

Handbook for
The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall

Jeju 4·3 at a Glance

The Timeline of Jeju4.3

- Nationwide
- Jeju

08/15/1945 Korea is liberated from the Japanese rule; Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence is launched.

09/08/1945 XXIV Corps (24th Corps) under the U.S. Army Pacific Command lands in Incheon.

09/09/1945 Japanese Forces in Korea signs the Instrument of Surrender; the US military government declares the enforcement of military rule in South Korea.

09/28/1945 Japanese 58th Army stationed on Jeju Island signs surrender documents

12/16-27/1945 Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers is held. Decisions are made on the establishment of a provisional democratic government and a five-year trusteeship.

02/06/1946 US-USSR Joint Commission is formed.

08/01/1946 Jeju becomes a province of its own.

10/01/1946 The 9th Regiment of the Korean Constabulary Army is founded in Moseulpo.

11/16/1946 October Uprising occurs in Daegu.

11/23/1946 Workers' Party of South Korea (Namrodang) is formed by the merger of three leftist parties.

03/10/1947 About 1,000 high school students in Jeju launch an anti-American protest, boycotting American snacks.

03/12/1947 The March 1st Independence Movement Day event is held at Jeju North Elementary School with about 30,000 attendees. Six were killed by police fire after the demonstration, and eight were seriously injured.

03/14/1947 A total of 41,211 people and 168 organizations join the strike by March 13.

03/17/1947 Truman Doctrine is announced; the Cold War begins between the United States and the Soviet Union.

06/06/1947 Chough Pyung-ok, director of the Korean National Police under the US military government, orders the arrest of the leaders of the strike.

09/17/1947 Eight are injured by members of the strike.

01/08/1948 The 2nd US-Soviet Joint Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) visits Korea.

01/22/1948 Three police officers are beaten by young men in Jongdal-ri, aka the June 6th Incident. (Commander Kim Jung-ho, a Jocheon Middle School student is tortured to death at Moseulpo Police Substation)

01/25/1948 Police raids the convention of the Workers' Party of South Korea, arresting 106 people, who confessed their plans to riot.

02/07/1948 UNTCOK insists on unification through negotiation between the North and the South after the US and Soviet forces retreat, while Rhee Syngman demanded a unilateral election in the South.

03/01/1948 Leftists oppose to holding an election to be held in the South.

03/06/1948 Commander Hodge announces a general election in the South and stage a nationwide general strike.

03/14/1948 Kim Yong-cheol, a Jocheon Middle School student is tortured to death at Moseulpo Police Substation

04/03/1948 Yang Eun-ha, a young man from Yeongsak-ri, is tortured to death at Moseulpo Police Substation

04/05/1948 Members of the Northwest Youth League and the United Young Men's Party launch the Arson Attack in Orai.

04/17/1948 The US military government establishes Jeju Emergency Security Command

04/28/1948 Military Governor Dean orders Lt. Col. Mansfield stationed in Jeju to secret inspection of Police Affairs.

04/29/1948 Peace talks begin between the 9th Regiment commander Lt. Col. Kim Ik-yeol and Kim Dal-sam.

05/01/1948 Military Governor Dean orders Lt. Col. Mansfield stationed in Jeju to secret inspection of Police Affairs.

05/05/1948 Military Governor Dean orders Lt. Col. Mansfield stationed in Jeju to secret inspection of Police Affairs.

05/06/1948 Military Governor Dean orders Lt. Col. Mansfield stationed in Jeju to secret inspection of Police Affairs.

05/10/1948 Military Governor Dean orders Lt. Col. Mansfield stationed in Jeju to secret inspection of Police Affairs.

05/15/1948 The 9th Regiment Commander Kimik-yeol is fired, succeeded by Lt. Col. Park Jin-kyeong.

05/20/1948 The 11th Regiment founded in Suwon is relocated to Jeju.

06/18/1948 Commander Hodge appoints Colonel Brown as commander-in-chief of the Jeju area

06/18/1948 Commander Hodge appoints Colonel Brown as commander-in-chief of the Jeju area

08/15/1948 The establishment of the government of the Republic of Korea is promulgated.

08/24/1948 Under the ROK-US military agreement, the authority to command the Korean army becomes vested in the U.S. military.

09/09/1948 Re-election of the National Assembly in Jeju fails, despite Col. Brown's assurance of its success.

10/11/1948 Jeju Garrison Command is established (Commander Kim Sang-gyeom)

10/17/1948 The 9th Regiment Commander Song Yo-chan announces a decree, authorizing the shooting of anyone found in regions beyond five kilometers from the Jeju coastline.

10/19/1948 The Yeosu-Suncheon rebellion breaks out.

11/17/1948 President Rhee Syngman proclaims martial law in Jeju and launches a cleansing operation in the mid-mountainous villages.

12/03-27/1948 Primary courts-martial are held 12 times, and 871 people are found guilty.

12/31/1948 The 9th Regiment, stationed in Jeju, is replaced by the 2nd Regiment (commander Lt. Col. Ham Byeong-seon)

01/17/1949 Martial law is lifted.

03/02/1949 Mass killing occurs in Bukchon Village.

06/07/1949 Jeju Area Combat Command is installed (Commander Yu Jae-heung)

06/23-09/70/1949 Guerrilla combat Command Lee Duk-woo dies.

06/26/1949 Secondary courts-martial are held 10 times, and 1,659 are found guilty.

10/02/1949 A total of 249 people who are sentenced to death by courts-martial in 1949 are shot and buried secretly near Jeju Airport.

06/25/1950 The Korean War begins. Those who are jailed or in preventive custody are slaughtered.

07/16/1950 The 1st Army Training Center is established in Moseulpo.

07/27/1953 The Korean War Armistice Agreement is signed.

09/21/1954 The standstill order on Mt. Halla is lifted.



“

Kim Seok-beom, author of *Volcanic Island*, an epic novel about the Jeju April 3 Incident (hereinafter Jeju 4·3), said earlier, “There is no history in the place where memories have been destroyed. Where there is no history, there is no human. A human being who lost his or her memory is no different from a corpse. For over half a century, Jeju 4·3 whose memory was obliterated did not exist in the history of Korea. It was something that could not be spoken of, something that those who knew shouldn’t be known. I call it the ‘suicide of memory.’ The terrified people of Jeju themselves have destroyed their own memories of the incident, driving them into oblivion.”

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall is an ark that prevents the “suicide of memory” and serves as a “repository of historic memory.” Passing down the intact memories of April 3rd is the true defense of the existential value of human beings.

”

CONTENTS

Into the Cave of History

Facing *Baekbi*, a Blank Monument • 5

A Faltering Island –Freedom and Frustration

Liberation, Striking the Island like Lightning • 6
 The US Military Government’s Administration Begins • 6
 Jeju, a Self-Governing Island • 8
 Shooting on March 1, the Incident that Triggered Jeju 4·3 • 10
 People and the Government Fight Back through a General Strike • 11
 The Beginning of the US Army Military Government’s Suppression • 13

A Windy Island –Armed Insurrection and the Refusal to Division

April 3, 1948, “Uprising in Return for Oppression” • 15
 April 28 Peace Talks and the Arson Attack in Ora-ri • 17
 The Only Rejected Ballots of the May 10 Election • 18
 Colonel Brown Is Appointed Commander-in-Chief • 22
 The June 23 Re-election Founders • 23

A Burning Island – Scorched and Slaughtered

The Wind of Frenzy Sweeps the Island • 25
 Behind the Scorched Island Lies the US Military Leadership • 27
 People Taken to Mainland Prisons • 34
 Another Massacre Brought on by a War • 35

The Flowing Island – Aftereffects and the Movement for Truth

Unending Suffering, Tabooed History • 37
 Tough Path of Finding the Truth • 38
 Bringing Jeju 4·3 onto the Stage of History! The Enactment of the Special Act • 39

Reborn as an Island of Peace

The President’s Apology and Designation of a National Memorial Day • 41
 Reconciliation Campaign, a Model for Historical Settlement • 42
 Justice Moving Forward! The Enactment of the Special Act • 43
 The Remaining Story • 45

Handbook for
The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall

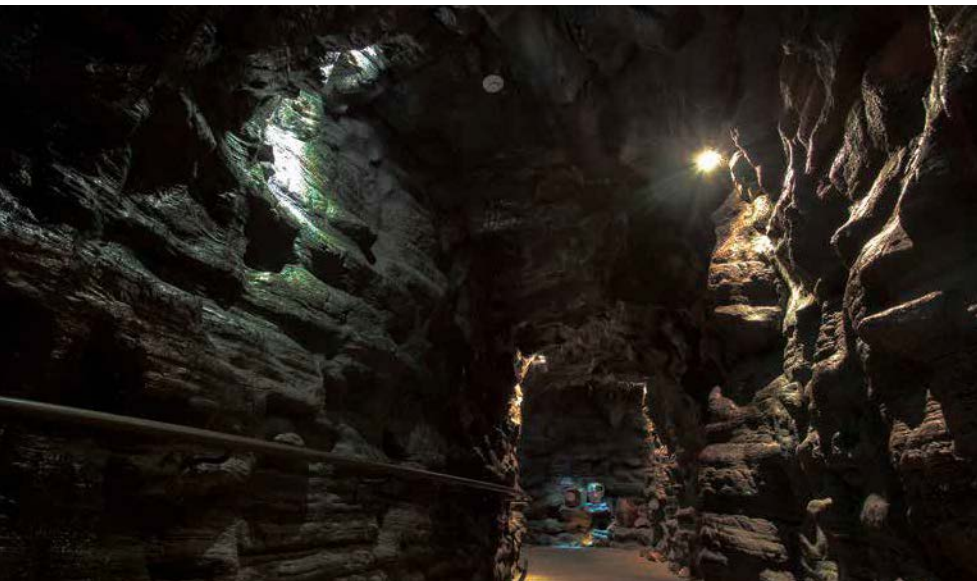
Jeju 4·3 at a Glance

 제주 4·3 평화재단
JEJU 4·3 PEACE FOUNDATION

Strolling through the Cave of History

Jeju is a beautiful island. It is the world's only recipient of the UNESCO's Triple Crown in natural science, boasting of stunning and exceptional landscapes.

