's status is, the less loved one feels. This occurs when those in higher positions monopolize the love they receive from their superiors and do not pass it on to those under them.

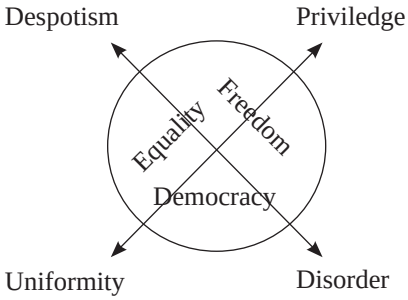
In the Bible, there is a verse that goes, "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you" (New Testament, Gospel of John 15:12). The founder of Unification Thought, Rev. Sun Myung Moon said "Be thirsty to give"[31] and points out the importance of adding more love to the amount of love you received before passing it on. If you continue to gradually add to the love you receive from God, then even those in lower positions will never be discontent.

However, modern capitalism adopted the policy of laissez-faire, and as a result of attaining a free economy and wealth, there came about large social inequality between the poor and the wealthy. Moreover, the rich monopolize the blessings from God and do not fairly distribute that wealth among the poor. In contrast, socialism and communism which both display a slogan for social justice, strive to acquire equality with heteronomous power. Although nominal equality may have been realized, the loss of freedom and social vitality is one of the causes that will bring about the end of today's socialism and communism. Then the issue is how democracy, with pillars of freedom and equality,

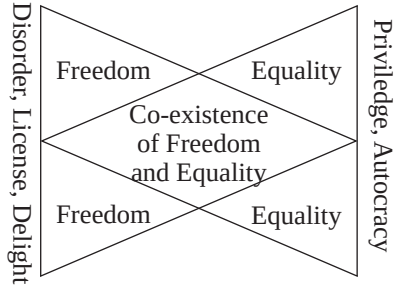
31 Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, *The Way of God's Will*, 1980 (English text), p. 334.

will overcome such contradiction.[32] Lipson's graphs will be a reference on this point.[33]

**<Table 1, Table 2 presented as Figures>**




<Figure 1>




<Figure 2>

In Figure 1, the line for freedom and the line for equality cross each other. If freedom leans too much to one side, it becomes dictatorship and if it leans too much to the other side it becomes disorder. On the other hand, if equality leans too much to one side everything becomes the same and uniform. And if it leans too much in the opposite direction a privileged class appears. These relationships are represented in Figure 2. Freedom is marked as a triangle with a solid line and equality is marked as a triangle with a dotted line. The peaks of the triangles represent scaling down and the base represents expansion or excess. As we can see here, when freedom and equality maintain moderation,

32 In freedom and equality, equality must be realized through freedom, not the other way around. Gwanhae Kim, *Understanding Religion and Politics* (Seoul: Jayumungo, 1995), p. 394.

33 Leslie Lipson, *The Democratic Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 535.

both can co-exist. Then what makes this moderate state possible? I personally think it is love.

## V. Conclusion

In that sense, until today political ideologies have mentioned freedom and equality as some of their core concepts. Within love, freedom and equality can sublate harmoniously and harmonious relationships are formed between subjectivity and order, or the whole and the individual.[34]

Communism, which values equality, instigated hate between classes and caused conflict, hostility, and hate between persons. The ideology that overcomes communism has to be one of love, not hate. I want to make the conclusion that without a human revolution centered on love, no political system or revolution can support the creation of human happiness or build an ideal society. Moreover, just as communism had a clear vision for the future, the new ideology must be able to delineate the ideal

34 "Throughout history, humankind's earthly dream has been to realize the ideals of freedom and equality simultaneously. But pursuit of the ideal of freedom makes the realization of equality extremely difficult. Similarly, under the banner of equality, the ideal of freedom has been limited in the extreme. This has been the lesson of history. However, neither ideal by itself can completely satisfy human desire. This is an ideological, fundamental contradiction that can be resolved only through the ideal of a true family centering on true love. Only by true love will true freedom be preserved. And only by true love will true equality be possible." Rev. Sun Myung Moon, "Media in the Twenty-first Century: Focus, Roles, and Responsibilities". *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*, August 22, 1995, Shilla Hotel, Seoul, p. 849.

future world.[35] Just as communism was a philosophy of practice, the new ideology must also be a philosophy of action that calls for concrete social transformation. Finally, just as communism applied the law of dialectics to all phenomena, the new ideology centered on love should also present a consistent law.[36]

The reunification of North and South of the Korean peninsula, which is dubbed the symbol of division today, indeed must come about centered on a political ideology with love at its core. Rev. Sun Myung Moon said the following in his speech "World Unity and the Reunification of South and North Korea Will Be Accomplished by True Love".

> "Where do we start in order to achieve North-South reunification? If we subjugate the other side through force, then eventually they will develop a force stronger than ours and the conflict will begin all over again. We cannot achieve unity by this method. The way to unification will open when each of us has the heart to say, 'Even though I live in the South, I truly want to live in harmony with the people of the North. I truly want to become one with them.'"[37]

35 "I have advocated the establishment of a society of coexistence, mutual prosperity and the common good. An ideal world means coexisting politically, prospering together economically, and creating an ethical society of goodness." Rev. Sun Myung Moon. "True Knowledge, True Family and World Peace". *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*, p. 794.

36 In Unification Thought, presents the law of give and receive as an alternative to dialectics, and the unified view of history as an alternative to the materialist view of history. Please refer to Sanghun Lee, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*.

37 Sun Myung Moon, "World Unity and the Reunification of South and North Korea

Such a political ideology of love will become the global central ideology of the twenty-first century that will map the way to Korean reunification and world unification.

Will Be Accomplished by True Love", *Pyeong Hwa Gyeong*, p. 1253.

# Discourse of Republicanism from the Viewpoint of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in Unification Thought[♣]

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I. Introduction

II. Discourse of Republicanism

III. The Response of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity

IV. Conclusion

## Abstract

How do we overcome the limits of representative democracy and realize a political system that all citizens participate in? This paper attempts to summarize the points of discussion on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in Unification Thought and present alternatives through the discourses of Republicanism which have been actively conducted recently. The Principle of

♣ Editor's Note: This paper was originally published in *Research of Unification Thought* 15 (2018).

Mutual Prosperity, the political ideology of Unification Thought, can respond to the critical questions posed to republicanism as follows: First, the theory of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity proposes alternative electoral systems, such as election through a lottery, that will allow citizens to participate in politics, and also seeks to establish collective, balanced, and responsible politics. Second, the love for the community in the Principle of Mutual Prosperity cannot be cultivated through legal regulations alone. Religious education and activities are also essential to cultivate such love for the community. Third, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity seeks to harmonize the purpose of the whole and individual purposes, but clearly proposes a philosophical basis that can restrict individual freedom for the sake of the community as it prioritizes the purpose of the whole over that of the individual. Fourth, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity regards love as the core aspect of human character, explaining that love for the community can be cultivated through experiences of the love of children, the love between brothers and sisters, the mutual love between the husband and wife, and the love of parents within a family-oriented community. Using these answers as a starting point, the political and philosophical discussions of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity should be made more concrete in the future.

**Key Words:** Unification Thought, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity, Republicanism, Religious Community, Family Community.

# I. Introduction

In August, a six-term lawmaker of the Free Korea Party held a seminar on the subject of “focusing on lost conservative politics and republicanism,” highlighting the discourse of republicanism once again. Some speculated that conservative politics in crisis might seek a coalition under the banner of republicanism, as the former leader of the Bareunmirae Party, which advocates reformist conservatives, has already made republicanism as his political philosophy.

In fact, republicanism emerged as a political slogan in the 2008 candlelight protests, drawing attention to a new political direction in the Republic of Korea, including conservatism and progressive ideas. In particular, at the candlelight vigil in 2016, the people advocated for public values and rule of law, checks and balances resisting the monopoly and arbitrary control by those in power who acted as though they were above the law, by shouting to the crowd that “Korea is a democratic republic”, which means that everyone is equal before the law, and saying that republicanism, which advocates public values, rule of law, checks and balances, is a political value that can overcome the crisis of democracy facing the Republic of Korea. If democracy is an ideology that proclaims that sovereignty rests with the people, then republicanism is an ideology that emphasizes the fairness of law and social publicness.

Republicanism was a political system that began in Athens, ancient Greece, and was attempted in earnest in Rome. It was the logic of resistance where citizens wanted to prevent arbitrary dictatorship of monarchs and to protect the freedom and rights of

citizens based on law.[1] It has been distinguished from the traditions of other political ideologies by insisting on the rule of law rather than by man, and emphasizing the enactment of law based on the common good and the civic virtue of actively supporting and participating in it.[2]

After the realization of a state of law in which there was no need to worry about the dictatorship of monarchs, discussions about republicanism did not proceed any further. However, questions have been raised again over whether democracy can be realized when the people who are the owners, are preoccupied with consumption, and avoid paying attention to public life and participating in politics as well as exercising their voting rights.[3]

People living in a neo-liberal system are buried only in their own interests in order to survive in a structure of constant competition, and have become fragmented and egoistic, and so cannot become citizens who think that public values are important or become citizens who participate politically. For this reason, the debate on the citizenship of republicanism has been revived again in America.[4]

As pointed out above, formal democracy has been established in the current of democratization in Korean society, but there is a discourse that republicanism must be realized in order to realize true democracy. Can republicanism be an alternative

1 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism* (Seoul: Chaeksesang, 2009), p. 13.
2 Maurizio Viroli, *Republicanism*, translated by Kyunghee Kim & Dongkyu Kim (Goyang: Love for Humans, 2006), p. 18.
3 Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1965).
4 Sangbum Kim, "The Implications of Republican Citizenship in Ethics Education", *Journal of Ethics* 87 (2012), p. 29.

to overcoming the crisis faced by the politics of the Republic of Korea? Expectations for this are not that optimistic.

First of all, it is pointed out that since republicanism has not been discussed as a political ideology in Korean society, opinions on republicanism are arbitrary, and are both conservative and progressive. They use the same term republicanism, but their understanding and political goals are different. Therefore, even though many political leaders have expressed their political beliefs as republicanism, their authenticity is not being accepted. Also, republicanism has been criticized for its lack of political feasibility in a complex modern society. It is a view that it is impossible for citizens to participate in politics by cultivating civic virtues centering on public values in a fragmented social structure.[5]

The discourse surrounding republicanism raises the need for discussion on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in Unification Thought, which is presented as the political ideology of the ideal society. The Principle of Mutual Prosperity also points to the selfishness of individualism as a fundamental limitation of the democratic political system. Christianity has transformed into selfishness as it has failed to function as a common principle capable of guiding individualism that values individual personality, character, and values. I suggest that these limitations will be overcome and a political system based on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity will be realized when the Messiah comes again and restores all human beings to become human beings of true love and form a unified world based on true values.

