



# Cases of Sexual Assault committed to local women during Jeju 4·3 Incident<sup>1)</sup>

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## Abstract

Jeju people, though they had extremely mental and physical trauma, was forced to silence about their experience for a long time and their awareness about Jeju 4·3 Incident experience remained only very fragmentary and ambiguous. Though local men who witnessed about sexual assault, gave those informations insincerely as if they said of others, their witness about sexual assault committed to local women was fragmental but vivid.

On the other hand, most of witness cases collected from women were about their efforts that Jamsuhoi(Haenyeo-women divers association) of the village made to minimize the damage of the village. For example, in Kimnyeong-ri, local residents decided together to run a restaurant to (which was supposed to be named as 'Danyoung sikdang') to provide food for soldiers and punitive expedition based in the village and neighboring villages.

## 1. Introduction

All the cases introuduced in this paper were interviewed through direct interview with Jeju local residents over 10 years from the early of the 1980s to the early of the 1990s.

Korea was experiencing rapid changes, calling for change strongly by the people who are struggling for democratization against military regime and dictatorship with a long history.

Nonetheless national governmental authority was still controlling people on the level of security ideology.

1) For reader's understanding, I would like to clarify that some part of this paper is overlapped with some of the author's writings. The contents of this paper have been covered already in "Jeju Women's Lives in the Context of the Jeju April 3rd Uprising", which was posted in AIWS (Asian Journal of Women's Studies) in 2004 and which the author and professor Kim, Soonhee made presentation together in Jeju 4·3 Incident conference co-hosted by Korean Institute at Harvard Univ, and World Association for Island Studio in April of 2003. And this was introduced in the author's novel titled Sunset of Mt. Halla and various academic association related to human right.

At that time it was a very difficult job to collect the data through direct interview about ①who ② why, and ③where, and ④how the most tragic accident was broken out, ⑤ how it was finished, with ⑥the people who experienced 4 · 3 Incident, which everybody knows but nobody knows publicly about it.

Pilot interview of one village randomly selected was conducted before real field research. Unexpected trouble was met. That is the difference of point of view. Most of people told that they know the 4 · 3 Incident and they are victimized. But most of them expressed differently who victimized whom, depending on their social position.

For example, at that time all the villages have leaders who are called Saemaul New Village leaders appointed by Saemaul Movement Headquarter.

The Saemaul leaders were very young men wearing uniquely green jumper and solid pants and boots, wearing sunglasses at night, carrying a baton of commandment, which appeared that they were seemingly commanding officers.

These leaders and their family were sure that Jeju 4 · 3 Incident was a riot caused by reds allured by South Korea Labor Party, and threateningly told, "why are you digging up the riot? You are a suspicious person. I will report you to the authority." In effect there were some people who reported to the authority.

There were 'opinion leaders' in the village who were classified as middle class, though they didn't come forward like leaders, and were, to be sure, shaping public opinion. Their opinion power was based on a lot of relatives in the village.

They showed very ambiguous attitudes, at once unwilling to reveal the incident and revealing some information stealthily.

For example, there are many people who were victimized at that time. If I tell all the story, I will have difficulty living here if you can be responsible for everything in the future. If you cannot be responsible for anything, don't dig out anything. I don't want to see any person die once again for this. While refusing any information, they give some indirect information like " if you come to our village again in which month and on which date, when there are ancestral rites in many families, you can get any hints of what was happening.

And other people, especially women whoever they may be, "we don't know anything" protect themselves, preventing me from saying one word.

After knowing what it is, I didn't make plan for any research methods. More simply I chose a research method to approach to local people in Jeju Island. That is, let's meet local people randomly and collect materials about 4 · 3.

Considering Jeju 4 · 3 Incident sprouted from 1945 when we were liberated from Japan Military Regime and broke out in 1948, I decided to have randomly sample interviewees over '40s because I presumed that in the early of the 1980s, if they are over their 40s, they might be at youngest 10 or more when 4 · 3 Incident broke out, they can remember whatever they have experienced or heard,

## 2. Research Method

### 1) Purpose of study

I plan to visit all the village in Jeju over 10 years if possible. Interview will be conducted under

the name of village community field research focusing on village history, traditional rites, traditional life & culture, traditional culture & art, and oral tradition. But purpose of my study was vivid, that is to get certain evidence of Jeju 4 · 3 Incident.

