

“Peace in the East” and “Populorum progressio” on the road to Peacemaking

1. Introduction

The Korean peninsula exists still in the Cold War. This year marks the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, and trying to make peace on the Korean peninsula is active now more than ever. Thinking the concept of peace in "*Gaudium et spes*", it is not passive peace meaning 'absent wars' and 'the power balance'. But it is active peace built up ceaselessly (Nr.78).

'Peace agreement' between North Korea and United States is a crucial issue for change the peace state of not only the Korean peninsula, but also East Asia. The conception of peace, that independence and peace of Korea understood in Asian peace, was proposed early by Ahn Junggeun (Tomas, 1879~1910). He assassinated Japanese Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi at the Harbin Railway Station (26 October 1909) and wrote his thought on East Asian Peace in prison Lushun until death on March 1910.

Ahn Junggeun's vision for peace is continually studied in Korea, Japan, and China. His conception to make Asia into an area of peace is an important task for peace today. Also, his Pacific thoughts closely resemble the main contents of Paul VI's "Populorum progressio"(hereafter "pp"). Ahn's "Peace in the East" is looked as the Asian miniature of "PP". This paper introduces the contents generally in the hope to be a small contribution to peacemaking.

II. Ahn Junggeun's vision for East Asian Peace

Ahn Junggeun(hereafter Ahn or Ahn Junggeun) was born in Haeju, Hwanghae. His family was Confucian originally, but accepted the enlightenment thought through various newspapers and in 1894, all his entire family was baptized by a priest of Société des Missions Étrangères de France and entered the Catholic Church. "Peace in East" was written by Ahn based on universal human rights. He learned the thoughts of equal human dignity from the France priest and "天主實義" (De Deo Verax Disputatio, 1607) von Matteo Ricci (Jesuit, 1552~1610).

Ahn's vision for peace has been studied and written down based on "Peace in East", an "autobiography" written in prison Lushun and "Interview" with the chief justice of the High Court in February 1910, eyewitness evidences. "Peace in East" was the unfinished posthumous manuscript, because Japan executed him in haste. The core of that manuscript is 'Asian Solidarity' which will be illuminated in this

paper.

The term 'East Asian Peace' used Japan as foreign policy for expansion of the Japanese power in East Asia. Ahn's theory of 'Asian Solidarity' had refined logic in process of critical realization the deceitfulness of Ito Hirobumi's 'East Asian Peace'. Ahn argued at a trial that he punished Ito in order to expose his disruptive crime of East Asian Peace and keep independence of Korea and peace of East Asia.¹⁾

Ahn presented his vision of East Asian Peace to the chief justice of the High Court at the interview. His vision was to enable Japan to take rank with the western powers without imitating them, "something that other superpowers have not done yet."²⁾

First, Japan should open Lushun and develop it into a navel port for Korea, Japan, and Qing Dynasty (China). Japan should gather together talented leaders from the three nations to Lushun and hold a peace conference there. The best plan for Japan to return Lushun to Qing Dynasty and develop it as a base camp for peace in Asia. The nations should gather together the members of the peace conference and collect one Japanese Yen from each of the members as the membership fee. Undoubtedly, hundreds of millions of people from Korea, Japan, and Qing Dynasty will join the conference.

Second, establishing a bank and issuing a common currency for the three nations.

Third, the three nations can dispatch to the Lushun area military deputies who are in charge of armaments in order to prepare for the possible aggression of other superpowers. The three nations can create a youth corps composed of healthy, athletic young people. If they learn the languages used in the other two countries, a sense of friendship as brother nations will grow stronger in proportion to the progress of their linguistic competency.

Forth, both Korea and Qing Dynasty should promote development of commerce and industry under Japan's guidance. If the project succeeds, other nations in Asia, such as India, Thailand, and Vietnam will voluntarily become members of the peace conference.

Fifth, the emperors of Korea, Japan, and the Qing Dynasty meet with the Roman Catholic Pope, swear allegiance to him and are enthroned by receiving crowns from him. Currently, Catholics account for the two thirds of the religious population in the whole world. Gaining support from them will be a great asset.

It is estimated, that these propositions were affected by 'Hague Convention' in 1899. At that time, a Korean newspaper <Doklip sinmun> suggested that a 'peace

1) 국사편찬위원회(1976), 『한국독립운동사 자료』 6권. p.330.; 안중근(2018), 「청취서」, 『안중근의 동양평화론』, 서울:셀렉션. p.45.48.

