

Political Practice for Peaceful Reunification : Dialectical Strategy & Tactics*

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· **Keywords** : Korean reunification, human-centered dialectic, human-centered political philosophy

【ABSTRACT】

This article examines dialectical strategy and tactics as an approach to peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula. To this end, the article suggests the dialectical logic of the human-centered philosophy. This can be seen as a grand strategy for the survival and development of the Korean nation. Ultimately peaceful reunification of Korea can be achieved through the construction of an ideological political party of democracy. In order to identify and organize the Korean nation, political guidelines must be devised through a human-centered ideological political party.

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I. Introduction: Peaceful Reunification of the Two Koreas

With respect to Korean reunification, it is the most desirable that reunification be achieved without brutal internecine bloodshed. In this regard, a famous Chinese tactician, Sun Zi emphasized, “Even a hundred victories in a hundred wars are not the best policy at all.”¹⁾ It is a much better policy to defeat the enemy by disarming it ideologically rather than by military force. It is as important to isolate the enemy externally by undermining its internal solidarity and cooperation as to have the enemy capitulate to military force. If the enemy does not capitulate spiritually, the military victor will, in the end, be defeated.

Any nation that wins an ideological war ends up winning in the material struggle as well. This is because spirit represents human beings and the human body is obedient to the spirit. In the initial stage, emerging nations are, with few exceptions, relatively weak in material power. However, they can sometimes overwhelm the existing powers on the ideological front. Therefore, for them, it is wiser to move forward decisively with strong solidarity based on ideology and spiritual superiority. Chinese communization by Mao Zedong and Vietnam’s communization are relevant examples.²⁾

In general, ideological warfare includes dialectical strategy and tactics. Since they can contribute to peaceful reunification, strategy or tactics on the basis of dialectical principles that enables us to avoid an internecine war must be sought. With this understanding, this article will review approaches to reunification, focusing mainly on ideological warfare.

To achieve peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula, a new dialectical approach is required. To this end, this article proposes the dialectical logic of the human-centered philosophy³⁾ that originates from the thoughts of Innaecheon (人乃天: human beings and heaven are one and the same) and from Hegel’s dialectical logic which explains the process of change and development.

What are the grand dialectical strategy and tactics based on the human-centered principles of philosophy? In order to win in ideological warfare, one must first understand the political philosophy of human-centered democracy. To this end, we need to elaborate on the political essence such as social beings, movements of human beings,

1) Sun Zi, *Sun Zi’s Art of War*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: Canfonian Pte, 2002), pp. 8–9.

2) Hwang Jang Yeop, *The Political Philosophy of Democracy* (Seoul: Age-Spirit Co., 2005), p. 216.

3) Lee Don Wha and Kim Byong Je, *The Party’s Will & Ideology of Cheondogyo* (Seoul: Doctrine-learning Section in the Headquarter of Cheondogyo, the Publishing Department of the Central Party in the Youth-Friendship Party, Promulgation 88, 1947), p. 10.

and the basic mission of politics for political practice.

Peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula should be achieved by creating a human-oriented ideological political party based on dialectical strategy and tactics. A great power based on ideology, which leads the movement from national reunification to global democratization, should be sought in creating the ideological political party based on Korean nationalism.⁴⁾

Confucius stressed the importance of political practice. With respect to reunification on the Korean peninsula, it is meaningful to quote one of his famous phrases from the Analects of Confucius: Knowing something is not better than liking it. And liking something is not better than enjoying it (知之者不如好之者, 好之者不如樂之者).

II. The Practice of Politics

1. Social Beings and Social Movement

The human body is a natural being, whereas human spirit is a social being. This means that humans are social beings which can be distinguished from other isolated natural beings. Human beings possess unique traits to cooperate. At present, humans can limitlessly increase their three great vitalities -- material, spiritual, and social cooperative power -- by embodying their potential vitality into objective things, without enlarging their physical body.⁵⁾

Politics can be defined as the integration of the three vitalities of the social being. They include economic life as remodeling nature, spiritual and cultural life as remodeling human beings, and political life as remodeling social relationships. The essence of politics is to unify people with contending interests and various characteristics by means of the common goal of survival and development.

Social movement can be defined as creative activities of human beings to enhance their status and roles for political practice. The creative activities of social movement can be classified into the following three categories.

The first is recreation of nature. To recreate nature, the most important problem is to reveal the elements of materials and their combination structures. The properties of materials depend on their composing elements and combination structure. When

4) Hwang Jang Yeop, *The Principles of the Human-centered Philosophy* (Seoul: Age-Spirit Co., 2008), p. 279.

