**Keynote Address at the International Symposium on “Reviving Democratic Commitments: Strengthening Citizenship and Institutions”**

Hyug Baeg Im

Professor Emeritus, Korea University and Chaired Professor, Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology (GIST)

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1. **Introduction**

Since the autumn of 2016 South Koreans have worked hard for revitalizing democratic citizens and strengthening democratic institutions. So called Candlelight Revolution (or Candlelight Movement) in 2016 was one of three anti-neoliberal globalization revolutions in 2016.

I would like to say that Candlelight Movement was not an isolated movement but one of series of worldwide anger movements against neoliberal globalization and the retreat of democracy. In 2016 we had three great anger movements in the world.

First, Brexit in UK was anger movement against neoliberal globalization that generated economic inequality, mass unemployment, mass infusion of foreign workers from Turkey, India, Arabs, and Bohemians.

Second, Trumpism in the U.S. was an ethnic neo-tribalism of anti-Mexican immigrants and Islam, religious fundamentalism such as the Christian Right, economic protectionism and political isolationism.

Finally, Candlelight Revolution in 2016-2017 that impeached President Park Geun Hye in Korea was an anger movement against the retreat of democracy, socio-economic polarization and economic inequality.

All these anger movements took place in the era of post neoliberal globalization that outburst after the global financial crisis in 2008. Anger society movements reached their peaks in Great Britain, US, and South Korea in 2016 in which millions of people outpoured their angers against socio-economic polarization, deepening inequality and serious retreat of democracy in the streets as well as in the ballot boxes.

1. **Candlelight Revolution, 2016-2017**

The main causes of Candlelight Revolution were, first, the retreat of liberal democracy under Park Geun Hye presidency. Park Geun Hye presidency was laden with Bonapartism, patrimonialism, pre-modern religious cult, and rule of man rather than rule of law.

The second cause of the demise of Park was her failure of accountability as were shown in Sewol Perry Incident, MERSC disease affairs.

The third cause was on-line presidential election rigging, and Choi, Sunsil and inner group corruptions and privatization of public power.

Provoked by these violations of laws, Park’s proteges’ monopoly and privatization of public powers, wrongdoings, corruptions, abuses of power, incompetent leadership, millions of people opened “street parliament” in the Gwanghwamoon Plaza and other big plazas in major cities and asked their representatives in Yeouido Parliament to impeach president Park Geun Hye. And National Assembly and Constitutional Court responded to people’s demand and impeached Park in due process and orderly manners and fired Park from the president on March 10, 2017.

Finally, Candlelight Revolution was completed with electing a new democratic president Moon Jae In in May 9, 2017.

1. **Heterarchy Democracy**

Candlelight Revolution was the Korean “Glorious Revolution” that was made peacefully and according to rule of law and due process. Candlelight Revolution had proceeded with what I call “heterarchy democracy.”

Heterarchy democracy is a mixed constitution of hierarchical representative democracy and horizontally communicating mass participatory democracy. In other words, heterarchy democracy is a mixture of participatory agora democracy and representative democracy. And heterarchy democracy is a political system that combines social media (SNS) democracy and representative democracy.

Heterarchy is a mixed form of social organization that mixes the vertical accountability of representative democracy and the horizontal communication and deliberations of participatory citizens. The modus operandi of heterarchy democracy encompasses accountability, open participation, deliberation, social trust, empowerment, and collaboration.

1. **Revitalizing democratic citizens and strengthening democratic institutions**

In order to complete the Candlelight Revolution South Korea needs to strengthen reform for more heterarchy democracy. The fundamental principle of representative democracy is hierarchy and supply-side policy making in which the representatives as the suppliers of policy are the leader and the people are passive consumer of policies. In contrast, social media democracy is a demand-side democracy in which citizens become prosumers (producers + consumers) of policies that can produce policy, and ask their representatives and political parties to realize policies that they have produced.

The invention of big data and the evolution to Web 2.0 and Web 3.0 enabled and facilitated social media democracy. Big data provides politician, political party and citizen alike massive information and knowledge that are analyzed with systematic analytics. Now, even the average citizen has access to a huge amount of information, and can use big data to participate in a multi-tiered fashion, and becomes able to hold the government and representatives accountable. Democracy based on big data finally upgraded the people to the real sovereign.

