

Social Healing of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy Through Tolerance¹

Ko, Chang Hoon
(President of World Association for Island Studies
an Emeritus professor of Jeju National University, S. Korea)

Abstract

Jeju ordinary people have a strong feeling of “Existing the Road to Resentment” from fact of the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy. If we look at some kinds of phenomena or events during 2017 and 2018 during era of Moon Jaein Korean government, I would like to tell those symptoms at Korea and Jeju society.

4.3 Grassroots advocates, including victims, survivors’ families, teachers, students, lawyers, artists, filmmakers, local officials, business people, as well as Jeju, Korean, and international scholars, are fashioning next steps for Jeju 4.3 social healing. For instance, in April 2017, eighteen Jeju 4.3 victims asked the Jeju District Court to set aside unlawful 4.3 convictions based on false accusations and resulting in harsh imprisonment. In September 2018, the Jeju court agreed to reopen the survivors’ cases, granting re-trials. These Jeju survivors and their families’ lawsuit reveals the 4.3 Tragedy’s continuing damage and demonstrates the survivors’ courage in still fighting to clear their names and the names of the thousands similarly convicted during Jeju 4.3.

In complementary efforts, in July 2017 a Jeju 4.3 delegation submitted to U.S. Congress foreign affairs committee members a signed petition urging U.S. participation in future 4.3 social healing efforts and asking for congressional hearings on the 4.3 Tragedy. And in December 2017, the Jeju people and Korean and international supporters proposed that the Korean government revise the 4.3 Special Act to authorize meaningful reparations for Jeju 4.3 victims and families. Additionally, Jeju justice advocates are in the process of memorializing the 1947 Jeju 3.1 National Liberation Independence Day demonstrations in the nonviolent spirit of the 1919 national liberty demonstrations. In that spirit, the Jeju people are registering the records of 1947 legal cases of 328 people involved in the demonstrations. With the Jeju peace island human rights movement, the justice supporters are also advocating for recognition of the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy under the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme.

Key words :

Social Healing, Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy Through Tolerance, the Jeju District Court , eighteen Jeju 4.3 victims, unlawful 4.3 convictions, Jeju survivors and their families’ lawsuit

1) I edited and published an English 4.3 book titled as “Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea : The Asia Pacific Context : (1947–2016) in August, 2016, which was response to testify truth of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy to international society asking me to do it by American scholars at D.C. 4.3 conference in March of 2015. After three years later, we try to give testimony to American society through tolerance philosophy of Jeju islanders. So, I suggested this title to the Center for East Asian Center and professor Bruce Cumings at the first of January in 2018.

Introduction : When and how do Jeju people start to say our social healing of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy by ourselves?

As we had diplomatic documents through the completion of the translation of the English edition of the Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report in 2013 collaboratively, we can start to say about some portions of USA's responsibility in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea. In October of 2013, we tried to illuminate on what kinds of USA's responsibility through Jeju MBC talk officially, which was broadcasted to the public. I also participated in the publication of "Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea: The Asia Pacific Context : (1947-2016) as one of the authors and editors in August of 2016. After its publication, I have organized three Jeju 4.3 USA conferences in September of 2016, May of 2017 and April of 2018. Notably, I also initiated "Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Conference 2018 in Chicago: Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy, Testimony and Tolerance as Jeju National University Project on behalf of the Jeju delegation, which was supported by Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Government on April 17, 2018.

In March of 2018, I also submitted a report titled as "Some Insights on 18 Jeju 4.3 Survivors' Retrial cases in 2018 from the Consequences of 1984 Korematsu coram nobis case decisions and Civil Liberties Act of 1988," to the Jeju District of Korean Court in March of 2018. On June 28, 2018, I had the responsibility to preside over Jeju Peace Island for Korea session of the Jeju Forum 2018 to develop peace culture and education based on Jeju Tragedy (June 28,2018).

I will try to illuminate local, national, and global contexts of the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea because 4.3 survivors, activists and scholars delegation (mostly English speaking) have chosen the name of the Jeju 4.3 Incident to be the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea. Even though Korean government decided its name as Jeju 4.3 Incident in October of 2003 at the government level, Korea Jeju islanders have raised the necessity of the right name which covers all aspects and characters of it since at that time. In October of 2018, we had a conference on what title would be suitable in addressing the topic of Jeju 4.3. I think it is related to the reason why the Jeju delegation choose the subtitle of Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Conference 2018 in Chicago as Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy, Testimony and Tolerance. It is essential for us to explain the key words of the Jeju 4.3 Incident are Tragedy, Testimony and Tolerance to

world citizens.