5) Hwang (2008), p. 193.

properties of materials change, the motions of materials change as well.⁶⁾ By the composing elements and their combination structure, the subjective character and spontaneous character of the self-preserving capacity of human beings (as social beings) can be reinforced, and that can be expressed in the development of the spiritual power and social cooperation.⁷⁾ Forging the destiny of the Korean nation can be done through the process of expanding the status of human beings as the masters of nature.

Second, the recreation of human beings involves enhancing their subjectivity. This can be done by elevating their level of awareness. This requires strong will. The will can be defined as spiritual power controlling human desire by adjusting appropriately to one's benefits in association with the knowledge related to the interests and its sentiment. In the end, the will is the spiritual power to control their physical desire.

The people who possess a high-level of awareness and strong will are those that have strong subjectivity. The main task with respect to human recreation is to reinforce subjectivity.⁸⁾ People who fail to experience hardships do not undergo such meaningful training. Therefore, they are likely to succumb to their instinctive desire and they cannot reconcile their words and actions.

Third, we must pay attention to the subjective status and creative roles of human beings in society as the recreation of social relations. Independent consciousness that human beings embody and the development level of desire to live autonomously is not necessarily consistent with the development of creative capacity of human beings. Some individuals with formidable creative capacity are egoistic and inferior spiritually. On the contrary, many others with mediocre creative capacity lead a morally sound life.⁹⁾

Accordingly, the recreation of a society is obliged to execute functions for combining and managing its own composing elements in order to elevate the autonomous status and creative roles in society to secure the basic demand of their own survival and development. As such, politics is generated as a self-managing function of a society.¹⁰⁾

In this respect, along with material wealth and spiritual-cultural wealth, social relationships or social institutions can be regarded as political wealth achieved by human beings. The legal system designed for keeping the economic and cultural systems

6) Gregory Henderson, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 59.

7) Henderson (1978), p. 361.

8) Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Sage Publishing, 2006), p. 307.

9) Noh Tae Goo, *The Paradigm of Korean Politics: Rationale for Intra-Korean Integration* (Suwon: Kyonggi University Press, 2006a), pp. 9-68.

10) Phillips W. Shively, *Power & Choice: An Introduction to Political Science*, 11th ed. (Seoul: McGraw-Hill, 2008), p. 20.

belongs to the realm of political relations. The social relations which manage and change the political relations in themselves become the political system which regulates the activities of power.

2. The Three Functions as the Basic Mission of Politics

The basic mission of politics is to play a pivotal role in managing society as an organism. The mission can be classified into three categories: the integration function, the social cooperative function, and the commanding function of politics.

First, the integrating function of politics allows people to realize that nobody as an isolated individual can possess self-reliant spiritual power and creative material power. Anyone who overlooks the enormous power of social integration and who fails to utilize the creative productivity to manage the social relations of society cannot understand human superiority. Humans can sometimes be the noblest of beings; at other times, they can be the most vulgar. In this context, in the course of forging the Korean nation's destiny, whether individuals or groups are integrated in the direction of consolidating their vitality or integrating them to confront one another has significant implications. That is why the integrating function of politics has unparalleled importance.¹¹⁾

Second, social relations can be essentially seen as cooperative relations among human beings to realize the survival and development of society. Social cooperation has been inherited from generation to generation through objectification of social relations or social institutions. Social cooperation has evolved over time and become more rational and sophisticated. In view of social institutions, with the rejection of feudalism through the democratic revolution as a momentum, the political origin of capitalist democracy based on the power of the people came into existence.¹²⁾

It can be argued that as a society evolves, the inequality in a capitalistic democracy can be attributed to the fact that democratic revolution only abolished political privileges but that economic privileges were allowed to continue. Arguably, only when both political and economic privileges are abolished simultaneously can a perfect democratic society be established. Therefore, politics in charge of social cooperative function should strive to solve this problem.¹³⁾

11) Noh Tae Goo, *The Indigenization of Korean Politics: for Peaceful Unification* (Seoul: Baeksan Publishing, 2006b), pp. 3-38.

12) Martha L. Cottam and Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism and Politics: The Political Behaviour of Nation State* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2007), p. 27.

13) Andrew Gamble, *An Introduction to Modern Social and Political Thought* (London: Macmillan Education, 1988), p. 151.

Third, what is important in securing the proper commanding function of politics is to propose the right goals for the social development, to propose the rational strategy and tactics for achieving the goals, and to abide by guiding skills in leading social movements based on proper direction and methods.¹⁴⁾ Above all, it is crucial that proper goals for social development be elucidated.¹⁵⁾ In the case of Korea, only those who can elucidate such goals unambiguously for forging the nation's destiny and provide proper strategies to achieve them can qualify as political leaders.