5 Bongjin Ko, “Light and Shade of the Republican Theory”, *Law and Policy Review* 241 (2018), pp. 7-16.

However, unfortunately, discussions on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity have not yet progressed in abundance, and integrated discussions have yet to take place. Starting first with Yushin Choi, Hangje Kim, Sigu Jeong, and Hyunjin Lim, research was conducted on the Principle of Mutual Prosperity and its practical application, but compared to other discussions on Unification Thought, there has been a lack of concrete discussions as to how the Principle of Mutual Prosperity can overcome various political crises in our modern society. Therefore, this paper attempts to summarize the issues of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity by analyzing the ongoing discourse surrounding republicanism and to propose the basis for responding to this.

## II. Discourse of Republicanism

### 1. The common good and the rule of law

In China, the term "republic" was first used to refer to the period when the princes rebelled and ruled in order to prevent the tyranny of the King Li (Liwang/Ji Hu) of the Zhou dynasty. Later, a republican system was commonly used to mean politics without kings and then became 'republic' in English which was developed from the Latin word "res publica," meaning "public affairs" or a "commonwealth."[6] The Western republic refers to a political system with elected officials and representative governments instead of hereditary monarchs. Ancient republicanism meant the formation of a self-governing government in which citizens participated in rejecting the rule of the monarch and preventing

6 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism*, p. 20.

the transfer of power of public officials. However, due to the realistic limitations that all citizens cannot directly participate in politics, it means a political system in which citizens participate in politics through a representative government based on law.[7]

Republicanism emphasizes political participation but considers the common good of the state more important than whether it is a representative government or an autonomous government. Just as 'res publica,' the etymology of the republic, excludes private domination and emphasizes public property, republicanism refers to a country where public objects, public property, and public space are protected and prioritized based on law.[8] Cicero also said, "When all people are oppressed by one man's tyranny, who can call it a republic, that is, public property?" He said that the core of the republic was against hereditary monarchs viewing the state or government as their private property and that the common good is when the state is treated as public property that can be governed by citizens.[9]

Aristotle, who introduced the idea of republicanism, said, "Human is by nature an animal that constitutes a state community, and is essentially different from social animals. The state takes precedence over the home and the individual. The whole takes precedence over the part. The formation of a state is a prerequisite for the realization of justice. Humans are the most evil and most dangerous animals without law and justice. Justice maintains the

7 Sangbum Kim, "The Implications of Republican Citizenship in Ethics Education", p. 30.

8 Maurizio Viroli, *Republicanism*, p. 16.

9 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Treatise on the Commonwealth* (De re publica), translated by Changsung Kim (Paju: Han Gil-sa, 2007).

order of the state community."[10]

In other words, unlike other animals, humans can recognize the definitions of good and evil, right and wrong, and establish a state that prioritizes individuals and families, and enacts laws and systems to maintain order based on this. He emphasized that in the public domain of the state, humans will pursue the common good beyond private interests. In this regard, Athens, the origin of republicanism, regarded the right of citizens to participate in politics equally and allowed a wide range of citizens beyond the nobility to participate in politics. Equal citizens actively participated in politics through the Civil Assembly and the People's Court and were provided with equal opportunities to participate through lotteries and strict restrictions on the length of time they could hold office. In this way, the 'polis' society of Athens realized direct democracy, but only those who were citizens of Athens by both parents were recognized as citizens. This meant it was a privileged citizenship and became a means of monopolizing power.[11] Such power-grouped citizens chose to put their private interests before the common good, which eventually led to the fall of Athens.[12]

In order to overcome this problem in Athens, Roman republicanism introduced a mixed regime in which consuls, elders, and citizens could participate together, rather than arithmetic equality,

10 Aristotle, *Politics (Politika)*, translated by Byunghui Chun (Seoul: Soup, 2009), p. 17.

11 Kyunghee Kim, "The Origin and Development of Democratic Republicanism in the West: Dialectics of Democracy and Republicanism from ancient Athens to Renaissance", *Korean Studies Quarterly* 30(1) (2007), p. 118.

12 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism*, pp. 30-40.

to bring balance through mutual checks. To prevent political monopoly and domination by the majority group, discriminatory equality was pursued according to qualities and capabilities, and various institutional supplements were added, such as electing multiple representatives and shortening the term of office. It acknowledged the possibility of problems that could arise in citizens' voluntary prioritization of the common good over private interests.[13]

Through this historical process, republicanism emphasizes domination by the law, that is, the rule of law. This is because public objects, public property, and public space are protected through the law. Of course, these laws are laws that contain the common good and are enacted by citizens, and citizens are equal in front of the law. As Jean J. Rousseau said, "Whatever the form of government is, I call every state governed by law a republic. Because at this time, the common good stands at the top, and the public things are important."[14]

As such, the common good and the rule of law are the core concepts of republicanism, but scholars have subtly different views on how to balance the common good and the rule of law. This is because there are basically two views. The view that all human beings have an original nature which fundamentally pursues the common good so that participation in the public sphere should be expanded, and the view that laws based on the common good should be enacted and the rule of law should be strengthened, have a point of conflict in the real world. For example, opinions on whether to view health care, education, etc.

13 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism*, pp. 49-51.

14 Maurizio Viroli, *Republicanism*, p. 16 quoted in.

as a public domain and expand public policies to do so are sharply divided in our society. First of all, since a mature civic society that prioritizes the common good has not been established, there is conflict between the understanding of each class and discussions in the public domain cannot be held. In this situation, there is a conflict between whether to wait until civic society matures and recovers its original nature of pursuing the common good and mature public debate takes place, or whether to create a social safety net that can expand civic society by enacting laws based on the common good even if there is no discussion process.

On the other hand, criticism has also been raised as to whether the common good is a realizable concept in modern society. In the public domain of the state, citizens prioritize the common good, actively participate in politics to realize politics based on the common good, and the vision of republicanism to secure the common good based on law is nothing more than what city-states have pursued in the past. In modern society, the opportunity for citizens to participate in the public sphere of the state itself is blocked, and small communities based on blood ties or regionalism are not even given the opportunity to communicate with each other, so citizens who can put the common good before private interests cannot emerge.[15]

### 2. Republican freedom

Freedom is a central topic of republicanism following the common good and the rule of law, which is being discussed. In republicanism, freedom is regarded as not being subject to the

15 Bongjin Ko, "Light and Shade of the Republican Theory", pp. 10-12.

will of others. In order to develop the conceptual discussion of republican freedom in more detail, let's look at the concept of general freedom, that is, the concept of an active and passive concept of freedom distinguished by Isaiah Berlin.

If passive freedom is freedom in the same state as Robinson Crusoe without interference by others, active freedom means freedom to realize one's self in a state in which one controls one's own life. Interestingly, Berlin saw active freedom as a totalitarian risk that could infringe on the freedom of others and said that the realization of passive freedom is a more realistic freedom.[16] Republican freedom refers to the absence of the interference that passive freedom pays attention to and grafting it to a state of self-domination in which there is no control by others emphasized by active freedom. In other words, even if there is no guarantee of being the owner of your life in active freedom, if you are in a state of being free from the control of others then this can be considered to be freedom in republicanism.

A state without interference from others and a state without domination by others have a common point of being passive in terms of 'absence,' but there are differences between the two states. In other words, a slave belonging to a generous master can live his or her daily life without much interference. So, we can say that due to the absence of interference, this slave has passive freedom. However, the relationship between master and slave does not change, and the relationship between domination and subjugation means that this is not republican freedom. This is because the state of freedom changes whenever the owner's

16 Isaiah Berlin, *Isaiah Berlin's Two Concepts of Liberty*, translated by Dong-chun Park (Paju: Arkanet, 2014).

mind changes.[17] Republican freedom emphasizes the freedom to be able to freely express one's political will or personal will in such a political and legal state. Of course, even if freedom is legally guaranteed, it cannot be said to be free if it is controlled by the threatening power of others. Republican freedom is not guaranteed in a society where the freedom to express one's ideas is restricted by dictators, violent husbands, and oppressive employers and cannot be protected by law.[18]

On the other hand, republican freedom admits that individual freedom is limited by law. For example, for a progressive tax that is taxed in proportion to income, libertarians believe that the state violates and interferes with individual liberties through taxes, but republicans believe that laws based on the common good maintain social order rather than just being an arbitrary subjugation of others. Therefore, it considers that this does not infringe on freedom because it is a legal form of subjugation. Rather, republicans insist that it is essential to enact laws that prioritize the common good by consensus of the citizens, and that the maintenance of a society by such law guarantees the republican type of freedom.[19]

William Blackstone said, "There is no freedom where there is no law," noting that legislation for the common good is essential and that carefully designed laws do not destroy freedom,

17 Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, translated by Seungrae Cho (Seoul: Pureunyeoksa, 2007).

18 Philip Petitte, *Republicanism*, translated by Junhyeok Kwak (Seoul: Nanam, 2012), p. 6.

19 Maurizio Viroli, *Republicanism*, pp. 95-96.

but rather create freedom.[20] In response to these arguments, libertarians see republican freedom as violating the basic rights of the people by prioritizing the common good. All individuals in the modern society have the freedom to pursue their own happiness, but the basis for legally restricting this cannot be provided in republicanism. From a republican perspective, if citizens who prioritize the common good enact laws that limit their basic rights through a forum of public opinion, the basic condition of freedom under the laws premised in republicanism can be established. Critics, however, say that state-led basic rights restrictions do not fit the ideals of republicanism and that republican freedom remains an ideal that cannot be realized in modern society, as citizens of today do not prioritize the common good and participate in public debate.

On the other hand, equality-oriented liberals who advocate active freedom argue that there must be resources to realize active freedom, but because the poor are deprived of these resources, the allocation of resources to realize freedom as well as their survival must be made first. This view presents a clear logic that the basic rights of the rich can be limited in order to secure the minimum resources to ensure active freedom. In contrast, republicanism does not provide a clear logic to solve 'freedom' and the 'common good' when they collide.

Also, there can be a question of whether there is a common good that all members of society can agree on. Of course, republicanism does not see community-sharing values like communityism, but there are similarities in terms of citizens priori-

20 Philip Petitte, *Republicanism*, p. 107.

tizing the common good over private interests. For example, when groups with different opinions on one policy disagree, the question arises whether two groups can go beyond their group's interests and agree on laws based on the common good of the two groups.[21] Republicanism has not been able to provide a clear answer to such criticisms by liberals seeking passive freedom, communityists seeking active freedom, or equality-oriented liberals.