With basic data obtained through field working, I wanted to investigate the following :

First, (1) How do interviewees in field research<sup>2)</sup> remember When looking back upon the past, oral history is essential to correct history right by recording interview collected from whoever experienced the 4 · 3 incident directly or indirectly. When the viewpoint of how people remembered their experience rather than what happened at that time is necessary to be taken into consideration, it is considered to be important in that the memories of people with direct or indirect experience reflect social or emotional situation through the everyday lives.<sup>3)</sup>

Scholars(Langer,1991. 권기숙,2001) contends that this is "because some of memory is sometimes highlighted or oppressed or reshaped according to needs of the present. And above all things, the memory can also be differently influenced by social situation depending on when the memory is called to remembrance." and dictate Jeju 4 · 3 Incident?

(2)How do they remember the situation of Jeju people at that time?

(3)How do they remember Jeju local people recognized the international and national situation?

(4)How much do they remember Jeju local people had vision and hope to establish a new nation?

(5)What were they experiencing in detailed before and after Jeju 4 · 3 Incident?

Second, When, where, what, by whom, and how did they remember Jeju 4 · 3 Incident broke out and finished.

Third, (1) Do you remember how the politicians at that time attempted to exploit Jeju Island and how they in reality exploited Jeju Island at last?

(2) Was there any discussion among Jeju local people whether the international political situation was the direct cause or indirect cause of Jeju 4 · 3 Incident.?

(3) Have you heard any rumor that American Military Government or Japan or China or North Korea intervened 4 · 3 Incident?

## 2) Research Range/Scope

There were 556 natural villages, which are named 195 political villages, and also which are named 203 administrative villages in the early of the 1980s when field research was started.

Attention: I visited 150 administrative villages among them. Though I have visited the rest of villages one or two times, I didn't conduct any research enough to get any concrete data because I got very fragmentary information from a few people, then I excluded the villages from my research scope.

2) When looking back upon the past, oral history is essential to correct history right by recording interview collected from whoever experienced the 4 · 3 Incident directly or indirectly. When the viewpoint of how people remembered their experience rather than what happened at that time is necessary to be taken into consideration, it is considered to be important in that the memories of people with direct or indirect experience reflect social or emotional situation through the everyday lives.

3) Gi sook Kwon, 2011, "No father, No food : Women History of Jeju 4 · 3 Incident" Jeju 4 · 3 victim Family (vol 11, December 2011) pp.141-153.

### 3) When

I conducted the field research from summer in 1982 to 1999. The first village of my interview was Samyang 3 dong in Jeju city, but during the 1990s, I conducted my research just intermittently.

Attention: I didn't set the villages in order for field research.

### 4) Research subject

#### (1) Subject

I selected the subjects for interview in cooperation with information giver and supporters who tell I chose the interviewees in cooperation of helpers or informers to arrange individual or group interviews belonging to the age range below, as well as to give some information who experienced "Muzanyeon Satae" meaning 1948 incident, such as Jeju Islanders called 'Jeju 4 · 3 incident' at that time.

That is, most of the interviewees who experienced or led the 4 · 3 Incident are included such as adult men, scarcely youth over 15 years old and women divers (called Haenyeo) because I thought women hesitated to respond to any interview, the person who led the 4 · 3 Incident or took part in the 4 · 3 Incident directly or indirectly. I didn't limit the number of the interviewees.

#### (2) Age

I focused on the people who are over 40s.

Attention: Why I took some interviews with youth over 15 years old and local people under 40s is because I want to get some reference materials to know what of Jeju 4 · 3 Incident was known to the next generation.

### 5) place for an interview

I contacted them in advance to decide the place for an interview. Separate interviews with men were taken in various place, such as public meeting house, traditional rite's place, individual business place, coffee house, bar, restaurant, or strolling together. Men didn't hesitate to respond to the interview, paying little attention to any other person around us whether they are showing a little different attitude.

The individual houses many people gathered, or meeting places such as the rite place for spiritual exorcism, fitting place called Bultuok meeting place for Haenyeos, wild field working together, family meeting for various parties for wedding or funeral, ancestral rites were selected as the place for interviews with women

Besides I contacted in advance local people who left Jeju or people who was involved in suppression strategy but live in Seoul, Busan, Japan, the USA, and etc, and met them when they visited Jeju.