The political leaders should help and lead ordinary people to cope with difficulties courageously with adamant solidarity, indomitable belief, and hope for a brighter future. Such can be the spiritual foundation of the ordinary people. And thus improvement of political ideology should precede any other political task.

It is wrong to argue that politics based on public opinion is the basic merit of democracy. It is virtually impossible to expect that any politician who follows the current of the times and pursues popularity can stick to democratic principles. For politicians, the best strategy is to firmly abide by the principles of fairness, which provide a foundation for social cooperation. A politician therefore should be concerned with finding a "great cause" and acting as a role model of reliability, someone who can stick to his or her principles to orchestrate social cooperation. They should abide by democratic principles unwaveringly and push ahead with proper strategies and tactics because politics is essentially the business of managing the people, which involves not only managing the interests among people but also managing the creative roles and cooperative relations of the people. And whenever they confront difficulties, political leaders should take advantage of these situations as training opportunities to nurture their political capabilities. Politicians should be convinced that only those who embrace democratic principles deserve to be victorious in a democracy. Thus, the firm embracement of principles to protect the political benefit of a nation can be seen as the lifeblood of democratic politics.

14) Noh (2006b), p. 93.

15) Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 355.

III. Dialectical Strategy and Tactics for Forging Korea's Destiny

1. Strategy: Dialectic of the Human-Centered Philosophy

The fact that human beings are the most developed entity among all other creatures or things means that human beings represent the essence of the world because they embody essential traits of the world in a concentrated fashion. Dialectic enables human beings to possess the most universal value. It is an approach which can elucidate the essential features of the developmental movement of human beings. Since dialectic can serve as a methodological principle based on which human beings should forge their own destiny, it can also serve as a strategic principle for forging the destiny of the two Koreas.

Dialectic can be regarded as a grand strategy for survival and development of nations. By contrast, traditional strategies and tactics are subordinate to dialectics as traditional strategies and tactics merely are concerned with victory in conflicts and competition involving two contending entities. Such minor strategies or tactics should be applied creatively with the grand strategy and tactics of dialectics.

The philosophy which grasps the world is metaphysics. However, as people's desire to live autonomously increases and their creative power increases, the dialectical way of thinking has increasingly gained validity and popularity. The dialectical way of thinking is based on the belief that everything changes and develops and that it does not remain static. Hegel first established a philosophical system based on the dialectical way of thinking and opposed it to the traditional philosophy, and opposed the dialectical way of thinking to metaphysics.¹⁶⁾

In a nutshell, dialectic is a theory which elaborates on the development or evolution of things. The creative activity of human beings to develop themselves can be said to be the highest level of dialectical form of movement. As a method to generalize features of social movements or creative activities, it is necessary to develop the human-centered dialectic. Humans as the most developed beings signify that the human species is one which represents the development of space. The dialectic of human development has a universal meaning. It is the highest form of cosmic development. Along with the development of human beings, the dialectic of human development must be continuously developed.

Hegel was the first philosopher to systematized dialectic.¹⁷⁾ Marxism is the revised

16) Larry Arnhart, *Political Questions: Political Philosophy from Plato to Rawls* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p. 290.

17) Arnhart (1987), p. 297.

version of Hegel's dialectic and is primarily based on materialism. And the principle of the *Innaecheon* (人乃天: human beings and heaven are one and the same) based on *Donghak-Cheondogyo* (東學 [the Eastern Learning]-天道教 [Teaching of the Heavenly Way]) is the human-centered dialectic.¹⁸⁾ In other words, human-centered dialectic is a systemized philosophy which integrates ideas and materials, with human beings at the center.

Human-centered dialectic is a hypothesis regarding the development of human-centered philosophy. It is one which elucidates the way of forging the destiny of human beings and nations. To put it differently, the human-centered dialectic elucidates the essential features of the autonomous and creative movements of nations.

Originally, dialectic in dialogue meant to verify one's own validity by pointing out the contradiction of an opponent's argument. Ever since Hegel claimed that when the law of meditation is the law governing all things, dialectic has been considered as the logic of explaining changes and development. In this regard, dialectic can be understood as a principle to elucidate the essence of movements and development.

The essence of dialectic lies in elucidating the essential features of the development of things. Accordingly, in explaining whether movement and process of nature conform to laws, dialectic has significance. Hegel unfolded the logic with his idealist dialectic and he understood dialectic as conformity to the laws in the process of human beings' development of thinking. Marxists attempted to prove the universal truth of dialectic on the basis of the truth of natural science and they significantly contributed to the study of natural dialectic.

