



Truth and Reconciliation of the Investigative Report of the National Truth Committee of ROK Comparing with Some Critical Points of Jeju April 3rd, 1948 Grand Tragedy

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Abstract

It has been firmly concluded that there isn't any new evidence to negate already proven facts about the Jeju 4.3 Massacre. The contentions made by the Rightist group are very subjective and self-centered and distorted interpretation.

This book is written by the ultra-right winged, perpetrators of Jeju 4.3 Massacre. Their contention is completely, and without exception, distorted. They are trying to state that the Jeju 4.3 never took place and that no new inquiry investigation needs to ensue. Their contentions are totally false and without merit.

Social Healing begins with the exchange of truth and justice. The perpetrators need to acknowledge the crimes committed and seek forgiveness. The victims can then accept the remorseful apologies and then begin the social healing through the justice process. These processes then ultimately lead to social healing through justice for all parties involved.

Background of work

The topic of transitional justice has resonated with me, one way or another, for a long time. Let me illustrate with three episodes, beginning with the most past.

On April 3, 1988, I presided over a memorial academic seminar for the first time in the forty years since the Jeju April 3rd Grand Tragedy. In my closing remarks, I wondered at the very confusing naming of the event. For example, it was referred to as an 'Incident', 'Disturbance', 'Rebellion', 'Uprising', 'Grand Massacre' and 'Popular Struggle'.

On November 30, 1996, I presented a proposed draft of an essay titled, "For the Special Act for the Truth and Reparation of the Jeju April 3rd(Jeju 4 · 3), 1948 Event, not Honor Restoration." This draft was delivered to the discussants lawyer Park Won–Soon (now Mayor of Seoul Metropolitan), Professors Ahn Byung–Wook (History, former chairperson of Truth and Reconciliation Committee of Korea), Kang Chang–Ihl (History, now National Assemblyman of S. Korea), Kim Soon–Tae (Criminal Jurisprudence, former member of Subcommittee of Investigation Planning in the Prime ministerial Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation of the Jeju April 3rd Event), and Hwang Sang–Ik (Medicine, Seoul National University). It was the first time there was an open discussion on the draft of the Special Law for Truth and Reparation in this Jeju April 3rd Grand Tragedy.

On September 3, 2003, I presented the evaluation issue of the findings of the Investigative Report of the Jeju April 3rd Event (2003) in the Pedagogy Hall of the National Commission of Human Rights of Korea. In that evaluation, I pointed out that so many accomplishments from truth seeking were made. There are, however, some limits such as the vague expressions and distorted realities in the Governmental Report. In spite of efforts of civilian experts under political and ideological terrain, there has been no disclosure of the responsibilities of the murder of the killing machine under the US Military Government in Korea and the Korean Government from 1947 to 1954.

Comparing with the Investigative Report(2003) and some critique from the Rightist(2013)

This paper was written in critique of the ultra–right wing political views on the matter of April 3rd, 1948 Grand Tragedy (hereafter called "Jeju 4.3"). Furthermore, this paper's intentions are to shatter all views held by the ultra–conservative party (individuals and groups) who have tried to undermine and distort the investigative report written and established by a respectful governmental agency of the Republic of Korea.

These right–wing, anti–communist fanatics have undermined the precious and life–long works that the Jeju 4.3 victims' family members and others have risked their lives to establish and to record in a collective effort to reveal the truth. They have sought to have justice served to thousands of innocent lives lost during the peacetime by the US Military government in South Korea and the Korean anti–communist collaborators. This is why I have written this paper.

Finally, the truth was revealed and made public. The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about Jeju April 3rd Event was established in 2000 and after 55 years of repressed silence

and fear, through the official channel, the truth behind the Jeju 4.3 was brought out to life.

Nearly 30 years after the horrific massacre happened, books were published detailing the events of Jeju 4.3. It took more than 40 years to have a dissertation written and published or movies produced. It took more than 50 years for a government to investigate, research and record the truth and facts regarding the Jeju 4.3 civilian massacre.