Next, I also tell the truth of why the Jeju people argue that the USA has possible direct and definitely indirect responsibility in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy relating to the testimonies of Jeju 4.3 survivors. This debate was a hot topic during the testimonies of two Jeju 4.3 survivors in Chicago and New Haven conference in April of 2018. But it is true that the killing of innocent people in 3.1 March First Demonstration in March of 1947 happened under the USA military occupation. Historical documents attest to those responsibility issues clearly.

Additionally, I also suggest my idea for preparing for the next steps, by evaluating some issues and ideas brought forth from the Jeju 4.3 Chicago Reconciliation conference (April 17, 2018), Global Peace Through Cultural Education New Haven conference (April 18, 2018), Jeju 4.3 Dialogue with US Congressman, Mark Takano (April 19, 2018),Bio-Diplomacy Trip to King Cherry Tree Habitat for Jeju 4.3 Social Healing (April 20, 2018), and 6+1 Culture Forum of Jeju Forum (June 28, 2018). I think we also need to learn some lessons from the reparative justice principles displayed in from Consequences of 1984 Korematsu coram nobis case decisions and Civil Liberties Act of 1988 for finding righteous solution of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy through PETITION FOR A JOINT SOUTH KOREA AND UNITED STATES JEJU 4.3 INCIDENT TASK FORCE TO FURTHER IMPLEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS AND FOSTER COMPREHENSIVE AND ENDURING SOCIAL HEALING THROUGH JUSTICE (the Petition). This article was a material at Jeju World Peace Academy (August 4 to 7, 2018) at Jeju National University, S. Korea. Of course, it will be presented at Jeju 4.3 Peace Conference in December 14, 2018 in Jeju Island.

The Advent of the Renaissance and the Renaissance Humanism.

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Local, National and Global Contexts of “ Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea.” – The Naming Issue

First of all, I try to explain the reason why the Jeju delegation chose and uses the name of Jeju 4.3 Incident as “Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea,” officially but temporarily. Even though Korean government decided its name as Jeju 4.3 Incident in October of 2003 at the government level, Korea Jeju islanders have raised the necessity of correctly identifying all aspects and characters of it since at that time. At the Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation conference in Washington D.C., some foreign scholars asked to me to use the international name of Jeju 4.3 Incident in March of 2015. After some discussions about it, potentially, I suggested to use “Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea” to all participants because of some reasons at international societies until we decide on a more fitting name of the Jeju 4.3 Incident of Jeju society. First of all, I can not but to respect the decision of Jeju ordinary citizens considering local contexts of the Incident. When the translation team of Jeju National University decided to use the English title of Jeju 4.3 Government Official Report as “ Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report, ” according to decision of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation in April of 2013 through three time peer reviews about the issue of using right name in its English edition. We also recognize the consideration of the real situation about using its name upon common sense of ordinary people in Jeju Island for 25 years from 1994 to 2018. We had reached a conclusion that the Jeju 4.3 Memorial Service Committee respect an position of the Committee (봉행위원회) to use

Jeju 4.3 Incident (사건) officially in March of 1994 even though they permitted to us the Incident as Uprising (항쟁) or Riot (폭동) individually upon their different interpretation on the character of the Incident after two years of debates and discussions about it from 1993 to 1994. For example, we use its name uprising through organizing Jeju April 3rd (Sasam) Uprising and East Asian Peace : International Legal Issues and Human Rights in 21st Century Korea from April 24– 26, 2003 at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts USA. It identifies Jeju 4.3 as an uprising in the leaflet :

“ Korean History in the 20th century was marred by colonialism, war, division, and continuing regional conflict. One of the most significant events in this period was the Jeju Uprising of April 3, 1948. A clear indication of Korean peoples’ desire for unification, peace and independence, it produced years of pain and suffering that only now are being examined and addressed. The Korean government currently has a special commission which is finalizing its initial report submitted March 29, 2003. Recently for the first time in decades, major US and German media have reported on the massacre. (See the New York Times of October 24, 2001 and Die Zeit, May 23, 2003)…”

Secondly we can consider its significance in the national contexts, that it happened during “peacetime” Korea. Bruce Cumings emphasizes its character in his book (The Korean War: A History (New York: Random House. 2010):