A human body alone does not make a complete person. Spirit alone cannot make a complete person, either. Idealist dialectic considers ideas as a starting point and it has no subjectivity of the cause and motive. Materialistic dialectic accepts objective being as a starting point and it has no core, either. Human-centered dialectic integrates human body and spirit with human beings at the center and it is thought of as the most useful and valuable dialectic.¹⁹⁾ Both the idealists and materialists failed to view dialectic as the law of the autonomous and creative movements of human beings.

In the creative activities of human beings, mental vitality plays a more important role than material vitality. Therefore, if the roles performed by the spiritual vitality of human beings are overlooked, one cannot understand the dialectic of human development. But it should be noted that the subject of the dialectic of human

18) Lee and Kim (1947), p. 279.

19) Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism: Karl Marx versus Friedrich List* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 19.

development is human beings who always possess both spiritual vitality and material vitality.²⁰⁾

2. Tactics

1) Dialectic of integration between quantity and quality

Dialectic as a philosophical principle can be considered as the problem of strategy and tactics. It is because the problems of strategy and tactics have to be dealt with in the extension of dialectic. Thus one must know the five strategies and tactics of dialectic. The first is the integration between quantity and quality.

The most significant problem of dialectic in forging the national destiny is to explain how human beings as a developed entity could come into existence quantitatively and how their survival and development can continue qualitatively without interruption in the future.

The significant truth as a guideline in elucidating this problem is to clarify the cause of movement and the source of development in movement capacity.

First, all the beings have the property of self-preservation. According to this property, they move to conserve themselves. In other words, their property of self-conservation is the basic cause of all movements.

Second, the composing elements of all things and their combining structure are the quantitative regulations of all things. Quantitative regulations exactly correspond to qualitative regulations, and the qualitative regulations are the capacity of the motion for self-conservation.

Third, the development of the quantitative regulations signifies that various component elements are combined in a more rational way in line with the need for self-conservation. The development of qualitative regulation is that movement capacity of self-conservation reinforces the subjectivity and activity in keeping with the need for self-conservation.

Dialectic recognition of the mutual relationship between quantitative and qualitative regulations helps human beings cope with all kinds of mysticism such as egoistic capitalism and communism and can inspire them to develop limitlessly as the master of the individual, national, and global destiny.²¹⁾ This can be attributable to the difference in component elements and their combining structure. No matter how large and mysterious the difference between organisms and materials and the difference between

20) Hwang (2005), p. 48.

21) Hwang (2003a), p. 84.

human beings and animals, they are never “mysterious” since the difference can be attributed to the difference in component elements and their combining structure.

This implies that human beings can be cultivated and developed limitlessly to become a powerful entity. Therefore, we should do our utmost to enhance the level of social consciousness qualitatively and to increase material abilities of movement by swiftly accumulating creative efforts quantitatively.

2) Dialectic of integration among confronting things

Dialectic of integration among confronting things has the strategic meaning in forging our nation's destiny in the future. Namely, dialectic of integration among confronting things suggests that only the combination between individual-centered democracy, guaranteeing individual liberty and equality, and group-oriented democracy which stresses collective unification and cooperation will be the strategic tenet of the democratic development in implementing national reunification.²²⁾

First, there is a tendency that each individual manages to conserve his own independence. Consequently, human beings can be seen as confrontational. However, they want to conserve their existence as a unified group in the same way as they maintain their family. Hence, human beings are a collective being, united as a group.

For example, if conservation of individual existence and enhancement of individual creativity and independence fit this explanation, the political system can be regarded as individual-centered democracy (Liberalism). Meanwhile, if unification of groups and cooperation are emphasized, the political system can be regarded as group-oriented democracy (Socialism).

Second, unification of conflicting things means that the power to conserve the confrontation and the power to conserve the unification are working at the same time. Because the two opposing powers of unification and opposition are working concurrently, all of them are relative.

The development of things means the expansion and reinforcement of the unification of confronting things. To guarantee the expansion and reinforcement of the unification of confronting things, efforts to oppose the negative factors in the development of things should be accompanied by efforts to induce positive factors and to combine them together in a harmonious way. The proper combination between struggle and harmony is an important strategic tenet which guarantees social survival and development.

It is essential to keep alive the difference and traits of the two Koreas' political

22) Hwang (2003b), p. 85.

systems, that is, “the liberty” of South Korea’s capitalism and “the equality” of North Korea’s communism by the dialectic of integration among confronting things.