What lies behind the splendid scenery, however, is a history studded with resentment and sorrow. About 70 years ago after Korea was finally liberated from the Japanese rule, the people of Jeju went out of their way to prevent the division of the country into North and South, and suffered a cruel tragedy. The truth about the dreadful incident has been concealed for half a century as if it had never happened. Surrounded by sea, the isolated island was once a huge prison and massacre site, but it was also a forbidden island, where the truth of its history could not be told for a long time afterward. Yet even under pressure, the Jeju people's struggle to reveal the truth continued. The Jeju 4·3 Peace Park, located in Bonggae-dong, Jeju City, is the ultimate fruit of the struggle. The park's main facility, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall, is in the shape of a bowl to symbolize the fact that it contains the truth about Jeju 4·3 that has long been tabooed. A permanent exhibition hall in the first basement has been designed to provide the history of Jeju 4·3



The Cave of History. It is the gateway into the history of Jeju 4·3.



The Blank Monument. A monument awaiting its rightful name of Jeju 4·3.

at a glance.

Facing Baekbi, a Blank Monument

The first encounter with Jeju 4·3 begins in the cave of history. The long sloping tunnel on the first floor is a reproduction of a lava cave, which can be spotted at every turn around Jeju Island. As a volcanic island, Jeju has many caves. During Jeju 4·3, many Jeju people climbed mountains or hid in caves, but they were eventually found and killed by troops on punitive expeditions. Through this cave, we delve into the history of Jeju 4·3, which occurred over seven decades ago.

Past the tunnel, we come to Baekbi. It is a gravestone that has not been engraved. Baek in Korean can refer to the color white, but here it means empty. Baekbi is a gravestone with no names. It is waiting for the rightful name that clearly defines Jeju 4·3.

“Different words have been used to describe Jeju 4·3, such as ‘insurrection, uprising, riot, event, and incident,’ none of which is the right historical name for what happened. On the day the divided country becomes unified, when the North and South become one, the true name for 4·3 will be engraved on the stone.”

A Faltering Island –Freedom and Frustration

Liberation, Striking the Island Like Lightning

On August 15, 1945, liberation arrived! Once Korea was freed from the Japanese colonial rule, there was a growing public desire to build a better society and a self-reliant, independent nation on the Korean Peninsula. However, the joy of liberation and the hope for a new world came like a bolt of lightning and vanished like a transient dream. The day of liberation was, ironically, also the day the Korean Peninsula was divided at the 38th parallel, which caused much pain to the people of Korea.

Although the struggle for independence was strong both at home and abroad, Korea's liberation was the result of the Allies' victory in World War II, which enfeebled the nation's own right to make decisions. The unwanted division began as the US and the Soviet armies stationed themselves in the South and the North, separated by the 38th parallel, under the pretext of disarming the Japanese forces.

The US Military Government's Administration Begins

On September 7, 1945, the US military came to the Korean Peninsula, announcing General MacArthur's Proclamation No. 1, which read, "...the victorious military forces of my command will today occupy the territory of



Thrill of Liberation Independence activists who were incarcerated in the Seodaemun Prison are shouting hurrah as they are released after liberation.



The 38th Parallel Division This line was drawn unilaterally by the United States and the Soviet Union.



"Everything that we've done to prepare for the war for all those years through all sorts of hardships and privations has been in vain after all....Now that the Japanese enemies surrendered before we executed any of those plans, what a waste of effort we have made to this day! I am concerned about what might lie ahead."

– Kim Gu, from the *Journal of Baekbum*

Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude." On September 9, the Japan signed the Instrument of Surrender in the Japanese General Government Building in Seoul, and the Japanese flag was lowered. Yet what took its place was not Taegeukgi, the Korean flag, but the Stars and Stripes. The Japanese army withdrew, and the US troops had replaced them.

At the time of liberation, there were about 70,000 Japanese soldiers stationed in



Replacing the flag of the occupying forces The flag of the defeated Japanese Empire is lowered and that of American troops stationed in Korea is hoisted up at the Japanese General Government Building in Seoul.



Estimation of the US military's route of attack against Japan The US Army had formed a plan to occupy Jeju Island.

Jeju. In June 1945, when the island of Okinawa fell to US forces with huge casualties of over 200,000, including 120,000 civilians, the Japanese army fortified Jeju Island with a large troop as its last resort to prevent US troops from landing on the Japanese mainland. The Japanese army even planned an operation to hide in the dense forests of Mt. Halla and wage a full-scale battle until the last minute, in case the US forces were to land on the island. But the war ended earlier, and Jeju barely avoided a “second Battle of Okinawa.”

On September 28, the US Army held a separate signing ceremony for Japanese surrender on Jeju Island. This was because they noted the island's

military strategic value. On November 9, the 59th Military Government Company (led by Major Thurman A. Stout, company commander), which was in charge of the military administration, arrived on Jeju Island. The US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) continued the colonial rule in South Korea, and hired government officials and police officers who had served under the Japanese rule. As a result, pro-Japanese collaborators once again gained the upper hand, which unnerved the public.

Jeju, a Self-governing Island

After Korea's liberation from the Japanese rule, a throng of young people from Jeju who had been taken to Japan's factories and battlefields returned home. Over 60,000 youths, more than one-fourth of the entire population of Jeju, came home during just one year. Those who had personally experienced ethnic discrimination were eager to establish an independent nation.

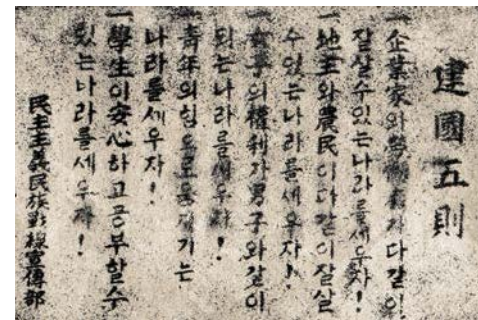
Immediately upon their return, they engaged in self-governing and educational activities. The movement for self-governance was expressed by the formation of a preparation committee for the founding of a nation and the ensuing activities of the People's Committee. The term “people's committee” could be perceived as a leftist

group nowadays, but that was not the case in those days. It had a much stronger influence than the present-day resident committees, and especially the People's Committee of Jeju maintained a good relationship with the US Military Government Company stationed in Jeju.

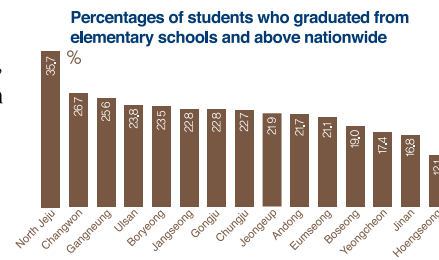
Under the slogan “We must learn,” Jeju residents' voluntary education movement spread like wildfire; towns and villages raced to build schools. The US military government's study on the education level of each South Korean region conducted in 1947 showed that North Jeju County—present-day Jeju City—surprisingly ranked first in the nation.

Japan had a big influence on this fervor for education. In the 1920s, heavy industry began to grow in and around Osaka, requiring new workers. Japan launched a ferry that regularly traveled between Jeju Island and Osaka, attracting 50,000 young adults and middle aged people from Jeju to the Japanese labor market.

Having worked in Japan amidst all kinds of ethnic discrimination and hardships, the people of Jeju realized the importance of education and brought their brothers and sons to Japan for education. They harbored a strong will for independence and grew into intellectuals, who later joined the anti-Japanese movement. After liberation, these anti-Japanese activists led the People's Committee of Jeju, which were supported by the public, engaging both rightists and leftists, except for those who were conspicuously pro-Japanese. Unlike other central or regional committees, which had been led by the leftists, the People's Committee of Jeju lasted the longest in the nation, as it promoted moderate policies on its own. However, its close relationship with the US military government began to crack in 1947 when the March 1st Independence Movement Day shooting took place.