Moon-Kyu Lee, the Board President of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, in the Inauguration Ceremony of the President of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park stated that, "the peace-loving citizens of Jeju Island have worked tirelessly to bring about truth on the massacre and killings of the Jeju 4.3. Many have risked their lives in an effort to record factual historical facts. Please, do not let the life-long and life-worthy efforts of historians, victims' family members, scholars and other civilians' works go to waste. They have tried fiercely to hide and distort the fact by repression and oppression. The peace-loving nature of people who want to remember and truth-seekers must be maintained in order to have justice served and actualized.

I have only one wish: In the name of the 'holy' and peaceful alter of Jeju 4.3, my wish is for the leaders to speak the whole truth, nothing but the truth! It is my sincere wish that political games are not played in this 'holy alter.'

He was one of the 7 members who conducted the research and fact-finding mission after the Student Revolution of April 19, 1960 that followed President Syngman Rhee exiled to Hawaii. He was, however, arrested immediately following the May 16 Military Coup d'etat under command of Lieutenant General Park Chung-hee of Korean Army. I think that they were the ultra-right wing, anti-communist, and political fanatics in his[confusing, requires further editing] inauguration address.

Yang Joe-hoon (a former journalist from Jemin newspaper in Jeju-do who participated in the Committee from its inception) summarized the meanings of "The Investigation Report of Truth and Fact-Finding National Committee of Jeju 4.3", that is significant for the following reasons: first, Nearly 55 years after the Jeju 4.3, this "Investigative Report" is the first and most comprehensive report detailing the matters affiliated with Jeju 4.3.²⁾ Second, through full and thorough investigation into the matters of Jeju 4.3, it was established, confirmed and proved that egregious human rights violations took place. Third, this "Report" was an official document and an investigative historical document published by the governmental agencies. Fourth, it proves without a doubt that the responsible perpetrators and parties are the Syngman Rhee regime and the mastermind behind Rhee was the US Military government and the US Military Advisor in Korea. Fifth, this "Report" was the first and only "official" report that serves to identify and testify the truth about historical events. Furthermore, in 2003, then President Roh Moo-hyun made an official public apology to the Jeju Islanders, the victims' family members and to the citizens of the Republic of Korea.

Decision of the Court for Justice and Human Rights

Sadly, the ultra-right wing anti-communist individuals and organizations were on a mission to dismiss, dismantle and destroy all the evidence of the history. Their backlash included nullifying

2) Joe-Hoon Yang 2004 Proceeding of Local Assembly of JejuDo, No. 19.

Jeju 4.3 and switching the perpetrators to victim status. They outrageously contended that they are the victims of communists who had ruined their lives and that the killings were carried out by the communists and their collaborators. Furthermore, they went on to say that their sense of individual justice and freedom were damaged and destroyed by the communists in Jeju Island.

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Korea rejected the claims of the ultra-right wing anti-communist individuals and/or organization seven times who had filed a lawsuit, contending that the Special Law for Truth Investigation of the 'Jeju April 3rd Incident and Honoring Victims' (hereinafter called 'Jeju 4.3 Special Law') was, in their opinion, unconstitutional. The Constitutional Court's final decision: the Jeju 4.3 Special Law was indeed constitutional and it will be used to determine who the victims of Jeju 4.3 are.

Congresswoman Choo Mee-Aye also stated that the ultra-right wing, anti-communists are serving their own interests to disturb the peace and attempting to use legal protocol to confuse and distort the truth about the identity and the nature of the perpetrators and victims.³⁾

The Jeju 4.3(April 3rd) Victim Families Association, Jeju 4.3 Victim Families Association in Seoul Metropolitan, Islander's Solidarity for Jeju April 3rd, Jeju 4.3 Research Institute and Jeju National Artists' Association, and five civil organizations made their official position regarding the "Jeju 4.3 Special Law" public.