Third, not only unification but also confrontation is relative. It signifies that the possibility of both development and retrogradation and the possibility of both prosperity and collapse can co-exist. It also suggests that there is a possibility that confrontation can turn into unification and vice versa. It obviously demonstrates that there is no absolute and complete existence in the world. Absolute existence -- such as an ideal society, complete human being, absolute love, absolute goodness, absolute truth, or absolute beauty -- cannot exist.²³⁾

Absolutely unified groups cannot exist. Thus no matter how strong the internal unity and solidarity of a group may be, there exists the possibility of internal discord and collapse of the group. In this context, we have to recognize the possibility that both confronting sides can utilize a strategy to create estrangement and internal collapse. We must be concerned with the strategy and tactics to keep the internal unity of our society and to facilitate internal collapse in our enemy by the ideological and diplomatic warfare.

3) Dialectic of integration between continuity and discontinuity

The integration between continuity and discontinuity is a universal form of all beings and movements. What are the examples of dialectic of integration between continuity and discontinuity? And why is it so important?

First, a nation is a continuous being that survives and develops from generation to generation. At the same time, an individual and classes are a discontinuous being that survives separately with its own characteristics of each generation and each nation.

The proper succession of and development of what the former generation achieved to the next generations must be a significant strategic principle which can guarantee social development. The achievements made by the former generations are valuable resources for the development of the next generations, but they are subject to historical limitations. Here the combination of succession and renovation is proposed as an important strategic tenet. Stressing succession can be seen as the later generations’ expression of gratitude for the great achievements made by their progenitors.²⁴⁾ Stressing innovation can be regarded as the expression of the current generation’s responsibility to accomplish their mission as a successor of history.

Second, as a result we should not only guarantee consistent continuity of historical

23) Hwang (2003c), p. 448.

24) Hwang (2007b), p. 157.

development by succeeding the former generations' great achievements sincerely but also guarantee innovative aspects of historical development by innovative creation. The weakness of conservatism is to overemphasize the value of old things and thoughts and concurrently to underrate the creation of new things and thoughts. Thus it can contribute to making anachronistic mistakes. On the contrary, the weakness of reformism is to underrate the importance of old things and thoughts and to overemphasize the value of inchoate new things and thoughts. Therefore, it can contribute to making premature mistakes. In other words, "Truth is usually born as a heresy but perishes as a superstition."²⁵⁾

Third, human beings move in the direction of advocating continuity temporarily. Once they realize the limited aspects of continuity, they move in the direction of supporting the aspects of discontinuity. By moving back and forth between conservatism and reformism, they end up developing positive aspects of reformism and conservatism. In this respect, the logic of thesis–antithesis–synthesis can be seen as a guideline. Thus, we must draw up strategies and tactics for acquiring both far-sighted and impending benefits in consideration of both sides of the continuity and discontinuity of the struggle.²⁶⁾

In relation to the problem of succession and innovation, what is important is to guarantee a proper shift of generations. What is especially important is to beef up the education of history to help our posterities to find the valuable lessons of past human vicissitudes. It is also important that along with the education of history about the national consciousness as well as class consciousness, nationalist fighting spirits exercised by all the generations should be accompanied by practical training designed to internalize the moral nature of nationalism.

4) Dialectic of the unification between goals and means

All the survival activities of nations are a process to integrate goals and means to resolve the demand to lead a self-independent life by creative power. The demand for status to live independently and realization of the role of creative power are integration between the status and role in a basic relationship in life activities of nations, that is, realization of the integration between national independence and creativity of the unified Korea. Accordingly, the implementation process can be considered as a dialectic of the integration between goals and means.

This can be a basic principle of strategies and tactics which can guarantee the

25) Hwang (2007b), p. 161.

26) Hwang (2007a), p. 66.

outcomes and victory of the works in all areas of social life. Hence, the basic strategic principle in managing a society is to guarantee the consistency between the self-independent status of the goals and the creative role of means of community members.

Therefore, by establishing a national or social evaluation system any phenomenon which occupies high status not based on the creative role should not be allowed. The social status should be not on the result of social roles but also social conditions for guaranteeing the social role.²⁷⁾

All the people can realize that only when they rely on a dialectic of integration between goals and means can they live most wisely. It is because strategies and tactics of life through the integration between goals and means are maneuvers in our life. In relation to this problem, we have to seek a fundamental method instead of coming up with petty guiles.

In order to solve the urgent problems facing the Korean nation, we should set as a well-defined goal a belief-system of peaceful reunification and integrate goals and means by virtue of Korean nationalism. This should be based on national consciousness as political ideology overcoming the limitation of South Korea's capitalism and North Korea's communism. In order to implement a dialectic of goals and means, we must keep in mind the following three conditions.