### 6) Interview method

Interview method on subject. Most of them requested not recording, not taking a note, specially not recording any hints of who and where, and no photo. If the suggestions are not met, they didn't want to repond to any interview. There there is no photo, recording, or memo left. Nor any questionnaire was allowed to ensure the validity by statistic method (For pilot research, a few experimental survey by questionnaires was conducted but most of the subjects didn't want to respond to it and the method was excluded.

Therefore

(1) Interview method of unilateral narration of subject was required. But the more often we met, the better responses to the questions in detailed. What is more, they responded many times very well to interviews to search for the special accidents

(2) Both direct and indirect(by phone, or through family, relative, friend or acquaintance) interviews were taken at the same time, Twice face-to-face talks for pre-interview were conducted to select the real subject for the main interview.

① 1st interview: a few basic questions about social demographical information to introduce each other such as if they lived in Jeju just after liberation from Japanese Military Regime.

② 2nd interview: pilot survey for in-depth interview was conducted after selecting the subjects on the basis of information collected from the 1st interview, report, document, literature, and media data

Ⓐ where did you live at the time of liberation from Japan military regime? Jeju ? or which place in Jeju?

Ⓑ Which association or organization did you belong to?

Ⓒ How is a family tree at that time? Did you experience any direct damage or victim of family member or not?

Ⓓ Did you play a role in public at 4 · 3 Incident or not?

③ In-depth interviews during 4 or 10 sessions with the subjects selected for main interview were conducted. The number of this subjects are so precious few. From them,

Ⓐ The subject's life history was listened to at first.

Ⓑ There were many interviews about situations involved with Jeju 4 · 3 Incident revealed through

Ⓐ and whether this interview was true or not was confirmed by the 3rd person.

Ⓒ Of the conspirators directly concerned with Jeju 4 · 3 incident, questions whether they knew about international communism and Communism of North Korea or not, and if they knew about that, how they knew about that information were asked.

I took some steps to make sure whether their testimonies were true or not, by comparing written documents(G-2 reports, news report etc), related historical documents (which individuals wrote) and etc. and by identifying relation between testimony of their individual life history and the real Jeju 4 · 3 incident.

### 3. Finding

During interviews with the subjects, there were so many cases collected about violent sex or rape or sexual torture. What is worse, there were a few cases that attackers abused Jeju women as sex slavery.

It was most of men who confessed they watched directly sexual torture done or who reported

that they heard it from the person on the spot of sexual torture. On the other hand, women didn't say anything about that. All the women concealed the fact.

There was just one man directly related to the woman sexually tortured among many witnesses.

There was just one woman witness who witnessed she was sexually tortured repulsively. This woman spoke vaguely about actual situation of sexual violence. Instead she confessed she had vivid memory that was beyond expression because she felt shameful.

The woman who " " was sexually tortured repulsively confessed she left Jeju because of the miserable experience. She lived alone in Busan and struggled with physical and psychological disease because of the aftermath.

The woman completely didn't want to report anything even though she knew victims of Jeju 4 · 3 Incident were reporting.

On the other hand, women whose family members or relatives were actually involved in 4 · 3 Incident revolt or suspected to be involved were forced to be sacrificed voluntarily or non voluntarily instead of the family members or relatives.

We should be reminded that the family member, including, in special, women was sexually tortured to death on the charge that they didn't tell on where the suspected to join resistance hid themselves or where they were. It is said that punitive expedition composed of civilian, authority, military soldiers, and the police took that for granted by calling these homicide as justifiable proxy execution without resistance.

## Cases

### 1) Cases of two women who became to be sexual slaves to save one man

This is a story about a fiance who was forced half reluctantly to be a sexual slave to save her fiance and colleague called Mr. Hong, and about a niece of Mr. Hong.

(1) Mr. Hong was a teacher at a elementary school in Sungsan area at that time. One day, a printing machine in teacher's room was missing. There was deployed a punitive expedition which was called a special infantry company or a special investigation unit. They were composed of members from Western North Youth Group, Daedong Youth Group, and Railroad Police.

Investigation authority (they expressed like that but I don't know whether it means police or special investigation unit) contended that 'the reds' took away the printing roller to print propaganda bills. They drew out and investigated teachers one by one, telling there must be spies among teachers to inform secret.

Mr. Hong was drawn out and tortured and sentenced to be shot and waited for execution at Turjinmok Sungsanpo by the special unit under second lieutenant ChoiNansu (who was called special unit Choi second lieutenant, even though his position was a police inspector). Mr. Hong's fiance, Miss Jung(a teacher) ran for the base camp at the news that Mr. Hong was sentenced to be shot and waiting for execution.

