

# A Study on the Turth Finding Movements Concerning the Reenactment and Amendment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law

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## Abstract

Jeju 4.3 refers to a seven year and seven month long period of events; from the 1947 Gwandeokjang Square incident on March 1st, 1947 at Buk Elementary, where a horsed police officer's mistake lead to casualties that many citizens felt was inadequately investigated to September 21st, 1954, when the Geumjok area of Hallasan was fully opened, officially ending the lock down of Jeju Island. In Jeju, 4.3 was a taboo word. Jeju 4.3 slowly began to rise to the surface of discussion after the collapse of the Syngman Rhee regime in the April Revolution of 1960. In May 1960, the "April 3 Incident Fact-finding Committee," which was led by seven students from Jeju National University, became an organization and began the work of uncovering the truth about Jeju 4.3. In the literary world, Kim Seok-beom's "Hwasando" was published in 1976, and Hyun Ki-Young's "Aunt Suni", which deals with the massacre in Bukchon was published in 1978, talked about the pain of Jeju 4.3. Later, the political communities tried to console the bereaved families who suffered from national violence through the enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. As of 2016, discussions on the revision of the Jeju April 3 Special Law were continuously raised and five revisions were submitted to the National Assembly, drawing keen attention from political circles. In the end, Jeju politicians, academia, and civic groups are still making efforts for amendment to be passed through the 21th National Assembly.

## Key words :

The Jeju 4.3, the Turth Finding Movements, the Reenactment and Amendment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law

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## Introduction

On August 15, 1945, the U.S. military government trusteeship began as soon as the country was liberated from Japanese colonial rule. During the U.S. military regime, violence by state power led to many incidents of civilian massacre. Typical events include the Daegu October Incident<sup>1</sup>, Yeo-Sun Incident<sup>3</sup>, and Jeju 4.3 Incident. According to the historical background of the Jeju 4.3 Incident, there was a huge influx of people arriving to Jeju after liberation, leading to the high unemployment rate of about 60,000 people. This was caused by the arrival of soldiers from Busan Port, who were forcibly conscripted into Japanese colonial era schools, or conscripts who were forcibly taken to Hokkaido and Sakhalin coal mines. They returned to Jeju by boat. The population change on Jeju shows a population increase of more than 26,000 from 219,500 in 1944 to 246,100 in 1946 (Jeju 4.3 70th Anniversary Association, 2018). The public sentiment was shaken by unfavorable factors such as a shortage of daily necessities, a food shortage caused by a bad harvest and the failure of rice distribution policy. In addition, the failure of quarantine policies due to the spread of cholera, and when a former corrupt Japanese colonial era police officer was reinstated as a U.S. Military police officer, public sentiment rapidly deteriorated (Huh Joon-ho, 2014).

Amid mounting antipathy against the government, the conflict between the U.S. military government and Jeju residents began to intensify as a general strike began on March 10th, starting with the Jeju Provincial Government, as a response to the insufficient investigation into the casualties caused by a horsed police officer's mistake at the March 1st Independence Movement Day ceremony at Gwandeokjeong Square of Buk Elementary School on Jeju Island. From that incident, Jeju was

sucked into a whirlwind of ideological confrontation between the left and right due to terrorism and torture by the U.S. military government, police and right-wing youth groups.

Around 2 a.m. on April 3, 1948, beacon fires burned bright on every hill in the middle of Jeju Island and on Halla Mountain, and the stage for a full-fledged ideological confrontation erupted on Jeju Island. On that day, 350 armed rebels raided 12 out of 24 precinct stations in the province. The people of Jeju Island suffered great damage to both the left and the right. And at the 12th Cabinet meeting held on January 21, 1949, President Syngman Rhee said, "The U.S. side should recognize the importance of Korea and express its sympathy in the aftermath of the Jeju and Jeonnam incidents, as well as providing active aid, so it is requested to suppress villains such as extorters, and burglars in harsh ways to show the dignity of the law." The president's remarks at the Cabinet meeting will be immediately delivered through military units, prosecutors and police departments, while numerous Jeju residents would be suppressed during the crackdown on the Jeju 4.3 incident (United News, 2014). The crackdown lasted for seven years and seven months until the Geumjok area of Hallasan Mountain was fully opened on September 21, 1954 (Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report, 2003).

On Jeju, April 3 was a taboo word. Jeju 4.3, which was a constant source of pain on Jeju, slowly began to take its form and bubble to the surface of the water after the collapse of the Syngman Rhee regime in the April 19 Revolution in 1960. In May 1960, seven students of Jeju National University organized the "April 3 Incident Fact-finding Committee" to conduct a fact-finding mission on Jeju Island. These were the first efforts by the private sector to unearth the secrets of Jeju 4.3.

1) The October incident in Daegu was a series of protests in October under the U.S. military government in 1946. It refers to a series of movements and protests that later spread throughout South Korea. In March 2010, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission said in its "Decision on the Truth and Reconciliation of the October Incident in Daegu" that the U.S. military government hired pro-Japanese officials, delayed land reform and enforced food delivery policies in the face of severe food shortages, and that some disgruntled civilians and left-wing forces arose against the police and administrative authorities. For further reading see Cumings, 1981.