First, we should make strenuous efforts to reinforce our spiritual power. Second, we should do our utmost to stay physically healthy and keep thinking. Third, in a bid to love other people, we should abide by principles of justice and cultivate relationships with other people modestly with outer tenderness and inner strength.²⁸⁾

If we apply the individuals' maneuvers in life to the national group purportedly, it will be a dialectic of life based upon which we can forge the Korean nation's destiny.

In this regard, if we share our sorrows and bitterness of life together through the integration between goals and means, our minds will be robust and happy because our life will be filled with indefatigable vitality. In a similar vein, the harmony and unity of the goals and means can be considered as not only a source of power but also a source of happiness. Consequently, the dialectical demand for strengthening the goals can be seen as a grand strategy which precedes drawing up specific strategy and tactics as a means.

27) Hwang (2009a), p. 70.

28) Frederick, Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics: a Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Nationalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 344.

5) Dialectic of the integration between subject and object

The process by which a nation forges its destiny is a creative process to realize its own survival and development by transforming human beings' objective world into conditions and means of their subjective survival and well-being. In this context, it is subjective human beings that bring forth and push forward such a development. And it is the objective world that is the object of this movement.

In inter-human and inter-Korean relationships, more unification-oriented people and more developed people are the subject of this movement, while unification-resistant people and less developed people are the object of this unifying movement and the object of reform.

Without reinforcing the subject and without coming up with measures to enhance the subjectivity and activity of the subject, any attempt to devote ourselves to seeking subtle strategy and tactics to defeat our enemy is nothing but a foolish waste of time.

What is the most important thing in solidifying the subject and object?

First, the vitality of human beings consists of the spiritual, material, and cooperative vitalities. Of these three vitalities, the spiritual vitality represents the subjectivity, activity and creativity as the highest vitality. Thus what is the most important thing in solidifying the subject is to possess the right thought and indefatigable fighting spirit.

Second, strengthening the cooperative vitality is also important. Harmony and unity are a source of power and happiness. The adamantly strengthened power for a lofty cause can create a miracle beyond imagination. As isolated individuals, people fear the bayonet of the enemy. However, when they are unified as a group, they do not fear death at all. Once people are united, it can help solidify the will, subjectivity, and creativity of the united people.

People who cannot appreciate that unity is a source of power cannot qualify as politicians. To be more specific, the proper number of core members as a center for unity can vary, depending on specific situations. It is usually considered rational to limit the number between three and ten.²⁹⁾

Third, in view of dialectic as a grand strategy to elucidate the path of forging our nation's destiny, of the five characteristics of dialectic, dialectic of the integration between subjectivity and objectivity can be viewed as the significant pillar. With the eternal future of unifying the Korean nation in sight, the dialectic of the integration between objectivity and subjectivity is the dialectic with the most universal significance when we consider the grand strategy of forging Korea's destiny. And it is the grand

29) Hwang (2005), p. 498.

prerequisite of all the strategic and tactical principles.

We have reviewed the five fundamental traits of dialectic. In all dialectics, we can find several commonalities (gravitation) and endless differences (exclusion) in all things. However, such gravitation and exclusion should be of help to the peaceful reunification of Korea. No matter how well one may understand the commonalities and differences among things, it is totally useless unless it can contribute to the survival and development of the Korean nation as a dialectic of the integration among confronting things. Consequently, the basic purpose of the dialectical strategy and tactics in all cognitive and practical activities is also valuable and useful as long as it can contribute to forging Korea's destiny.

IV. The Political Philosophy of Democracy: Human-Centered Democracy

Human beings are pleasant and happy as their vitality strengthens, whereas they feel pain and unhappiness as their vitality weakens. The pleasure and happiness stemming from "thought-cultural life," above all, can be attributable to their reinforced spiritual vitality. The pleasure and happiness stemming from economic activities can be ascribed to their strengthened material vitality. And the pleasure and happiness stemming from the political life can be attributed to their reinforced social collaboration and cooperation.³⁰⁾

Of the three vitalities of human beings, the spiritual vitality is especially generated to convert the innate demands of life into the demands of self-reliantly working vitality and to convert the innate vitality into creatively working vitality. As a result, spirit is needed to calculate interests, to set goals for actions, and to draw up action plans to execute them.

Thus in the process of social development, thought-cultural revolution to elevate the level of thought-culture of individuals must precede. Then political revolution to reform social relationships has to follow.