### 3. Civic virtue

Civic virtue is a core concept that can be said to be the essence of republicanism, and it means the character of citizens who are committed to the common good. In the ancient Roman community, having civic virtue referred to the virtue of adult men who made up the militias and were responsible for the safety and defense of the community. At first, this civic virtue just encompassed the masculinity and courage of men, but gradually expanded to include moral and ethical virtues. In addition to the virtue of a soldier who sacrificed himself for victory in a war, it showed a person's consciousness and virtue of being a citizen who can participate in and devote himself to the political community.[22]

The opposite concept of civic virtue is "corruption," which occurs when an individual's personal logic infiltrates the public domain, violates the common good, and replaces it. During the Roman period, the Roman Republic was established, and when

21 Bongjin Ko, "Light and Shade of the Republican Theory", pp. 13-16.

22 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism*, p. 11.

people had civic virtue, the most qualified applicants for the administrative jobs were elected, but when the citizens became corrupt, only the most powerful applied for those jobs, and the citizens chose the administrators according to what favors they could receive. Such corruption occurs in a society where inequality has intensified as a result of the collapse of a fair legal system and public order, with differences in the application of fair rules or legal systems between people with a lot of power and wealth and those who don't.[23]

Therefore, whether citizens will cultivate or corrupt civic virtues depends not on the citizens' own choice, but on the political system in which citizens can form civic awareness or civic virtues. Michael Sandel called this politics "formative politics." Formative politics includes policies that allow citizens to continue to supply civic virtues through various means including education, beyond legal mechanisms that prevent them from falling into corruption such as greed, indolence, and luxury.[24] Of course, Roman traditional republicanism argues for passive civic virtues that can check government policies rather than civic virtues that require active political participation. Despite these differences, republicanism can be seen as presupposing the cultivation of civic virtues through political participation in that it emphasizes the process of jointly participating in politics for the common good.

There is disagreement over what is the core content of civic virtue, but generally, love for the country to which citizens belong,

23 Kyunghee Kim, *Republicanism*, pp. 90-92.

24 Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 6.

namely patriotism or love for the motherland, is commonly cited. As previously suggested, the word civic virtue itself started from the requirement of citizens to protect the country in the event of a war, and so love for the country was recognized as a prominent common good. However, what republicanism calls "national love" differs from the patriotism emphasized by nationalism. Nationalist patriotism is a priori sentiment of the same race, while republican love for the country is a product of acquired experience while participating in the politics of the state to which one belongs.[25] Charles Taylor said that the love of country of nationalism and republicanism could be viewed as the same when we talk about the trust and sense of unity the citizens of a country show, but there is a difference between the two in the nature and content of the political community which can be advanced through civic liberty and devotion to the community.[26]

Republicanism emphasizes civic friendship along with republican patriotism as a civic virtue. On the topic of civic virtue, Aristotle begins with the view that all human beings are naturally born as citizens. He begins with the view that people can experience mutual recognition and realize themselves through solidarity and natural love (*philia*) for other members who share their lives as political animals and that the citizens are able to achieve self-completion while participating in civic life. There is a difference between the position that all citizens must share common knowledge and information in order to have civic

25 Sangbum Kim, "The Implications of Republican Citizenship in Ethics Education", pp. 34-35.

26 Charles Taylor, "Cross-Purposes: The Liberal-Communitarian Debate", edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum. *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1989), p. 178.

friendship, and that the constitutive community experience is important to lead a better life. However, in the aspect of emphasizing that there is mutual solidarity that allows them to participate in the community, they are the same.[27]

In the modern society where civic virtues such as republican love for one's country and civic friendship have become individualistic, discussions are being made on whether such civic virtues can exist, and if they can, how to cultivate them. However, when talking about an alternative to the crisis of liberal democracy, although there is some kind of understanding, skepticism about whether republicanism, in which a majority of citizens actively participate in political life with a public consciousness that prioritizes the common good, is a realistic alternative. Questions are being raised as to whether it is possible to cultivate civic virtues through universal ethics education, and the limitations of this method are being pointed out.

## III. The Response of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity

### 1. Poltics of the brotherhood ideology centered on Heavenly Parentism

The Principle of Mutual Prosperity is the ideal world's political ideology, and as such calls for a joint politics centered on

27 Yangsoo Lee, "Democracy in the Age of Chaos: Republicanism and the Value of Life"; Michael Sandel, *Republicanism and the Common Good*, translated by Sunwook Kim et al. (Seoul: Philosophy and Reality Publishers, 2008), p. 321.

the true love of God in which the whole of humankind attends the Messiah and his bride who represent God. It presents the political ideal that we are all brothers and sisters and belong to one world family under God our Heavenly Parent and the True Parents. In this world, we will live as one world community without borders and participate in joint politics from the standpoint of brothers and sisters who all have inherited the love of our Heavenly Parent, God.[28]

The ideal of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity teaches a joint politics based on God's true love, so it can only be realized when the world is unified around the True Parents. However, it also says that even before the realization of the kingdom of the Messiah, the True Parents, the ideal of joint politics attending God as True Parents can be realized to some extent if the leadership works hard.[29] Scholars are also approaching the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as a viable political ideology in the real society of today. Hangje Kim said that the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values is an ideology that does not stop at presenting a vision for the ideal world, it is a practical ideology that can realize and achieve this ideal world.[30] Yushin Choi also pointed out that, although the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values is the ideology that is required for an ideal world, it should be further theorized

28 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seonghwasa, 1998), p. 519.

29 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, pp. 519-520.

30 Hangje Kim, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values and T. More's Utopian Ideology", *Unification Thought Research Journal* 5 (1999), p. 101.

and made more concrete in the future, as it deals with the most realistic and practical problems in all of Unification Thought with regards to whether or not it can be practically implemented.[31]

What should be discussed in order to apply the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in real society? Hangje Kim says that modern political scholarship, which is discussing the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as a new paradigm of democracy, shares a large part of its horizons. He pointed out that alternative types of democracy such as deliberative democracy, associative democracy, and electronic democracy (E-democracy) to overcome the limitations of representative democracy, can boost democratic participation, but they cannot solve the problem of democratic responsibility. Offering an alternative solution to this problem, Kim discussed in detail the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as being a political philosophy that can realize the authenticity of democratic participation and responsibility, and pursue community values and the common good.[32]

Hyunjin Lim also tried to answer these discussions by suggesting the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as a direction for political reform that can solve the problems of Korean politics today.[33] He said that the fundamental spirit of the Principle of

31 Yushin Choi, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values as a third alternative", *Unification Thought Research Journal* 2 (2001), pp. 64-120.

32 Hangje Kim, "Structural Contradictions in Korean Society and the Search for Peace based on Mutual Prosperity", *Peace Studies Research Journal* 7(3) (2006), pp. 61-77.

33 Hyunjin Lim, "A Study on the Policy Principles of Joint Politics and the Election System Seen through the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values", *The Unification Thought Research Jour-*

Mutual Prosperity lies in the spirit of common love for humanity. He analyzed the problems of the Korean election system based on the reform direction of the election system proposed by the Principle of Mutual Prosperity and suggested the direction, principles, and forms of the election system based on joint politics as a realistic alternative for overcoming them. In other words, it is important for humanity to restore common love, but we should no longer postpone the introduction of alternative politics that can improve the problems of the reality of today's politics.

In addition, Lim said that we should organize the politics of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity into a joint, balanced, and responsible politics, and realize the politics of universal participation, and that the politics of lottery rather than the election of delegates should be introduced. He argued that we should abolish the party nomination system, such as the heads of local governments, and as an alternative strengthen the manifesto policy election, which can realize responsible politics. The discussion of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity centered on this alternative electoral system brings us back to the fundamental question that there should first be people with love for the community. Can modern people who live a fractured life in a huge social structure really have love for the community? Just as the question of whether the common good or citizens who live for the common good can exist in modern society is raised when discussing republicanism, skepticism can be raised about whether there is anyone in modern society who can prioritize public love over public or self-love.

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*nal* 14 (2018), pp. 1-22.

In response to these fundamental questions, Yushin Choi saw that the religious community is the community that can most effectively teach the experience of love for the community, common good, and common politics, as well as the restoration of the conscience of individuals and that God is the most public being, and thus becomes the standard for the common good and love for the community.[34] State power provides and suppresses the motivation of human behavior based on the regulation of the law, but only regulates the external consequences of behavior, and has limitations that cannot be taught. On the other hand, the religious community values the motives of actions and because it gives value to and encourages the motive to develop in a better direction, it can provide a motive and process for pursuing the common good and love for the community beyond self-interests. However, historically there has been a question as to whether a religious community based on beliefs that exclude other religions can connect and communicate with other religious communities. In a multi-religious society, if one can pursue love for the community with other religious communities beyond the interests of one's own religious community, it will be possible to solve these difficulties centering on the religious community.

Furthermore, Yushin Choi tried to explain in detail the Principle of Mutual Prosperity from the perspective of political philosophy. He suggests that the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values in Unification Thought, is presented as an ideology corresponding to economics, politics, and ethics. While suggesting that it is more appropriate to see

34 Yushin Choi, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values as a third alternative", pp. 64-120.

these in an integrated way as the ideals of the ideal world, he considered that a society of the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values is a God-centered socialism which is more concerned with equality rather than freedom and the community than the individual. It is the ideal of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity that freedom and equality are properly harmonized, but since it is more difficult to realize equality than freedom, it is a political philosophy in which the community focuses on equality and realizes freedom in order to achieve that balance.[35]

However, the equality pursued by the Principle of Mutual Prosperity differs from the equality institutionalized by socialism. Hangje Kim substantialized the ideals pursued by the Principle of Mutual Prosperity by comparing the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values with More's utopianism. More suggests that if a welfare society that guarantees material happiness and pleasure is established by institutionalizing social justice and equality, mental happiness and pleasure, a utopia can be achieved. In More's Utopia, everyone has complete and total equality, so urban residents and farmers are replaced every two years, and houses are exchanged by lottery every 10 years, and people eat at a common dining table and wear common clothing. Hangje Kim points out that although such a system can achieve social justice and equality, it cannot achieve mental happiness and pleasure. He argues that since every individual has different abilities, interests, tastes, and desires, having the same clothes, food, and housing limits mental satisfaction. As an alternative to

35 Yushin Choi, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values as a third alternative", pp. 64-76.

this, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity reveals that a true welfare society can be realized through the politics of joint participation based on the true love of God.[36]

The equality pursued by the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is not material and quantitative equality, but subjective and qualitative equality. All human beings have equal value as children of God, but they have different positions when they relate to each other.

In relationships with different positions, equality means that not all people have the same rights at the same level, but they respect each other at the level appropriate to their abilities and enjoy full equality through love.[37]

Soomin Kim pointed out that the concept of equality in Unification Thought is given equal value through love and that it has an important meaning in that things lacking now can be covered by inner satisfaction. At the same time, however, he pointed out that if humans do not establish the level of inequality they can tolerate and accept, it can lead to empty discussions.[38]

In other words, in order for the Principle of Mutual Prosperity to be a future ideal that can overcome the limitations of liberal democracy and socialism, and capitalism and communism, it is necessary to restore the individual's conscience to become

36 Hangje Kim, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values and T. More's Utopian Ideology", pp. 95-119.

37 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p. 172.