2) The Yeosu-Suncheon incident involved 2,000 soldiers of the 14th Regiment stationed in Yeosu, South Jeolla Province, from October 19, 1948 to October 27, 1948, including Lt. Kim Ji-hoe and his commander Ji Chang-soo. It refers to a case in which many civilians in eastern South Jeolla Province were killed in the process of soldiers refusing to enforce order of the suppression of the Jeju 4.3 Incident, led by soldiers affiliated with the Namro Party, and waging an armed revolt against it. For further reading see Chapter 10 of Cumings 1981.

## Jeju 4.3 Fact-finding Movement

### 1. Initial Movement for Fact-finding

As the lifting of the Geumjok area of Hallasan was fully implemented on September 21, 1954, political groups and students on Jeju tried to publicize the pain of Jeju 4.3. On September 5, 1956, the Jeju Provincial Council adopted a petition to settle the allocation of farming materials to residents who

were victims of Jeju 4.3. In May 1960, the "April 3 Incident Fact-finding Committee," which was led by seven students from Jeju National University, became an organization and began pursuing their mission in full. The National Assembly proposed a fact-finding mission on Jeju 4.3 incident by Jeju lawmakers, and on June 6, the National Assembly's Innocent civilian massacre fact-finding team conducted a one-day investigation at the Jeju Provincial Council. However, on June 18, the National Assembly withdrew its report on the massacre on the grounds that it could cause great public distrust. In 1961, the truth-finding campaign was briefly lulled after two members of the "April 3 Incident Fact-finding Committee", the executive director of Jeju Shinbo, and the chairman of the Jeju Provincial Council were arrested.

However, the Jeju 4.3 Truth-finding Movement, led by Korean-Japanese, was drawing attention again through the release of the "History of the People of Jeju's struggle during 4.3". A 1967 white paper published by the Ministry of National Defense defined Jeju 4.3 as a riot, and a booklet is published that shows how biased the government's view of Jeju Island is. Jeju 4.3 began to become known again through literary works 10 years later when Kim Seok-beom, a writer active in Japan, published his serialized novel of "Hwasan-do," and Hyun Ki-Young's novel about the massacre in Bukchon "Aunt Suni" was published in 1978; these works slowly brought out the painful face of Jeju 4.3. Jeju 4.3 was no longer regarded as a taboo word, but the task of Jeju residents was to uncover the truth about it.

<Table 1> Early Jeju 4.3 Truth-Finding Movement

Section	Contents	note
1956. 9.5	Adoption of policy for allocation of farming materials to Jeju 4.3 victims	Jeju Legislative Council
1957	Kim Seok-Beom, a Korean residing in Japan, released "The Crow's Death" at a Japanese Community meeting telling others about the horrors of Jeju 4.3	
1960.5	7 people from Jeju National University organize a Jeju 4.3 Fact-Finding Fellowship	
5.23	Jeju members of the National Assembly propose an Investigation of the Jeju 4.3 Incident	National Assembly
5.25	Jeju Shinbo reports on the horrors committed to teenagers during the Jeju 4.3 Incident	
5.26	Jeju National University 4.3 Fact-Finding Fellowship and Jeju Shinbo publish a plea for opening an investigation about the Jeju 4.3	

5.27	Bereaved families of Moseulpo, South Jeju-Gun call for an investigation of the 'Special Forces Massacres'	
6.2	Jeju Shinbo, A formal announcement on a report of Jeju 4.3 and other killings of innocent people during the Korean War	
6.3	Jeju City Council decides to form a fact-finding team	
6.4	Jeju Provincial Council investigates	
6.6	National Assembly Fact-Finding Team commences an one day fact-finding mission per request of Jeju Provincial Council	Kyeong-Nam Team (ChoiCheon - Leader)
6.7	Provincial Council submitted a regional investigation of the massacres to the National Assembly Investigation Team	
6.10	Combined Jeju Provincial, Jeju City, and Jeju Shinbo Report delivered to the National Assembly Investigation team	
6.18	The National Assembly Investigation Team withdraws its reports on the grounds that the contents of the reports are incomplete and could cause great public distrust.	
6.21	Native Jeju Students demonstrate in front of the National Assembly for Investigating the truth and punish the offenders	
1961	Kim Seong-Sook, a National Assembly member from South Jeju-Gun proposal to investigate Jeju 4.3 and makes a memorial tower for the victims was rejected.	
1961. 5.17	Members of the Jeju 4.3 Fact-Finding Fellowship, Lee Mun-Gyo, Park Kyeong-Soo, and Director of Jeju Shinbo, Shin Doo-Bang are arrested	
5.21	Jeju Provincial Council Member Shin Bang-Doo was arrested for meddling with the Jeju 4.3 Investigation	
6.15	Police destroyed and buried the Moseulpo Baekjoilson Memorial Monument	
1963	Kim Bong-Hyeong, a Jeju native living in Japan published "A History of Jeju Island People's Armed Struggle"	
1967	Korean War History published by the Ministry of Defense describes Jeju 4.3 as a riot done by the Jeju Namrodang (Southern Labor Party - Communist Party)	
1976	Kim Seok-Beom's "Hwasando" begins serialization in Japan	
1978	Hyun Ki-Young's novella about the Bukchon Massacre, "Aunt Suni" is published	

Chart Information from: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation Truth-Finding Movement Documents, Jeju Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Papers, and the Jeju 4.3 Incident Database

## 2. Fact-finding Movement for the establishment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law

Efforts to find the truth begin to be actively carried out from the start of the pro-democracy movement. On April 3, 1986, the Jeju National University Student Council set up a Jeju 4.3 Mourning and Memorial Center on campus. On April 3rd, 1987 Lee San-ha's Epic Poem "Hallasan", which deals with the truth and pain of Jeju 4.3 was published.