In Europe the revolution in the area of thought-culture was originated from the Renaissance period. The Renaissance can be considered as the origin of humanism. It is the starting point of the embodiment of anti-feudal democratic thoughts in the field of thought and literature. The problem of human liberation from thoughts was explicitly

30) Hwang (2009b), p. 263.

expressed in the literary works between Dante's *La Divina Commedia* published in 1310 and Boccaccio's *Decameron* in 1353. The new thought under the slogan of the Renaissance is an explicit humanistic idea and capitalist idea of democracy.³¹⁾

In the wake of the democratic revolution's victory over feudalism, democracy has exercised marvelous vitality in all areas of social life such as politics, economy, and culture. But the individual-centered democracy, which has developed with the state and nation as a basic unit, has increasingly revealed historical limitations. These days democracy has entered the new development stage of "globalized democracy," with the world as a unit. For the globalization of democracy and for creating globalized democracy, the corresponding revolution in the area of thought and culture must precede.³²⁾

Spirituality is the vitality which works in direct connection with the spine of human life. The spirituality which human beings do not internalize cannot work as spirituality. As if the comedy of Moliere, *The Play of the Famous Doctor against His Will* demonstrates, anyone who is given the title of famous doctor without the basic knowledge of medicine will only experience severe agony and pain, to say nothing of enjoying privileges.³³⁾

Only human-oriented democracy can get rid of all kinds of inhumane monopoly and privileges which are formed by monopoly of material wealth and coercive violence. In human-oriented democracy, the status and role of persons in a society can be defined on the basis of human quality which only human beings can embody. Human-oriented democracy can encourage cooperation in keeping with the social nature of human beings. Thus, only human-oriented democracy is a high-dimensional democracy which can encompass both sides of an individual being and a collective being of human beings.

What is the important problem in the "thought-cultural" revolution for democratizing nations and the world?

The democratic revolution was a great historical event which has monumental significance in the development of human beings. The reform toward democracy was not a simple change in the cooperative and collaborative relationships in society but a fundamental change in the human way of existence.

This signifies that by establishing a democratic way of life, human beings can become the master of their own destiny for the first time in history. Consequently, human beings who govern survival activities as the master of their own destiny can initiate the history of survival as a social being.

31) David Miller (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 428.

32) Hwang (2005), pp. 313-14.

33) Ernst B. Haas, *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Progress: The Rise and Decline of Nationalism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 171.

But at the time of the anti-feudal democratic revolution, human beings' awakening of their fate was still incomplete. At that time, people were preoccupied with liberation from the shackles of feudalism. They aspired to be treated equally and to enjoy freedom. They considered freedom and equality as the crux of a democratic way of survival. They recognized the individuality of human beings. However, they failed to realize that human beings have two lives, that is, individual life and collective life.

In other words, there is not only individual life (which is embodied in different persons and which ends as a personal life), but there is also collective life (which is embodied in social groups whose survival can be secured permanently). As individuals are combined into a group, individual life can be seen as a part of collective life. Collective life is a common life of all individuals who are the part of the same group. All individuals possess both an individual life embodied in themselves and a collective life shared by all individuals in the same group.

The fate of human beings is determined by the human relations of a nation, and the fate of individuals is also ultimately determined by the collective fate of a nation. So a collective life is more precious than an individual life.

To summarize these principles of the way of existence, three principles emerge: liberty, equality, and respect for public interest. Public interest guarantees survival and development of a group. However, at the inception of democratic development, the principle which valued public interest above private interest was not emphasized appropriately.

Only the democratic way of survival was established with the victory of the anti-feudal revolution. It takes quite a long time for it to be completed along with the growth of the three vitalities of human beings. These days the democratic way of survival is in a transitional period, shifting from individual-centered democratic way of survival to a human-oriented one which integrates individuals and groups.

If the democratic way of survival in human-oriented democracy can be established at the level of nations and the entire world, human beings will be able to be liberated from all the forms of inhumane inequality. It will put human beings onto the path of permanent development. Then they will become a creator and beneficiary of a happy and meaningful life.

Communists once described an ideal communist society as a paradise where perfect freedom and equality were realized. This society is fraught with goods which people can consume as much as they want. In this society politics that controls human beings disappears. Self-conscious autonomy governs and the difference between physical labor and spiritual labor disappears. Furthermore, labor is not a burden but it is converted

into a demand for life.

