

Korea Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Act 2022 ¹

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Abstract

We are proud that we are launching “Have 4,000 Students sign a Jeju 4.3 Petition to the U.S. Capitol” for enactment of “the Korea Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Act 2022” in 2022, which was result of various visits to offices of U.S. Congressman Mark Takano and Congresswoman Judy Chu on May 1, 2019. It was historic sentence for Jeju 4.3 Survivors, Mr. Dong-Soo Park of Sogil Village, Mr. Wonhue Boo of Hwabuk village, Ms. Hee-Chun Oh of Harye village dismissed all charges against the accused on January 17, 2019 by Presiding Judge Jaegal, Chang, Chung, Seung-jin and Seo, Youngwoo at the Korea Jeju Distict Court. “South Korean victims who were wrongfully charged with insurrection during an anti-communist crackdown from 1948 to 1949 and thrown in jail for defying violent paramilitary and military forces, are to receive more that \$4 million in compensation for wrongful imprisonment following the Jeju 4.3 massacre, “South Korea Jeju Massacre victims awarded \$ 4M in damages,” by Elizabeth Shim: UPI, August 21, 2019).

Key words :

Korea Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Act. a Jeju 4.3 Petition. Jeju Massacre victims.

1) We are happy to appreciate professor Chang Hoon Ko of Jeju National University of S. Korea, professor Carlton Waterhouse of Howard University of USA, Eric Yamamoto of Hawaii University of USA, Kunihiro Yoshida of Hokkaido University of Japan, American journalist, Mr. Donald Kirk, and Mr. Michael Saxton, a researcher at World Environment and Island Institute of Jeju National University of S. Kore, and Justine Tanner of Norte Dam University of Australia because we can write this petition based on their excellent researches and ideas on how to resolve Korean Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy in USA

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Introduction

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Historic Sentence in Korean Court in 2019

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We Ask Social Healing for Jeju 4.3 Villagers’ Trauma by U.S. Government

The case for American involvement rests on the appointment of ruthless Korean commanders who were responsible for wiping out villages suspected of harboring communists. The slaughter intensified several months into Rhee’s presidency, spread over the remote hills and valleys around Mount Halla in 1949 and was largely over when the North Koreans invaded the South in June 1950. For ages dictatorial governments suppressed tales of dissent, but villagers in recent years have been offering first-hand memories of the horrors. Song Seung-moon, for instance, described the torching of five buildings in his village of Orari on May 1, 1948. A rightist youth group from the mainland of South Korea, whose members had left North Korea to escape communist rule, were believed to be responsible. By the time that particular incident was over, 246 people had died.

There was much worse to come. Ms. Hong, Chung-ho says, that ,on November 15, 1948, soldiers raided a mountainous village Dongkwang-ri, killed residents, and burned the village in 3 days. 120 villagers hid in a cave Keunneolgwe. Half of them were caught and killed with bamboo spears by the police at the Seogwipo’s Jeongbang Falls and the bodies were dumped. We couldn’t find them. Of course, they all died at that time, which was presented at the World Peace Island Forum : 4.3 Human Rights, Reparative Justice and Reconciliation at University of Pennsylvania on April 29, 2019 (Testimony of 4.3 survivor, Choon H. Hong). Film director, Mr. Muel O made a film ‘Jiseul’ was made on a real story when scorchedearth tactics started Dongkwang-ri in winter of 1948, was got the Grand Prize of the 2013 Sundance Film Festival (K. Hoon Park, 2013, “Jiseul”, WEIS Vol 3. No.1.p.34).

At the modern House of Sharing in Bukchon, a scenic village of rice farmers and fishermen on the northern coast, old women recall in graphic detail the killing of hundreds in January 1949. A guide shows visitors the burial ground where large stones are strewn as the bodies were found. Small mounds mark the graves of children... The Americans don’t actually deny complicity. They just don’t say anything. It would be nice if they would look at that petition and let it be known what they think of it. That’s not to say the Americans have to accept claims of a U.S. role. It’s just that they owe the world, not just the victims’ families, a promise to search the records and come up with documents, reports, anything revealing what the U.S. forces were up to (Donald Kirk. U.S. Owes Explanation for Forgotten Korean Massacre, Inside Sources : August 15, 2019).