In April 1988, Lee San-ha was sentenced to prison for one year and six months for exposing the truth about Jeju 4.3.

In 1988, the Jeju Shinbo created a Jeju 4.3 reporting team (Chief Yang Jo-hoon) to promote awareness of Jeju 4.3 in earnest. In addition, Koreans residing in Japan created memorial tablets, and Jeju National University held a rally to call for the investigation of Jeju 4.3. In 1989, the local press begins reporting projects on Jeju 4.3 and the Jeju Shinbo published the "4.3 Testimony" series which have 57 articles. Also in 1989, the Jeju 4.3 Institute was launched to systematically study Jeju 4.3.

In 1990, the Jemin Ilbo published a series called "4.3 Speaks" and Jeju residents' painful history of Jeju 4.3 comes to the world. Through this series, Kim Ik-ryeol, the commander of the 9th Security Regiment, revealed the full account of the fabrication of the arson attack in Ora-ri (5.1.1948) and tried to comfort those who were killed by the events during Jeju 4.3. In 1991, more than 400 students were taken into custody due to clashes with the police when the first memorial service was held at Shinsan Park, led by the April 3 Bereaved Family Association.

With the excavation of remains from Darangshi Cave in 1992, the brutality of Jeju 4.3 became more well known. and in 1993, to prepare for the formation of the Jeju 4.3 Special Committee, the Jeju Provincial Council formed a planning committee to assist in its systematic operation. In 1995, a Jeju April 3 damage investigation report was published, which recorded 14,125 victims.

<Table2> Middle Period Jeju 4.3 Truth-Finding Movement

Section	Contents
1980. 5.18	Hyun Ki-Young was arrested for writing another Jeju 4.3 Novel.
1986. 4.3	Jeju National University Student Council (Chairman Park Hee-Soo installed a Jeju 4.3 memorial altar.
1987. 3.	Lee San-Ho's epic poem dealing with Jeju 4.3, "Hallasan" is published.
4.3	Jeju National University Student Council launched a Jeju 4.3 Fact-Finding Campaign ahead of the first memorial service.
4.15	Two Jeju National University were arrested for posting handwritten posters about Jeju 4.3 on campus.
4.16	Jeju National University Student Council rejected Mid-term opening and protest for the release of the 2 students. Students are released after 3 days.
6	Nationwide June Uprising triggers some discussion about Jeju 4.3

1988. 3.5	Jeju Shinbo launched news series about Jeju 4.3 (headed by Yang Jo-Hoon
4.3	- Sponsored by the Jeju Society of Social Affairs held a seminar about Jeju 4.3 at the Yeouido One Hundred Women Hall - 40 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Jeju 4.3 memorial and lecture was held in Tokyo, Japan
4.4	Jeju National University Student Council hosted a Jeju 4.3 memorial service and rally demanding Investigation into Jeju 4.3 - Seoul Criminal Court sentenced Poet Lee San-Ho to prison for 1 1/2 years.
7.22	Jeju Students Association in Seoul hosted a lecture at Jeju YMCA
10.30	The 4.3 Civilian Anti-Communist Victims' Free Family Association (Chairperson Song Won-Hwa) was created
1989. 4.1	11 civic groups in Jeju and the Jeju Society of Social Affairs in Seoul held the first public memorial service on the 41 <sup>st</sup> anniversary of Jeju 4.3 at the Jeju Citizens' Hall
4.2	First Broadcast of 4.3 related programming on Jeju MBC
4.3	- Jeju Shinbo's 4.3 press department started the '4.3 Testimony' series, it was suspended after 57 issues - About 1000 students at Jeju National University tried to hold a Jeju 4.3 memorial service and clashed with the police
5.10	Jeju 4.3 Research Institute (Director Hyun Ki-Young) has published collection of testimonies since its formation, including 4.3 is Speaking Now Volumes 1 & 2 (1989,1990), Correcting 4.3 Testimonies Collection 6 Volumes, and Jeju Uprising
9.10	First Broadcast of 4.3 related programming on Jeju KBS
1990. 4.3	People Committee for Jeju 4.3 Massacre held a Memorial Service at Jeju Education College - 500 Jeju National University students clashed with the police in a demonstration calling for the Investigation of Jeju 4.3.
6.2	Jemin Ilbo's First Publication Series "4.3 Speaks" started, Kim Ik-ryeol, commander of the 9 <sup>th</sup> Security Regiment releases his records and testimony revealing many details about the Ora-ri incident and other aspects of Jeju 4.3.
7.13	National Police arrested Kim Myung-Sik for violating the National Security Law with the publication of "People of Jeju's Struggle"
1991.4.3.	Jeju 4.3 Victims' Association carried out the 4.3 Memorial service at Jeju City's Shinsan Park Police blockaded the People Committee for Jeju 4.3 Massacre held memorial service and arrested 400 students and citizens
4.5	Aborted memorial service of the People Committee for Jeju 4.3 Massacre is held at Songaksan
12.11	Jeju Provincial Council members Yang Geum-seok and Kim Yeong-hoon inquire about healing measures concerning 4.3 during Legislative session
1992. 1.8	Six-episode drama series 'In the Eyes of Dawn' is broadcasted portraying victims of Jeju 4.3
4.2	Jeju Provincial Council announced "Our position to mark the 44 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jeju 4.3" - Media reported the discovery of 11 remains at Darangshi Cave
4.3	Jeju 4.3 Bereaved Family Association held Jeju 4.3 memorial service at Shinsan park, while separate memorial service was held in Tap-dong square by the People Committee for Jeju 4.3 Massacre. - Artist Kang Yo-Bae's exhibition of People of Jeju's Struggle Historical Paintings opened
4.13	Jeju Provincial Council formed the preparatory committee for Jeju 4.3 Relevant Panels
5.15	11 remains from Darangshi cave were cremated and scattered in the sea
10.1	Jeju Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 preparatory committee held round table discussions -Provincial Council tentatively created the Jeju 4.3 Special Committee to adopt a plan for the investigation of the Jeju 4.3 incident and the restoration of the victims' honor