38 Soomin Kim, "Equality in the Unification Thought", *The Unification Thought Research Journal* 2 (2001), pp. 166-168.

a win-win ideology capable of overcoming the limitations and encompassing the strengths of each ideology. From individuals to families, societies, nations, and the world, as a community, it should focus on joint politics and agree on institutional standards that can be regarded as the minimum standard of equality.

In these discussions discourse on whether to prioritize civic virtues or institutions in republicanism meet. The question is should we prioritize recovery of our position as original human beings who can form relationships with others with love, and be satisfied with our position according to our own abilities and desires, or focus on a system that can realize the ideal of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity? The Principle of Mutual Prosperity suggests that individual change and institutional change must be achieved in an integrated manner, but emphasizes the fostering of individuals who can prioritize love for the community in terms of seeing individual change as a more fundamental change. In other words, it should prioritize fostering politicians who can feel and love others as brothers and sisters before engaging in politics through a lottery system. The issue of inequality should also make efforts to nurture citizens who can welcome the introduction of such a system and change citizens' consciousness, rather than rushing to introduce a system to resolve it.

### 2. Principled freedom

Republicanism chose legal freedom, which is guaranteed by law, during the discussion of active and passive freedom. Legal freedom is a freedom that is not bound by the will of others and belongs to passive freedom. Regarding this concept of freedom,

the Principle of Mutual Prosperity points out that there are fundamental limitations. Liberal democracy started out trying to realize freedom and equality, but in modern society, it is creating economic inequality and restraining the political equality and freedom of the poor and while criticizing that politics is being carried out only for political parties it has not been able to realize true freedom and equality and love for all in modern society.[39]

Unification Thought explains that all human beings live as beings with a purpose for the whole as a member of a community and with an individual purpose as an individual with individuality, so they live in a harmonious way of integrating life for the individual and the life for society and the nation. The whole purpose and the individual purpose are complementary and harmoniously related to each other, but they are at a different level and when realizing the proper order, the purpose for the whole is in the subject and *sungsang* (internal character) position. If there is disharmony or conflict between the two, then the purpose for the whole takes precedence. Prioritizing the purpose for the whole does not mean that the purpose for the whole can suppress or ignore the individual purpose. Unification Thought emphasizes that the individual purpose is also important because all human beings each have a microcosmic value, and that it is complementary to the whole purpose, and that balance and harmony between the two should be achieved. The understanding that all human beings resemble God and have inherent freedoms and values as individual truth bodies suggests a balance between

39 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, pp. 514-515.

liberalism and socialism.[40]

On the other hand, Jaewan Joo attempted to elaborate on the concept, focusing on the meaning of freedom presented in the Divine Principle.[41] In his paper, he developed a discussion by dividing freedom into freedom as a metaphysical original nature, and freedom judged from a value point of view. In other words, all human beings can consider several acts based on their original nature's natural orientation, namely their internal desire, and have the freedom to choose and practice any of them on their own, while having freedom based on value to act freely to the extent permitted by certain norms. Accordingly, from the point of view of value, the human beings of the original creation pursued responsibility and practical freedom within principle, and the original freedom was established only within the law.

Hidenori Yagasaki explained the ultimate meaning of freedom by connecting it with love.[42] He saw freedom as determining one's own way of existence, self-realization, and self-creation toward perfection, and pursuing the desire to be recognized and loved by realizing the value of one's existence, or the desire to love. He said that realizing the value of existence, giving and receiving love, and having joy is the true meaning of freedom.

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40 Yushin Choi, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values as a third alternative", pp. 100-102.

41 Jaewan Joo, "A Study on the Meaning of Freedom Used in the Fall of Man in the Exposition of the Divine Principle", *The Unification Theology Research Journal* 13 (2008), pp. 29-46.

42 Hidenori Yagasaki, "Consideration of New Political Ideas Based on the Unification Thought", *The Unification Thought Research Journal* 3 (2002), pp. 22-23.

In summarizing the discussions on the freedom of Unification Thought, human beings naturally seek freedom, so they have free will to pursue their own desires freely from the coercion of others. This natural free will touches passive freedom. However, this passive freedom alone cannot realize true freedom. Free will is expressed as an act, and among various desires, it seeks to realize active freedom by pursuing the nature of pursuing self-realization or love. The active freedom explained in political thought has the potential to infringe or restrain the freedom of others, but the principled freedom of the Unification Thought[43] pursues a harmonious state of the individual purpose and the purpose for the whole, that goes beyond one's own desires while thinking of the community and then makes choices and actions for the greater community seeking a greater love and joy.

The principled freedom of Unification Thought can provide a clear answer to criticisms made by libertarians seeking passive freedom, communalists seeking active freedom, or equality-oriented liberals. In other words, it explains the philosophical basis that individual freedom that pursues an individual purpose must be exercised on the premise of the larger community that pursues the purpose for the whole and can be limited for a greater love and joy.

43 The Exposition of Divine Principle and the New Essentials of Unification Thought do not give a special name for freedom, but emphasize freedom within the law or logos. In this study, for the convenience of discussion, the nature of freedom in the original creation, and the free principle that pursues the principle, responsibility, the principle of freedom seeking results, and the importance of the law and logos are all put into one and given the name "principled freedom".

### 3. Loving person and the family

The core of many discourses surrounding republicanism is narrowed down to how to cultivate civic virtue. Since there can be freedom only based on citizens with civic virtue, questions about what exactly civic virtue is and just how to cultivate civic virtue in modern society are being discussed.

The Principle of Mutual Prosperity also has a premise that people with love for the community, who can prioritize the purpose for the whole over their individual purpose, should take political responsibility and participate in it. Unification Thought defines the essence of human beings as love, and since a society that follows the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values is also based on the true love of God, love is as important in the Principle of Mutual Prosperity as civic virtue is in republicanism. This is because it is a politics of joint participation centered on the true love of God, and a politics of responsibility that can love others as brothers and sisters who inherit the love of God, our Heavenly Parent.[44]

Unification Thought presents human nature as heart, logos, and creativity, and the most important of them is heart. Heart is "a vertical impulse to be happy through love". It is the source of love and since one cannot endure without love, one cannot live a self-centered life and comes to live a life of love. Thus, Unification Thought defines each human as a loving person (Homo amans).[45]

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44 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p. 519.

45 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, p.

Based on this understanding, Hidenori Yagasaki said that originally human beings were people who had the heart to sacrifice themselves for the happiness of the whole even if it meant sacrificing oneself. However, a problem arose in the direction of love due to wrong desires and people ended up sacrificing others to fulfill their own desires and came to have a self-centered kind of love. The purpose for the whole and the individual purpose should have a relationship of harmony and complementarity, but humans who neglected the purpose of the whole and pursued only the individual purpose eventually ended up in ruin. Because of this, human beings need to go through a course of salvation and restoration to find the true essence of the love they lost.[46]

Yushin Choi stipulates that Unification Thought is the principle of the relationship of love or the principle of harmony, and suggested that tolerance, a practical virtue, is necessary as a step before realizing the relationship of love because the relationship between love and harmony is presented as a prototype and ideal. In a reality full of contradictions and conflicts, in order to achieve the ideal of a relationship of love, it is necessary to first pass the stage of tolerance.[47] Since everyone can be imperfect when their different opinions and positions collide, and if we let others know that we are willing to correct mistakes through rational dialogue and get closer to the truth we can then enter the stage of love, a relationship between harmony and unity. Yushin

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46 Hidenori Yagasaki, "Theory of Human Nature as a Foundation for Political Theory", *The Unification Thought Research Journal* 4 (2003), pp. 175-176.

47 Yushin Choi, "Love and Tolerance in the Perspective of Relationships", *The Unification Thought Research Journal* 1 (2000), pp. 261-281.

Choi regarded this process as a step in which people try to create relative standards and have give and receive action with respect for each other.

In order to have this attitude of tolerance, it is necessary to have an education that teaches us to respect each other. Yushin Choi suggests that NGOs and religious communities should provide a place of experience and education for young people to serve society as a way to transform individualistic thinking into love and bonds for the community.[48] Also in the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values the family should be set up as a step to connect individuals and society. The family should be considered as the place to train its members to have a community consciousness and carry out democratic citizenship education and community education.

Hangje Kim called this the "Unification Church ideology of the family community," and said that through the experience of preservation of life and heart and love in the home, and the experience of pursuing personal and family perfection centered on the true love of God, the individual purpose and the purpose for the whole can be harmonized. In addition, he said that families can experience mutual understanding through dialogue and respect for different members as natural persons regardless of their social status and ability. He said that the family is the place where unconditional relationships, sacrifice, and service are established, and freedom and equality based on true love are experienced and learned.[49]

48 Yushin Choi, "Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Values as a third alternative", p. 105.

49 Hangje Kim, "Theory of Universal Values as a Political Thought of the

Unification Thought regards the true love of God as the love of children for their parents, the mutual love between husband and wife, parental love, and the love between brothers and sisters, so that agape, which is a vertical love, and Eros, which is a horizontal love, can be collectively recognized and experienced at home. Everyone is born and raised as a child at home, experiencing the love of a child who loves his or her parents, and horizontally, they experience the love between brothers and sisters who communicate with brothers and sisters of different ages, opinions, and tastes. After growing up as a man and woman, they meet as a couple and experience the love of a couple, and after having children, they experience the love of parents. Among these four kinds of love, the most representative love is marital love, which can have an open and simultaneous loving relationship. The husband represents the father, brother, younger brother, and son, and the wife represents the mother, older sister, younger sister, and daughter, and they can experience love in a three-dimensional and integrated way.[50]

Of course, the family that exists in the real world is not a family based on God's true love, so true freedom and equality, mutual recognition and communication are distorted or destructive. However, compared to other communities, the family is of great importance in political philosophy because it has a natural relationship as the smallest community that can experience the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity,

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Unification Church", *New Religion Research Journal* 24 (2011), pp. 171-172.

50 Masuda Yoshihiko, "Heart and True Love from the Perspective of Unification Thought: Focusing on Nygren's Criticism on Agape and Eros", *The Unification Thought Research Journal* 4 (2003), pp. 186-210.

and Universal Values. Therefore, the Principle of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Values is wary of the destruction and loss of the family and suggests that the restoration of the family is the most important task.

## IV. Conclusion

Article 1 (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea states that "the sovereignty of Korea rests with the people, and all power comes from the people." Although this means that the legitimacy of state power belongs to the people and that the exercise of all governing power should be exercised according to the will of the people, it is difficult for the people to experience this meaning in their daily lives in the realistic situation in which the representative system is being implemented.