She asked Mr. Cha a member of the special unit, who belonged to Western North Youth Group, for the last meeting with her fiance. Mr. Cha gave a hit to Miss Jung that she could save her fiance if she pleased him well. Mr. Cha asked for her body. Miss Jung half

reluctantly gave her body to Mr. Cha who asked her for to save her fiance (There was a witness that Miss Jung was violently raped for the reason of saving the life of her fiance). But the very man who save Mr. Hong was a conscientious soldier Mun Nam Su who was a special forces member.

Mun Nam Su caught a hint of what happened at Miss Jung who was half out of mind after raped. Mun persuaded Jung to tell the truth about what happened to the printing roller, he got Hong to get free right away just 15 minutes before shot to death.

Jung became sex slavery by Western North Youth Group since that. And she followed a western north youth unit who sympathized her and she left Jeju and settled in Daegu.

Ps; 3 times of interviews with Hong 00, his 3rd interview was taken in his drug store. He was financially enjoying richness and socially recognized as a local celebrity, running a drug store and sometimes doing local medical practice in 1984. He seems to know about the news of Jung, the former fiance/ ex-fiance and when I asked him if he knew how she lived, he didn't hesitate to answer flatly, "they say she lives unhappily."

(2) Hong 00's elder brother was sentenced to be shot to death at Turjinmok Sungsanpo by the special investigation unit on the charge of helping the mob. Hong 00' brother was married and had a 17 or 18 years old daughter who was known as a beautiful vivari which is a Jeju dialect for a virtual virgin, for her beauty and virtue. A Western North Youth who was appointed as a police chief was watering for Hong's nephew. He knew well that Hong 00 's life had been saved and set free in exchange for the sacrifice of his fiance's body. He found fault with and arrested Hong 00 again. And he suggested to Hong openly that if Hong arranged his niece to him, he could save his life. Hong 00 asked his family and relatives to save his life because if he was shot to death, the family tree could not continue to the posterity.

At last Hong made arrangement between the police office captain and his niece and after that, they could live without any harassment by police as well as punitive expedition, special squadron, special investigation team. But his niece was very unhappy they said. But there was just a rumor and there was nobody who have seen them.

Hong, who survived after giving his fiance and his niece to the Western North Group members for sexual slaves, got married to another woman and sons and daughters. Besides he quit teaching and studied pharmacy and medicine and he was recognized as a pharmacist and local doctor with wealth and fame as a local senior.

Ps ; There are many people who gave the above information. Some of them came to Jeju as punitive expedition, but stayed in Jeju and now became Jeju local people.

Nobody including even Hong 00 named the names of the two sexually victimized women to the last and. (interview source: Sungsanep Sunsanri, Kosungri)

## 2) Kang's wife of Yong Kang village, which disappeared

There was a couple who had just got married in Yong Kang village located in mountains facing the peak of Mt. Halla, near Jeju castle at the time of 4 · 3 Incident though the village now belongs to Jeju city.

There is a story who should be proceeded to talk about the miserable accident happened to the

newly-married couple.

Let's say. In Mosulpo, there deployed Infantry Regiment No. 9, which was dispatched to Jeju Island, to suppress Jeju 4·3 Incident, by Lee Seung Man central government. There was a peace negotiation in April, 28 1948, between the regimental commander Kim Ik Ryul and armed troops(), that is, Jeju local resistance (some clarifies South Korea Labor Party leader Kim Dalsam (his real name is Lee Seung Jin)).

Then authority acted out 'Orari Accident'(so called, May Day) on May, 1st, 1948, 3 days later after the agreement, as if resistance broke the agreement.

This operation caused Kim Ik Ryung who was directly involved in the negotiation to be transferred to the mainland. After this, there started real armed crackdown by putting in punitive expeditions including military soldiers, police, residents, and government authority, all over Jeju Island, in the flag of 'Operation 3 step-Strikeout'

The operation Samjin meaning '3 step-Strikeout' was called 'Samkwang Jaojon', aimed at burning out all the camps of the reds in the mountains, isolating them into starvation to death, and killing at random whoever the reds may be.

It derived from a word that President Lee Seung Man had told how about spraying gas all over Jeju island and burning it out.

This strike out operation of punitive expedition caused all the villages in the mountains to be isolated and the residents of the villages to be evacuated to fishing villages along the coast line.