2) 안중근(2018), 「청취서」, 같은 글, pp.49-53.; 안중근(2019), 『동양평화론』, 서울: 독도도서관친구들. pp.22-25.

conference of all nations' must be held in Baijing, China for world peace. For practice, there was a precondition that western powers should stop wars and return the occupied territories.³⁾ In addition to this, Ahn claimed that Japan should stop aggressive war and return national sovereignty to Korea, Lushun to China. Ahn's suggestion on permanent establishment of a peace conference of the asian three countries was intended to prevent of conflicts among them like 'Convention for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes' and to defend East Asia against western powers in solidum of asian countries. This intention can be an embryonic idea of such as 'Multilateral consultation mechanism in Northeast Asia' today.⁴⁾ The idea for the allied force of the three countries can be found in United Nations Forces, but Ahn's emphasis lay on brotherhood of youth through the education of second languages.

The reason why Ahn Junggeun suggested a peace conference of only Korea, Japan and China was that these three nations belonged to the same ethnic group, and the other asian countries were enmeshed in European struggle for colonies. Korea directly experienced the western imperialism through the Russo-Japanese Wars (1904~1905). Most of korean intellectuals understood the Japan's victory against Russia as the asian victory against the West. They suggested that the three countries should unite together in order to overcome the threat of western powers. Here, there was the theoretical and political differences. While korean intellectuals argued the union of the three countries under japanese leader based on social evolution theory,⁵⁾ Ahn aimed first peace of Northeast Asia as an urgent problem but he bore community of East Asia, including Southeast Asia in mind. To him, the category of East Asia included Asia Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia.⁶⁾

The third and forth articles aimed to set the financial base facilitating an effective cooperation of the three countries. In the period of Korean Empire, financial market was expending with the increase of dealing among Korean, Japanese and Chinese merchants in Seoul and Incheon and credit was in development. But the gap in economic standard between Japan and Korea, China was huge. And commercial transaction was clogged by different currency systems. Considering this situation, Ahn proposed to establish a common bank and currency. This proposition was for commercial profit of the three countries through the economic

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- 3) 현광호(2003), 「안중근의 동양평화론과 그 성격」, 『아세아 연구』(제46권 3호), 고려대학교 아세아문제 연구소. pp.177-178.
 - 4) 김현철(2002), 「개화기 한국인의 대외 인식과 '동양평화' 구상」, 『평화연구』(제11권 1호), 서울: 고려대학교 평화연구소. p.29.
 - 5) 오영달(2016), 「안중근의 평화주의 기초: 칸트 영구평화론과의 비교 관점」, 『한국보훈논총』(제15권 1호), 수원: 한국보훈학회. p.22.; 김윤희(2000), 「대한제국기 계몽주의 계열 지식층의 '삼국제휴론」, 『한국근현대사연구』(제13호), 파주: 한울. pp.8-18.
 - 6) 국사편찬위원회(1976), 위의 글. p.174.

cooperation.⁷⁾

The fifth article regarding credibility of people in the world was very creative. The Intention of 'swearing allegiance to Pope and receiving crowns from him' was to guard against western powers and to get support from Catholics around the World.⁸⁾ Ahn's thought was more concerned with people. He believed that the right way to get the civil rights and freedom can be sought only when people perform their duties.⁹⁾ So, he acknowledged people as subject of the state.

In Korea, the thought of the modern civil rights based on equal human dignity was first expressed in earnest after death of Gojong, the last monarch of Joseon Dynasty. That precocious thought of Ahn Junggeun was influenced by Catholicism and Enlightenment.¹⁰⁾ 'Obedience to the heavens (nature) and Respond to the mind of people' (順天應人) was the moral and the basis of peace for him. He said "The heavens bore people, so all people in the world became brothers."¹¹⁾ There is no difference between East and West. Ahn Junggeun, who respected people in the world, planned a 'peace conference' which is not a closed door only for the representative of states, but an open door conference for the people of all states. This plan was intended to prevent people mobilizing for wars regardless of their opinions.