“ On Cheju Island something happened in ‘peacetime’ under the American Occupation namely a major peasant war—and after decades of repression Cheju people finally have come forward to tell their stories and demand compensation, and no special pleading about the exigencies of wartime will suffice to assuage the American conscience. What formerly classified American materials document is a merciless, wholesale assault on the people of this island. No one will ever know how many died in this onslaught, but the American data, long kept secret, ranged between 30,000 and 60,000 killed, with upwards of 40,000 more people having fled to Japan (where many still live in Osaka). There were at most 300,000 people living on Cheju Island in the late 1940s. This happened when the U.S. was legally responsible for actions taken under its command, but as it happened…”

Professor Eric Yamamoto and its group also emphasized it happened during ‘peacetime’ Korea, when Hawaii Law School decided to title its conference titled as "SOCIAL HEALING THROUGH JUSTICE: THE MASS KILLING OF KOREA JEJU ISLANDERS DURING U.S. PEACETIME

OCCUPATION" – November 7th, 2012. …”

Bishop U-il Kang, the Diocese of Jeju, Chair of Recommendation Committee of the Jeju April Third Peace Prize, defines Jeju 4.3 Incident as below in a Forward, “Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy becomes Human Spirit in the Asia Pacific,” of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea: The Asia Pacific Context (1947–2016). Bishop U-il Kang and Mr. Moon Hyun Jung, Chair of Jeju 4.3 Incident and uses its definition in a letter to USA ambassador in Seoul, Mr. Mark Lippert (July 9, 2015):

“ … a grand massacre of some 30,000 Jeju Islanders which took place during the period between the end of World War Second and the onset of Korean War in 1950. That massacre, known as the Jeju 4.3 Incident, though carried out largely by Korean armed forces, took place while the island was under the control of the US military (of the United States Occupation forces). The Tragedy has left behind enduring suffering for the victims and their families that persist to this day…”

It is worthwhile for us to look at processing how is ‘Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ being illuminated by international scholars relating to ‘ the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law” formulated by the UN Human Rights Commission. In the leaflet of Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Chicago conference, it says it has accumulated international attention between international 4.3 conferences and increased awareness as below:

“ … In 2005, the UN General Assembly adopted and proclaimed “In 2005, the UN General Assembly adopted and proclaimed “the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law” formulated by the UN Human Rights Commission. These principles are explicitly applicable to periods of both armed conflict and peacetime such as the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ USA military occupation and supervision. The commission has tapped into the discussion of retrospective justice that has stretched from domestic issues such as the internment of Japanese Americans and the twentieth-century eugenics movement to discussions and action around the Nazi Holocaust, apartheid in South Africa, among many other massacres, genocides, various forms of human slavery and crimes against humanity. Although Jeju 4.3 Massacre is less known, a rising number of international conferences in the past several years have increased awareness

and educated the international public about Jeju 4.3 and the case for authentic reconciliation. In addition, substantial scholarship about Jeju 4.3 has been widely disseminated, including work of Dr. Bruce Cumings (University of Chicago), winner of 2017 Jeju 4.3 Peace Prize...” (Leaflet from the Chicago conference, April 17, 2018).

In March of 2015, even though we consider local, national and global context of uprisings such as the 1947 Jeju March 1 National Independence Day Demonstration and General Strike, Jeju 4.3 Uprising, Boycott Movement against 5.10 Separate Election in the South Korea and grand massacres between 1948 to 1949 in Jeju Island, it seems to me it is reasonable for us to use “Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during ‘peacetime’ Korea internationally and temporally until the Korean Jeju people decide upon their chosen title by themselves. We judge the name of Jeju 4.3 as the Tragedy not only includes meaning of one of the Incident but also covers different and various aspects of other 4.3 names such as Uprising, Riot and so on.

Testimony Issues of Jeju 4.3 Survivors relating to USA Responsibility in Chicago conference

Testimony Issues of Jeju 4.3 Survivors

When we discussed some of the main focuses for Jeju 4.3 Chicago conference among professor Bruce Cumings, other foreign scholars, and NGO activists, it was essential for us to have testimonies of two Jeju 4.3 survivors to the American public. So, we put the reason why we put our idea into it at the first part of its Rationale because it was important for us to make opportunities for the Jeju 4.3 survivors to retell their stories and memories of their experiences during this period:

“Since the Harvard 4.3 conference in April of 2003 and the Hawaii 4.3 colloquium in November of 2012, a group of Korean, Japanese, American, French, Australian, Canadian, Taiwanese and African scholars have been studying and bringing attention to the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy, the massacre on Jeju (also known as Cheju) Island, South Korea, which took March 1st, 1947 to September 1954. Jeju Island was ruled by the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK; 재조선 미육군 사령부 군정청) following the end of World War II and the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1945. Today Jeju people are coming forward to retell their stories and memories of their experiences during this period. They are revealing the brutality, atrocities and violations of human rights they experienced during Jeju 4.3, and are demand the restoration of justice and their human rights as well as just reparations

for the injustices and crimes against humanity committed on Jeju Islanders which included more than 30,000 slaughtered.”