"This investigative and judicial finding of the Jeju 4.3 and the inquiry into the status of 'true victims of Jeju 4.3' is nothing new. Already, the inquiry has been ongoing for many years and has gone through the judicial process to conclude that this 'Jeju 4.3 Special Law' can be applied to identify the 'true victims' of Jeju 4.3. It has been firmly established. It has been legally established and confirmed and thus civil groups and individuals cannot overturn what has already been legally established without going through the proper judicial process. The Jeju 4.3 Special Law has specific guidelines that determines the "true victim" of the Jeju 4.3. The law and its guidelines have been grandfathered in."

The risk of revamping the 50 plus years of the hard-won Jeju 4.3 Special Law is bleak when considering the potential outcome. Thus, it is imperative not to lose the hard-won battle that has established some sort of protocol to identify the 'true victims' of Jeju 4.3 and to record the truthful facts regarding the Jeju 4.3.

Valid and reliable study of history, particularly surrounding Jeju 4.3, is what our future generation needs and deserves. It is critical that our future generation become the seekers of truth and justice so that this type of atrocity would never repeat again anywhere on this planet.

Perpetrators centered doctrine suppress a fact of the atrocities

To further explain the events leading to the March 1, 1947 event, no restraints were ordered by the US Military government when the ultra-right wing terrorists went on a full-scale killing spree of

3) Mee-Ae Choo(National Assembly Woman, Former Viceperson, Special Committee for Truth of Jeju 4.3 in the National Assembly of Korea) 2014 On the Unending Truth of Jeju 4.3- Persuation in the Political arena and Mediation Process in book entitled "April 3rd , Righteous March toward the Truth-Witness on the enactment of Special Act of Jeju 4.3, Apology and participation of the Memorial Service of the President-", Jeju Memorial Committee, Roh Moo-Hyun Foundation.

the residents, civilians, women, children and men of Jeju. Jeju Island was under the command of the U.S Military Government whose headquarters were in the Metropolitan Seoul.

US General Dean did not expel the extremist Governor of Jeju Province, Yoo Hae-jin, in spite of recommendations after the inspection report of 1948 by Colonel Lawrence A. Nelson. And Gen. Hodge rejected the resignation of Chief of the Police, Dr. Cho Byung-ok, Head of National Police in the USAMGIK who conducted an indiscriminate witch-hunt of the "reds," and slaughtered thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians. This was as a result of the ideological prejudice of the US advisors who deemed all Jeju Islanders as "Reds."

The US military authorities in Jeju and in South Korea made no distinctions between the ultra-right wing, moderates, social democrats, Communists and the ultra-left.

They supported the former police bureaucrats of the pro-Japanese Imperialists, the anti-Communists, ultra-right wing Christians and conservatives who spoke English.

In spite of the declaration on the proclamation of human rights, April, 1948 by then US Commander Generals J. Hodge and Dean, Governor-General of Korea, no one present when the Proclamation and Convention of Prevention of Genocide was introduced in an Act on December 1948.

The U.S Military commanded and provided munitions for the scorch operation by the Korean Army and the National Police. Since Martial Law was not enacted at that time, the US Military and the Korean Army controlling South Korea was deemed illegal.

Anti-communist, ultra-right wingers contended that Jeju 4.3 "Report" represents the viewpoint of former presidents Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun former presidents.⁴⁾ Thus, their political position as anti-US and progressive (left-leaning) ideological views cannot be trusted and therefore it was their best interest to oppose the Jeju 4.3 Report and re-publish the same from their points of views.

Thus, specific details and specification guidelines were provided by the ultra-right wing, anti-communist groups and individuals. Moreover, through thorough analysis, I plan to outline and distinguish facts from fiction of the ultra-right wingers.