The Democratic National Front's Five Codes of the Founding of a Nation



[Comparison Chart of Jeju Education - Data from the Public Opinion Bureau, USAMGIK, Feb. 1947]

Shooting on March 1, the Incident that Triggered Jeju 4·3



Shooting Kang Yobae. The police aiming at the crowd.

The Special Act on Jeju 4·3 stipulates that Jeju 4·3 began with the shooting on March 1, 1947. The reason March 1, 1947, is considered the starting point of Jeju 4·3 instead of April 3, 1948, stems from the recognition that the US military government's suppression, which continued after the police's shooting at the March 1st Independence Movement Day, was the main cause of Jeju 4·3. The people of Korea shouted hurrah at liberation in 1945, but eventually realized that they didn't really have their country back even after two years. Instead, what they had was USAMGIK south of 38 degrees north latitude. The establishment of a united, independent

government on the Korean Peninsula seemed to grow farther away, as signs of the Cold War appeared between the United States and the Soviet Union. Hoping to gain their country back in their own control, in 1947, people across the country took to the streets on the March 1st Independence Movement Day to protest. The whole nation was united under the slogan "Let's Achieve United Independence!"

Jeju Island was no exception. The 28th anniversary celebration of the Independence Movement Day was held at Jeju North Elementary School, drawing a crowd of some 30,000 people. People were excited, saying, "this is the largest crowd gathered in one place since the dawn of Tamna (an old name for Jeju)."

After the ceremony, some of the young people began a street protest. Around 2:45 p.m., as the protesters passed the Gwandeokjeong Square



Murdered Kang Yobae. The death of a woman holding her newborn baby.



Those who were shot were spectators." Gov. Park Gyeong-hun's account of the shootings

"It's true that the shooting incident occurred after the protesters passed the police station and that the victims of the shooting were spectators rather than protesters."

- *Independence News*, April 5, 1947.

where Jeju Police Station was located, a gunshot rang out. A child had been hit by a mounted policeman, who nonetheless ignored the incident and tried to leave the scene. Spectators who witnessed the accident protested against the policeman's actions by throwing stones at the mounted police, and immediately bullets flew into the crowd.

The police fire killed six civilians, including a woman holding a baby, an elementary school student, and a farmer in his 40s, and injured eight. The autopsy results also confirmed that five of the six who died had bullets in their backs. The police had fired indiscriminately at the fleeing crowd.

However, rather than apologizing for the incident, the US military government and the police insisted that they had acted in self-defense and began to arrest the leaders of the street demonstration. There were rumors that the people who were taken were tortured. The anger of the people of Jeju was growing.

People and the Government Fight Back through a General Strike

The public outrage against USAMGIK and the police manifested as a general strike. On March 10, 1947, a globally unprecedented general strike of the people and government offices began. The strike started from Jeju Provincial Government Office and spread to other government institutions including courthouses and the prosecutors' office, transportation companies, communication agencies, financial institutions, and schools. Stores were closed. A total of 166 institutions and organizations and 41,211 people were found to have participated in the strike. The Jeju shinbo launched a fund raising campaign to help the bereaved families of the victims of the March 1 shootings.

Even 66 police officers native to Jeju joined the strike. The shots had not fired by the Jeju police but by the police reserves from mainland assigned to Jeju a week earlier. The supporting squad, which was unfamiliar with the situation in Jeju, had



General Strike at Gwandeokjeong Square Kang Yobae.

overreacted in the shooting due to their unstable psychological condition, and the US military was aware of it.

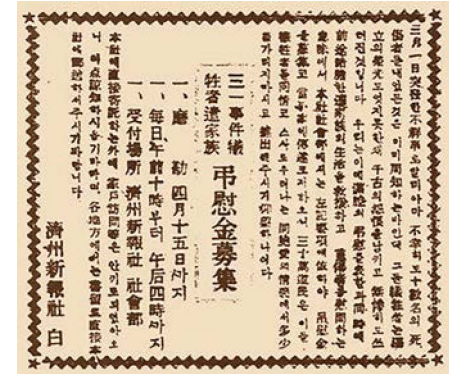
The US military intelligence report described the police reserves as “those who have long been unable to forget that their fellow police officers were brutally assaulted by leftist mobs in the fall of 1946 (October Uprising in Daegu).” The police squad in such unstable psychological state was dispatched to Jeju and ended up causing a problem.

Jeju Provincial Government Officials’ Demands

- 1) Immediately disarm the police and abolish torture to fully establish democratic police.
- 2) Immediately punish those responsible for issuing the order to fire and the firing officers.
- 3) The police chief executives must take responsibility and resign.
- 4) Secure livelihoods of the victims' families and the injured.
- 5) Do not arrest patriotic figures related to the March 1 incident.
- 6) Do not carry on the activities inherited from the Japanese police.

- Jeju shinbo, March 12, 1947.

The US military report also noted that “both left and right wing members are participating in the general strike,” and analyzed that “the residents’ animosity triggered by the policeshooting was intensified by the Jeju chapter of the Workers’ Party of South Korea (Namrodang).” Nevertheless, rather than trying to handle the public unrest, the US military government looked at the people of Jeju with prejudice and distrust. They began to see Jeju Island as “Red Island.”



Fundraising announcement for the bereaved families of the victims of the March 1 incident Jeju shinbo, March 10, 1947.

The Beginning of the US Army Military Government's Suppression

The US Armed Forces’ investigation team (led by Colonel James A. Casteel) that came to the scene of the March 1 shootings was withdrawn. Instead, Chough Pyung-ok, the chief of the Korean Department of Police Affairs under the US military government, stepped to the fore on March 14. Upon arriving on Jeju with a police reserve unit of 421 officers, he issued an order to apprehend the leaders of the strike. At that time, Lee Gyeong-jin, deputy manager of the Department of Police Affairs, declared that “90 percent of Jeju residents lean left,” driving the situation into an ideological frame.

In just two days, 200 people were hauled into the police station. Within a year, 2,500 people were detained until just before Jeju 4-3 occurred in 1948. The US military inspection report recorded that 35 people were confined in a small jail cell of 3.3 pyeong, or 11 square meters, due to a sweeping roundup. The prisoners couldn’t even sit while jailed.

In the process of handling the incident, USAMGIK replaced executive officials, including the Jeju military governor, the provincial governor, and the police chief, with ultra-rightists. They set out to scour public offices and educational circles and purge those who had taken part in the general strike. The 66 police officers who joined the strike were also fired.

The members of the Northwest Youth League (NYL), a far-right paramilitary youth organization, streamed into Jeju Island, using violence against Jeju residents



"My second son, daughter-in-law, and eldest son were all arrested before my eyes. They all told me not to worry as they were taken away but none of them came home. My throat still bleeds whenever sorrow fills my heart. The entire incident is so unjust that I can't close my eyes before I see my son again, even if it takes hundreds of years. I can't die."

— Testimony of the late Yun Hee-cheon, mother of Yang Eun-ha who was tortured to death.

and began to take over the police, administrative offices, and educational institutions. The NYL stirred up public sentiment by habitually terrorizing people under the guise of "hunting communists."

The new Jeju governor Yu Hae-jin, appointed by USAMGIK, was such a blindly biased figure that the US military report described him as "an extreme rightist." When he arrived in Jeju, he brought seven members of the Northwest Youth League with him as his guards.

By August 1947, the suppression of the US military government became even more severe. From then, many young people left for mainland or Japan to avoid arrest, and some found shelter in caves on Mt. Halla.

In March 1948, three cases of torture led to death, further arousing public outrage. Kim Yong-cheol, a Jocheon Middle School student, and Yang Eun-ha, a young man from a village of Youngnak-ri, Daejeong-myeon, were tortured to death by the police. At the end of March, Park Haeng-gu from Geumneung-ri, Hallim-myeon, was assaulted and shot to death by a NYL member.

In February 1948, the United Nation's decision to hold elections in the regions possible on the Korean Peninsula threw the whole country into commotion. This was because it meant only South Korea would hold the election. South Korea

loudly voiced opposition to the US military government's policy to hold general elections only south of the 38th parallel.

"We shall not have a divided country," shouted the national leaders including Kim Gu and



Crowded jail A replica of the jail cell installed in the permanent exhibition room of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall.

Kim Gyu-sik. Twenty-six police substations in North Jeolla Province were attacked on February 26, and ten in South Jeolla Province on March 1. This kind of unrest spread to Gyeongsang provinces. The public opinion in Jeju also leaned against the division.



Northwest Youth League Their terrorist acts under the pretext of the "communist hunt" was a factor in the outbreak of Jeju 4·3.