We had testimony of two Jeju citizens who were tortured and imprisoned but survived through watching video: One of them, Boo Won-hyu, told how they kept hitting me over and over again before jailing him in Incheon. The other, Park Dong-su, said he was "tortured, hit on my legs with wooden bars" and also shipped off to Incheon. Both would like the government to restore their dignity. They have the same request that they want the government to expunge the criminal records like the other 16 Jeju 4.3 survivors that have plagued them and their families ever since they were found guilty and sentenced without trial through their retrial at Korea Jeju District .

USA responsibility on Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy.

On one hand, according to American journalist, Donald Kirk, he introduces the tasks on how do Jeju people overcome “the assumption is that the Americans, if they did not personally carry out the Jeju massacre, were still largely to blame.” (Donald Kirk, “Playing the Blame”, Korea Times, May 1, 2018) (Continuing from his article)... Bruce Cumings, University of Chicago history professor told that “it is important for Americans to understand, “Americans were directing, in some cases, the suppression.” So, he said “The U.S. bears “a deep, deep American responsibility.” “The South Korean military and police launched a scorched earth operation to break down the communists on Jeju Island, and the role of the U.S. military force was crucial in this time,” according to a paper presented by Hur Sang-soo, director of the Korea Social Science Institute. The uprising “was an indispensable choice,” he believes, “to resist the oppression of the U.S. military.” Kunihiro Yoshida, a professor from Hokkaido University, argued the U.S. “should take full responsibility” and pay reparations. He admits, though, “there might be hurdles.” But what were the Americans really doing on Jeju in the period from April 3, 1948, when “an armed uprising occurred,” in the measured language of a booklet in English published by the Memorial Committee for the 70th Anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Uprising and Massacre entitled, “What is the Jeju April 3 Uprising and Massacre?”... In fact, only 40–50 American advisers were on Jeju at the time of the uprising according to scholars who have studied what happened. Judging from the Americans’ references to the killings, they had little understanding of what was going on. Rather, they saw their job as encouraging the Koreans whom they were advising simply to suppress what they saw as an armed revolt...”

This line of thinking was also present in some discussions about USA Responsibility at 'World Peace through Culture Education in New Haven' after looking at the video tape. Even though it is impressive they were showed untold stories of two 4.3 survivors of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy, it is important for us to consider opinion of American citizens having the contribution of USA government rather than its negative effects to nation building processes in South Korea (1945–1948) after liberation of Japanese colony as a whole.

On the other hand, In my opinion, It is clear for me to speak about the direct and indirect aspects of USA responsibility issues from paragraph 9, 10 and 11 of the Petition (March 27, 2014) based on Jeju 4.3 Investigation Incident Report.

The U.S. military commander falsely characterized the resistance as a broadscale communist and High-level U.S. officials authorized South Korean army and police to act against Jeju citizens and widespread violence erupted. in the Jeju 4·3 Incident (Jejushinbo newspaper articles : January 1, 1947 to April 20, 1948 witness these issues from points of ordinary people a that time that harsh government policies and violent police practices and commemorated National Liberation Day in March of 2017 and manipulated Jeju island as red island friendly to communists :

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

Paragraph 10 of the Petition : On April 3, 1948, some residents with bamboo spears and farm tools confronted police and government officials in an effort to stop police violence, protest the upcoming election and support a unified Korea. U.S. military leaders sent additional armed forces. High-level U.S. officials also authorized South Korean army and police to act against Jeju citizens and widespread violence erupted.

U.S. military personnel still in place to support the

new government, suppression of the Jeju people accelerated (These issues are expressed in the case of Jeju 4.3 18 survivors retrial).