Kim Yeong-jung's contention and conclusion in the paper 'Reexamination of the Casualties of the Jeju April 3rd Incident' of the above booklet distorts the truth and facts. He was the former Chief of the Jeju Police Station in 1980. The number of victims is decreased by half and there is an increase in the number of those who lost their lives in fighting against the communists and the left-leaning South Korea Labor Party(Hereinafter called "Nam-no Dang") members.

It is therefore concluded that Kim's contentions are not worthy of merit and will not be discussed further. Kim's contentions of the Ohra -Li Incident has also been found baseless and invalid.

After the May 10(5.10) General Election failed in Jeju, the US Army Military Government dispatched Colonel Rothwell H. Brown, Commander of the 20th Regiment under the command of the US 6th Division stationed in Gwangju, as the US commander of Jeju area. Colonel Rothwell H. Brown was responsible for directing and leading all repression operations on May 20, 1948. Colonel Brown had once visited Jeju right before the April 28(4. 28) Peace Negotiation to check a repression operation with Lieutenant Colonel Mansfield of the 59th US military Government Company stationed in Jeju. During these visits, Colonel Brown was dispatched on a special

4) The Association of Bereaved Families of Victims of the Jeju April 3rd Uprising for Historical Truth 2013. "Who Are the True Victims of the Jeju April 3rd Uprising?" vol. 1

mission by Military Governor Dean who ordered him to suppress the situation in Jeju in the early stages and prepare a special report for Lieutenant General Orlando, the commander of the US 6th Division and then sent to William E. Dean. Brown's report, dated July 1st, 1948 covered from May 22 to June 30, 1948 and pointed out the US Military's failure of control as follows⁵⁾ :

"4. There were several factors which influenced the success of the election riots and which led to negation of the election and the development of a major revolt on the Island. These were :

a. Failure on the part of the Chief Civil Affairs Officer of the 59th Military Government Company to take prompt and determined action:

- (1) To break up initial riots with forces immediately available to him.
- (2) To control the Island police.
- (3) To effectively employ police reserves as they arrived on the Island.
- (4) To issue positive orders to Korean Constabulary units as they arrived on the Island and to take positive steps to assure the execution of such orders.

b. Excessive brutality and terrorism practiced by police reserves sent to the Island (this was a direct result of comments made in (2) and (3) above).

c. Infiltration of Communist sympathizers into the Korean Constabulary which resulted in two successive regimental commanders of the 11th Regiment conducting negotiations with the Communist agitators and adopting stalling tactics where vigorous action was required. (The Korean Constabulary could have been immediately effective, if the Chief Civil Affairs Officers had been forceful and positive in his actions)."

At that time, people from various circles including members in the legal profession, the press and Jeju people living in Seoul claimed, "The Jeju 4.3 Incident was caused by a mixed public sentiment because people have been so oppressed. It is important to find a root cause to heal the people's hurt." The short statement of Colonel Brown, however, shows that the US Army Military Government took a hard-line policy without considering the solution by finding the cause.

Colonel Brown launched a strong operation from the beginning as if to demonstrate his announcement, having said, "If things go as I planned, the situation will be quelled in about two weeks."⁶⁾

They [who is 'they'? Requires further editing] denied the newly proved facts and findings and repeated the historical regression. I think that the so-called execution of prisoners, who were forcibly taken to the police and/or camp, held in detention, taken into custody, and the random decisions to put civilians to death were illegal. On the other hand, the Korean Government's acknowledgment of these civilians as victims was a legal decision in view of the Special Act of

5) "Report of Activities on Cheju-Do Island from May 22, 1948 to June 30, 1948", July 1, 1948, HQ, USAMGIK, Major General William Dean to Major Edgar Noel, July 17, 1948), The Rothwell H. Brown Papers, Box 3, US Army Military History Institute, Pennsylvania, U.S.A, in The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3rd Event 2003 Materials Book No. 9 pp. 37~53.