Ahn thought that Japan should be central force in solidarity of independent asian states, because he also understood the Russo-Japanese Wars as Wars between races. Nevertheless, he appreciated western Powers as the possible subjects to cooperation, but only on the premises that they didn't continue the imperial foreign policies. He also warned Japan that Korea and China would conclude alliance with the West if Japan invaded continually. This was reason why this idea was possible, that Ahn trusted international law and international organizations.¹²⁾

Although Ahn's "Peace in East" was unfinished, his thought of 'popular sovereignty', 'peace based on the equal relationships of the independent countries' was passed down to the spirit of the korean independence movements and to the constitutional principles of the Korean provisional government. His insight into the regional community is amazing. His vision is 40years earlier than the proposition of Robert Schuman's 'European Coal and Steel Community' at beginning of EU.

7) 현광호(2003), 위의 글. p.180.

8) 안중근(2018), 「청취서」, 위의 글. pp.52-53.

9) 안중근(2019), 『안중근 옥중 자서전』, 파주: 열화당. p.56.

10) 차기진(2001), 「안중근의 천주교 신앙과 그 영향」, 『교회사 연구』 16, 한국교회사 연구소. pp.31-32.

11) 안중근(2019), 『안중근 옥중 자서전』, 위의 글. pp.40-41.

12) 안중근(2019), 같은 글. p.90,94.; 현광호(2003), 위의 글. pp.181-182.

And 'Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat' of the three countries, Korea, Japan and China as a permanent organization was at last founded on September 2011 in Seoul. Formation of the Asian Monetary Fund is just being carried on nowadays. All these things were conceived by An Junggeun a long time ago.

III. The connection points of “Peace in East” and “Populorum progressio”

Ahn Junggeun's vision for peace closely resembles the pacific thought of Catholic social teaching, especially that of "PP" (Paul VI, 1967). This paper scope on common projects for peacemaking of "Peace in East" and "PP".

1. Significance of “Populorum progressio” in the pacific thought of the Catholic church

Peace motor of Paul VI was "development is the new name for peace". This motto progressed the Pacific thought of the church for modern global society.

Johann XXIII attenuated 'Just War Theory' of his senior Pius XII, as he proclaimed "Pacem in terris" (1963) that 'in consideration of the terrible destructive force of modern weapons, wars are contrary to reason.' (Nr.127). Hereby the Pacific thought of the Catholic church took a huge transition. According to Johann XXIII, peace can not be achieved by warfare, but it is a task on the ground to be made based on universal value of human right by the entire human family. He accepted the universal Declaration of Human Rights and proclaimed that it should be legal, political order for all people (Nr.114). After then, "Gaudium et spes" found the active concept of peace and restricted 'Just War' only to defend popular sovereignty, not national sovereignty any more. In succession, Paul VI suggested the radical, detailed action plans for peacemaking. His peace motor means that excessive economic, social, and cultural inequalities among peoples must be abolished because these are seeds of tension and conflicts between countries, and are a danger to peace (Nr.76). So, Paul VI's peacemaking project is to combine "peace" with "Justice between countries". The German Bishop Conference reconfirmed in document "Gerechtigkeit schafft Frieden" (1983) that the combination peace with justice is now the new ethics for peace.

2. The common projects of "Peace in East" and “Populorum progressio”

Ahn's vision for peace looks just like an Asian miniature of "PP" with regard to common key points such as coexistence and solidarity of the independent countries, the importance of international organizations and international agreements, the balanced economic development through the economic cooperation and World Peace over nationalism etc.. These common projects can be as follow summarized as followed.

First, Principle of national self-determination and solidarity among independent countries. Ahn was convinced that all countries which are in independent state is the base of peace,¹³⁾ and he sought the basis of independence not in state but in people. This can be understood in the same context of the peace based on human right of Johann XXIII and Paul VI. Ahn's conception that the independent states should seek common prosperity in the equal brotherhood relationship was explained in "PP" as 'the principle of national self-determination', "allowed all people to become the artisans of their destiny" (Nr.65) and 'solidarity among nations' (Nr.48).

Second, the necessity of international organizations and international agreements. Paul VI hoped for a world authority that can establish an order of justice which is universally recognized (Nr.78). And he advised that multilateral and international bodies should discover the ways that allow people of the undeveloped states to discover for themselves, in full fidelity to their own proper genius, the means for their social and human progress (Nr.64).