However, materialists failed to realize that human beings are not only individual beings but also collective beings. They confronted capitalist democracy based on individualism with socialist collectivism based on class-oriented ideology. Namely, they recognize capitalist democracy as individualism of the bourgeoisie and confront it with collective socialism of the proletariat. They postulated that only individuals have life and that individuals can be the protagonist of liberty and happiness. Therefore, in a communist society where classes are abolished, class-oriented groups vanish and only individuals survive. In the end, they regard a society in which individual freedom and equality are completely realized as an ideal society.³⁴⁾

Human-oriented philosophy postulates that human beings conserve both aspects of individual beings and collective beings. This originates from the perspective that human beings demand eternal development as a protagonist of their own, their national, and the entire world's destiny. Hence, a perfect ideal society and an invariably fixed ideal society cannot exist. Only a happy life with permanent development can be the ideal in the permanent developmental process of nations and humanity. The democratization of the entire world cannot mean the construction of an invariably fixed ideal society. Democratization of the entire world can be a historical starting point which helps get rid of inhumane hindrances and which can pave the way for endless development of human beings. Democratization of this kind is an urgent ideal objective mankind should pursue.

These days the transition from individual-centered democracy to human-centered democracy is under way. At this critical juncture, the important task of revolutionizing our thinking to embody human-centered democratic ideas in the realm of thought-culture must precede. As a result it is necessary that we create an ideological party of democracy based on the human-centered political philosophy. In this sense, the revolution in the field of current political philosophy should contribute to laying the groundwork for the creation of an ideological party of democracy. And the building of such an ideological party really is the historical mission for the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

34) Arnhart (1987), p. 314.

V. Conclusion

For establishing the ideological party, we have discussed that human beings have two attributes: an individual being (liberalism, capitalist life) and a collective being (socialism, communist life). For the sake of peaceful reunification of the Korean nation, it is important to convert the properties of independence and creativity of the two Koreas into a cooperative social relationship with dialectical strategy and tactics. And we have come to understand that this integrating vitality is one of political practice.

Before Karl Marx, philosophy played a limited role in interpreting history. But Karl Marx developed the dialectical logic of practice, predicting that innovation would be important in the future. On top of this, with respect to Korean national reunification, it is necessary to pay attention to the method of dialectical political practice.³⁵⁾

For political practice, it is vital to shift our focus from internalizing the knowledge on interests to a firm belief in experiencing the truth of an idea repeatedly through practical experiences in association with emotion. But people who possess knowledge on interests logically through reading books can know the stance on interests in principle, but they cannot keep their position as a host.

Unlike this, people who have undergone a variety of difficulties can internalize the basic principles on interests as the truth based on a firm belief, despite their poor logical knowledge on interests. To consolidate the linkage between the knowledge on interests and desire for life, it is necessary to harden our will, because our will is spiritual power which controls our desire for life.³⁶⁾

While Hegel developed the logic of reform dialectically, Karl Marx developed the logic of reform dialectically based on materials. However, in this article the author develops a human-oriented political philosophy of dialectic as political practice by synthesizing and/or sublating spirit and body (materials). The crux of this political practice is the concept of *Sainyeocheon* (事人如天: treat people just the same way to serve heaven).

Dialectic of human-oriented philosophy can be a grand strategy among many strategies and tactics in a sense that it can elucidate the way to forge Korea's destiny.³⁷⁾ The strategic and tactical problem was originally raised as a strategem to defeat the enemy. Although Sun Zi's *The Art of War* is outstanding in terms of principles, it is still rudimentary in comparison with human-oriented dialectic. Therefore, if we associate

35) Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), p. 125.

36) Hwang (2003b), p. 385.

37) James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1991), p. 159.

the arts of war inherited from tacticians in the past with human-oriented dialectic as a grand strategy for forging our nation's destiny, it can become a grand strategy and tactics which can guarantee the victory of life for Korea's national unity in accordance with the demand of the current era.

The creative knowledge and experience to forge Korean destiny have been developed continuously. In this sense, people of today have undergone development in an unparalleled way in comparison with their progenitors. That is, tactics and strategy *per se* have not been developed. The principle and knowledge, which are required to apply the strategy and tactics in accordance with demand to the human development, have been developed significantly just like the logic of dialectic.

We have to develop our ability of practical application through political practice of the unity of a doctrine and actions. In the process, it is necessary to come up with the methods to internalize the above-mentioned five principles elucidated in the human-oriented dialectical strategy and tactics.

If we can apply such strategy and tactics of human-oriented dialectic, based on the political philosophy of human-oriented democracy, to our daily life, we can free ourselves from all kinds of dogmatism and make use of them as our invincible weapon.

Consequently, peaceful reunification can be achieved only by establishing an ideological party on the basis of democratic nationalism.³⁸⁾

In opposition to all forms of selfishness inherent in individualist capitalism and collective communism, we must awaken and organize all the members of Korea through this new ideological party. Hence, it is time to act on a doctrine of political guidance based on such a human-oriented ideological party.

38) Andrew Heywood, *Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 109.

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