6) Excerpted from the Investigative Report of The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3rd Event 2003 pp. 213-215

Jeju 4.⁷⁾

In this regard, I gave a memorial address at a memorial service held on May 30, 2015 at the former site of Incheon Prison, where young male prisoners were killed, as follows :

“The deceased were not protected by the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, 1948. According to the Constitution, citizens in a Civil Society were guaranteed a certain set of inalienable rights, including the rights not to be tortured, the right to appoint a lawyer, the right to physical well being, etc. All rights were withheld from the deceased.

The US Military government in Korea and the Korean government committed egregious acts of crimes against humanity during peacetime. The perpetrators were never prosecuted despite insurmountable evidence against them. Thus, it is our duty and hope to bring about closure to the massacred victims and guarantee all truths are revealed so that justice can finally be served.

It has been proven that a gruesome crime against humanity has been committed in Jeju Island during peacetime. Innocent people were slaughtered, massacred by the authoritarian government committing unspeakable crimes against humanity.

Despite the insurmountable evidence indicating that the Korean government and the US Military government in Korea have committed crimes against humanity; committed crimes against the Constitution where all basic human rights were withheld from the victims of Jeju 4.3, even now, there is no indication of remorse from the perpetrators. They continue to act and react to hide the truth and history, strongly concluding that the egregious crimes against humanity are most definitely unforgivable and unforgettable.

I think of that Jeju 4.3 Events are a complex and comprehensive series of events that includes active participation of the US Military government in Korea in the process of dividing the Korean Peninsula along the 38th parallel; the US Military government in Korea and the conservative Korean government's effort to repress the left-leaning Nam-no Dang; and the civilian massacre which was as a result of the US Military government in Korea trying to get a foothold of the South Korean government.

The perpetrator gave "birth" to the victims in the Jeju 4.3. The perpetrators are the US Military government in Korea, US Military National Police under the USMGIK, the National Constabulation officers, the Korean Military, the Korean Police and the West North West (Su-buk) Youth Association. Another dimension in the PERPATRATOR category are the Nam-no Dang and its affiliates and the 'Mountain People.'

Most of the victims are the innocent citizens and residents of Jeju Island. Also included in the victims category are the non-military collaborators and affiliates of Nam-no Dangn, and the right-wing police officers, the military and their family members. What was the number of casualties in

7) Jae-Seung Park, Member of The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3rd Event(Lawyer, Chairperson of Subcommittee of Victim's Examination in the The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3rd Event) Interview with Jemin Newspaper, April 3rd, 2008.

the US Military government? Non-existent; zero.

Prof. Bruce Cumings pointed out as follow⁸⁾ :

“I wish to address a single question in my lecture, which is the legal and moral responsibility of the United States for the widespread massacres and unsparing brutality with which the Chejudo rebellion was suppressed. Under the relevant international law at the time, from August 15, 1945 to August 15, 1948, the United States Army Military Government (USAMGIK) was the sole legal authority in Korea south of the thirty–eighth parallel. Under secret protocols, the U.S. also had operational control of the South Korean armed forces and national police from August 15, 1948 to June 30, 1949. [For my full treatment of the American Occupation and relevant documentation, see Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, vol. 1 and 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, 1990).]

The United States and the American people were then, and remain today, responsible for events that occurred during that occupation. It is that responsibility which I wish to demonstrate and assess.”

According to this document, on the surface, the US Military government in Korea is portrayed merely as “advisors.” However, the US Military government commanded, communicated and took total and full control over the Korean Military including the intelligence job. Thus, it is absolutely imperative that the US Military government in Korea and the US Military Advisor in Korea take full legal responsibility and repercussions of the massive civilian massacre that ensued from March 1947 to June 30, 1949 at at time of peace.

Furthermore, Hyun's contention that the "Jeju 4.3 Report" has distorted and denied the truth about Jeju 4.3 is absolutely baseless and flawed. His allegations simply do not convince anyone.