A Windy Island— Armed Insurrection and the Refusal to Division

April 3, 1948, "Uprising in Return for Oppression"

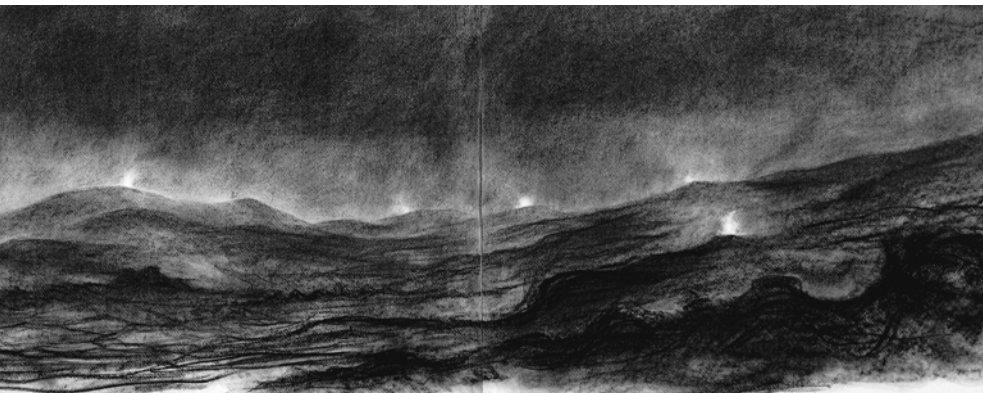
In the early morning of April 3, 1948, 350 guerrilla fighters of the Jeju chapter of the Workers' Party of South Korea launched an armed insurrection by attacking 12 police substations and right wing groups on Jeju Island.

They put up a slogan: "We resist oppression and oppose the May 10 election that hampers the establishment of a unified country."

Armed Struggle. The decision was made by a 12 to 7 vote.

"As the oppression continued, 19 people, including the head of the Jeju chapter of the Workers' Party of South Korea and the leaders of each myeon (township) branch, gathered in Sinchon, Jocheon-myeon, in late February 1948 to hold a meeting to discuss measures. Kim Dal-sam, the then-head of organization in the Jeju chapter of the Workers' Party, suggested an armed struggle. There was a heated debate between the cautious members who said it was premature and the hawkish hardliners who wanted push ahead with the armed struggle. Eventually they decided to engage in armed struggle by the vote of 12 to 7. "We originally targeted the bad police officers and the Northwest Youth League, not the Korean constabulary army or the US military. It never occurred to us that the US military would respond to our attacks or that the fight would be protracted. We failed to grasp the situation clearly."

— Testimony of Lee Sam-ryong (Tokyo, deceased), former political committee member of the Jeju chapter of the Workers' Party of South Korea.



Beacon Fire Kang Yobae. An artwork representing the dawn of the armed insurrection.

In the early stages of the struggle, USAMGIK regarded it as a “law and order situation,” as it had experienced frequent armed protests on the mainland. Therefore, it tried to send the police reserves back to Jeju Island to stop the armed struggle. Five hundred members of the NYL were also dispatched. However, the situation in Jeju worsened rather than improved.

On April 17, Military Governor Major General William F. Dean ordered Lieutenant Colonel John Mansfield, commander of 59th Military Government Company in Jeju, to deploy the soldiers of the Korean constabulary army in the suppression operation. In addition to the 9th Regiment already stationed in Jeju, the 5th Regiment was dispatched from Busan. Two US military reconnaissance aircraft were sent to Jeju Island.



Military governor Major General Dean (left) and Lieutenant Colonel Mansfield, commander of the 59th Military Government Company in Jeju

Maj. Gen. Dean ordered Lt. Col. Mansfield to take command of all suppression operations, while instructing him to contact the guerrilla leaders to negotiate.

Accordingly, Mansfield instructed Lieutenant Colonel Kim Ik-ryeol of 9th Regiment to contact the guerrilla leaders.



Kim Dal-sam and Kim Ik-ryeol (from the left). The key players of the peace talks.

April 28 Peace Talks and the Arson Attack in Ora-ri

On April 22, Lt. Col. Kim Ik-ryeol distributed leaflets suggesting peace talks throughout Mt. Halla from US military reconnaissance aircraft. Finally on April 28, Kim Ik-ryeol, met with Kim Dal-sam, the leader of the armed guerrillas, in the mid-mountainous region in Daejeong-myeon. Their negotiations made progress, with a promise that the guerrilla fighters would disarm.

However, toward the end of April, there were looming signs of USAMGIK's crackdown operation becoming tougher. On April 27, Colonel Rothwell Brown, 20th Regiment commander in Gwangju, and Lieutenant Colonel Marion W. Schewe, operation staff of the 24th Army Corps, came to Jeju Island to review the situation. On April 29, Military Governor Dean and Major General Orlando Ward, the 6th Division commander, toured and inspected Jeju.

At such a fragile time, an arson attack occurred in Ora-ri, bringing the peace process to a halt. On May 1, in broad daylight, unidentified young men broke in

Investigative Report on the Ora-ri Arson Attack

Our 4-3 Reporting Team traveled through the village of Ora-ri to find out the truth about the arson incident. While interviewing about 30 residents, we finally got to meet one of the arsonists named by the residents. He had been a member of the United Young Men's Party. He denied his involvement in the arson attack at first but eventually confessed to it. He said that members of the Northwest Youth League and the United Young Men's Party went to Ora-ri on a police truck and set fire. Two days after the fires, he was arrested by the 9th Regiment investigation team and was locked up in the detention barrack in the regimental headquarters in Moseulpo. According to him, he was released by Lieutenant General Park Jin-kyeong, the new commander of the 9th Regiment who succeeded Lt. Col. Kim Ik-ryeol. He later became a police officer. It meant that the arsonists who set the village on fire later became police officers and ferociously participated in punitive search-and-destroy operations.

– Yang Jo-hun, an excerpt from April 3rd, *In Search of Its Truth*



Ora-ri in Flames. It turned out to be an arson attack by right-wing groups.

and set fires from house to house in Ora-ri, which was close to downtown Jeju-eup (present-day Jeju City).

Two things about the incident were suspect: the identities of the young men who set the fires, and the fact that the US Combat Camera Team filmed the fires from both air and ground as if they were prepared for the incident, and used the footage to make a propaganda documentary film

titled *May Day in Cheju-do*.

Over the identity of arson suspects, Lt. Col. Kim Ik-ryeol and guerrilla leader Kim Dal-sam argued that the arson attack was a premeditated ploy to impede the peace talks,” while the US Army and the police claimed that it was the “handiwork of rioters.” Unfortunately, the truth was buried in history.

Over 40 years after the incident, however, the arsonists were found to be the members of the right wing youth group supported by the police, according to a detailed investigation by the Jemin Ilbo's 4:3 Reporting Team. Then why on earth did the US Armed Forces label the attack as the “handiwork of rioters” and even make a movie out of it?

On May 3, two days after the arson attack, the US military government ordered the Korean constabulary army to “carry out a full-scale attack on the armed guerrillas.” They chose suppression by force instead of a peaceful resolution.



Military Governor Dean and the USAMGIK leadership visit Jeju Island

The Only Rejected Ballots of the May 10 Election

On May 5, 1948, Military Governor Dean convened a secret meeting with the military and police leaders in Korea including



Residents running away to the mountains A photo taken by the US military on May 15, 1948.

Minister of Civil Affairs Ahn Jae-hong, Chief of the Department of Police Affairs Chough Pyung-ok, and the Korean constabulary army commander Song Ho-seong. A total of nine people attended the meeting, including Lt. Col. Mansfield, 59th Military Government Company commander in Jeju, Jeju Governor Yu Hae-jin, 9th Regiment commander Lt. Col. Kim Ik-ryeol, Jeju Police Inspection Office Director Choi Cheon, and Military Governor Dean's interpreter.

At the meeting, Chough Pyung-ok insisted on a hardline operation, arguing that the April 3 incident was a premeditated international communist insurgency. However, Kim Ik-ryeol, analyzed that the increase in the number of those hiding out in the mountains was due to the police failure, stressing that they need a more moderate strategy combining suppression and pacification. Lt. Gen. Dean fired Kim Ik-ryeol the next day, who had been working on a peaceful resolution, and



May 10 for Jeju Residents Kang Yobae. An artwork installed in the permanent exhibition room, Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall.

appointed Lt. Col. Park Jin-kyeong, as Kim's successor. It was a personnel move for the hardline repression operation.

In the run-up to the election on May 10, 1948, which was only to be held in South Korea, the entire nation was in a state of chaos. The situation on Jeju Island was even more serious, as residents objected to the election and joined the guerrillas in the mountains, and election officials resigned. USAMGIK actively urged its staff to manage the election by dispatching US military officers to carry ballot boxes from Seoul to Jeju Island.

The electoral system in those days validated votes only when the polling rate exceeded 50 percent. However, the voter turnouts in Jeju fell short of the requirement, with only 43 percent voter turnout in North Jeju-gun District A and 46.5 percent in North Jeju-gun District B. In other words, the ballots from these two Jeju districts, out of 200 districts nationwide, were invalidated. In the end, Jeju became the only area in South Korea that refused the May 10 election arranged by USAMGIK.