1. **Revitalizing Democratic Citizens**

To revitalize democratic citizens, heterarchy democracy must revitalize the participation of the sovereign citizenry, empower the people so that they can hold their representatives accountable. It must also destroy barriers to engagement, enabling open participation, and a variety of political actors must communicate for participatory deliberations.

1. **Institution Reforms for Strengthening Heterarchy Democracy**

In order to realize heterarchical democracy, first, concurrent majority system must be introduced. A winner-takes-all majoritarian democratic model does not resolve, but rather represses conflict, and makes its ultimate resolution difficult. The problem of the tyranny of the majority can be resolved through the division of power, coalition government, veto power of the minorities and a concurrent majority system in which political parties that fight one another are made jointly responsible for policy, and even when the governmental changes, major policy continuity is guaranteed.

Second, federalism must be strengthened. Regional conflicts in South Korea form a complex set of overlapping conflicts that include ideology, identity and interest-based cleavages. The unity in diversity that federalism implies will resolve the complex conflicts in South Korean society, and through social integration, can prepare for North-South integration after unification.

Third, the supermajority system must be strengthened. Supermajority system is a form of consensus-orientated system that requires a majority of 3/5, 2/3 or even an absolute majority for major decisions like constitutional amendments, the appointment of judges, or decisions related to minority rights. In 2012, South Korea introduced a supermajority system called “Modernization Law (sunjinhwabub).” Supermajority system promotes a politics of moderation and consensus under the majoritarian presidency.

Fourth, the separation of powers must be strengthened. To create a heterarchy democracy, republican institutions must be embedded in democracy. Only then can a democratic republic emerge upon the republican principles of empathy, sharing, coexistence, and openness that realize the values of publicness. The father of the US constitution, James Madison, did not design the US system of representative democracy to be a ‘pure democracy’ where the interests of the majority faction alone are represented, but rather as a ‘republic,’ where representatives selected through election are forced to act in the interests of the nation and the public. Madison embedded the separation of powers within US federalism as the institutional mechanism by which to realize the public good and to move beyond the limitations of simple majority-based democracy. The separation of powers that forces representatives to respond the will of the people, in accordance with the spirit of republican government, is a core institutional mechanism of heterarchy democracy.

Sixth and finally, ‘selection by lot’ system has to be introduced as a selection and decision method to promote heterarchy democracy. Selection and decision by lot was used in Athenian democracy, it is the most democratic means of making decisions, but due to a lack of available information and data, it was not feasible for the representative democracy in larger modern nation states. However, digital voting method such as block chain has enabled ‘selection by lot’ in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. ‘Selection by lot’ satisfies the major standards of social justice, publicness, equality of opportunity, equivalence of all votes, and the “veil of ignorance.” At the same time, it also satisfies the hierarchy condition of representative democracy in the decisiveness of choices that it makes. It is a mechanism of decision making that includes elements of social media democracy as well as representative democracy.

**Bio**

Hyug Baeg Im is a Professor Emeritus at Korea University and a Chaired Professor at Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology (GIST). He received BA from Seoul National University and both MA and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He served as an Executive Council Member of International Political Science Association (IPSA, 2007-2012), and the Dean of the Graduate School of Policy Studies (2008-2012) and the Director of Institute for Peace Studies at Korea University. He has taught and researched at Ehwa Womans University, Georgetown University, Duke University, Stanford University, National Endowment for Democracy as well as Johns Hopkins University SAIS. He had served as a presidential adviser to the president Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun. He had also served as a member of Presidential Transition Commission of Roh Moo Hyun. Professor Im received the Best Academic Award from ROK National Academy of Sciences in 2015 and the Best Academic Achievement Award, Korea Political Science Association (KPSA) in 2010. Prof. Im's recent publications include *The Possibility of Peace in the Korean Peninsula* (SNU Press, 2017), M*ongering North Korean Democracy for Inter-Korean Peace* (Korea Univ. Press, 2015), "Better Democracy, Better Economic Growth?," *International Political Science Review* (2011).