Definition of the “Jeju 4.3 Event” in the Special Law is the Judicial Definition

According to a researcher, Kwon Hee–myung, Professor of Modern History, the Academy of Korean Studies, the historical accuracy depicted in the "Jeju 4.3 Report" is false and distorted. Rightist historian Kwon contends that the Jeju 4.3 was initiated by the Communist Party—Nam–no Dang and those people killed were simply hostages of the communists. The US Military government in Korea and the Korean government could not protect those hostages and therefore the Jeju 4.3 Report needs to be revised to reflect the "truth." Furthermore, Kwon contends that even though more than 10 years have passed since the publication of the Jeju 4.3 Report, it is quite justified to revisit the content of the Report and make all and every revision to reflect the truth.

It is noted however that every and all legal suits and litigation filed by the victims of the Jeju 4.3 Massacre have been rejected several times including from the Supreme Court of Korea, thrown

8) Prof. Bruce Cumings, University of Chicago delivered the lecture entitled “The Question of American Responsibility for the Suppression of the Chejudo Uprising” in the Paper presented at the 50th Anniversary Conference of the April 3, 1948 Chejudo Rebellion, Tokyo, March 14, 1998.

out and blocked for appeal from the Constitutional Court of Korea⁹⁾.

The plaintiff, Rhee Chul-seung, is a former Republican Party assemblyman who was a notorious hooligan during his post on August 15, 1945 in the name of the rightist student movement. He was a gangster who swung bats and other weapons to kill or lynch anyone deemed or rumored to be a communist.

Rhee In-soo is an adopted son of the autocratic dictator, Rhee Syngman, who ruled forcefully over the divided Korea for twelve years and attempted to continue his regime through committing an egregious election fraud on March 15, 1960. He was ultimately ousted by the mass uprising of the people in the April 19, 1960 Student Revolution.

The Constitutional Court of Korea rejected two suits in the matter of Jeju 4.3 that sought compensation and apologies for the loved ones massacred by the US Military government in Korea and the regime under Rhee Syngman.

FILE # 2009-147(Filed March 9, 2009) The Constitution Court of Korea rejected and appealed the decision that granted the "legal victim status" to the 1,540 people out of 13,564 victims.

Reponse of the victims families against the rightist's political disquietude¹⁰⁾

Kang Ji-won. YTN Radio Anchor, MC-20-year veteran prosecutor :

"According to the then candidate for the Prime Minister, Moon Chang-gook, journalist...the Jeju 4.3 is a riot instigated by communists in Jeju.' What are your thoughts on this question?"

Moon-hyung Chung, President of the Association of the Families and Victims of Jeju 4.3 Massacre :

"I simply find no merit in the question and have no answer for such question when the victims are castigated as 'communists and rioters.'

As family members of the victims of Jeju 4.3, we are outraged and resentful. The victims of slaughter included: 760 children under 10; pregnant women included; more than 1,000 elderly; 900 massacred. This was a grave massacre of innocent people. We are absolutely outraged! We, (the family members), were not the ones who instigated the revolt. Thus, when people ask or mention Jeju 4.3 as an "outbreak" or "riot", we have nothing more to say. It is causes us to feel deeply sorrowful and the insurmountable pain resides in our spirit."

A "Big Lie" is established as a result of repeated "small lies." When lies are repeated over and over again, the "small lies" become "Big Lies." Mr. Chung emphasized that "It is imperative that the official government acknowledge and accept all wrong-doings of the past and move forward toward the pathways of healing and reconciliation. This will minimized further misunderstanding

9) Kim Jong-Min 2015 Current Issues and Task of the Jeju 4 · 3, Presentation in the Seminar of Democratic Coalition Party for New politics. He was journalist in the Jemin Newspaper and Expert member of the National Committee of Jeju 4 · 3.

10) YTN Radio Interview June 17, 2014.

and distortion of the past.

Syngman Rhee's adopted son and 11 other plaintiffs filed a lawsuit. The content of the lawsuit is that the plaintiffs wanted the court to check and dismiss 18 "victims" from the victim category. However, the three lawsuits filed by the rightist-plaintiffs were not substantiated.