Jeju Massacre Consultation 2021 and the Korea Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Act 2022’ in USA

“deepest sympathy” to the surviving victims, bereaved families and following generations stigmatized by guilt-by-association for their continued suffering. Jeju 4·3 survivors need enduring social healing through revision of Jeju 4·3 Special Law by both Korean National Assembly and Government as same road to reconciliation of Civil Liberties Act of 1988’s national apology and reparations in USA.

We also understand that reparation issues gain

public attention in the US through lawsuit. The comfort women statues gained public attention from a lawsuit, as did the Holocaust litigation. (Eric K. Yamamoto, Katya Katano, Rachel Oyama and William N. K. Crowell(2018)) We think including the testimony would powerfully emphasize the continuing need for social healing and would strengthen the argument for U.S. participation.

If we can do it collaboratively and globally, we can launch lawsuit or other such action in the US may help draw attention to the case in 2021 through both 'Jeju Massacre Consultation' in the U.S. Court and Petition movement for enactment of ' the Korea Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Act 2022' in the U.S. Capitol similar with the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act 2019.(H.R.3289 – Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act of 2019116th Congress (2019–2020)

Conclusion

It is practical to benefit Jeju survivors and families as well as support efforts to uplift Jeju 4.3 globally as an environmentally and sustainable “Peace Island,” through common commitments of “4.3 peace education and conflict management department” by Jeju National University, Howard University and other U.S. universities jointly, which will be supported by U.S. Government Fund or its donation.

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Receiving Date: May 26, 2020

Reviewing Date: June 2, 2020

Reporting Date of Article Appearance: June 9, 2020

Appendix 1

PETITION

FOR A JOINT SOUTH KOREA AND UNITED STATES
JEJU 4·3 INCIDENT TASK FORCE TO FURTHER
IMPLEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS AND FOSTER
COMPREHENSIVE AND ENDURING SOCIAL
HEALING THROUGH JUSTICE

(<http://www.peaceisland.asia/>)

March 1, 2019

This Petition calling for A JOINT SOUTH KOREA AND UNITED STATES JEJU 4·3 INCIDENT TASK FORCE TO FURTHER IMPLEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS AND FOSTER COMPREHENSIVE AND ENDURING SOCIAL HEALING THROUGH JUSTICE seeks to advance the mutual interests of Jeju residents and the governments and people of South Korea and the United States.

I. SUMMARY OF PETITION

A Brief Account of Stalled Jeju 4·3 Social Healing

1. The April 3rd [1948] Grand Massacre [known as Jeju 4·3] on Jeju Island encompassed the mass killing of some 30,000 Jeju residents, the torture, rape and prolonged detention of many more, the destruction of at least 40,000 homes and the burning of numerous villages. It lies at the heart of a leading South Korean redress initiative. Known as the Jeju 4·3 Incident (“Jeju 4·3”), the mass killing and destruction by South Korean military, paramilitary and police under United States authority and oversight was a taboo subject under South Korea national governments through the 1980s. Inspired by the democracy movement, the 2000 National Assembly legislated for Jeju 4·3 truth finding and reconciliation, with an emphasis on the suffering of victims and their families. The resulting 2003 Korean language report of the “National Committee for Investigation of the Truth About the Jeju April 3 Incident” ascertained historical facts, examined responsibility and made recommendations. Immediately after then-President Roh Moo-Hyun visited Jeju and apologized to survivors and their families. The national government also took active steps toward social healing.

But reconciliation efforts stalled after 2007. [Even

though t]he beautiful peace park, the inspiring memorial as well as the informative April 3rd museum have been established . . . , the problems still exist: (a) [redress] is very limited; (b)[many] victims still can’t get any reparations because of their [wrongful] status as the core group of ‘communist guerillas’, how miserably they were slaughtered; (c) the U.S. secondary responsibility has not been discussed legally at depth yet, despite [the fact that the U.S.] also played an important role for this genocide! (Professor Kunihiko Yoshida, Redress Scholar, 2012).

The National Committee’s 2013 English Translated Report on the Jeju 4·3 Incident

2. Summer 2013 marked the publication of the English translation of the National Committee’s 2003 Jeju April 3 Incident Investigation Report (“Translated Report”). The translated version is momentous. For the Korean populace, it exposes to vast new audiences a startling and horrific peacetime chapter of South Korean history. For English readers, in entirety, the over 700–page, 1,300–footnote Translated Report reveals fresh insights into significant facets of the Incident and its consequences. The Translated Report sheds brighter light on the extent of both South Korea and United States responsibility for past harms and present–day social healing.