10.27 ~11.11	Jeju 4.3 related organizations preparatory committee listen to the opinion of, Jeju governor (10.27), Bereaved Family Association (11.4), 4.3 Institute (11.6), Daily Newspapers (11.10), and Broadcasting System (11.11)
12.23	Jeju Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 related organizations preparatory committee formally recommends the formation of Jeju 4.3 Special Committee
1993. 2.19	Jeju Provincial Council's Steering Committee decided to form the Jeju 4.3 Special Committee.
3.20	Formation of the Jeju 4.3 Special Committee on the Jeju Provincial Council (Chairman Kim Yeong-Hoon, Secretary Lee Yeong-Gil)
4.3	Jeju 4.3 Bereaved Family Association held Jeju 4.3 memorial service at Shinsan park, while separate memorial service was held in Tap-dong square by the People Committee for Jeju 4.3 Massacre.
4.27	Consultation on the formation of an advisory committee for the Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee - Consultation on the Jeju 4.3 Special Committee's plan of its mission and work
5.8	Civilian Government released an official statement, "If an authorized organization conducts fact-finding work, we will fully cooperate."
5.12	Publication of the revised edition of the "Jeju Island Papers" which reexamines the Jeju 4.3 incident.
6.29	Local District Council Members, Chairmen of Cities and Counties Councils, and members of the Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee held a meeting about relevant issues.
7.28	Jemin Ilbo wins Korean Journalist Award for Jeju 4.3 related reporting
8.24	Baekjoilson Spirit Memorial Stone unveiling ceremony
8.26	Special Jeju 4.3 committee visited Taiwan to study the case of Taiwan's February 28 Incident and its resolution
10월	Jeju Area Student Councils submit a petition to the National Assembly for the enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law and the formation of a special committee
10.26	Hyun Kyeong-Dae, chairman of the National Assembly's judiciary committee obtained and disclosed the 1960 National Assembly Investigation Team's report on the massacres
10.29	Provincial Council plenary session resolution on the formation of a National Assembly's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee was submitted
1994. 2.2	Byun Jung-Il and 74 National Assembly Lawmakers proposed a resolution to form a special committee to investigate the Jeju 4.3 Incident.
2.7	Official Acceptance of Jeju Provincial 4.3 Special Committee's 4.3 Damage Report
3.31	Joint Press Conference held for Joint hosting of the Jeju 4.3 Memorial service - Jeju Folk Art Association hosts the 1st Jeju 4.3 Art Festival
4.1 ~10.10	Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Investigation Commission and Local Residents hold open meetings
1995. 1.10	Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee visit 4.3 historical sites - Explored Destroyed Villages, Mass grave Sites, Ruined Forts, Garrisons, Shelters, Cemeteries, etc. and listened to testimonies
5.23	Jeju Provincial Council published Jeju 4.3 Damage Survey 1st Report and lists 14,125 victims
1996. 1.12	Provincial Council Damage Report Signboard Ceremony
3.23	11 provincial councilors, citizens, and students go on an 11 national pilgrimage to inform people about Jeju 4.3 and urge the enactment of Special Laws
12.17	154 National Assembly lawmakers, including Byun Jeon-Il, Yang Jeong-Gyu, and Hyun Kyeong-Dae proposed a resolution to form a special committee to investigate the Jeju 4.3 Incident

1997.2.28	Publication of the "Revised and Supplemented Jeju 4.3 Damage Survey Report" (Second Report), Jeju Provincial Councils updates victims list to 14,5041 people.
4.1	Formation of a pan-national committee to promote the 50th anniversary of Jeju 4.3 is held in Seoul. (Standing Representatives: Kang Man-Gil, Kim Joong-Bae, Jeong Yoon-Hyeong)
9.26	Formation of the Citizens Promotion of Jeju 4.3 Memorial Project Committee (Chairman, Cho Seung-Ok)
1998. 2.3	50th Anniversary of Jeju 4.3 Academic and Cultural Project Promotion Committee Meeting (Standing Representatives: Kang Chang-Il, Kim Yeong-Hoon, Kim Pyeong-Dam, Moon Moo-Byeong, and Im Moon-Cheol)
3.1	Proclamation Ceremony in Seoul of The Year of Jeju 4.3 Honor Restoration
3.29	The National Council for New Politics formed a special committee to investigate the Jeju 4.3 Incident (Chairman Kim Jin-Bae, Vice Chairman Chu Mi-Ae)
4.1	To mark the 50th anniversary of Jeju 4.3, Governor Shin Gu-Byeom announced four basic principles for the resolution of Jeju 4.3. ① Truth Commission ② Recover Honor ③ Community Compensation ④ Pursue Peace
4.4	The Jeju 4.3 Pan-National Committee have a street parade and rally after a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of Jeju 4.3 calling for truth-finding and the restoration of honor.
5.7	The National Assembly Jeju 4.3 Special Committee hold the first Jeju 4.3 Public Official Meeting in Jeju City
8.21	Jeju 4.3 50th Anniversary International Academic Conference is held (Jeju City Grand Hotel) - 500 participants including Nobel Peace Prize winner Jose Ramos-Horta