Legal suits in relation to the Jeju 4.3 ensued. In the midst of conducting some research on the background of the plaintiff and the circumstances surrounding the events leading to Jeju 4.3, new truths and facts became evident.

The US Military officials claimed they were officially conducting their business of decimating the left-leaning communists. Yet, the gruesome massacre and killings by the "Su-buk Youth Association" were not included in their journal of activities.

There was no apology or remorseful acknowledgement on behalf of the US Military personnel following the mass killings and torture of the innocent citizens of Jeju Island. Justice was therefore never served.

The US Military government avoided all investigation into the matter of Jeju 4.3 and rejected any and all potentially peaceful resolution of the Jeju 4.3 Massacre.³⁴⁾ The US Military officials undermined the serious and gruesome nature of the killing of the innocent civilians and simply stated it was a natural course of action. In conclusion, the US Military government utilized distorted, rumoured, and false information to conduct their mass killings of the innocent civilians of the Jeju Island.

People who commit mass genocide seek moral justification and therefore do not feel any guilt. It simply becomes a daily duty and the deed is deemed justified and righteous.

When speaking of the truth, people tend to be very selective and subjective. Their memories "distort" the truth by omitting the part that incriminates oneself. Therefore, interpretation regarding the nature of truth can be varied and diversified. The true identity of the writers is not revealed.

The Jeju 4.3 Research Institute has been actively documenting the testimonies of the victims and families. Since, 2004, more than 1,000 interviews were conducted and testimonies recorded, according to the report recorded by the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute.

The Validity of the Jeju 4.3 Massacre Report

Under the auspices of President Roh Moo-hyun, the Report on the Truth and Facts about Jeju 4.3 Massacre was published with the input of professionals including scholars, government officials and historians.

In October 2003, during the Participatory Democratic government of Korea, the Report on Truth and Facts about the Jeju 4.3 Massacre was concluded. The Report shed some light onto the events and consequences that ensued from March 1, 1947 to September 21, 1954. The Report

revealed that innocent civilians and citizens were massacred as they were falsely suspected of being communists. Thus, it was proven with the evidence that the government in power committed crimes against humanity and that the new facts and evidence provided by the Report were critically important, serving as a beginning to the revelation of truth into the Jeju 4.3 matter.

The overall effectiveness of this investigative report revealed the following: first, the government officials committed crimes against humanity. Secondly, an official Report was established and concluded. Thirdly, the publication of this Report was only possible by collective effort, under the jurisdiction and the leadership of the government in the 1980s. Fourth, despite the gruesome facts and details about the Jeju 4.3, once and for all, a healing process can now ensue for both parties. Finally, under the leaderships of Presidents of Republic of Korea, Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, the truth about the 4.3 Massacre in Jeju Island was brought to light. It also proven that with the collaboration and collective actions of the government and local community organizations justice and truth can be brought forth. Social healing through the justice process can only begin to happen after the truth is revealed.

Reconciliation after Jeju 4.3 Report of Government

Even though the victims' family members were somewhat relieved by the official apologies made by the President Roh Moo-hyun, the actual perpetrators did not acknowledge their wrongdoings or repent of their crimes. All they have done is request that an edited version of the report be published.³⁸⁾

On August 2, 2013, 65 years after the Jeju 4.3 Massacre, the Association of the Police Officers of Jeju and the victims' family members began a reconciliation process. Together, they promised to cooperate and work together to come to a resolution and reach closure.

At the press conference, both parties embraced each other and promised to work together to bring about the truth and work towards healing and reconciliation. Each party was going to be as objective as possible to bring about justice to those innocent lives lost.

The most important outcome of the meeting between the victims and the perpetrators was that both parties were deemed tragic victims of history. With this revelation of truth and understanding, they have come to embrace one another in the name of healing and peace.