How to overcome the limitations of representative democracy and realize the kind of politics in which the people participate? This paper aimed to summarize the points of discussion of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity in Unification Thought through the discourses of republicanism which have been actively conducted recently and to suggest alternatives. There are limitations in concisely arranging the main discourses surrounding republicanism, but the questions raised critically for constructive and developmental discussion are as follows. First, the political participation of citizens pursued by republicanism is the ideal pursued when direct democracy was possible in the city-state of the past but is not feasible in a modern society where community life cannot be experienced. Second, the legal system cannot enforce the common good and civic virtue, and there is

a limit to pursuing the common good as it has matured of its own accord. Third, republican freedom does not clearly provide a philosophical basis for legally restricting individuals' free basic rights. Fourth, civic virtues are vague in nature and are not suitable or cannot be cultivated in modern society, so they are just unrealistic ideals.

The Principle of Mutual Prosperity, the political ideology of Unification Thought, can respond to the critical questions raised by republicanism as follows. First, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity proposes an alternative election system such as a lottery system for citizens to participate in politics, and pursues a joint, balanced, and responsible politics. Second, love for the community in the Principle of Mutual Prosperity cannot be cultivated only by legal regulations, but can be cultivated through education and activities of religious communities. Third, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity seeks to harmonize the purpose for the whole and the individual purpose, and puts the purpose for the whole above the individual purpose, and clearly offers a philosophical basis for limiting individual freedom if doing so is for the greater good of the community. Fourth, the Principle of Mutual Prosperity explains that the core aspect or the heart of character is love, and love for the community can be cultivated in the family community by experiencing children's love for parents, brothers' and sisters' love, mutual love between husband and wife, and parents' love for children.

With this response as a starting point, discussions on the political philosophy of the Principle of Mutual Prosperity should be made more concrete in the future. Can the family community in reality become a place of experience and education to cultivate

love for the community, or what efforts should be made for this to happen? It is hoped that deeper discussions trying to find answers to difficult questions such as whether religious communities that emphasize exclusive beliefs can cooperate with other religious communities for a common love for the community, or what steps should be taken for cooperation to happen in the future, will continue in subsequent studies.

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# A Study about Policy Principles of the Politics of Mutual Prosperity and the Election System from the Viewpoint of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value♣

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## Abstract

Since liberation, Korean politics has experienced a history of divisions and confrontations in which conservatives and progressives have constantly clashed. Now is the time when we must go forward as a great union that aims for understanding, consideration, communication and cooperation based on the ideology of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought*.

The purpose of this study is to seek a direction for political reform in Korean society based on the ideology of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity, and Universal Value. In particular, while exploring Korea's electoral system, this study examines society and the nation rather than the individual, and furthermore conceptualizes the politics of Mutual Prosperity based on public love, which is the spirit of love for the sake of all humankind, and examines the principles and form of an election system based on this.

This study reflects on the mechanism of operating elections, which is the main mechanism of modern representative democratic politics, and in particular, deduces the problem points that the election system of Korea has from the viewpoint of the politics of Mutual Prosperity, and explores policy solutions. It discusses deeply the ideology of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, in order to concretely realize the nation of God on this earth through this process.


**Key Words:** The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value, Election System, Lottery

System, Politics of Mutual Prosperity, Korean Politics

## I. Introduction

Since liberation, Korean society has experienced a sharp ideological struggle between democracy and communism. During the painful years of the Korean War and the division of North and South Korea, authoritarianism in South Korea and totalitarianism in North Korea ruled over the Korean peninsula by means of dictatorships. While maintaining a competitive system of dictatorship internally, externally the citizens endured unspeakable suffering in the process of promoting economic development of the nation.

Korea achieved rapid economic growth under the post-war dictatorship, achieving industrialization and entering the ranks of middle-industrial countries. The economic growth achieved by the dictatorship under the anti-communist ideology of containing North Korea paradoxically led to the maturation of a civil society that demanded dissolution of the dictatorship. As a result, in 1987, the dictatorship was overthrown, and democratization was achieved through the 6·10 Uprising. Mature civic consciousness goes beyond the logic of economic development and logic of dictatorship to build a new society that pursues mental happiness, such as the rights, interests and quality of life of the people. However, since the pursuit of democratization, Korean politics has formed a history of divisions and confrontations in which conservatives and progressives constantly clash.[1]

1 Hokeun Song, *Korea, Which Future to Choose?* (Seoul: 21st Century Books, 2005), pp. 12-15.

The civilian government (Kim Youngsam's administration), the people's government (Kim Daejung's administration), the participatory government (Roh Moohyun's administration),[2] the people's success period (Lee Myungbak's administration), and the people's happiness period (Park Geunhye's administration) that have passed through the course of democratization ended without realizing win-win politics that is achieved through cooperation and communication on the basis of a grand integration of the people. It is a fact that while exposing South-South conflict between political actors such as regional conflicts, generational conflicts, rich and poor conflicts, and conflict and battles between interest groups, this course has brought only disappointment and frustration concerning politics to the people.

President Lee Myungbak, who succeeded Presidents Kim Daejung and Roh Moohyun, while commenting on the "lost 10 years," professed that his regime represented the conservatives and incited conflict by demonstrating a strong political impetus to exclude opponents.[3] As for President Park Geunhye, the unprec-

2 There have been many political failures experienced by Korea due to the war of attrition caused by conflict and confrontation in Korean politics, but the frustration of the Roh Moo-hyun administration, which had a high willingness for reform, has been particularly highlighted. For a self-examination of liberal officials on this, see the following. Korean Peninsula Society Economic Research Association, *Frustration in Roh Moohyun's Era* (Seoul: Changbi, 2008).

3 The Lee Myungbak administration and the Grand National Party argued at the time of the 2007 presidential election, that the 5 years of the people's government and 5 years of the participatory government were combined to be "the lost 10 years." After the creation of the government and the achievement of the Grand National Party's goal, while it has been trying to operate with self-righteous policies throughout the affairs of the state such

edented impeachment of the president without being able to complete her term of office due to circumstances brought about unprecedented confrontation between the progressives and conservatives. The resulting situation is that President Park Geunhye and President Lee Myungbak, who were both symbols of conservatives, are being brought to trial and are under restrictive confinement for illegality and corruption. President Moon Jaein, who took over anew the Republic of Korea divided by nine years of political failure of conservative governance, had to put forward a revolution in Korean politics under the banner of national unity. President Moon Jaein is leading the political situation by presenting impressive and challenging agendas regardless of domestic and foreign politics on a high foundation of national support. Based on the diplomatic achievements of promoting the inter-Korean summit and the US-North Korea summit, he created an expectation for a peace system on the Korean peninsula and in domestic politics, he resolved the undemocratic political factors including cleaning up deep rooted evils and is attempting to change the Korean political system by proposing constitutional amendments. However, President Moon Jaein's political soloism continues to be controversial due to strong widespread opposition in domestic politics. The politics of discussing unification and cooperation that encompass the ruling and opposition parties is still far off.

Korea started with a national income of $67 per capita in 1953, it increased to $1,000 in 1977, and exceeded $10,000 in 1994. It exceeded $20,000 in 2006 and it made a leap forward in

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as in the economy, diplomacy, commerce, unification, the media, and welfare, it has been instigating conflict in Korean politics.

economic development by reaching $27,430 in 2015. However, our achievements through dashing toward development are casting a great shadow mentally. According to the World Happiness Report of the United Nations Sustainable Development Alliance (SDSN), Korea ranked 56th in happiness in the world. Dark statistics such as the #1 suicide rate in the world, the #1 lowest fertility rate, and the #1 nation that the youth consider to be the most unhappy place clearly reveal the problems of Korean society.

Thus correct politics is necessary to solve such social problems, but Korea is also a nation with a globally low trust of politicians. The World Economic Forum's 2017 International Competitiveness Index report states that South Korea's public confidence in politics ranks only 90th out of 137 countries. The president, members of the National Assembly, and members of local governments who have been selected through the electoral system based on voting are all regarded as indifferent central figures who do not represent the people but represent private interests.

It is time to correct the political reality of Korean society, divided into groups according to various characteristics such as political ideology, generation, and region. This study is trying to present a plan in which Korean society will be able to advance with a grand union toward understanding and consideration, communication and cooperation based on the ideology of "The Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value" presented by *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, through an election system reflecting these and the political ideology of "Mutual Prosperity." It conceptualizes a politics of

Mutual Prosperity based on the spirit of true love for society, the nation, and all humanity rather than individuals, and tries to examine its principles and forms, centering on the election system based on this, in particular the "lottery election system" advocated by Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Through such a process, I think we can deeply establish the ideology of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value to concretely realize the nation of God on this earth.

## II. The Problem of the Politics of Reality and the Necessity of the Politics of Mutual Prosperity

### 1. The Reality of Korean Politics: Dichotomy between Division and Confrontation

Korean politics in our time is suffering from a dichotomy of division and confrontation. First of all, Korean party politics is struggling with confrontation between the conservative and progressive parties. After the creation of an administration, each political party is committed to the exclusion of the other party and the pursuit of exclusive interests through abuse of laws and institutions. Due to serious structural conflict, attempts to snatch the National Assembly are unending[4] and extreme assertions and

4 The so-called "snapping resolution," which shows the extremes of inter-party confrontation, refers to the act of locking the door so that parties who oppose a bill cannot enter the National Assembly and then passing the bill. Select amendments and the Roundingup Constitutional amendment from the Rhee Syngman administration and the 3 constitutional revisions during the Park Chunghee administration are typical, and there are not a few cases of snatching attempts even after democratization, which became

irresponsible political attacks and majority party high-handedness are the main menu of Korean politics. Furthermore, the unending topic of conversation is that a great number of government officials are always being implicated in graft and corruption and that the republic is always corrupt. In Korean politics, it is difficult to find politics of tolerance and acknowledgment, and dialogue and compromise. In the midst of the division between political parties, the various needs and interests of all the people are not being communicated.

Next, Korean politics is degenerating into the politics of only politicians due to lower voter turnout and political indifference. Even the adage that "the voters are free only on voting days" has become inappropriate in our political reality. The reality is that presidents who have not been supported by a majority of the voters are ruling over Korea.[5] Therefore, in reality it is difficult to have persuasive power to actually work for both the people and the nation as representatives of the people. The more politicians decisively pursue reform and new policies, the more the majority of the people are limited in their political participation, which inevitably creates confusion[6]. Because of the realistic structure in

news in the international community.

5 According to the statistics of previous presidential elections, the percentage of total voters for the 13th Roh Taewoo was 33.0%, for the 14th Kim Youngsam 34.8%, the 15th Kim Daejung 32.0%, the 16th Roh Moohyun 34.3%, the 17th Lee Myungbak 30.5%, the 18th Park Geunhye 39.1%, and the 19th Moon Jaein ended up at only 31.7%. On the surface, in the case of the 18th President Park Geunhye, it exceeded the majority with 51.6% of the voters, but with less than 40% of the total voters. It is difficult to find a president who has been selected as a representative representing the people through active voting.