Chart Information from: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation's History of the Truth-Finding Movement, The Jeju Special Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 White Papers, Jeju 4.3 Incident Material Sources (Newspapers Volume)

### 3. Efforts to enact a special law on Jeju 4.3

1999 marks a significant turning point for Jeju 4.3. This was due to the effort of countless people who had tried to find the truth of Jeju 4.3, the result being the enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. Starting with the formation of the Pan-National Committee to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Jeju 4.3, discussions on Jeju 4.3 Fact-Finding began to actively start.

In 1998, efforts were made to hold a public hearing on Jeju 4.3 at the National Assembly, focusing on a Jeju 4.3 Special Committee of the National Assembly.

In April 1999, the actual circumstances Jeju 4.3 were investigated through the opening of application windows for reporting damages at all municipal, county, town, township, and neighborhood offices on Jeju Island. In addition, 80 members of the Jeju Provincial Council, the four Jeju city and county councils, and the bereaved families' association members, began to promote a national pilgrimage and held a protest at the central party headquarters of the National Assembly to call for the enactment

of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law.

Heads of municipal and provincial councils across the country launched a nationwide campaign, adopting a campaign calling for the resolution of Jeju 4.3. In June, President Kim Dae-Jung visited Jeju Island and he promised a pledge of 3 Billion won in support of a Jeju 4.3 Peace Park. In July, the provincial council persuaded the government by passing an ordinance bill on the establishment and operation of the Jeju 4.3 Victims Memorial Project.

In August, the Jemin Ilbo's "4.3 Speaks" series ended after 456 articles, and in October, Jeju Island and the provincial council co-hosted the "Jeju 4.3 Problem Solving Plan Public Affairs Meeting" and 24 civic groups participated in the meeting. A meeting for the "Condition for the Winning of the April 3 Special Law," showing that the provincial community was working to enact the Jeju 4.3 Special Law.

In November, 113 Lawmakers of the Grand National Party, proposed the Jeju 4.3 Special Law to the National Assembly, Jeju 4.3 Solidarity Association demonstrated in front the National Assembly Headquarters, urging for the enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. President Kim Dae-jung delivered a statement to the National Assembly saying, "Enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law takes precedence." The problem of Jeju 4.3 was for all, the ruling party and the opposition party. This was the effort of Jeju Area National Lawmakers.

In December, 103 lawmakers of the National Assembly proposed the Jeju 4.3 Special Law to the National Assembly, and the April 3rd Solidarity Conference announced the declaration of 2,045 Jeju residents wishing to enact the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. After that, the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, which contains 11 articles, was passed at the plenary session of the National Assembly on December 16 and the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, which calls for the enactment of the April 3 Special Act, was finally passed by the ruling and opposition parties, paving the way for the investigation of Jeju 4.3.

#### **4. Efforts to restore the honor of the victims**

The "Special Act on the Investigation of the Jeju April 3rd Incident and the Restoration of Victims' Honor" (usually shortened to the Jeju 4.3 Special Law) in December 1999. Based on this legal basis, a full-fledged fact-finding mission began in 2000 to restore the honor of the victims, including the surviving victims, and the bereaved families.

In January 2000, the Jeju Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee visited Taiwan's February 28 Peace Park, Okinawa, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki Peace Parks to find out the status of overseas memorial parks, while, domestically, they visited places like the Busan Democracy Park, Masan's March 15th Sanctuary and Memorial Site, and Gwangju's May 18th Memorial Park to draw a blueprint for creating the Jeju April 3 Peace Park. On the 12th, the Jeju Special Law was publicly announced with a small briefing session held with the Jeju 4.3 Pan-National Committee in Seoul to explain the efforts taken so far and to explain further plans. In March, the Jeju April 3 Incident Processing Support Group" was established under the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, and the bereaved family association was established to console the lucky and unlucky people affected and lost to Jeju 4.3. In addition, the Jeju Provincial Council published the second revision and supplementation of the Jeju 4.3 Damage Investigation Report, and the Jeju 4.3 Support Office was established under the jurisdiction of Jeju Provincial Government.

In April, 2000, the Jeju Provincial council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee discussed plans to publish reports on the U.S. military administration related to April 3. Civic groups pressured the government through a protest rally with the bereaved families' association over the issue of the enforcement ordinances of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. Later, through talks with lawmakers Choo Mi-ae, Jang Jung-eon, Ko Jin-bu, and Choi In-ki, the enforcement ordinance of the April 3 Special Law was announced with significant improvements. It was intended to get to the bottom of the matter through the announcement of the Enforcement Decree of the April 3 Special Law (Presidential Decree No. 16803) in May, the promulgation of the Enforcement Ordinance of the April 3 Special Law (Jeju Island Ordinance No. 2261) in June, and the receipt of reports of victims and bereaved families under the enforcement of the April 3 Special Law. In August, the "Jeju April 3 Incident Fact-finding and Victim Honor Recovery Committee" (Chaired by the Prime Minister) was launched by the national government, and in September, a working-level committee for the investigation of Jeju 4.3 Incident and the restoration of the honor of the victims

was launched in Jeju. In November, "Jeju April 3 Data Collection □ Report on the U.S. Military Government" was published, and in December, a seminar was held to commemorate the 1st anniversary of the passage of the Jeju 4.3 Special Act and to commemorate the publication of the U.S. military report.