The families of police, soldier, public official, and Daedong Youth Group were firstly counted to be evacuated.

It was impossible to evacuate all the people in the isolated villages. Because it was possible to follow the order of authority to allow them to evacuate only when the people could secure any place in the fishing village along the coast or even any stable they can stay, in case they had relatives in the fishing villages. But there were few families who could secure it. What was worse, patient, the elderly, the handicapped could not walk to the villages on the coast. Besides there were one more reason that many residents could not easily empty their own house because they could not bring their live stocks. Nonetheless 'authority' classified the residents left in the isolated villages as the people involved in 'the reds' and selected them as the objects to root out. All the houses in those areas were burnt. The evacuation order didn't allow anybody left in the village. If there were anybody left in the village, whoever it might be, he could be pointed to as 'a red' or as a 'spy' who was in a league with armed civilian forces. Therefore the punitive expedition randomly killed or arrested and forcefully expropriated him in the jail. During this operation, it caused most of young people to hide themselves in the mountains regardless of whether they were men or women.

Because the punitive expedition considered all the youth in the operation area as armed civil forces and the young people could not evacuate themselves to the fishing villages along the coast line. Therefore when they were looked for by punitive expedition, they could be tortured to death, and women could be sexually assaulted and even sexually slaved.

A bridegroom called Mr. Kang was young, he lost his parents poor. His bride was married to him regardless of his poverty. He was forced to go into a mountain, in order to escape indiscriminate burning-up policy by the random Strike-out Operation.

When he went into a mountain, he asked her to go to her parents'. But she kept their bridal house with only one kitchen, one room and one garage waiting for her bridegroom, for the hope that the punitive expedition stopped their operation and her bridegroom could come back. All

the residents in the village persuaded her to go into the hiding place but she didn't follow them desperately.

The punitive expedition who entered the village to scorch all the earth in the village, burned all the houses in all the empty alleys which all the residents had already left to hide themselves. They found the thatched roof house of the Mr. Kangs far away. Mr. Kang's bride locked the door inside the room, knitting a Korean traditional hat made from horsetail and bamboo, called Got.

The punitive expedition took a guide from that village and they knew whose house it was and that the bride stayed alone by herself. The guide peeped into the room through the hall of paper window which he pierced with his watered hand, as if he peeped stealthily into the wedding night of the newly wed. The bride was knitting the Got, sitting neatly facing the door to the yard.

According to the sign of their leader, the punitive expedition came stealthily into the yard and lined up, making a half-circle and pointing a gun to the door. Next to the leader's cue sign they made massive firing at the door at the same time. Massive firing until there were no bullets left. After finishing the operation, they withdrew from the village.

Whoever residents had no relatives in the fishing village where they could hide were forced to stay in the village and whenever the punitive expedition came into the village, they took refuge in the forests or in the caves.

The Mr. Bu's family who hid in the bamboo forests behind their house were shot to death on the spot, as if a grandmother showed her alone presence, coming out from the bamboo forest, at the moment they were found. There were some more to be shot to death.

At the twilight, it was quiet in the village and the hidden residents came back home. Patching up the village completely destroyed, the residents were reminded of Mr. Kang's bride. Someone led the way, talking 'let's go and see what happened to her who left alone. As soon as some menfolks arrived at the alley way to the house, blood smell rushed into nose.

The room door was broken into pieces open and wide. pieces of flesh and bones were sprayed and meshed up all over the room. Some pieces of flesh was bounced and went to pie to the ceiling. What a hell!. It was the very hell pit nobody could bear to see it again.

Mr. Kang's bride who had locked the door, knitting Got, was completely missing and vanished into thin air.

A few days later since then, Mr. Kang also was shot to death while he was hiding in the cave near a brook with other youths from the same village.