To emphasis on the mediator role of international and multilateral organizations for world peace is a time-honored Catholic tradition. It is the thought of 'Jus gentium' developed by a scholar's church father Francisco de Vitoria (Dominican, 1483~1546) and Francisco Suárez (Jesuit, 1548~1617). 'Jus gentium' aimed at 'Bonum Orbis', and it was a international norms corresponding to the principle of justice for all people. Vitoria and Suárez believed that 'Jus gentium' could have the real binding force, because it was formed through common agreement and treaty. Suárez thought that the most important thing in human community was complete independence of each state. The common good of all mankind was more important than that of individual nations. But worldwide common good was necessary for the sovereignty of individual nations .¹⁴⁾ The aim of 'Jus gentium' is identical to the Ahn's vision that independence of Korea should be a precondition to peace of Asia.

International law based on 'Jus gentium' was introduced in Korea named 'Public international law' or 'Public law of all nations' for the first time at the end of 19th century. Ahn Junggeun was so respectful of 'Public international law' as to release Japanese prisoners of war (July 1908) whom Ahn captured alive as the army commander.¹⁵⁾ Ahn argued in the trial process that Ito's execution was a legitimate response against the unjust invasion of Japan, and he demanded to treat him as a prisoner of war under public international law.¹⁶⁾

13) 국사편찬위원회(1976), 위의 책. p.174.; 현광호(2003), 위의 글. p176.

14) 심현주(2013), 「가톨릭 전통에서의 만민법 사상」, 『가톨릭철학』(제11권 1호), 가톨릭철학회. pp.105-107,113,115; Soder, Josef(1973), *Francisco Suárez und das Völkerrecht. Grundgedanken zu Staat, Recht und internationalen Beziehungen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Alfred Metzner 1973. pp.230-231.

15) 안중근(2019), 『안중근 옥중 자서전』, 위의 글. pp. 68-72.

His assertion that Ito's execution was just, is now and then interpreted in point of view of "Just War theory".¹⁷⁾ This interpretation is only possible when international law of Hugo Grotius (1583~1645) is considered. Grotius insisted in "De jure belli ac pacis"(1625) that wars with just reasons were just. Vitoria and Suárez, who directly influenced Grotius, cognized 'state' as 'Societas Perfecta', and made reference to the grounds of Just War as destruction the obligations to Respect borders.¹⁸⁾ But Ahn aimed at the brotherhood of states rather than at Just War.

Today, social ethics cognizes the absoluteness of the national sovereignty as the epochal limit. Worldwide common good in the interdependent period doesn't need to the enclosed thought as 'Societas Perfecta', but needs to 'Jus gentium' based on human rights.¹⁹⁾ In the strict sense, 'Jus getium' based on citizen sovereignty should be human rights.

Third, collection fee for East asian peace conference and World Fund.

Paul VI requested to make up the worldwide common fund from part of the money spent on arms, thus, to use it for promotion human's development (Nr.51,53). Also he recommended that "bilateral and multilateral agreements allow ties of dependence and feeling of betterness, left over from the era of colonialism, to yield place to happier relationship of friendship, based on a footing of constitutional and political equality" (Nr.52). Further, he stated that "Regional agreements among weak nations for mutual support, understandings of wider scope entered into for their help, more far-reaching agreements to establish programs for closer cooperation among groups of nations - these are the milestones on the road to development that leads to peace" (Nr.77). Paul VI's idea of Formation and practical use of world - and regional fund is founded in Ahn's conception of collection membership fee for peace conference. The idea of the regional agreements and cooperation among nations for their mutual support is what Ahn's proposed to establish of a common bank and currency for the three nations. Both agree that common prosperity of nations is the greatest milestones on the road to peace.

Forth, Common good toward World Peace

Paul VI pointed out the other obstacles for world peace. Those are nationalism and racism (Nr.62,63) which must be overcome for worldwide common good. As mentioned above, Ahn was concerned about asian race because of invasion of western powers. But he thought that the alliance with the West would be possible if western powers stopped invasion and observed the international laws. In other

16) 안중근(2018), 「청취서」, 위의 글. p.44.

17) 오영달(2016), 위의 글. pp.17-18.

18) Soder, Josef(1973), op. cit. pp. 233-235.

19) Furger, Franz(1994), *Politik oder Moral*, Stuttgart·Düsseldorf: Benzinger. p.60.

words, an independent state is an essential prerequisite for East Asian Peace, and East Asian Peace is an essential prerequisite for world peace. Thus, Ahn's vision was not 'nationalism' or 'racism', but was a conception of an Asian collaborative community toward world peace. "Peace in East" held on the spirit of transnational peace which the Catholic social ethics is pursuing today.