In January 2001, a planning team for fact-finding report on the Jeju April 3 Incident was created and lawyer Park Won-soon was appointed head of the team. In March, the residents of Jeju held a public hearing focused on the tentative plans for the Jeju April 3rd Memorial Park. In August, an investigation and memorial service was held for victims of Jeju 4.3 victims on Daema Island (Tsushima Island) in Japan. In October, The New York Times reported in a special report titled "South Koreans Seek Truth About '48 Massacre" that the U.S. commanders were angry that Jeju Island was the only place where the elections were boycotted in 1948. Since then, South Korean leaders who participated in the U.S. military government have reported that they carried out "a clean-up operation" of the island's inhabitants, believed to be communists instigating the unrest on the island (Yang Jo-hoon, 2007). In December, a workshop was held to mark the second anniversary of the enactment of the Jeju April 3 Special Act, titled "Evaluation and Future Tasks of Jeju 4.3 Fact-finding Activities."

In January 2002, the Jeju Provincial Council's Jeju 4.3 Special Committee visited the Prime Minister's Office to urge the resolution of the April 3 issue, including the criteria for selecting victims of Jeju 4.3. In March, the "Lost Village" stone monument was installed, and an unveiling ceremony was held, and the "Jeju 4.3 Culture and Arts Festival" was held to commemorate the 54th anniversary of Jeju 4.3, including a memorial event for Darangshi Cave. In April, the 3rd Memorial Service for Missing Victims of Jeju 4.3 was held at the Jujeong factory site in Geonip-dong, Jeju City.

In March 2003, the Jeju Provincial Council requested the president to attend the 55th anniversary memorial of Jeju 4.3, and the Jeju April 3 Incident and the Korea Press Forum were held at the Press Center in Seoul. On March 29, the Central Committee on Jeju 4.3 adopted seven major proposals of the government after a conditional review and resolution to be reviewed

six months after the April 3 fact-finding report. In April, an international academic conference was held to commemorate the 55th anniversary of Jeju 4.3 and the Blue House held a private luncheon meeting with President Roh Moo-hyun and Jeju 4.3 committee to discuss the process of the Jeju 4.3 report. On April 3rd, Prime Minister Goh Kun attended the groundbreaking ceremony for the April 3rd memorial service and the Jeju April 3 Peace Park. In May, a memorial stone unveiling, and memorial service has held for the residents of Hagwi. In October, the Jeju 4.3 Central Committee finalized the Jeju April 3 Incident Fact-Find Report and President Roh Moo-hyun issued an official apology from the national level for the events related to Jeju 4.3.

In August 2004, the Central Government Committee of Jeju 4.3 and the Ministry of National Defense reached an agreement to revise 35 cases of distortion concerning the Korean War and Jeju 4.3, and Prime Minister Lee Hae-chan attended the 57th anniversary of the April 3rd Memorial Ceremony in 2005. In 2006, Roh Moo-hyun became the first sitting president to attend the Jeju 4.3 Memorial Service, by his presence and apologizing again to the bereaved families, he empowered the effort to restore their honor. In 2008, a revision to the Jeju 4.3 Special Law was proposed to the National Assembly where the conservative Grand National Party abolished the Jeju 4.3 Central Committee. However, it was a task that could not stop the desire to find out the truth of Jeju 4.3 and restore honor to its victims. On March 28th, 2008, the Jeju April 3 Peace Memorial Hall opened, and with the publication of the Jeju 4.3 Committee White Papers – Reconciliation and Coexistence, Jeju 4.3 was newly written as a great example of forgiveness and reconciliation of peace and human rights. In October 2012, the independent film "Jiseul," which deals with April 3, won four awards at the Busan International Film Festival, playing an important role in making the painful history of Jeju residents known. On August 2, 2013, the Jeju 4.3 Victims' Freedom Association and the Jeju Provincial Council held a joint press conference at the provincial council to declare reconciliation and coexistent, and jointly held a grand unity memorial event in December by visiting the Cemetery of the Loyal Dead and the April 3 Peace Park together

with the participation of the ruling Saenuri Party and the Democratic Party of Jeju. Now, April 3 is remembered not only as Jeju's painful history, but also as a precious history of reconciliation and cooperation, a new turning point of understanding.

### **Discussions on the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law and Jeju 4.3 Special Law Support Ordinances**

#### **1. Discussions by the National Assembly to Revise the Jeju 4.3 Special Law**

On December 22, 2006, a revision to the Jeju Special Act passed the plenary session of the National Assembly. Kang Chang-il's revision bill was passed with 176 votes in favor, one vote against and 10 abstentions out of 187 registered members. It had been a year and two months since the revision was proposed on October 19, 2005. The revision mainly included items concerning extra fact-finding actions, establishing the Jeju's April 3rd Peace and Human Rights Foundation, and expanding the scope and care given to victims and bereaved families (Jeju's Voice, 2006). Some additional revisions to the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, proposed by Assemblyman Kang Chang-il & 32 others on August 17, 2016, included items for special cases for medical benefits, financial support for memorial groups, and calls to restore honor to prisoners. After the proposal, it was referred to the appropriate standing committees on the 18th, and has been submitted four times until May 12, 2020.