3. On Jeju island, despite initial reconciliation efforts, there remains a compelling sense that Jeju 4·3 social healing is “unfinished business.” In recent years social healing efforts stalled and in some respects regressed. Many Jeju survivors and victims’ families still suffer unaddressed physical, emotional, cultural and economic wounds. Traumatic pain persists across generations of families. And military and environmental concerns highlight struggles to uplift Jeju as an island of peace and sustainability.

Next Steps for Genuine Jeju 4·3 Social Healing

4. In light of the new English translation’s revelations of responsibility and the compelling sense that Jeju 4·3 social healing is incomplete, this petition addresses next steps. Joint participation by the South Korea, United States, and Jeju governments and people is now crucial.

The future of Jeju 4·3 social healing is alive and compelling.

Creation of A Joint South Korea and United States Jeju 4·3 Incident Task Force to Assess and Further Coordinate, Implement and Oversee Social Healing

5. This petition calling for creation of a Joint Task Force results from a broad-based movement in South Korea and beyond. The Joint Task Force would be a creative yet practical way for South Korea, the United States and Jeju people to mutually engage in more fully implementing past reconciliation recommendations and in overseeing future steps toward comprehensive, systemic and enduring social healing through justice – in ways that benefit Jeju people as well as South Korea and the United States.

6. Executive or legislative action could generate the mandate for the Joint Task Force. The Task Force's membership would include all significant participants in Jeju 4·3: the South Korea and United States national governments, the Jeju local government and Jeju 4·3 survivors and descendants, bolstered by South Korean and American researchers and community supporters. It could be administered by an existing institute or organization and observed by selected scholars and human rights organizations. The Joint Task Force would be jointly funded and staffed.

7. A Joint Task Force would foster reparative justice (words and actions that repair) and thereby enhance the democratic legitimacy of both South Korea and the United States. The Joint Task Force would not replicate the work of the 2000 National Committee. Rather the Joint Task Force's five main goals would be:

1) to build upon the National Committee's inquiry (which was completed several years ago and without United States cooperation) by updating and by filling any gaps;

2) to assess the completeness of the National Committee's recommendations particularly in light of new and updated information;

3) to assess the effectiveness of actions already taken and determine what more is needed to repair the persisting damage (both individual and communal);

4) in light of #1, 2 and 3, to recommend further concrete next steps for implementing the National Committee's recommendations and to oversee follow-up steps as part of a larger integrated justice plan to engender comprehensive, systemic and enduring social healing; and

5) to do these things to foster reparative justice in ways that benefit the Jeju people and also assure accountability and enhance the democratic legitimacy of both South Korea and the United States.

Mutual Interests in Mutual Engagement

8. South Korea and United States interests strategically converge with Jeju's interests in furthering reconciliation. Participation would demonstrate South Korea's resolve to enduringly heal the wounds of its people. This is important at a time when South Korea faces regional security issues. Engagement in the Jeju 4·3 social healing would also demonstrate the United States' legitimacy as a democracy not only professedly but actually committed to human rights and reparative justice. And it would also bolster South Korea and U.S. linkages on complex issues of international trade and security.

II. WHEREAS

The Jeju 4·3 Incident

9. According to the 2013 English Translated Report, at the end of World War II following Japan's occupation of South Korea, and during the emerging Cold War, South Korea entered peacetime under U.S. military supervision. In March 1947, many Jeju residents demonstrated against harsh government policies and violent police practices and commemorated National Liberation Day. Under U.S. supervision, the national police killed and injured protestors, leading to general strikes in Jeju and the subsequent imprisonment of strike organizers. Despite advice by U.S. military officials that the main cause of the uprising was opposition to police brutality and food policies and not an incitement to communism, the U.S. military commander falsely characterized the resistance as a broadscale communist uprising. The police began to characterize Jeju as an "island of Reds" even though U.S. investigators found few communists among Jeju residents.

Once labeled an "island of Reds," the U.S. anti-communist policy opened doors to sustained violence.

10. On April 3, 1948, some residents with bamboo spears and farm tools confronted police

and government officials in an effort to stop police violence, protest the upcoming election and support a unified Korea. U.S. military leaders sent additional armed forces. High-level U.S. officials also authorized South Korean army and police to act against Jeju citizens and widespread violence erupted.