6 Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York:

which the policies of politicians cannot become policies for the people, it remains in the distant future when the people's daily lives will be governed by proper policies.

In addition, since Korean party politics is based on a regional structure, local elections also contain structural problems that are governed by the central party based on the region. While hegemony of regional-centered politics rises, the political party to which it belongs is prioritized over policies for the local community. Checks and balances in local politics have broken down while a certain political party monopolizes the region's members of the National Assembly, heads of organizations, and local councilors. There is no way for regional politics to avoid politics without local residents centering on regional community leader.[7] In this situation, regional politics inevitably becomes

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Harper Torchbooks, 1976), p. 272; David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 150. Joseph A. Schumpeter, who conceptualized modern representative democracy from a minimalist perspective, says competitive elections are not a process of realizing the "common good," but rather a process of electing a leader who represents the citizens who voted. He insisted on a minimal democracy that tolerates undemocratic elements that are not politics for the public to enforce the will of the people or to consider minorities. This minimalist view of democracy needs to be reviewed in that it is not politics for the people. Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1976), p. 272; David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 150.

7 The phenomenon that local political parties dominating regional politics can be seen through the current status of local elections for each party. See the following for this. Presidential Secretary's Office, "Korean politics, this shouldn't be the way it's going to be" (Seoul: Historical Criticism, 2007), p. 141.

corrupt. This is because they must be loyal to political parties that secure power rather than to the people. Especially a political party that enjoys a dominant position in a particular region is the soil for corruption and a greenhouse for exclusionary politics. For this reason, the result of a survey by the National Council of Cities, Counties and Districts, which is responsible for local government democracy, was that two out of three municipal lawmakers insisted that the party nomination system should be abolished.[8]

Lastly, Korean politics has not escaped from an underdeveloped form in which a power group, which is a combination of political parties, the media, and civil society, repeatedly advance a selfish decision and execution process. The media, which should be in charge of checks and criticism, are becoming a political press that constantly shakes targets that do not fit its interests.[9]

8 "68.8% (1073 persons) of the respondents to the survey of the National Council of City, County and Gu Council Chairpersons answered that 'the political party nomination system should be abolished.' Maintain were 29% and no opinion was 2.1%. In Gyeongnam, 75.9% (106) of 140 people answered that it should be abolished, and maintain were only 23.5%. The party nomination system was introduced to realize a political party-centered government, but contrary to its purpose, local government is subordinated to the central government, which greatly hinders local autonomy and causes division of the local community through side-by-side elections. The reason for abolition in the survey was to prevent the subordination of local government to central politics (56.6%), improvement of the political climate leading to nominations (20.9%), and eradication of various irregularities and nomination practices (30.5%)." *The Gyeongnam Ilbo* November 27, 2017, http://www.gnnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=313984, retrieved on December 11, 2017.

9 Political journalism is a collective term for the characteristics of the media that has the nature of being a critical article without counter viewpoint, that prioritizes the interests of its own company over the public interests, that is

Responsible politics is not being realized. If dividing sides meets the demands of a group, it is easy to oppose the things that they were in favor of in the past, and before one knows it they close their mouths about issues. In modern society, information is not monopolized as in the past. Civil society has the information and knowledge to be able to figure out the political vulgarity of political parties and the media. For this reason, there is an unending confrontation by civil society and opposition forces that are resisting the forces that are trying to make and enforce policies regarding macro-social structures.

## 2. The Politics of Mutual Prosperity as an Alternative

In modern society, the state community is under the rule of law and institutions based on state power. This is because the daily life of the people is determined within the scope of the rule and domination of the national community.[10] Genuine happy prosperity of all citizens can only be obtained through a new politics that systematically determines a method of coexistence with others. Therefore, the happiness of the people cannot be guaranteed unless we go beyond the dichotomy of division

politically biased, that represents the position of the wealthy and powerful class without contrary viewpoint, while neglecting historical and consistent reporting.

10 Due to the violent and authoritative domination of institutional politics, non-institutional political movements have been actively conducted in Korean society to confront the rule and domination of state power. Paradoxically, the history of the people's resistance shows how strong the dominance of the state power over the everyday lives of the people has been. Haegu Jung et al., *Korean Politics and Non-Institutional Movement Politics* (Seoul: Hanul Academy, 2007), pp. 15-34.

and confrontation in Korean politics in our time. A new politics is needed to effectively respond to the era of global openness and cooperation internationally, and to resolve the polarization domestically so that the people become the owners of politics, and a humane life of the people can be realized. It is the politics of Mutual Prosperity in which each sector of society can communicate and cooperate having been freed from the domination of power.

Politics of Mutual Prosperity is 'politics of the joint participation of all people.'[11] This refers to "politics that seeks the collaborative prosperity by all the people cooperating with each other." It is politics that is achieved through the cooperation and communication of all the people. The "*gong*" (共) in mutual prosperity (共榮) reflects the three principles of collaboration, balance and responsibility.[12] It is the pursuit of governance in which all members of society participate collaboratively, act in a balanced manner, and fulfill their responsibility. Therefore, the

11 Unification Thought Institute, *New Essentials of Unification Thought* (Seoul: Seonghwa Publishing, 1994), p. 518.

12 The three principles of collaboration, balance, and responsibility presented here are not the ideology presented in *New Essentials of Unification Thought*. However, as the politics of the Messianic Kingdom, the politics of collaborative participation centered on the true love of God can be said to be the collaborative politics of brothers and sisters who have inherited the love of parents. It is a politics in which siblings participate collaboratively and do not compete as rivals with each other, but act in a balanced way while yielding to each other, and working with joy and gratitude until the end, no matter who takes public office in good faith. In this regard, the elements of collaboration, balance and responsibility are presented as principles of the politics of Mutual Prosperity. *New Essentials of Unification Thought*, pp. 518-519.

politics of Mutual Prosperity rejects unilateral rule based on state power centered on a specific ruling power.

First, it pursues collaborative politics in which the people rule together with the minority and the weak. It must promote practical and responsible participation of the people in major political activities and areas. To this end, it must lower the threshold of political participation of the general public by supplementing the specialized political system centered on politicians.[13] In addition, it must advance and supplement the high cost and low efficiency unrepresentative election system. It is not politics of Mutual Prosperity if it is politics only for political experts or people with power and status.

Next, it pursues a balanced politics that yields to and cooperates with one another by transcending political interests without prejudice among members. It must consider the whole and exercise leadership tolerantly to promote the realization of the interests of all members of society. To this end, efforts are necessary to overcome the confrontational nature of the multiparty system itself, centered on regional and class structures.[14] In addition, there will have to be discussions concerning deliberative democracy that can reflect the demands of various classes and

13 Based on the principles of democracy and national sovereignty of the constitution, it is necessary to consider a direct democratic system that complements the representative system so that the people can participate in major political decisions and legislative processes. It is necessary to consider ways to utilize citizen participation systems such as citizen recalls, citizen initiatives, and referendums, which are already being introduced in local self-governance of developed countries, in the field of domestic public politics.

14 Introduction of a major election relief system to break the regional structure

members of society.[15]

Finally, it pursues responsible politics that takes full responsibility for the process and outcome of political action based on deliberation. It must reform rootless political activities that disregard political consistency or historic nature and change course according to changes of circumstances and changes of interests.

## III. The Political Theory of Mutual Prosperity: Policy Principles of the Politics of Mutual Prosperity

### 1. Collaborative Politics that Governs together with Minorities and the Weak

The very first task to be solved for the sake of collaborative politics is to realize a collaborative politics that governs with consideration for minorities and the weak. To this end, it must aim for first such things as the pursuit of collaborative governance for society/state/humanity rather than for individuals, second,

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and strengthen public participation. Complement the representative system by strengthening political participation of minorities.

15 Joshua Cohen, "Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy", *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 164-172. Deliberative democracy argues that public good should be realized by strengthening the deliberation of people's politics by using formal and informal mechanisms. Joshua Cohen, "Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy", *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 164-172.

the realization of a tolerant partnership that considers others, including minorities, and third, the transition from power politics by coercion to a politics of communication, dialogue and cooperation, etc.

The purpose of collaborative politics is to create a common good in which various actors can reach a common point through consultation with each other in order to achieve a common purpose. Based on public consultation, power must be used to promote and protect the happiness of the people as a whole. Rousseau said: "When several factions or partial societies, which are formed in a society, form a general will out of each member's will, they come to have a special will concerning the state. Also, when one of those groups overpowers all other societies, that brings about differences of opinion between large and small groups. These things eventually make it difficult to universalize the will by making the special will dominant."[16]

The politics of Mutual Prosperity can only start when it leads to the real participation of the people by considering reforming the election system, such as expanding voting rights in central elections to include foreigners such as multicultural families and the introduction of a run-off voting system that is determined by support of more than 50% of the total voters. Rousseau said that in order for the general will to be expressed well, it is important that there is no partial society in the state, and that each citizen express his or her opinions according to the citizen's own will. If a group's special will becomes the dominant standard for governing the state, that itself causes social confusion. Therefore,

16 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Principles of Human Inequality/Social Contracting*, translated by Seokki Choi (Seoul: Dongseo Culture, 2007), p. 510.

collaborative politics must pursue the constitutive common good rather than the private interests of individuals and specific groups. The common good is not a common good that has already been defined and fixed. Various actors actively intervene in the creation by themselves of the common good.

Collaborative governance refers to politics in which political actors aim for a greater public purpose and seek a goal for the sake of the society, nation, and humankind that satisfies procedurally the demands of each other. Therefore, political actors must examine their positions and demands from a broader dimension according to the larger public purpose and actively participate and cooperate in collaborative governance for the sake of finding collaborative goals. In this process, political actors can realize a collaborative politics that can realize the public welfare of the whole while harmoniously considering the interests of individual members of society. Currently, Korean politics lacks a sense of political community. There is a desperate need for an attitude of collaborative politics in order to focus on the consolidation of power that is able to represent the demands of selfish groups and advance to establish a common goal together with the other.[17] A happy life for the people of the Republic of Korea can be guaranteed provided we open the way to a collaborative politics

17 An article in the *Chosun Ilbo*, which had strongly demanded the politics of national unity from President Kim Daejung's people's government and President Roh Moohyun's participatory government, demanded that President Lee Myungbak's advanced government not be swayed by the left. It said that the progressive forces should embrace the majority, which they did not support, but emphasized that the conservative forces would rather shake off the grip of the progressive forces when they came to power. This attitude demonstrates the nature of Korean politics, which desperately sup-

of grand unity.