Ps ; The person who gave this information first was 8 year old at that time. He witnessed vividly in the bamboo forest that his grandmother was sacrificed and shot to death to save his family. Child's curiosity made him follow adults to the site where Mr. Kang's bride vanished into thin air by massive firing. He remembered he heard adults talking low that it was because horror and terror that the bride was knitting the got in the room. The bride was so shy but virtuous and well-behaved and quiet. While residents were giving vivid testimonies. the turncoat, that is a guide for punitive expedition as well as a resident from the village was talking about 'the incident' repeatedly many times as if he talked a heroic exploit. (interview source: Yong-Kang village in Jeju city)

**(3) Sexual torture by special forces called SeoChong(Seobukchongnyeondan) meaning 'West North Youth Group', in a storehouse used for P.O.W. camp**

Ⓐ Authority, and youth units such as Seobukchongnyeondan, or Daedong chongnyeondan didn't distinguish 'volunteer armed forces' from residents hidden in the mountains, afraid of punitive expedition (wherever they went into hiding, they expressed the same feeling), and called all of them 'Sanpokdo' (meaning mobs in the mountains) for 'reds' or called all of them much more gently as 'lpsanja' meaning mountaineering person.

Sexual assaults to the wives of lpsanjas were frequently committed by punitive expedition. A policeman from 00 village in Songsan myeon, became to be a mountaineer. Once anybody was stigmatized as a red family or a friend to a red, he could not live soundly daily life and was forced to go into the mountains even if he was free from guilt. A policeman, a friend of the policeman turning into a mountaineer, was deployed to watch his friend's wife if the wife could communicate secretly with him.

The policeman, deployed to watch his friend's wife, was greedy for her because he loved her as usual. Under the name of watch, moving in house, he helped his friend's wife materially and mentally. Then the watcher policeman and the mountaineer policeman's wife fell in love, and would make love affairs, avoiding public notice. One night, the moment when they were on the point of sexual relationship, Seochong Youth Group (Seobukchongnyeondan), waiting in ambushes after getting the information of their love affairs between them, broke into the room.

On the charge that the watch policeman was out of duty and that the wife of mountaineer police committed adultery with husband's friend. 'Seochong' stripped, dragged them out and locked up in the storage P.O.W. camp which special investigative team (SIT) based in Songsanpo renovated urgently for. And when they felt bored, they forced the two person compulsively to have sex in front of all the special investigation team, so called, 'Seochong' as well as local people imprisoned. Unless they didn't obey immediately the order by 'Seochong' to have sex, they were extremely whipped. 'Seochong' slapped and hit anywhere of the two stripped and naked man's and woman's body with a special whip called 'Soejonmae' (meaning a iron penis cane) they made. The slash of the whip was so strong and severe that one slash made some pieces of flesh popped out. Both of them begged them to shoot them to death instead of bearing being slapped with the 'Soejonmae' (meaning a iron penis cane). 'Seochong' told they couldn't bestow any mercy to relieve the 'Soejonmae' of them by shooting them. They said, both of them should follow their order whenever they ordered both of them to have sex and they put whatever mentioned into action. If they were not shot to death, the watch policeman told the woman to have sex in order to escape the 'Soejonmae' whip. Then 'Seochong' forced both of them to do various obscene fore and after play this or that.

Ps ; the 'Soejonmae' torture was the most intolerable whipping/beating torture which Jeju people, who experienced that torture, or even the policeman, who knew that tool for torture, testified with one voice.

Ⓑ The Special Investigative Team (SIT) committed sexual tortures to women in the storage P.O.W. camp. However old women were, they stripped them, bound their hand on their back, hung them by the heels with their legs spreading out. And they did various mischiefs to women's sexual organs. When the women gave groans or twisted their bodies up, they told the women were sexually excited and ordered anybody who wanted sex to come

forward to 'do it' immediately. 'Seochong' taking down their pants, not only had sex but also committed every sort and kind tortures. More than that, it was frequently common that they pointed to anybody caught there to have sex with her and when he didn't follow their order, they committed torture to him.

© The building used for 'Special Investigative Team'(SIT) and 'Seochong' based in Songsanpo was in itself the storage. The storage was very large. But the place was so filled with captives from many villages that men and women were obliged to sleep tangled up together in the storage. There was no space for the local residents caught in to lie down after torture. It was frequent to lie down on the pile of men fallen and lain. Then 'Seochong' beat and trample on them, shouting, 'the reds are doing it even when caught in.'

Their torture skills were too sort and kind to count how many. To investigate if they exchange any information, they called in family-related men and women they pointed to and named spy. They battered and forced them to have sex in public regardless of their social relationship. Father in law and daughter in law were captives caught in the camp because of mountaineer son. One day 'Seochong' called them to come forward and forced them to have sex. They stripped both of them and forced daughter in law to mount father in law as well as caress father in law's penis. Both of them were out of mind. When both didn't do anything, more than that they forced every sort and kind of mischiefs, they burnt the daughter in law's organ with the light of cigarette. Moreover when young women didn't follow their order, it was common to commit sexual assault or to insert sweet a potato or a a hand grenade. Their mischiefs were beyond expression for words. There was no concern whether they were married or virgins or elderly or even pregnant. Therefore there was stink smell all over the P.O.W. storage camp, from infected sites in sexual organs of women caused by sexual torture.