11. After the Republic of Korea was established in August 1948, with U.S. military leadership supervising and overseeing South Korean military and national police actions, and with U.S. military personnel still in place to support the new government, suppression of the Jeju people accelerated. The government declared martial law in November 1948 and indefinitely detained many and summarily tried and executed thousands. Many others were killed in their villages or in the fields.

Historic and Persisting Wounds

12. The Translated Report details enormous loss over several years. An estimated 30,000 of Jeju's 280,000 residents were killed (the government's official figure is 14,032). Tens of thousands more were injured, with hundreds tortured, and many more summarily detained. The violence left at least 300 villages, 20,000 households and 40,000 homes destroyed.

13. The damage of Jeju 4·3 continued even after the close of Jeju 4·3 events. With many killed or injured and a number of women sexually assaulted, the working population was largely destroyed, leaving many communities and families barely able to survive. Those who survived, including many orphans, were often impoverished. The long-term individual financial impact continues into the present.

14. Jeju people also suffered collective trauma from destroyed communal structures, including villages, schools, workplaces and family networks. Later governing regimes also suppressed efforts to discuss the civilian killings and imprisoned those who spoke out about Jeju 4·3. For many families losing loved ones, homes and villages, the unresolved psychological trauma persists over generations. And residents still suffering from the stigma of being falsely branded "communists" under a lingering guilt-by-association system. Those residents have been largely excluded from the social healing process.

Responsibility

15. According to the Translated Report and other records, U.S. and South Korean military leaders and the national police overreacted to Jeju residents' acts of resistance to perceived unfair government practices and policies that led to widespread food shortages, police brutality and outside groups' extortion of local residents. The United States and South Korea worried about the spread of communism. But, in addressing legitimate concerns, U.S. and South Korean military officials and national police fostered the mischaracterization of Jeju as an "island of Reds," which contributed to sustained violence.

16. According to the Translated Report, U.S. military leaders gave direct orders that initiated early Jeju 4·3 events. This was followed by close U.S. oversight over the South Korean military and police suppression operations, including an order to kill anyone within five kilometers of the coastline.

From August 1948, the U.S. military held continuous operational control over the South Korean police according to the "Executive Agreement on Interim Military and Security Matters during the Transitional Period" between the South Korean president and the U.S. military commander. The U.S. military also supplied weapons, aircrafts and other resources.

17. South Korean and American scholars and a former U.S. army colonel, conclude that the United States too played an important role in Jeju 4·3 and bears some responsibility for healing past and persisting wounds. They also point to the United States' absence from or lack of cooperation in reconciliation efforts to date. According to one American scholar, Jeju 4·3 "has yet to be acknowledged by the United States." Another concludes that the role of the United States in Jeju 4·3 is clear and "[i]f it should come to pass that any Koreans succeed in gaining [recognition] from the American Government for the events of 1945 to 1953, certainly the people of [Jeju] should come first." A South Korean scholar observes that besides initial reparative measures by the South Korea government, "[b]oth the South Korean and U.S. governments . . . have failed to [take responsibility and] respond to other recommendations."

The 1980s Democracy Movement and Jeju 4·3 Investigation

18. On the South Korea mainland, unrest erupted with the Gwangju democracy uprising in May 1980, leaving many dead. In reaction to the prior silencing of Jeju 4·3 stories, democracy advocates publicly exposed the Jeju 4·3 Incident and pushed for a government investigation.

19. In 1999, the South Korea National Assembly passed the Special Act for Investigation of the Jeju April 3 Incident and Recovering the Honor of

Victims. The Act initiated transitional justice for the emerging democracy: it purposely dropped inaccurate references to Jeju 4·3 as a “communist” uprising; acknowledged Jeju residents’ resistance to perceived unfair or abusive government policies and practices; and authorized commemoration projects, including a cemetery, museum, park and limited financial and medical subsidies.

Creation of the 2000 National Committee and Initial Follow-Up Measures

20. The Act also established the “National Committee to investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident” to investigate the truth, identify the victims and restore victims’ honor. Starting in 2000 the National Committee conducted a thorough three-year investigation, interviewing many witnesses, consulting experts and reviewing thousands of documents – in Korean and English – culminating in a 2003 detailed report (translated into English in 2013). In 2004, acting on the Committee’s recommendations, the South Korea government began a healing process that included a concise presidential apology, government-sponsored museum and extensive public memorial and gravesite and financial payments to a few.