Colonel Brown Is Appointed Commander-in-Chief

Shocked by the election results, the US military government launched full-scale



Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge and Col. Brown, who was appointed the commander-in-chief of Jeju

countermeasures. The military destroyer USS Craig was deployed to the coast of Jeju, and the size of the Korean constabulary army and the police forces were greatly expanded. The 11th Regiment established in Suwon, was sent to Jeju on May 15. A battalion of the 6th Regiment in Daegu was sent back to Jeju Island. On May 18, 450 police reserve officers were also dispatched.



Commodore William M. Roberts, advisor for the Department of Internal Security, and the Korean constabulary army officials

Lt. Gen. Hodge, the commander of the US armed forces in Korea, appointed Col. Brown, the commander of the Gwangju combat unit, as the commander-in-chief of Jeju on May 20. It was unprecedented to send a high-ranking US military officer as a combat commander in order to prevent unrest in the area under the US military rule. Brown had the authority to command and control all forces stationed in Jeju including the Korean constabulary army, the coast guard, and the police as well as US military advisors.

In the meantime, much concern was being voiced in Seoul and other regions about the situation in Jeju. "Public rage erupted because of the suppression, therefore handling the cause should come first." These statements were issued by all levels of society, but Brown took no heed of the public opinion. Rather, he held a press conference and said, "I believe the situation will be subjugated in about two weeks if things go as I planned." Brown showed a hardline stance, adding, "I'm not interested in the cause. My mission is to quell it."

The US military government announced that Jeju Island would carry out a re-election of the Constitutional Assembly legislators on June 23, 1948. Commodore Roberts, advisor for the Department of Internal Security, also came to Jeju to push forward the suppression operation. To enforce the re-election, Brown carried out the "operation sweeping all the way from the west to the east of Jeju Island" that he had avowed.

The June 23 Re-election Founders

Col. Brown's indiscriminate sweep operation resulted in severe adverse effects, as he rounded up young people ostensibly for obstructing the election, regardless

of whether they were guilty or not. In response, every village posted a lookout. The lookouts sent a signal whenever soldiers or police officers approached, allowing the young men of the village to run for dear life. Those who were caught were taken away. The Department of Internal Security announced that the sweep operation brought in 3,126 people by May 27, 1948. Yet the firearms that they had seized were only three Japanese type-99 rifles.

The US military report released shortly after recorded that the number of arrests from May 22 to May 30 amounted to over 5,000. A newspaper issued on June 12 read, “About 6,000 people have been arrested by the police and the constabulary army,” indicating the number was on the rise.

Those arrested were placed in a tent temporarily set up on the grounds of Jeju Agricultural School. The following certificate of release clearly shows the utter recklessness of this arrest operation.

Regiment Commander Park Jin-kyeong faithfully carried out Col. Brown's instructions for reckless arrests. As a result, he was promoted to colonel just one month after he was appointed to the post. Then in the early morning of June 18, 1948, Park Jin-kyeong was shot and killed by a subordinate while he was asleep in his apartment after the promotion celebration. Everyone was shocked.

The June 23 re-election also failed despite the vigorous operation of USAMGIK. To the US military government, which had pushed for the election in South Korea, Jeju was an eyesore that rejected the US policy for the Korean Peninsula to the bitter end.

When the election held in South Korea was boycotted on Jeju, US military commanders in South Korea became infuriated. A *New York Times* article



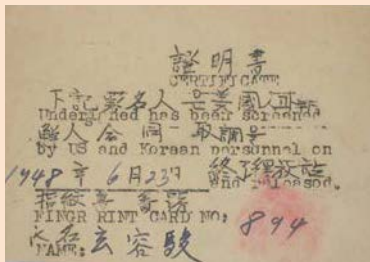
Jeju residents detained at the tent camp at Jeju Agricultural School

reporting on the sweeping operation against the island residents gave the world a glimpse of what had happened. A crucial factor in the forthcoming bloodshed can be found here, and at the core was the scorched-earth operation.

A Burning Island—Scorched and Slaughtered

Wind of Frenzy Sweeps the Island

The government of the Republic of Korea was born on August 15, 1948. On September 9, the North Korean regime named the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was also promulgated. Failing to achieve the historic task of establishing a unified nation, the North and the South each formed its own separate government, which solidified the division of the Korean Peninsula. The newly established Rhee Syngman administration disapproved the situation on Jeju Island, thinking that it was an obstacle to its legitimacy. On August 24, under the South Korea-US military safety provisional agreement, the US armed forces in Korea, which had the operational control of the South Korean military, also urged the government to



Certificate of release for a second-year middle school student. It reads,

“The undersigned has been screened by US and Korean personnel on June 23, 1948, and released.” It also says that this student was the 894th release after the June 23rd re-election foundered. The absurdity of this release certificate lies in the fact that Hyeon Yong-jun, the one

that is being released, was only a second-year student at Ohyun Middle School.

South Koreans Seek Truth About '48 Massacre

By IRVING K. FRISCH
MOONTS HALLA. South Korea, Oct. 24 — A 50-year-old man, Kim Hyung-Chow, has his own version of the truth about the 1948 massacre, and many South Koreans are waiting to see whether his story is true. Mr. Kim had been asked to testify at a trial with other witnesses as the massacre unfolded, but his testimony was not heard. He was the only one to see the bodies of the victims, and he was the only one to see the bodies of the victims, and he was the only one to see the bodies of the victims.



Students from Pusan Catholic University, visiting the site of the Jeju Massacre of 1948, instead on Kim Hyung-Chow described what he saw. South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity.

For many Koreans, especially those who have never lived on Jeju Island, or in the far south of the country, the massacre is a distant memory. But many Koreans are now trying to come to terms with the massacre, and they are trying to come to terms with the massacre, and they are trying to come to terms with the massacre.



Kim Hyung-Chow, 86, returned last week to the spot where he had watched helplessly in 1948 as soldiers ransacked much of his family.

South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity.

South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity. South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity. South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity.

South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity. South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity. South Korea's government is being urged to acknowledge the atrocity.

Jeju 4-3 covered by The New York Times
 On October 24, 2001, *The New York Times* published an article entitled "South Koreans Seek Truth About '48 Massacre," shortly after the South Korean government undertook the investigation into Jeju 4-3 after the Special Act was enacted. The *Times* reported that when the election in South Korea on May 10, 1948, was boycotted only on Jeju Island, "American commanders in Korea were furious, and after a series of incidents their South Korean counterparts embarked on a campaign to cleanse the island of supposed Communist agitators."

end the unrest in Jeju as soon as possible.
 The Jeju 4-3 massacre was forewarned as Song Yo-chan, commander of Korea's 9th Regiment,



The declaration of Regiment Commander Song Yo-chan
 "The armed forces declared prohibition of unauthorized passage in the mountainous areas and areas beyond five kilometers from the coastline during the military action after October 20 in order to wipe out unpatriotic extremists who lurk around Mt. Halla and carry out unpardonable atrocities against people. Anyone who violates this declaration will be recognized as an insurgent and shot to death regardless of the reason."

- Chosun Ilbo, Oct. 20, 1948.

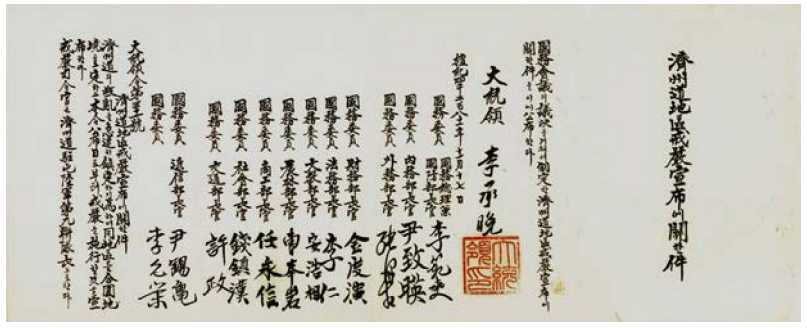
On October 19, some members of the 14th Regiment in Yeosu, which was ordered to go to Jeju Island, rebelled, saying, "We cannot kill fellow Koreans." The Yeosu-Suncheon rebellion, coupled with the martial law issued on Jeju Island on November 17, added fuel to the massacre in Jeju. Martial law was declared when there was no legislation on martial law.

The US military report recorded that the 9th Regiment "adopted a plan for the mass slaughter of villagers under the assumption that all the residents of the remote villages in the mid-mountainous regions are clearly providing assistance and convenience to the partisan units."

Behind the Scorched Island Lies the US Military Leadership

The cleansing operation in Jeju was carried out by the South Korean military,

followed the highest command and issued a declaration that anyone passing the mid-mountainous regions beyond five kilometers from the coastline would be deemed as an insurgent and shot to death on the spot. Topographically, Jeju had more than 100 villages in the mid-mountainous regions over five kilometers away from the coastline, with a population of tens of thousands. In this vast area, accounting for 80 percent of the total land area of Jeju Island, a "scorched-earth operation," which had been prohibited by international law, was executed. Mass shootings of unarmed civilians of all ages were carried out. Cattle, horses, pigs and other animals were also slaughtered for fear they would be food for the rioters. About 40,000 houses in the mid-mountainous villages were burned by the punitive forces. Literally, the whole island of Jeju was engulfed in flames.