Modern society is a pluralistic society. Multiple types of relatively autonomous organizations exist in a national system. Even while pursuing collaborative politics of integration, we should not disregard or suppress the special will of individual groups. In particular, in circumstances when the individual group is a minority and weak, the principle of tolerance, which recognizes and accepts differences, must be applied. It is important to have a mature politics that can consider the differences between groups through tolerant partnerships that can acknowledge the intrinsic value of others. This is "the politics of brotherhood by brothers who are brothers centered on true parents."

The policy task of collaborative politics is the realization of "tolerant partnerships" that say "as much as possible the growth of an individual or community must be carried out without sacrificing other individuals or communities."[18] Equality, which is a main political virtue that our society must go forth to realize, becomes possible only through the principle of tolerance, which brings into the political process different groups that have been excluded and oppressed, and embraces differences. If conservative politicians or progressive politicians seize political hegemony,

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ports political groups that match one's disposition, and is consistent with bitter voices and criticisms toward opposing groups. "Integration and two axes of economy", *The Chosun Ilbo* February 25, 1998, editorial; "To overcome the three major anxieties of the Roh Moohyun era", *The Chosun Ilbo* February 25, 2001, editorial; "War against the Left", *The Chosun Ilbo* January 8, 2009, editorial.

18 Will Durant, *Story of Philosophy,* translated by Heonyoung Lim (Seoul: East-West Cultural History, 2007), p. 458.

we must be careful since there are not a small number of cases in which they have unilaterally undermined and stopped policies promoted by others.

The principle of democracy is based on decisions made by majority vote, and we should not make the mistake of pushing forward all policy-making and execution processes based on numerical logic. The process of realizing collaborative politics depends upon preventing the 'winner-takes-all' of the strong, the majority, and the winners, and endeavoring to enable the minority and the weak to go forth and govern together with the majority and the strong through continued consultations and discussions. A totalitarian rule that forcibly recommends prioritized collective values into all spheres of the mind and humanity should not be established.[19] We must go forth and revitalize the adroitness of management for the sake of realizing collaborative politics by searching for the path that rejects a unified approach toward violent minorities and is able to harmonize all together.

Modern society has pursued governance centered on the common good or public interest, aiming at realizing social justice. In general, social justice sometimes results in the exclusion of certain forces based on exclusive collectivism. Many social conflicts occur due to conflicting phenomenon of justice. In this process, when emphasizing the efficiency, effectiveness and speed of the realization of justice, there are cases that actually threaten the right to live as well as human rights. This is because direct coercion[20] is used as a means to maintain social order. There are

19 Johannes Metzner, *Basics of Social Ethics*, translated by Duho Kang (Seoul: Human Love, 1997), p. 127.

20 Somerset Maugham expresses the force of society in terms of the power

cases enforced in the name of justice that inflict direct damage on others.

Even the past case of the demolition disaster that happened in Yongsan can be seen as the result of the rapid input of police personnel having considered the benefits of redevelopment.[21] In the process of realizing the social benefits of redevelopment, our society often overlooks the difficulties faced by many stakeholders that are sometimes directly linked to the right to live. This can also lead to extreme catastrophes. The phenomenon of power becoming an instrument of maintaining the government must be prevented. This is because power politics like this is too violent.

The coercive force wielded by the government in the name of justice is dangerous even if it is recognized by the people as legitimate.[22] Absolute justice is a goal that cannot easily be

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of the police force (weapon) and the power of public opinion. Somerset Maugham, *Of Human Bondage*, translated by Mu Song (Seoul: Minumsa, 1998), p. 352.

21 "The moment the exercise of basic rights, taken for granted as a citizen, are criminalized as a subject of necessity, citizens cannot breathe and have no choice but to reverse the criticism that is poured out. They are thrown out as if they are no longer our citizens who should be protected. As seen in the Yongsan tragedy, even if someone dies, some do not even blink an eye. This is the sad situation of the powerless common people who can't resist with even a word against the public power wielded by those shouting 'according to the law' and 'the rule of law'." Changrok Kim et al., *There is No Mob Law* (Seoul: Happy Story, 2009), p. 6.

22 Adam Smith says that moral of justice should be a strict administrative area of government. However, how can the government check and control the immorality of coercion, done in the name of justice, if the government does not have strict management capabilities? In the political realm, there is no subject that needs to be considered as deeply as the use of coercion.

obtained when it is premised on the various values of modern society. That is why the use of coercion should be minimized at all times, and peaceful dialogue and cooperation should be pursued.

Above all else, collaborative politics must realize the politics of communication based on the spirit of love. Like the spirit of "love and philanthropy" in modern civil society,[23] a spirit of public love is needed to share and live with one's neighbors. The transition from power politics of coercion to a communicative politics that enables multilateral dialogue and cooperation is an inevitable task of collaborative politics. We must establish a collaborative politics in which we communicate with others and carry on politics together.

### 2. Balanced Politics of Harmony and Cooperation among Political Actors

The political reality of Korean society is that there is a problem of imbalance between various political actors such as the people and their representatives, the machineries of political power, and the center and regions. For the sake of the politics of Mutual Prosperity, it is necessary for there to be the 'realization of a balanced politics of harmony and cooperation among political actors.' We must go forward and realize a politics of collaborative prosperity in each domain by achieving balance among political actors in the various political domains. To this end, we must

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Wonkeun Youn, *Talking about Adam Smith's Theory of National Wealth* (Seoul: Shinwon Cultural History, 2009), p. 50.

23 Seil Park, *Korea Advancement Strategy* (Seoul: 21st Century Books, 2007), p. 118.

pursue, first, a balanced politics while considering representative democracy and direct participatory systems, second, balanced politics in the administrative, legislative and judicial domains, and third, balanced politics between the central and local governments.

Today, representative democracy is experiencing the phenomenon of a dysfunctional democracy.[24] Representative democracy has resulted in entrusting political hegemony to representatives who have failed to receive more than half of the actual votes. In reality, the "visible Assembly," formed by the free votes of citizens, easily becomes an "invisible dual Assembly" centered on specific representatives who guarantee special interests. Just as we previously examined the presidents, the situation is that the representativeness of the people are doubted right after being elected. Rather than the political space being a place that makes decisions about the public interest, it is becoming a place to provide indulgences that legally guarantee the special interests of specific groups.

The formal equality of "one person, one vote" cannot correctly reflect in political reality the opinions of the people. The "process of realizing democracy through representatives," has fallen into a contradiction.[25] Meanwhile, in modern society, the "extreme ideology of direct democracy" is said to be impossible to realize and that coexistence with the system of representative democracy is impossible. It is pointed out that direct democracy

24 April Carter, *Direct Action*, translated by Hyoje Cho (Seoul: Liberal Arts, 2007).

25 Wook Kim, *The Story of Reading Culturally Culture* (Seoul: History of People and Thought, 2007), p. 176.

is impossible regardless of preference in the political era in which a large population participates. In view of this, the problem of representative democracy must be supplemented by considering political mechanisms that enable the people to participate more directly.

This is the topic of balanced politics. To this end, we can promote reforms in the election system such as breaking down the regional structure and reinforcing the representative system by reinforcing political participation of the minority party and important electoral aid that can reflect opinions of minority people. In addition, in order to realize sovereignty of the people in local politics, such things as resident recall, resident initiative, resident referendum, resident participatory budgeting, and resident audit systems can be strengthened. In the future, there is also a need for a National Assembly member system that can further maximize participation of the citizens. Also the National Assembly member system, which selects 10% of the National Assembly based on citizen recommendations and lotteries while improving the representative system centered on professional politicians can become a mechanism that enables the citizens to participate in the administration of the state.

Democracy has prevented abuse of power to ensure freedom and equality of citizens. The most effective solution was the separation of powers. Montesquieu advocated the politics of the separation of powers of executive, legislature and judiciary, especially for the purpose of dividing power between ranks or classes. The concept of separation of powers developed as a principle of balancing politics by functionally dividing state power when classes and ranks were legally extinguished after the

French Revolution.[26]

Generally, in modern democratic countries, executive powers are often superior to the other powers. The judiciary is guaranteed independence, but this often takes a limited form. In the case of Korean society, the president's authority is strong and in the situation in which party politics is not deeply rooted, there are many problems developing in which the legislature and judiciary are subordinated to the executive. The problem of the so-called imperial presidency emerges.[27] The ruling majority party also moves with the president as the head, and all other state-powered organizations are easily moved under the influence of the president.

In this situation, the worldview and competence of the leader, who is called the president, becomes a problem. In order to realize the politics of Mutual Prosperity, state power should not be concentrated in one person or organization and should not be exercised uniformly. It is necessary that each political domain be operated autonomously based on the basic principles of democracy, and it is necessary to maintain relationships of functional decentralization. To this end, the independent operation of the legislature and judiciary must be ensured in Korean society, and a cooperative system of executive, legislative and judicial coordination must be newly devised to realize the politics of Mutual Prosperity.[28]

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26 Taiyoung Hong, *Montesquieu et al & Tocqueville* (Seoul: Gimm-Young Publishers, Inc., 2006), p. 87.

27 Byoungho Gong, *Leadership of Hope of the Engineers* (Seoul: 21st Century Books, 2006), p. 227.

28 Unification Thought Institute, pp. 520-521.

The state power of Korean society must be exercised through balanced politics between the central and district governments. As a national governing body, the central and local governments must realize together the common purpose of realizing a society of well-being. In general, district governments are self-governing organizations established in accordance with the public opinion of local residents and have authority to autonomously handle local public affairs. This is based on the idea of democracy that implements regional politics according to sovereignty of the people.

In Korean society, the central government's domination of local governments is a serious problem. The central government's power has led to a concentration in the capital area and intensifying regional conflicts. Each region has competed with the politics of confrontation and struggle in the regional structure in order to occupy the central government. This is because there has been development of a regional society only after taking control of the central government.

Therefore, regional decentralization must be realized by transferring the power of the central government to the provinces as much as possible. In addition, measures must be considered to weaken the influence of the centralized powers in regional politics so that elite politics centered on local leaders and the politics of vested interests do not settle in the region. As discussed above, a system that strengthens the participation of residents within local government should also be considered. In addition, the dominant position of regional identity itself must be resolved.

### 3. Responsible Politics in which the People Participate and Fulfill their Roles

The core of the politics of Mutual Prosperity is responsible politics that fulfills its role by participating until the end. Participation of the people must be allowed, and tyranny by the majority centered on the strong and the establishment must be prevented in the process of policy decision-making and execution. The interests of various citizens must be constantly discussed in depth. Efficiency and performance-centered responses are also important, but even more than that the politics of Mutual Prosperity that governs together with all the citizens is possible only when it realizes open politics based on understanding and inclusion. To this end, we must pursue first, a responsible politics that begins with the participation of the people, second, a responsible politics of deliberation that enables multilateral cooperation, and third, an open politics that aims for understanding and inclusion more than efficiency and performance.