Jeju 4·3 Social Healing Stalled

21. But there remains a compelling sense among many that Jeju 4·3 social healing is starkly incomplete. As described in paragraphs 3 and 12–14, the wounds persist and the reconciliation process has stalled. As one Jeju resident explains, “people still hurt.” Another points out that there is “great impact on the lives on the the Jeju people” even decades after the Incident. In recent years, particularly after the 2007 South Korea presidential inauguration, reconciliation efforts in some respects regressed with renewed inaccurate descriptions of

Jeju 4·3 as a communist insurgency.

The United States’ Absence From the Social Healing Process

22. Another reason for stalled reconciliation is that the United States thus far has been uncooperative or absent at all stages of the reparative justice process. The South Korea government has not yet formally requested U.S. participation in reparative efforts. As described in paragraphs 9–11 and 15–17 and as supported by the Translated Report, Jeju residents, South Korean and American scholars and a former U.S. army colonel, conclude that the United States too played an important role in Jeju 4·3 and now bears some responsibility for joining in efforts to heal past and persisting wounds.

The Resurgence of Jeju 4·3 Social Healing Advocacy

23. In recent years grassroots Jeju 4·3 justice organizing, galvanized by Jeju’s emergence as a “Peace Island” and model of environmental sustainability, has attracted international scrutiny and ignited a resurgence of Jeju 4·3 social healing advocacy. Jeju people, local government officials and supporters advanced those initial grassroots efforts. Scholars and community advocates also publicized Jeju 4·3 history and crafted beginning recommendations for next steps through convenings in Jeju and Hawai’i and through popular and academic publications. A renewed 4·3 Special Committee of the Jeju Self-Governing Provincial Council, which laid a foundation for truth-finding activities from 1993 to 2003, might play an important future role. The 2013 Translated Report integrated these forces into a Jeju 4·3 social healing movement.

III. NOW, THEREFORE:

Creation of a Joint South Korea United States Jeju 4·3 Incident Task Force

24. The petitioners therefore call for creation of a Joint South Korea and United States Jeju 4·3 Incident Task Force to Further Implement Recommendations and Foster Comprehensive and Enduring Social Healing Through Justice. As described in paragraphs 6 and 7, that Task Force would focus on potential next steps in view

of past assessments and recommendations, in light of evolving social, economic, political and environmental conditions and in consideration of the compelling sense of many that Jeju 4·3 social healing is “unfinished business.” Petitioners also call for South Korea, United States and international human rights support for creation of the Joint Task Force and its operations.

The Need for a Joint Task Force

25. Reconciliation initiatives are expanding global phenomena. The United States has issued congressionally-authorized and presidentially-delivered apologies to Japanese Americans for World War II race-based internment and to Native Hawaiians for 1893 destruction of nationhood. Globally many countries have undertaken formal reconciliation initiatives to address past

injustices, including Canada, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, South Africa, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Timor-Leste, Indonesia, Cambodia and South Korea.

26. According to the International Center for Transitional Justice, truth commissions are only a first step toward reconciliation. Reconciliation is a long-term multi-faceted social and legal process that brings the possibility of significant benefits but that is also fraught with potential for incompleteness

or even backlash and regression. Implementing task forces are therefore emerging as a crucial next step for reconciliation efforts globally. Colombia and South Africa are two examples of countries with truth commissions that made significant, yet incomplete, strides toward reconciliation. They each now need a mechanism to assess the effectiveness of their initiatives and to recommend next steps toward genuine social healing. Peru also took steps to implement truth commission recommendations to redress human rights violations, but these efforts too are stalled and incomplete. The International Center for Transitional Justice’s recent assessment evaluated and made further proposals about comprehensive reparations and implementation of existing truth commission recommendations. It serves as one model of a grounded, expertly staffed vehicle for implementing viable commission/committee recommendations and for charting forward-looking next steps toward social healing in light of evolving social, political and economic

conditions.

27. The 2000 National Committee’s work, although significant, has not yet yielded widespread and sustained Jeju 4·3 social healing. An independent evaluative and implementing body is now essential. A Joint Task Force would serve as this crucial next step toward genuine reconciliation – helping implement unfinished recommendations, assessing the effectiveness of actions to date and recommending and overseeing further concrete actions.