Finally, this paper can not miss the difference of epochal situations of "peace in East" and "PP". The time difference between them is half a century. In the period of Ahn Junggeun, the most important problem for peace was imperialism. At that time, the name for peace might be independence and collaboration of states. Poverty and disarmament emerged as the important issues in the late 1960's. In this context, "PP" compensates "Peace in East" for the ways to peace today.

IV. Conclusion: Implications for the Korean peninsula

The "World Peace" has been recorded in constitution of many states since the end of Second World War, as each region is strengthening the economic and military cooperations among states. There are organizations for the cooperation such as EU, MERCOSUR, ECOWAS, NAFTA, APEC, ASEAN, LAIA, CCASG etc.. In particular, EU is an exemplary case for the realization of human rights by the methods of 'European Convention on Human Rights', 'European Commission of Human Rights' and 'European Court of Human Rights'. But in Asia there is not any cooperation organizations embraced in all of Asia.

When Pope Francis visited Korea in 2014, he made a request the active conversations of Korean government with states which do not set up diplomatic relations with Holy See. Those states, i.e., the socialist states imply that political confrontations remain in Asia strongly. The relations between imperialism and colonies are also an unended task, as is shown by Japanese export control due to past affairs at present. In 21st century, Asia is called 'powder keg', because an armament race between states such as Japan, China, North Korea and India is growing, and the hegemonic competition between Japan and China is serious. And besides, Asia is the continent whose economic polarization is the largest. These conditions disrupt the formation of regional community. In these conditions, the Korean peninsula cannot keep peace even if a peace treaty will be signed.

Nevertheless, the anticipation is strong that Peace of the Korean peninsula contribute to change the situation of Asian peace. Makino Agi, who is a Japanese scholar, describes Ahn as the "pioneer in conception of new East Asian community". Scholars of Korea, Japan, and China seek wisdom from Ahn's grand vision in order to establish an Asian regional 'economic security community' on the peace system of the Korean Peninsula,

According to their opinions, first, East Asia can be connected geographically if the tension and conflicts among North- and South Korea are resolved. The geographical connection facilitates the propulsion of the economic cooperation. The economic cooperation is easier relatively than agreements for political diplomacy or military security. The economic cooperation is an aim of 'intercontinental railroad business' planned by Korea's current government.

Second, Korea's participation government brought up the 'mediator role of Korea in Northeast Asia' in 2005. This suggestion paid attention to the hegemonic competition between Japan and China. It never meant 'the theory of balance of power' through military power. It meant 'role to promote peace' that puts focus on negotiation and arbitration between nations.²⁰⁾ In the near future, cooperation among North- and South Korea can contribute to establish an 'East Asian community', while playing mediator role between conflicts of China and Japan and of China and US.

Third, Korea should contribute to build 'the right to peace.' The right to peace is the concept to link peace and human rights. It is used in various terms as "the right to live in peace" (*Asian Human Rights Charter*, Nr.4.1) and as "the Right of Peoples to Peace" (UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the right of people to peace*, Nr.2). The Right to peace includes meaning 'the right to solidarity of all people' and therefore that rights are in both, individuals and (nation) groups.²¹⁾

The security of human rights is urgent in Asia because the power of Asian states is abnormally large due to political, economical and military competition. There is only one for Asian Human Rights. That is 'Asian Human Rights Commission' founded in 1986. But this NGO organization has no real binding force to enforce basic human rights standards. So, to establishment of an Asian common norm and legal order based on the value of 'the right to peace' is a necessary task.

These tasks will lay the foundation of Asian peace, especially in the face of a new form of war, trade war. In addition, those tasks will be way to essentially resolve the problem of refugee and immigrants becoming more and more a main issue in Asia in 21st century. Humanitarian policy of host states is indubitably important, but it can not be the essential solution of that issue caused by the problems of the international economy, politics and wars. People won't leave the hometown at the risk of their lives if they can live in peace. Ahn Junggeun's "Peace in East" and Paul VI's 'balanced development between states' are important signposts today for Asian peacemaking project.

20) 이재봉(2011), 「20세기의 동양평화론과 21세기의 동아시아 공동체론」, 『평화학 연구』(Journal of peace studies), (제12권 제1호), 세계평화통일학회. p.21-22.

21) 이경주(2014), 『평화권의 이해』, 서울: 사회평론. p.22.

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