Roh Moohyun's participatory government was well known as government by committee. This is because he planned and formulated important policies through committees set up as presidential advisory bodies and had those policies implemented by the relevant offices. It was expected that this would ensure public participation and make flexible policy planning possible. However, in reality, it could not harvest great results. This is because there were many cases where the policies of the committees, which were not representative, were not realistic, and there were many conflicts within the relevant departments. In the name of inducing the participation of the people, a channel for constant discussion and consultation was increased, but it could

not create the driving force so that the policies could be implemented responsibly.

The completion of participation of the people exists in responsible politics in which people work together until the conclusion of the policy's implementation process. Accordingly, the politics of Mutual Prosperity must be realized as responsible politics that provides opportunities for people to participate and that can solve many problems.

In order to realize responsible politics, it is necessary to go beyond the decision-making system centered on rule by majority vote. In order to go beyond the deficiencies of an indirect and preferential representative democracy, we must go forth and unfold responsible politics of deliberation. Responsible politics of deliberation is a direct and participatory democracy in which citizens directly participate in deliberation in order to form an agreed collective intention while individuals continue to change their preferences through dialogue, discussion, and communication among citizens. According to responsible politics of deliberation, the democratic and collective decision-making process reached through free public deliberation of equal people becomes important.

Decision-making participants must be able to change their preferences during the process of interaction and must be able to correct mistaken choices of the group by voting. Going beyond simply achieving multilateral political cooperation, the problem-solving method itself, which publicly solves group problems, must gain legitimacy. Only through this process can the politics of Mutual Prosperity be fully implemented.

In the process of responsible politics of deliberation, people mature while internalizing democratic values and norms. The politics of Mutual Prosperity can be revitalized by seeking a point of view that aims for the interests of others or the common good through cooperation with the other party rather than private interests.

For the realization of responsible politics of deliberation, it should not be overlooked that it is possible that the deliberation itself will be dominated by vested interests and majority-centered views. In addition, it should be noted that the cost and time of deliberation can be limitations. Nevertheless, the politics of Mutual Prosperity recommends against over-emphasizing and insisting on efficiency and performance. With a broad understanding of other persons, we must patiently adjust and compromise conflicting interests in our society. Without an open politics of future-oriented integration, Korean politics cannot escape from hostile confrontation and conflict.

Creative leadership is established through tolerance and persuasion as a trusted party, and through a clear vision.[29] In pursuit of a uniform policy that reflects the interests centered on specific regions, generations, and classes, it is important to have open politics oriented to understanding and inclusion to win the hearts of the people as a whole.

29 Jongchul Woo, *The Power of Inclusion that turns a Crisis into an Opportunity* (Seoul: Shinwon Cultural History, 2009), p. 4.

## IV. The Task of Reforming Korea's Electoral System in View of the Politics of Mutual Prosperity

The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* explains that the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is a concept dealing with the political aspect of an ideal society. It clarifies that the Principle of Mutual Prosperity is an alternative to democracy, the political ideology of capitalism. Modern democracy has been pursuing the realization of people's freedom and equality on the basis of majority rule and parliamentary politics, but it has not been effective and has led to political inequality and lack of freedom.

In this study, I have explored the concept and policy principles of the politics of Mutual Prosperity to solve such problems of democracy. Based on this, I would like to present a reform agenda as a future-oriented alternative to Korea's electoral system.

First, just as the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* presents, for the sake of the realization of "the politics of collaborative participation of all the people" it is necessary to examine the "politics based on a lottery system" in "election politics based on election of delegates."[30] The lottery system originates from Athens, which can be said to be the root of modern democracy. At the time, the Athenians considered the lottery system to be more democratic than elections. They judged that elections were suitable for the nobility and the lottery was in accord with

30 Ernest Kalenbach & Michael Phillips, "Lottery Democracy", translated by Jimoon Lee et al (Seoul: Imagine, 2011); Jimoon Lee, *Theory and Practice of Lottery Democracy* (Seoul: Edam Books, 2012).

democratic government. If decision makers are selected by lottery, corruption is difficult because it is unpredictable, and because they work for a fixed period of time, they are not obsessed with re-election and can sincerely work for the benefit of the people. The *New Essentials of Unification Thought* presents the lottery method with a first-stage of voting and a second-stage of solemn prayer and ritual to prevent the enormous cost and side effects of elections and to restore political piety.

In fact, examples in which a minority and the weak represent the people in collaborative politics is not easy to find in modern political systems. Of course, the proportional representation system is in charge of some of these functions, but it cannot help but select as central figures those who represent the collective interests that agree with the political ideology of a political party. Therefore, it is necessary to research the lottery system and implement it as a reform task according to the politics of Mutual Prosperity. Currently, the Korean National Assembly has 300 seats with 246 regional seats and 54 proportional representatives, but as an experiment, 100 seats can be added and selected by lottery as purely national lottery members. In order for them to implement their duties seriously and effectively, there will have to be a separate legislative aid system to help them perform as members of the National Assembly in order to realize the political ideology of the politics of collaborative participation of all people. In order to avoid the harm of current party politics and the division and repetition of politics of cliques, we will have to consider changes in the election method itself.

Next, the party nomination system should be abolished in the case of the election of heads of municipal organizations

and superintendents of education. The central party dominating regional politics hinders the development of regional autonomy. We must solve this problem of subordination to centralized politics. Elections should be approached from the perspective of autonomy so that local residents belonging to the region can participate and solve problems on their own. In the meantime, as heads of municipal governments and superintendents of education have been nominated by the central party and elections have been held based on political logic, it has been difficult to unfold politics centered on local agendas and educational policies. Changes are needed to enable policy-based elections that evaluate whether promises are right for the region and whether there is the capacity to implement them.

The issue of the party nomination system is unavoidably raised even in elections for members of the National Assembly or heads of region-wide governments. In terms of nomination reform, political parties have made efforts to reinforce nomination screening and democratize their methods, but there are still a number of cases in which the majority causes nomination conflicts through strategic nominations according to the power relations within the party. Due to the characteristics of party politics, the nomination system is unavoidable, but if factional conflict within the party cannot be overcome and if morality and accountability of politicians cannot be guaranteed, it is difficult to use the party nomination system as a system suitable for the politics of Mutual Prosperity.[31] A lot of effort is required for the party nomination

31 Byongkuen Jhee, "Nomination System of Major Korean Political Parties and Factional Conflict: A Case Analysis of 2016 National Assembly Member Election," *East-West Study* 18(4) (2016), pp. 59-86.

system to be able to be used as a proper national recommendation system.

In addition, the manifesto policy election, which calls for the implementation of promises, must be strengthened. Elections are about selecting leaders who will uphold the will of God who is our Parent, finding policies for community development and prosperity together with brothers and sisters, and realizing this. Therefore, whether the lottery system or the electoral system is chosen, the election of political decision makers must become a task of choosing the correct political vision and policies for the people. To this end, the manifesto policy election, which started with the launch of the 'Korea Manifesto Practice Headquarters' during the May 31 local elections in 2006, must be activated.[32] There is a need for a change to an election form that can verify policy commitments and evaluate citizens' choices.

## V. Conclusion

Historically there has been severe division and conflict in Korean politics due to confrontation between the opposing parties. Korean politics has not been able to realize a proper policy-centered democracy, and also the public consciousness has not been mature, and the standard of politics has not been able to improve due to focusing only on political movements reflecting the interests of each region, group and class. In these circumstances, the ideological tension between progressives and conservatives has been acute. The majority of past presidents

32 Jaeil Yoo et al., *18th General Election Field Reports* (Seoul: Blue Road, 2009), pp. 427-445.

have retired in disgrace and we have suffered the damage of an imperial presidential system. Due to disappointment with politics the rate of voter turnout has gradually decreased, revealing the limitations of political participation. After the resignation of President Park Geunhye and the arrest and detention of President Lee Myungbak in 2017, the public's view of Korean politics centered on President Moon Jaein is grim. President Moon Jaein advocated reform of democratic politics and announced a bill for constitutional amendments such as reforming the presidential term system from a single term of five years to a term of four years, reducing the power of presidential amnesty, and defining local autonomous entities as local governments. A plan is also being advanced to lower the age for the right to vote to 18 years of age or older. Korea has entered an era in which the public sympathizes with the need for fundamental reforms in politics.

This means that it is time to think about how to achieve the politics of Mutual Prosperity that reflects the principles of collaboration, balance, and responsibility by going beyond confrontation between regions, groups, and classes, while defending the democratic values of Korean society and keeping principles and standards.

Policy research to materialize the ideals of the Principles of Interdependence, Mutual Prosperity and Universal Value of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* will have to be activated. In that sense, this study reexamined the principles of democratic politics in terms of the politics of Mutual Prosperity in accordance with the philosophical policy of the *New Essentials of Unification Thought* and examined it from the viewpoint of reform of the electoral system centered on the lottery election system. In

this study, the politics of Mutual Prosperity is an act of actively realizing national sovereignty based on the participation of all the people. The politics of Mutual Prosperity has policy principles at the dimensions of collaborative politics, balanced politics, and responsible politics according to the three principles of collaboration, balance, and responsibility.

Collaborative politics aims at pursuing collaborative governance for the sake of society, state and humanity rather than for individuals, realizing tolerant partnerships that consider others, including minorities, and transitioning from power politics accompanied by coercion to communicative politics of dialogue and cooperation. Balanced politics emphasizes achieving power coordination and cooperation aimed at balanced politics in consideration of representative democracy and direct participation systems, balanced politics in the administrative, legislative and judicial spheres, and balanced politics between central and local governments. Responsible politics emphasizes a politics of responsibility that begins with the participation of the people, a politics of deliberation that enables multilateral cooperation, and an open politics of responsibility that aims for understanding and inclusion rather than efficiency and performance.

The orientation of the politics of Mutual Prosperity is politics in which the strong and the majority govern with consideration for minorities and the weak, politics in which the people and representatives, the center and the region, and political organizations harmonize and cooperate with each other, and the politics in which all political actors participate until the end to fulfill their roles.

Thus, it is necessary to try to reform the political system of Korea centering on the policy principles of the politics of Mutual Prosperity. Representatively, it is a plan to apply the lottery system, which Rev. Sun Myung Moon advocated, to the election system. By persons with specific qualifications and capacities being recommended and selected through a lottery system, it creates a forum where members of the National Assembly can cooperate and discuss public duties from the viewpoint of collaboration, balance, and responsibility. Lottery members of the National Assembly will be able to go forth and create a model of functional and capacity-based cooperative politics that complements the party politics of local constituencies and proportional representatives selected by general elections. In addition, it is important to abolish the party nomination system in consideration of the independence and expertise of local governments, and to create an environment in which policy-centered elections can be realized. Concrete reviews and proposals need to be made continuously to realize the politics of Mutual Prosperity as a messianic politics centered on God's true love in the Korean political environment.

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