A Four-Stage Process

28. Genuine reconciliation initiatives embody words and actions that foster the kind of justice that promotes comprehensive and enduring healing for those injured and for society itself. Social healing through justice (that is, “by doing justice”) has its roots in social psychology, theology, law,

economic justice, political theory and indigenous practices, as well as in emerging international human rights principles of reparative justice. Those principles embrace mutual engagement by all with some responsibility in order to repair the damage wrought by injustice. They also ground social healing’s four pillars – recognition, responsibility, reconstruction and reparation. Those pillars shape reconciliation initiatives that address truth-telling through formal tribunals, reconstruction through public apologies, memorials, guarantees of non-repetition and changes to relevant laws and practices, as well as reparations through restitution, compensation and rehabilitation.

29. The Joint Task Force would be an integral part of a four-stage process for Jeju 4·3 social healing through justice. The first stage is submitting a petition to South Korea and the United States calling for the Joint Task Force. The second overlapping stage encompasses generating broad based support for creation of the Joint Task Force among South Korea national and local government officials and institutions and people as well as among U.S. officials and public and international scholars, advocates and human rights observers. The third stage is creation of the Joint Task Force along with supporting a Social Healing Center on Jeju Island. The final stage consists of balanced Task Force operations that are mindful of social healing’s pillars recognition, responsibility, reconstruction and reparation.

30. Grassroots advocates, including victims, survivors' families, teachers, students, artists, filmmakers and local officials and business people, as well as Jeju and international scholars, are contributing to fashioning next steps. For instance, in December of 2017, Jeju people and supporters proposed that the Korean government revise the 4·3 Special Act to authorize

meaningful reparations for Jeju 4·3 victims and families. In July of 2017, the Jeju 4·3 delegation delivered a letter to all foreign affairs committee members of the U.S. Congress, submitting a signaturing list of petition for U.S. participation in future 4·3 social healing efforts and asking for congressional hearings on the 4·3 Tragedy. In April of 2017, 18 Jeju 4·3 victims asked the Korean court to review and set aside their abusive 4·3 trials and unlawful convictions arising out of false accusations. The current actions of these Jeju islander survivors and their families symbolize the continuing damage of the 4·3 Tragedy and reveal their immense courage in still fighting for their innocence and that of the many thousands harmed by 4·3. On January 17, 2019, eighteen Jeju 4.3 survivors were found not guilty after a retrial of their cases before a Korean court on Jeju Island. The Korean court announced, allowed them to recover their human rights as survivors of the "Jeju 4.3" massacre which started on March 1, 1947 and until August 14, 1948 under the control of the U.S. army.

Additionally, the 1947 Jeju 3.1 National Liberation Independence Day

demonstrations are in the process of memorialization in the spirit of the nonviolent tradition of 1919 national liberty demonstrations. In that spirit, the Jeju people are currently registering 1947 records of legal cases of 328 people involved the demonstrations and, with the peace island human rights movement, are advocating for recognition of the Jeju 4·3 Grand Tragedy as one of UNESCO World Programs of Memory similar to the 1947 February 28 Taiwan Tragedy during the start of the cold war.

Joint Task Force Benefits for All

31. The Joint Task Force's work in assessing words and actions thus far and in further recommending and overseeing future healing steps would benefit Jeju survivors and families as well as support efforts to uplift Jeju

globally as an environmentally and sustainable

"Peace Island." This might include creation and operation of a Jeju Peace University or a Jeju Environmental University based on collaborative Jeju Peace Studies in Korea and internationally. It would help create a new comprehensive history that gives voice to the people. It would embrace concerns about dignity and autonomy. It would address important economic, cultural, security and environmental matters. And it would likely foster more comprehensive, systemic and enduring social healing through justice.

32. As described in paragraph 8, mutual engagement in the Joint Task Force would also significantly benefit the South Korea and United States governments and people. This petition for a Joint South Korea and United States Task Force therefore is not a criticism. Rather, it is a realistic reparative justice response to past actions and a forward-looking path towards enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the United States and South Korea and furthering their mutual interests in security and responsible economic

development in the Asia Pacific arena. Through this kind of collaborative leadership, a "Jeju Peace Island for two Koreas" might serve as a buffer zone potentially approved by the Six Party Talks Nations in the Asia Pacific region in 2020s.