The heavily pregnant wife caught in from Onpyong-ri on the charge that husband escaped to Japan was on the point of callic to give a birth. But they sected her belly with a dagger and threw out her and the fetus spilt out from her belly and corpses shot to death at entrance of Turjinmok Sungsanpo. This case was a 'homicide' case that wife and their fetus on the point of being born were instead her husband. His family name was Chung.

Ps ; Mr. Koh who was a senior in the village and many people witnessed about the sexual torture in the storage P.O.W. camp in Sungsanpo. Mr. Hong 00's witness, who was caught in twice and sentenced to death on the charge of printing roll incident, was so much vivid because he witnessed in person, what was testified, for himself while he was there in the storage pow camp.

#### **(4) Sexual torturemanage, Mr.let Mr.Jung A policeman committ at Samyang and other police boxes**

The winter came in earlier than ever in 1948. More than that suppression operation and practice culminated. It was a dark age when girl students belonging to Jeju girls middle school had no choice but to hide themselves in the shelters in the mountains 'on the chare of reading books of Marx and Lenin.'

The punitive expedition played hare and hounds after looking for the shelters in middle mountainous areas local residents were in hiding while 'authority' composed pacification scouts of celebrities from Jeju Island and started to pacify local people in hiding to turn themselves in.

Angered, armed civilian forces used to dare to make raids on police boxes under the night.

Though Samyang-ri was located nearby Jeju eup downtown on the coast by the sea, this was a big village located easily enough to get access along middle mountainous villages to the mountain.

When Jeju 4·3 Incident broke out and punitive expedition came in, there were floating boats to smuggle people into mainland or Japan at Samyang-ri port at night or circumstances forced young people to hide through middle mountainous villages into 'mountains', if a smuggling boat was not available. The police box at the entrance of Samyang-ri was attacked by armed civilian forces. Then the policemen from West North Youth Group were appointed to the police box and more police forces were reinforced.

Mr. Jung was appointed as the manager police. Manager Jung Yongcheol was a executive of police from 'Seochong'. He didn't believe any policeman nor soldier from Jeju Island. He told, all the people from Jeju Island are gangs of reds. 'Soejonmae' had come from him they said.

They caught in women whoseever male family members disappeared from neighboring villages as well as Samyang by the raid on police box at Samyang-ri. Manager Jung was notorious as a master of torture. He ordered the captives to torture each other to death. 'Soejonmae' was to whip young women after stripping them naked. Regardless of whoever saw them, he took turns raping them and stripped them naked and ordered them to go up to the watchtower.

The police box was well known to be situated on the hard windy pointed hill. Being seated nakedly at watch tower in midwinter froze them blue and faint. Even when they were faint, it was not prohibited to draw the blacked out women down from the watch tower before dawn. When the day broke, he himself raped the women and ordered scores of Daedong Youth Group to draw out the women seated at watch tower and men caught in to the wild field beside the police box. And he ordered Daedong Youth Group from Jeju Island to pierce them with bamboo spears and he enjoyed watching the scene of slaughter. Bamboo spear is not a weapon to kill one at only one pierce. Pointing to the women he raped, he ordered them to spread out their legs and pierce their sexual organ with the spear. The scene was a complete pandemonium(like hell on earth).

One day, a beautiful young woman who was wife of Sanpokdo(meaning a mob hiding in the mountain) was caught in, and he told her to spare her life if she obeyed to his order. He did every sort and kind obscene mischiefs and at last he put a hand grenade inside her vaginas, tying the safety pin to a string of thread, and he ordered her, you may go and run. When she went out of the police box, and arrived at the main road, the skein of thread in the hand of manger Jung was untied. The body of the woman running away broke up in the sky with an explosive boom and the flesh broken out of shape scattered all over the road.

Another woman was caught in on the charge of Ibsanja(mountaineering husband), that her husband was hiding in the mountains. She was said to be so charming.

Manager Jung's eyes were sparkling as if a hunter detected a game and pointed to one of Daedong Youth Group to strip her clothes and to let her stand up in front of him. Naked, she was pregnant. Abuses came out from the mouth of Manager Jung. "These reds, salauds!. had illicit intercourse, didn't they?"