President Rhee Syngman's declaration of martial law on Jeju Island (Nov. 17, 1948).



Heaven's Cry Kang Yobae. An artwork that represents the hellish scene of people forced to leave their village set on fire during the scorched-earth operation.



The US military advisor taking operational control. Captain Lerch is consulting with a guard officer.

but behind them was the US military leadership. The most prominent figure was Commodore Roberts, who took office as the head of the US Army Forces in Korea's provisional military advisory group in Korea after the South Korea-US agreement was signed in August 1948. Roberts was given operational control over the police as well as the South Korean military.

Chief Advisory Officer Roberts ordered the 5th Brigade advisor Captain Treadwell in Gwangju on October 9, 1948, that an immediate modification of the operation was needed in Jeju. After the directive was issued, the Jeju Garrison Command was established on October 11, followed by Commander Song Yo-chan's declaration on October 17.

In June of that year, it was Roberts who recommended Major Song Yo-chan to be the 11th Regiment commander in Jeju. He praised Song as "a strong and brave man and the best officer we have." The US Army Forces in Korea provided the necessary weapons and equipment for the suppression operation which was carried out on Jeju Island. Even after the South Korean government was established, the US military advisor's approval was required to issue any weapons or equipment.



Testimony of the military logistics manager of the 9th Regiment

"I worked with the director of logistics, Lieutenant Colonel Acton Kim, and the advisor, Major Marsh. Lt. Col. Kim didn't have the authority, and only when the advisor signed would weapons and equipment be issued. Once equipment was issued, it was shipped from Incheon to Mokpo, sometimes by boat and sometimes by train. Then it was finally delivered to Jeju. It was the same even after the South Korean government was established."

- Testimony of Kim Jeong-mu (discharged Brigadier General), logistics manager of the 9th Regiment

President Rhee Syngman's directives also show how much the US military was interested in the operation on Jeju Island. It is worth noting that at a Cabinet meeting on January 21, 1949, President Rhee ordered to "mercilessly crackdown on the situation on Jeju Island," adding that the suppressive measure was an aggressive effort to attract the US aid." Roberts sent an official letter to the Korean defense minister and the chief of staff on December 18, 1948, amidst the brutal cleansing operation on Jeju Island. In the letter, he wrote, "Commander Song has exerted remarkable command abilities. Please issue a presidential statement to publicize this." In three days, Chief of Staff Chae Pyong-dok replied to this letter, saying "We promise to confer a medal on Song."



Chief of Staff Chae Pyong-dok and company on tour inspection of Jeju Island



Letter from Chief Advisory Officer Roberts to the Korean Defense Minister, etc.

"Colonel Song Yo-chan has exercised a great command to transform the island's initially hostile attitude into friendly and cooperative. Such facts should be widely known to the public by newspapers, broadcasts, and a presidential statement."

- US National Archives and Records Administration, RG 554: Military Operation Orders (12/18/1948).

The reply of Chief of Staff Chae Pyong-dok

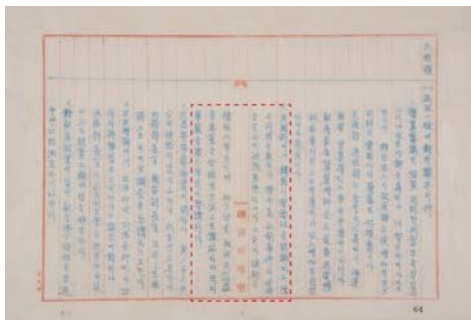
"Lieutenant-Colonel Song Yo-chan and the US-Advisor have shown great ability on Jeju Island. I will recommend President Rhee to issue a presidential statement based on your proposal. I pledge to confer a proper medal on Lt. Col. Song."

- US National Archives and Records Administration, RG 554: - Military Operation Orders (12/21/1948).





Types of Slaughter Koh Gil-chun. A sculpture that represents different types of death at the time of Jeju 4-3
(in the permanent exhibition hall of the Jeju 4-3 Peace Memorial Hall)



Cabinet meeting proceedings documenting President Rhee Syngman's directive for a merciless crackdown.

People Taken to Mainland Prisons

At the end of December 1948, the 2nd Regiment replaced the 9th Regiment as the Jeju suppression unit. Lt. Col. Ham Byeong-seon, the 2nd Regiment commander, had served as a warrant officer of the Korean volunteers in the Imperial Japanese Army, as was Lt. Col. Song Yo-chan,

the 9th Regiment commander who was promoted for his contribution to the crackdown. The 2nd Regiment had quelled the Yeosu-Suncheon rebellion, and the 3rd Battalion, in particular, was comprised of members of Northwest Youth League, who detested communists. Ham Byeong-seon also launched a severe crackdown operation. It was around this time that nearly 400 residents of the village of Bukchon-ri was massacred. The situation in Jeju remained volatile, however.

In March 1949, the Jeju Area Combat Command was established, and Colonel Yu Jae-hung was appointed as commander. On Mt. Halla, there were over 10,000 refugees shivering from cold and hunger.

Col. Yu Jae-hung announced the plans to pardon the refugees, telling them that they would be pardoned for their past activities if they come down from the mountains and defect. Over 8,000 people came down from the mountains waving



Mountain Descenders Kang Yobae

a white flag made out of pieces of their clothes attached to tree branches. Most were women, children, and the elderly, with women accounting for 51 percent.

However, Yu's promise was not kept. The punitive forces rounded up those who came down from the mountains in the Jeju Agricultural School

grounds and sorted out sympathizers to guerrilla fighters. A total of 1,660 people were tried by courts-martial. The courts-martial neither followed the minimal legal procedures stipulated by law nor provided written verdicts to sentence them to death, life imprisonment, or 15 years in prison. Those who were sentenced to death were shot at Jeju Airport, and others were sent to prisons all across the country since there were no prisons on Jeju Island. The number of people who were sentenced by such illegal courts-martial amounted to 2,530, including those who were sentenced in December 1948.



Search A right-wing youth group is questioning the residents who returned from hiding in the mountains and ferreting out guerrilla sympathizers on the grounds of Jeju Agricultural School.

Another Massacre Brought on by a War

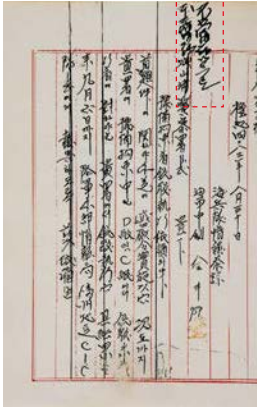
Upon the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, the Rhee Syngman administration, helplessly driven southward by the North Korean forces, launched a nationwide genocide campaign against prisoners and those in preventive custody.

The Jeju 4-3 prisoners who were jailed in mainland prisons were illegally executed for being political offenders. The number of victims was estimated to be no less than 3,000 including those tried in general courts.

Preventive custody refers to the detention of a person who is likely to commit crime. It was established by Japan as a suppression measure in colonial Korea but was abolished immediately after Korea's liberation. However, when the Korean War broke out, the Rhee Syngman administration carried out illegal preventive detention on a large scale.

Hundreds of people under preventive custody in four police stations on Jeju Island, including Jeju, Seogwipo, Moseulpo, and Seongsanpo, were all slaughtered by the martial law command. The victims were killed and thrown into the ocean or shot and secretly interred at Jeju Airport, and their corpses could not be found for proper burial for their families.

The mass grave in Moseulpo, the Cemetery of Unnamed Victims, is also the



Refusal to carry out an unjust-execution order.



"The Golyeonggol Village Massacre" in which the inmates of Daejeon-Prison were collectively executed.

mass burial site of the preventive detention victims. The officers of Moseulpo Police Station shot them to death in the old ammunition storage in Seotal Oreum in July and August 1950. Some of the bodies were secretly recovered by their families, but 132 remained buried until 1956.

The victims' families who received belated approval from the authorities set out to recover the remains, but they were indistinguishable from one another. Instead of trying to separate the remains, the families decided to leave them as is and put up a monument engraved with the phrase: "Baekjo ilson jijji," meaning "over a hundred people died on the same day, at the same time, in the same place, and their remains have become entangled into a mass, and therefore they are as good as one



The excavation site at Jeju Airport The remains of a total of 387 people have been discovered by the runway since 2007.

despite their different ancestries."

However, the situation at Seongsanpo Police Station was different. Chief Mun Hyeong-sun, who had been a former member of the national independence army, refused the martial law command's order to execute those in preventive detention and saved hundreds of lives.

Flowing Island- After effects and the Movement for Truth

Unending Suffering, Tabooed History

The Jeju 4-3 Incident Investigation Report, a government report that was finalized in 2003 under the Special Act, estimated the death toll in the Jeju 4-3



Chief Mun Hyeong-sun, who saved preventive detainees.