Assembly member Oh Young-hoon and 59 others initiated another revision to the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, revising 32 articles in the law. The main contents of their revision focused on distribution of compensation for surviving victims and their families, as well as the nullification of the military trails. The revision was proposed on December 19, 2017 and has been brought up three more times until May 12, 2020. Another revised bill on the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, proposed by Assembly member Kwon Eun-hee and 9 nine lawmakers, was made with 70 revised articles in the text. It was proposed on March 21, 2018 and was brought up twice more until May 12, 2020. What sets Kwon's revision apart from Oh's is the inclusion of additional fact-finding investigation on an individual case basis.

An additional partial revision of the Jeju 4.3

Special Law, which was initiated by Assemblyman Park Kwang-on and 10 others, was proposed on August 21, 2018 and was brought up twice more until May 12, 2020. The proposed addition to the law was an item implementing Jeju 4.3 history lessons, human rights education and the banning of slander, distortion, and fabrication concerning Jeju 4.3. Some additional and similar revisions to Jeju 4.3 Special Act, initiated by Assembly member Wi Sung-gon and 22 others was proposed on March 21, 2019 and brought up again on May 12, 2020; included clauses banning of denial, hiding information, distortion, fabrication, and distribution of false information concerning Jeju 4.3. Proposed on March 21, 2019 and presented on May 12, 2020 (Jeju-do Council, 2020).

On May 12th, 2020, the last day of the 20th National Assembly Session, Jeju lawmakers and the Jeju 4.3 Bereaved Family Association held a press conference saying that the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law must be passed by the subcommittee of the bill (Jeju Shinbo, 2020).

On the afternoon of the 12th, the subcommittee of the National Assembly's Public Administration and Security Committee said, "We merged some of the previous revisions and amendmendants to the Jeju 4.3 Special Law." The so-called review of the law is likely to lead to the standing committees, the Legislation and Judiciary Committee and the plenary session, which were approved by the ruling and opposition parties.

However, at the subcommittee on the bill, the government (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, Ministry of Planning and Finance) expressed a negative opinion concerning the process of compensation for Jeju 4.3, citing public opinion that Jeju 4.3 causes social conflict and 1.8 trillion won price tag on the budget. For these reasons, Lee Chae-ik, chairman of the subcommittee on legislation, and others members of the United Future Party opposed the resolution, calling for a resolution between the government and the ruling party of the revisions (Nocut News, 2020).

#### **2. Public-Private efforts to pass the revisions of the Jeju 4.3 Special Act during the 20th National Assembly**

In order to pass the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, residents of Jeju Island, members of the Jeju

Provincial Council, bereaved families and others visited the National Assembly to seek cooperation to explain the legitimacy of the revision and to request the review of the revision as soon as possible. On March 12, 2018, the floor leaders of the Democratic Party of Korea, the Liberty Korea Party, the Bareun Mirae Party, and the Party for Democracy and Peace met. On November 9, the above Jeju groups visited the offices of the chairman of the Public Administration and Security Committee and the floor leaders of the Democratic Party of Korea and the Liberty Korea Party calling for the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law.

On March 13, 2019, various Jeju related groups visited the floor leaders' offices of the Democratic Party of Korea, the Liberty Korea Party, and the Bareun Mirae Party to explain the legitimacy of the Jeju 4.3 special law revision and to suggest the passage of the revision bill. The floor leader of the main opposition party, the Liberty Korea Party, and Lee Chaek-ik, secretary of the Public Administration and Security Committee's Subcommittee on Bill Review, met to seek cooperation on the issue. On July 3, the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation and the bereaved families' association met with the prime minister, the minister of the Ministry of the Interior and Safety, and the senior secretary for civil society to explain the need for the passage of the revised law urging its passage within the year. On July 4, they met with the floor leaders of the Democratic Party of Korea and the Bareun Mirae Party and made a request for cooperation in passing the revised bill within the year. On September 30, the various citizen groups stressed the need to pass the revision through a meeting with members of the Liberty Korea Party of the Legislation Review Subcommittee of the Public Administration and Security Committee, and on November 26, they visited the chairman's office of the bill review subcommittee to request the submission of the amended bill past review subcommittee. On May 11, 2020, the many Jeju 4.3 related groups visited the National Assembly and met with lawmakers of the United Future Party and the Democratic Party of Korea to urge them to make efforts to pass the revision bill during the 20th National Assembly sessions.

Additional activities included, In September 2018, the National Assembly held a debate on the revision

of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. A special discussion was held on Korea's Jeju 4.3 Special Law in June of 2019. At the same time, street demonstrations were held with the bereaved families' associations, the student council of universities in Jeju, and other various Jeju 4.3 organizations to urge the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law.

Academics are also trying to inform others about the necessity of revising the Jeju 4.3 Special Law in many ways: through Jeju National University students petition movements demanding an American Government Apology and the creation of an Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Law, having testimony of Jeju 4.3 survivors speak in the USA, holding Jeju World Peace forums, seminars, and classes with students from USA, Taiwan, Japan, France, Australia, and other places joining, establishing the Jeju 4.3 Globalization Project, and many others. With efforts like these make the justification for revising the Jeju 4.3 Special Law and restoring the honor of victims and bereaved families much stronger.