Manager Jung heated the point of his gun erected beside him in the fire stove into red. And kicked off her and spread her legs wide and stucked the heated point of the gun into her sexual organ. The police box was all over filled with the smell burning flesh with her death throes of shriek.

Manager Jung characterized that he forced policemen and Daedong Youth Group from Jeju island to watch the scene of his torture whatever it might be. They had to watch the torture scene too horrible to look at, to save their own lives.

Finally manager Jung ordered Daedong Youth Goup to draw out the dead woman sexually tortured to death to the wild field beside the police box and to strike fire after spraying gasoline over her hair. When her shriek of a beast was silenced, he ordered them to cover the dead body. When Daedong Youth Group shoveled soil over her body, they saw her body wriggling without her life extinct.

Manager Jung was said to enjoy sexual torture to the wives of Ibsanja(mountaineer men) at a police box somewhere in Namwon area as well as police box at Samyang-ri. He enjoyed talking about women he committed sexual tortures as if he were talking about military exploits.

〈interview source: testimony from ex-cop and ex-Daedong youth unit〉

Ps ; In the early of 2000, when the history sub committee of Jeju Local Government Women Committee was taking some interview for collecting materials of Jeju Women History, I met a grandmother at Dadaepo port in Pusan. She was swollen all over her body. She said, her swollen body was the evidence of after effect she was drawn in and tortured by 'Seochong'. when her husband was missing during Jeju 4 · 3 Incident.

A policeman from Jeju Island unchained her at night, and she with a son walked narrowly escaping to Sanji port in Jeju eup downtown at the very night and ran away to Busan. Since then she has never been to Jeju, her hometown. she said "I am fed up with Jeju Island to the extent that I will never turn my head toward Jeju Island even when I shall die"

#### 4. Concluding Remark

Jeju people has been controlled to be stigmatized as Red-complex completely to comply with central government authority since Jeju 4 · 3 Incident.

Jeju people, though they had extremely mental and physical trauma, was forced to silence about their experience for a long time and their awareness about Jeju 4 · 3 Incident experience remained only very fragmentary and ambiguous. Though local men who witnessed about sexual assault, gave those informations insincerely to the public if they said of others, their witness about sexual assault committed to local women was fragmental but vivid.

On the other hand, most of witness cases collected from women were about their efforts that Jamsuhoi(Haenyeo-women divers association) of the village made to minimize the damage of the village. For example, in Kimnyeong-ri, local residents decided together to run a restaurant to (which was supposed to be named as 'Danyoung sikdang' to provide food for soldiers and punitive expedition based in the village and neighboring villages.

Local residents laid out rice, clothes, money, cow and pigs for meat and side dishes etc. Besides though Jamsus(Haenyeos women divers) in fishing villages were prohibited to work for diving and collecting shells, they were allowed to take turns diving for shells to provide for their food under the connivance of soldiers and punitive expedition, which contributed to minimizing damage to all the village. There was a woman who ran accommodation facility such as a inn, played an important role to minimizing the damage of the village by providing the executives of police and punitive expedition with bed rooms and meals.

Those whose family members went into the mountains just whether for hiding or for joining resistance, carried soy source in jars called 'herbuck' on their backs to shelters in the mountains, pretending as if they were carrying manure on their back to fertilize their fields. What those in hiding in shelters needed was clothing, and 'salinity' such as salt, soy source just for life survival.

There was a woman case who was shot to death by punitive expedition when it was exposed that she was carrying on her back Ozumherbuck(which was a jar pretended to carry soy source as if it were a urine jar to carry collected pee fermented for fertilization). Everybody was dumb of a question who she was. At night housewives whether their family members went in mountains for resistance or not, would provide indirectly, at the entrance of the long alley called 'olleh', for suppliers such as pumpkins and sweet potatoes for those in hiding or for armed civilian forces.

They said that though they took the risk of their lives in the face of being tortured or of being shot to death on the charge of providing suppliers to those from 'San'— mountains, they 'could not leave them starving'.

The women living in pretty peaceful area within Jeju eup separated from punitive expedition composed of civilians, authority, soldiers and police at that time, did good by providing accommodation and food for those from middle mountainous areas or mountain villages.

These witnesses from women depended on the degree that they individually or generally could contribute to the good.

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