Mun Hyeong-sun, chief of Seongsanpo Police Station, refused to carry out the mass killing order by confidently writing "not executed due to injustice" on the written order from the assistant chief of staff of the Marine Corps to execute the preventive detainees in August 1950. In 2018, Mun, who died alone without his family, was named the "Police Hero of 2018" and a bust sculpture of him was

erected in his memory in front of the Jeju Provincial Police Agency building.

incident to be between 25,000 and 30,000. The Jeju 4·3 Committee headed by the prime minister has been working on screening the victims. As of 2021, the number of victims settled by the committee is 14,533. This figure will continue to increase as the screening process progresses.

A notable point in the makeup of victims is that women account for 21.3 percent of all victims; the elderly aged 61 or older accounts for 6.1 percent; and children under 10 account for 5.8 percent. In total, these vulnerable victims account for over 33 percent of the total death toll. It is clear that there had been an excessive crackdown on the people regardless of age or gender. The number includes those victimized by the armed guerrillas.

The police lifted the standstill order on Mt. Halla on September 21, 1954. This officially ended Jeju 4·3, which lasted for seven years and seven months after the March 1 shootings in 1947. But the damage caused by Jeju 4·3 did not stop here.

All the wounds and pain of the incident were handed down to the people who were left behind. The families of the victims went through an ordeal, as they were treated guilty by association and fettered by the National Security Act. They suffered physical and mental post-traumatic stress disorder from torture, as well as the communist complex, and they had to endure the pain of their broken families by themselves.



Tough Path of Finding the Truth

Jeju 4·3 has been trapped and hidden for nearly half a century. Even until the 1980s, Jeju 4·3 was described as “riots abetted by the North Korean Communist Party” in high school textbooks. A tough journey lay ahead of us to reach the truth that has been distorted.

Shortly after the April 19 Revolution in 1960, the movement to investigate the truth of Jeju 4·3 emerged, when a democratic

An article reporting on the fallacies about Jeju 4·3 in Korean history textbooks Jemin Ilbo, April 3, 1991.

government was formed. Unfortunately it faced a setback the following year after the May 16 coup. As the military regime continued, the oppression on Jeju 4·3 intensified.

Anyone who wrote a poem or a novel about Jeju 4·3 was arrested under the National Security Act. The same was true for those who compiled testimonies of the incident.

Even when people gathered to hold a memorial service for the Jeju 4·3 victims, the police fired tear gas and arrested them. As such, Jeju 4·3 was a taboo that had been forbidden to be spoken of, for a long time.

But the truth of history could not be hidden forever. The democratization fever of the June Uprising in 1987 broke the forced silence and pulled the truth of Jeju 4·3 out into the world.



The police firing tear gas to stop the memorial ceremony on April 3 1991. Over 400 people were taken to the police station.

Bringing Jeju 4·3 onto the Stage of History! The Enactment of the Special Act

In 1993, a special committee for investigating Jeju 4·3 was formed in the Jeju provincial assembly, and a joint memorial service was organized by the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4·3 Victims starting in 1994.

In celebration of the 50th anniversary of the incident in 1998, people raised their voices in Jeju, Seoul, and Japan to investigate the truth about Jeju 4·3. The demand to resolve what happened in the 20th century rather than passing it over to the 21st century eventually developed into a movement to enact a special law to investigate the truth about Jeju 4·3. The movement was joined by not only the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4·3 Victims and civic groups but also the members of the Jeju provincial assembly and municipal councils.

In 1999, 24 civic groups in Jeju Island launched the Solidarity Conference to Enact the Special Act on Jeju 4·3. The Jeju 4·3 National Committee in Seoul also joined the movement. A total of 694 activists from 184 civic groups nationwide issued a declaration, calling for the enactment of a special law on Jeju 4·3.



Protest calling for the enactment of a special law (Seoul)

Owing to the excitement over the special law, the political community also set out to legislate the special law on Jeju 4·3. On December 16, 1999, the Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4·3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims (hereinafter, the Special Act) passed the plenary session in the National Assembly with mutual agreement between opposing parties. A foundation was laid for the April 3rd falsely accused and trapped underground to finally come out on the stage of history.

The Special Act was enacted on January 12, 2000, at the dawn of the 21st century. On the eve of the promulgation of the Special Act, the signing of the Special Act was held in Cheong Wa Dae, the Korean presidential residence, with



President Kim Dae-jung's signing ceremony for the Special Act

eight representatives of the bereaved family association and civic groups who had been at the front of the movement to investigate the truth about Jeju 4·3. President Kim Dae-jung remarked, "The Special Act will be a golden milestone for society in which human rights are prioritized over any other

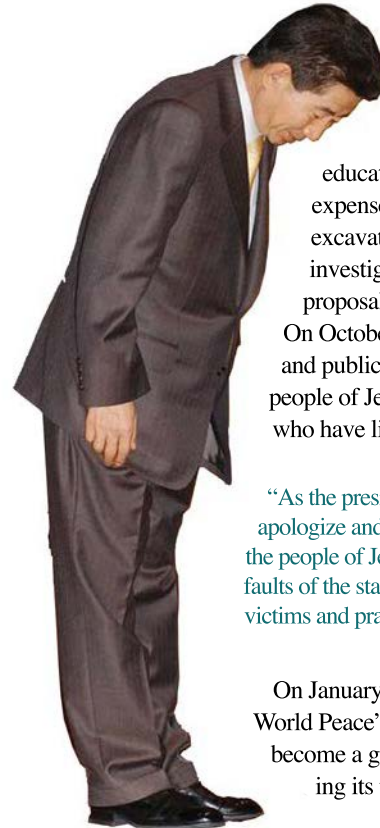
value and for the stream of democracy that will flow abundantly."

Reborn as an Island of Peace

The President's Apology and Designation of a National Memorial Day

The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report, which defines the incident as a violation of human rights by state power, was finalized on October 15, 2003. This was the first statutory report that shed new light on a past event in modern Korean history. The emphasis is put on "statutory report" as the investigation and the writing of the report was carried out at the government level in compliance with the Special Act.

After the report was finalized, a set of seven proposals to the government were adopted. It included follow-up measures, including a government apology, the designation of a memorial day, the use of relevant information in educational materials, the creation of a peace park, living expense support for victims and victims' families, the excavation of the remains, and support for additional investigation and commemoration projects. The first proposal that was realized was the government apology. On October 31, President Roh Moo-hyun visited Jeju Island and publicly apologized for the faults of the state to the people of Jeju and the bereaved families of Jeju 4·3 victims who have lived in the bondage of suffering for half a century.



"As the president in charge of state affairs, I sincerely apologize and offer condolences to the victims' families and the people of Jeju who took the initiative to investigate the past faults of the state. I would like to pay tribute to the innocent victims and pray for the souls of the departed."

On January 17, 2005, Jeju Island was declared "Island of World Peace" by the Roh Moo-hyun administration. Jeju has become a global symbol of peace and human rights, sublimating its tragic history of the 4·3 incident into the spirit of

reconciliation and coexistence. In 2014, a memorial day for the victims of Jeju 4-3 was officially declared a national day. It is particularly significant in that the national day for Jeju 4-3, which acknowledges the faults of the state power, was designated not by a progressive administration, but by the conservative Park Geun-hye administration.

Reconciliation Campaign, a Model for Historical Settlement

With the president's apology and the declaration of "Island of World Peace," Jeju searched for new ways to resolve the issues of the 4-3 incident.

In 2003, the residents of Hagwi-ri, Aewol-eup, built a memorial altar called Yeongmowon(英募園). Monuments for patriotic martyrs, the war dead, and Jeju 4-3 victims were erected to pray for the police and soldiers together with the victims in an attempt to seek reconciliation and coexistence.

The seeds of reconciliation, which had been scattered over a field of stone and in the wilderness, began to take root and miraculously grow. The joint memorial altar project spread to neighboring villages such as Sangga-ri, Jangjeon-ri, and Gwang-nyeong-ri.

On August 2, 2013, the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4-3 Victims and the Jeju Veteran Police Association, who had been seriously at odds with each other, announced the "Declaration of Reconciliation" for reconciliation and coexistence. The representatives of the two groups stated in a press conference to "abandon our ideological thinking and lead the unconditional reconciliation and unity of the residents, in an attempt to heal the wounds of conflict of the past years."

The declaration of reconciliation was a touching tribute that was held annually.



Come and bow down. This stone monument is set up by all to forgive all, as all are victims. May the deceased breathe their last breath. For the living, hold your hands together.

- From the inscription on Yeongmowon in Hagwi-ri

On August 2, both associations also paid visits to memorial sites together, visiting the national cemetery, where the fallen heroes are buried, and the Jeju 4-3 Peace Park, where the victims' memorial tablets are enshrined.

The joint visit was particularly meaningful, as it was attended by the two groups' executives as well as the heads of public institutions in Jeju, politicians from both the ruling and opposition parties, and officials from civic organizations. In 2021, the leaders of the Jeju local military forces and the police came to pay their respects. With this, Jeju Island was hailed for uniting conservatives and progressives, the ruling party and the opposition, and people and the government, for the sake of healing the trauma of Jeju 4-3.