Together, for the first time in history, both parties gathered at the memorial cemetery. Their joint mission is to remember the innocent victims and commemorate them together as they begin to embrace one another.

Thus the Families of the Victims of Jeju 4 · 3 and the former Members of the Police Force have decided to undermine and disregard the ideological differences and work toward common healing and reconciliation.

Bishop Kang Woo-gil, of the Diocese of Cheju stated, "Innocent victims who suddenly lost their parents and siblings have forgiven the perpetrators and have generously wished for reconciliation.

However, some conservative groups have reopened their deep wounds in the name of ideology. I am sure such atrocities have remained because the Korean government lacks political faith on historical settlements...External and legal systems to resolve the Jeju 4.3 Incident are ready. I wish the government did not say it is enough to solve the incident. We should not forget that the memories would remain as critical scars if the Korean government disregards or unwillingly provide no response to the wishes of Jeju people even though some right-wing figures oppose acknowledgement and reconciliation.”

Transitional Justice of Jeju April 3rd Event in the twenty-first century has been limited. There has been no economic reparation, no human rights and life education nor institutional reform. These are all needed here to build a high quality of justice. Social healing through justice requires four pillars: recognition, reparation, responsibility and reconstruction. These are the necessary parts to the building of transitional justice. I hereby impress upon the international community to stop the impunity.

The task is not made easy by the fact that most Americans admire the super-power of the US. American national interests are supported by the immense size of the US military budget, equipment, and bases all around the globe. This often leads to conflict with other countries and their people.

There had been some discussion within the Investigation Report of the Jeju April 3rd Event (2003) about the role of the US Military Government in Korea during peacetime (1947–1949) under the US occupation of South Korea. However, the conclusion contained only a short comment without the American government’s participation in the investigation process and their responsibility.

My attempt to think about these topics in a systemic way date back to November 1996, when I participated in a seminar in Seoul on how to establish a new set of laws to foster reparation and Restitution in South Korea.

Inevitably, questions of human rights and peace came up. Transitional justice is made up of the processes of trials, purges and reparations that take place following political transition (regime change) within the international context.

Democratic transitional justice is almost as old as the concept of democracy. Conversely, resisters may come across as the perpetrators as to the extent that their actions may trigger retaliation by the old regime.

During the transitional period, if social healing does not occur through peace and justice after the very serious violations of human rights, state-generated violence and crime, politicide will most definitely be repeated.

Insufficient healing or inadequate redress would be a violation of human rights as seen in the Kangjung Village, Jeju Island. In the village, a naval base has been under construction. It is one of the largest naval bases in the Eastern Asia. As a result, it displaced many of the peaceful inhabitants of Jeju Island. Ironically, Jeju Island was designated as a World Peace Island by the late President Roh Moo-hyun.

For the first time ever in October 2003, President Roh, at that time the President of the Republic of Korea, apologized for the state-run crimes against humanity, committed against the Jeju

Islanders.

I agree that genuine reconciliation can only arise from truth, responsibility, reparation, reconstruction and remembrance (the “5Rs”) so that the families of the victims can forgive the perpetrators when and if the offenders apologize and seek forgiveness.¹¹⁾

Epilogue

It has been firmly concluded that there isn't any new evidence to negate already proven facts about the Jeju 4.3 Massacre. The contentions made by the Rightist group are very subjective, self-centered and a distorted interpretation.

This book is written from the perspective of the ultra-right winged perpetrators of Jeju 4.3 Massacre. Their contention is completely and without exception distorted. They are trying to state that the Jeju 4.3 never took place and that a new inquiry investigation needs to ensue. Their contentions are totally false and without merit.

Social healing begins with the exchange of truth and justice. The perpetrators need to acknowledge the crimes committed, and seek forgiveness. The victims can then accept the remorseful apologies and begin social healing through the justice process. These processes then ultimately lead to social healing through justice for all of the parties involved.

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