### **3. Jeju Provincial Council Local Support Ordinances on the Jeju 4.3 Special Law**

On August 11, 1999, the first of its kind Local Support Ordinances was enacted concerning Jeju 4.3. This local support ordinance had 16 articles establishing The Jeju People Committee for 4.3 Memorial Services, systematicall preparing for and the operation of the Jeju 4.3 memorial project. Later, on June 7, 2000, the Ordinance on the Establishment and Operation of the Jeju People Committee for 4.3 Memorial Services was abolished by the enactment of the full national level Jeju 4.3 Special Law and so the second local support ordinance on the Jeju 4.3 Special Law was passed, consisting of 14 items. The third Ordinance was the Jeju April 3 Peace Park Management and Operation Ordinance, which was implemented in 36 articles on April 2, 2008. The Fourth Support Ordinance was, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Ordinance on the Conservation and Management of the Jeju 4.3 Relics Site was enacted on May 11, 2009 by Representative Hyun Woo-beom. Fifth, the Ordinance on the Support of Living Subsidies for Survivors and Bereaved Families of the Jeju 4.3 Incident was implemented in 10 articles on August 17, 2011. Sixth, the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation Establishment and Contribution Ordinance was

enacted on March 16, 2016.

Seventh, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province's Jeju 4.3 Victims Memorial Day, jointly proposed by Council members Kim Yong-beom and Yoon Doo-ho, a member of the Education Council, was implemented with four articles on April 2, 2014. Eighth, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Ordinance on the Operation of the Jeju April 3 Peace Literature Award was implemented with 13 articles on March 18, 2014. Ninth, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province School's ordinance on the revitalization of Jeju 4.3 Peace Education, which was initiated by Education Council Member Lee Seok-moon on April 10, 2013 and was implemented with 15 articles. Tenth, On December 21, 2017, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Ordinance on the Designation of Jeju 4.3 as a Local Public Holidays, which was proposed by Council member. Sohn Yu-won and implemented with six clauses. The 11th Ordinance on the Development and Support of Dark Tourism in Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, was initiated by council member Jung Min-gu on May 11, 2020, and implemented with 12 articles.

In addition, the Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Council formed a special legislative committee on Jeju 4.3 to enact ordinances and promote the general restoration of honor to the victims of Jeju 4.3 and their bereaved families.

## Conclusion

The Jeju April 3 Special Act represents the painful history of Jeju residents. Jeju still has bereaved families and surviving victims suffering from the trauma of its memory. For seven years and seven months from March 1947 to September 1954, Jeju was an island of red. Jeju was buried in a struggle between left and right ideologies. In the evening, armed forces, in the day time, rebel forces, and Jeju residents had to live in hell for seven years and seven months. In the evening, fathers and mothers died, in the daytime the brothers and sisters died. People of the mid-mountainous villages and some coastal villages had to leave their villages because of the evacuation order and turmoil. The surviving victims and their bereaved families, who had to live in silent pain their entire lives sealed in their deep hearts that day, had to shed tears at a time when they and their children were being oppressed by the

guild-by-association system.

The pain of the April 3rd day gradually began to emerge into the world due to the writer Hyun Ki-young's "Aunt Suni" in 1978 and the pro-democracy movement in 1980. And with the passage of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law in 2000, discussions on finding out the truth truly began. On the basis of the official government-level investigation reports, the memories of Jeju 4.3 that had not even been discussed began to be discussed one by one. Through President Roh Moo-hyun official apology in 2003 and later his participation in the Jeju 4.3 Memorial service, and President Moon Jae-in's participation in the Jeju 4.3 Memorial services of 2018 & 2020, we see government level discussions about establishing a 4.3 Trauma Center and trying for complete reconciliation of Jeju 4.3. However, due to lack of consultation and mediation efforts by the ruling party, opposition parties and government ministries, the 20th National Assembly failed to pass the threshold in the 20th National Assembly, and the five bills for the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law were automatically scrapped.

The Jeju 4.3 special law awaits the 21st National Assembly. Upon the opening of the 21st National Assembly, the bereaved families met with three lawmakers-elect of Jeju and conveyed their opinion that the bill should be jointly proposed with ruling and opposition lawmakers to pass the Jeju 4.3 Special Act Amendment Act.

In a forum on May 14, 2020, Yang Jo-hoon, president of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, explained the situation at the time of the enactment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law in 1999, stressing that the flexibility of condolence and reconciliation was needed to pass the Jeju 4.3 Special Law. In addition, both the ruling and opposition parties proposed a way to pass the revision of the Jeju April 3 Special Act through a merger review process. Kang Ho-jin, executive chairman of the Jeju 4.3 Memorial Society, also proposed a pan-national promotion organization. The pan-national organization was formed on September 19, 2019. On top of that, he proposed a pan-national body involving the enactment party and various agencies in Jeju Island.

The Jeju 4.3 Special Law is a long-cherished project for Jeju residents. It is the pain of Jeju residents. At the same time, it is the way to go toward true reconciliation and co-prosperity, while

seeking the Jeju 4.3 spirit and healing the painful wounds of the surviving victims and their bereaved families. What is clear, however, is that the revision of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law will be important not only for the bereaved families' association but also for the residents' opinions to come up with a single plan. The Jeju 4.3 Special Act is not a matter of bereaved families, but an important task to heal the pain of 4.3 when Jeju residents had to be suppressed by ideological logic and strife.

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