The leaders of the bereaved families association and the Korea Veteran Police Association are participating in the joint memorial service in 2021, attended by the heads of the police and the military.

Justice Moving Forward! The Enactment of the Special Act

On February 26, 2021, an amendment bill to the Special Act passed the plenary session of the National Assembly with the agreement of the ruling and opposition parties. It had been 21 years since the Special Law on April 3 was enacted. The amendment bill was highlighted because it included provisions for government reparations and compensation for the victims as well as ex officio retrials for the restoration of honor of the victims of unlawful courts-martial. President Moon Jae-in's aggressive call for a solution has been effective.

President Moon attended the 4-3 victims' memorial ceremony three times in 2018, 2020 and 2021, setting a record of a sitting president's attendance at the memorial services. Moon quoted Martin Luther King, "Justice delayed is justice denied," and urged the political community to revise the Special Act.

The revised Special Act also included the resumption of additional investigations by the government committee, special cases for declaring missing victims, the reorganization of the family relationship register, and support for the treatment




Celebration of the revision of the Special Act held in the front yard of the National Assembly, Feb. 26, 2021.

of patients dealing with traumatic stress following Jeju 4·3. This set Jeju 4·3 as a model for the government's settlement of the past, which began with investigations and leading to reparations and compensation for the victims.

The Remaining Story

Has Jeju 4·3 been fully resolved? No. In fact, many questions still remain. Even



“Investigating the truth about Jeju 4·3 is to reflect on the unfortunate past that transcends regional boundary and to restore the universal value of humanity. The restoration of the honor of Jeju 4·3 is our future toward reconciliation, coexistence, peace, and human rights. Jeju has been voicing for the value of peace and human rights for the past 70 years, despite the deep wounds it continues to bear. Now such value will lead to peace and co-existence on the Korean Peninsula and will be passed on as a message of peace to all mankind. The desire for eternal peace and human rights will never die.”

- From the address delivered at the 70th anniversary of Jeju 4·3 memorial service in 2018.

if it was a tragedy caused by the division of the Korean Peninsula and the Cold War between the East and the West, we still cannot help but ask, “How could so many people have been killed?” It is even more incomprehensible that unarmed civilians, especially children, the elderly, and women, were brutally murdered.

According to the US military report, in April 1949, the number of punitive forces stationed in Jeju was tallied at 2,622 for Korean military, 1,700 for the police, and 50,000 for the police reserves. By that time, the armed guerrillas were estimated to be less than 100, but USAMGIK, the Korean government, and the US military advisory group dragged out the situation until 1954, failing to resolve it early despite a huge input of forces. Jeju 4·3 paradoxically demonstrates what happens when an incident is dealt with only through physical power and framed as an ideological conflict between the left and right, while completely ignoring the history, tradition, and public sentiment. It is a painful lesson not only in the case of Jeju 4·3 but also in many conflict areas around the world that incidents like Jeju 4·3 cannot be easily overcome with enormous strength when the governing body fails to win the hearts of the people.

The Korean government has apologized for the damage caused during Jeju 4·3



The UN Symposium on Human Rights and Jeju 4·3 held on June 20, 2019

four times, twice by former President Roh Moo-hyun and twice by President Moon Jae-in. The restoration of the honor of the victims, including the reparations and compensation, is also under way.

Then what is the position of the United States, one of the main perpetrators? They are still keeping their silence on this issue.

The UN Symposium on Human Rights and Jeju 4·3 was held at the UN Headquarters in New York on June 20, 2019. On that day, the speech by former US Representative Charles Rangel had a special resonance. A 90-year-old veteran politician, Rangel was a Korean War veteran and a legendary politician who was elected to the House of Representatives for a total of 23 times in New York (46 years in office).

“The ROK-US alliance has grown strong over the years. However, in order to strengthen this, the past issues such as Jeju 4·3 should be solved in a sincere way.”

Jeju 4·3 is calling upon the US for responsible action, not as an obsession with the past. Rather, it is to reflect on the unfortunate past and move on to the future.



Charles Rangel, former US representative



Why did *dongbaek* (camellia) become the symbolic flower of Jeju 4·3?

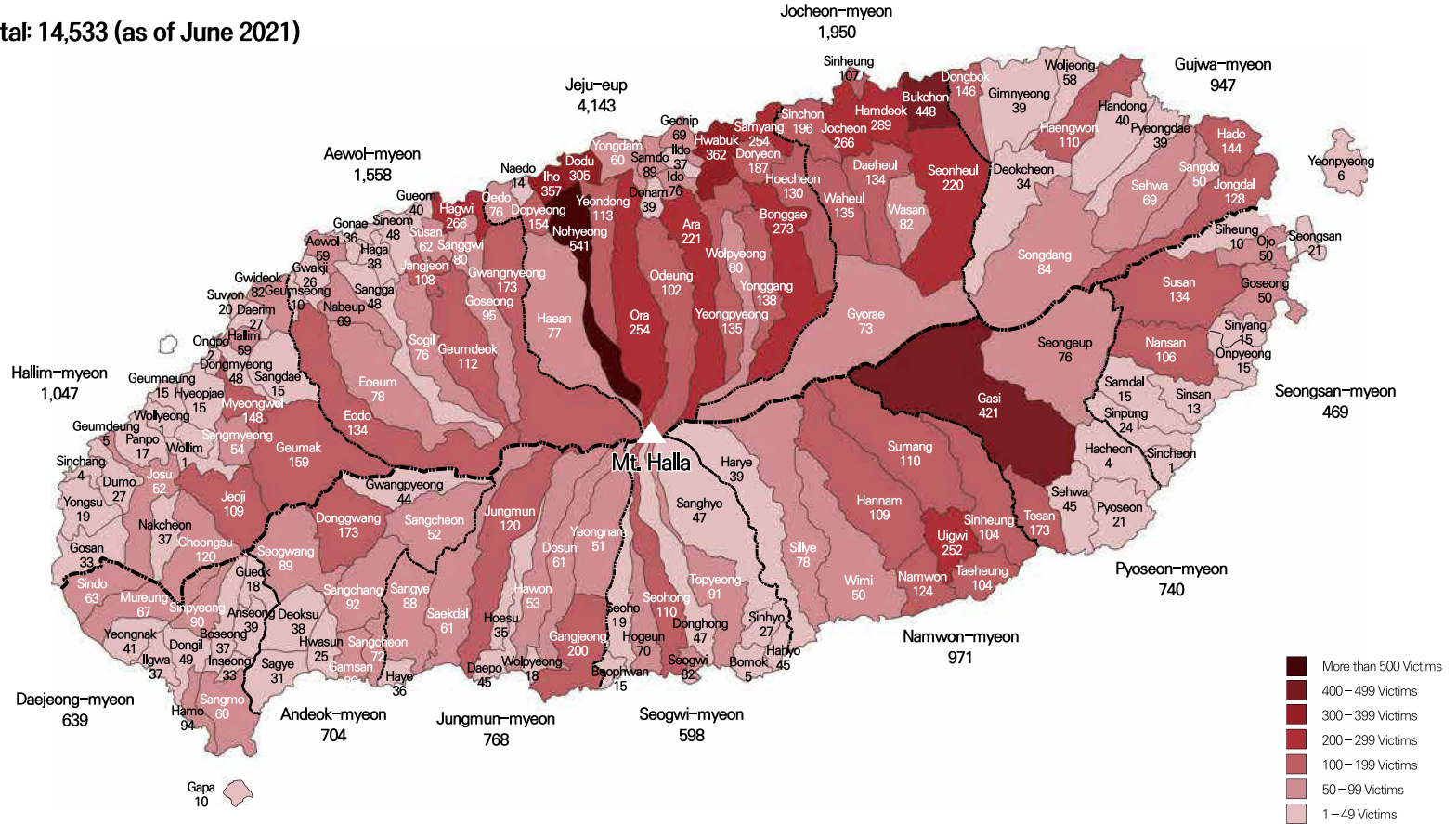


a spatter of red blood on the snowy white field in the background. The artist used dongbaek flowers to represent the people of Jeju who were sacrificed at the time. Camellia has since become the symbol of Jeju 4·3.

Dongbaek (camellia) is a flower that blooms in cold winter. *Dong* (冬) in the Korean name of the flower means winter. Its vibrant red petals symbolize the tenacious life force, as the flower bursts into bloom alone in cold winter when everything else is asleep. But when it's time for them to fall, *dongbaek* flowers abruptly fall off as a whole on snowy white fields. *Dongbaek* began to symbolize Jeju 4·3 after it appeared in the paintings of Kang Yobae, including the series on Jeju 4·3 titled "Dongbaek Flowers Fall: Jeju People's Resistance." The titular artwork captures the moment of a dongbaek flower falling in the foreground, with a group of punitive forces, a man wielding an ax, and

Map of Jeju 4-3 Victims by Village

Total: 14,533 (as of June 2021)



This map is based on the government's official list of Jeju 4-3 victims. The number of victims is growing annually, as additional reports of victims continue to be filed. The government's investigation report estimates the number of Jeju 4-3 victims to be between 25,000 and 30,000.