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

We can look at responsibility issues about the mischaracterization of Jeju as an "island of Reds by USA government:

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

We should also look at some aspects of U.S. oversight over the South Korean military and police suppression operations after August 15, 1945:

Paragraph 16. According to the Translated Report, U.S. military leaders gave direct orders that initiated early Jeju 4·3 events. This was followed by close U.S. oversight over the South Korean military and police suppression operations, including an order to kill anyone within five kilometers of the coastline. From August 1948, the U.S. military held continuous operational control over the South Korean police according to the "Executive Agreement on Interim Military and Security Matters during the Transitional Period" between the South Korean president and the U.S. military commander. The U.S. military also supplied weapons.

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

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

Paragraph 14 describes Jeju people's collective trauma from destroyed communal structures:

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

18 Jeju 4.3 Survivors' Retrial cases in 2018 fight against grave legal system injustices as same as the mid-1980s U.S. court coram nobis cases- Injustices Issues.

In April of 2017, 18 Jeju 4.3 victims asked the Korean court to review and set aside their abusive 4.3 trials and unlawful convictions arising out of false accusations. I submitted the Japanese American Internment case on March 14, 2018 as an example of world cases of violation of human rights to the court as the Judge asked. On September 4, 2018 Judge, Chang JeGal of Korea Jeju District Court declared retrial court for 18 Jeju 4.3 survivors.

Prof. Eric Yamamoto says about the similarity between two cases in his letter to Korean court (February 11, 2018.) in Human Rights and Reparative Justice in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy:

"Although different in many ways, there are some broad parallels that connect the 2017 Jeju court filing and the mid-1980s U.S. court coram nobis cases. Both began in the violence of the 1940s. Both involved apparently grave legal system injustices. Followed by decades of silence. Both involved continuing demands, decades later, to have justice done in order to heal persisting wounds and restore the dignity of the individuals and communities. Both eventually turned to the courts and the rule of law in democratic societies, invoking language of civil and human rights. Both involved

extraordinary proceedings that, in essence, made claims for reparative justice.

"We are currently considering the possibility of writing a paper on the potential of using the U.S. courts to push for U.S. participation in Jeju 4.3 reconciliation, similar to how reopening the Korematsu case tied into a broader reparations movement for the wrongful mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. For this paper, it plans to include some of the survivor testimony featured in the book Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea: The Asia Pacific Context (1947-2016). The book contains a transcript of survivor testimonies given in Seoul on May 30, 2015. Some of the survivors whose testimony is included in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy book are petitioning to have their cases reopened. I would like to connect the petition to the importance of U.S. participation in Jeju 4.3 reconciliation. To do this, we would like to specifically incorporate parts of the petitioners' testimony recorded in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy book into Hawaii team's paper. We think including the testimony would powerfully emphasize the continuing need for social healing and would strengthen the argument for U.S. participation. If we can do it collaboratively, we can do a lawsuit or other such action in the US may help draw attention to the case in 2019." (Ko and Cho. 2018.)

Recognition of "The United States' Absence From the Social Healing Process" makes us from moving from reactionary reconciliation to social healing with Justice (2013-2018)

Social Healing Concept Was Suggested American Citizens through the Petition, 4 times annual 4.3 Reconciliation Conferences, 4.3 Book and 3 times academies (2013-2018).

After we (7 Jeju National Univ. scholars and three American researchers) completed the translation of the English edition of the Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report in July of 2013 with cooperation of Australia Griffith Univ. team (Dr. Hun Joon Kim and his PhD students), USA Hawaii Law School team (Professor Eric Yamamoto and his researchers, and American Univ. in Paris team (Professor Douglas Yates and his graduate school) collaboratively, we started to illuminate some portions of USA responsibility in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy during 'peacetime' Korea. We can also point out the fact that The United States' Absence from the Social Healing Process has been an undesirable situation at Jeju 4.3 Peace Education Conference at Jeju National University in October of 2013. They are members of editorial members

of English journal, World Environment and Island Studies (WEIS : ISSN 2234-4101), which was published since December of 2011, which supports WEI to install 'Social Healing of Islanders' Trauma Center (Jeju 4.3 Trauma and Gangjeong Trauma) theoretically and practically. As the result, World Environment and Island Institute(WEI) decided to invite concept of social healing for islanders' trauma into it in January of 2014. With financial support of Jeju Provincial Government, WEI did four things as the result of translation works of Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report : (1). We tried to suggest a blue print of Jeju 4.3 global social healing to the public through doing social healing research project with cooperation of Hawaii Law School of USA, Hokkaido Law School of Japan and American Graduate School in Paris collaboratively in 2014 . We can also get and accumulate social healing theories for Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy through both invitation of articles into English journal, WEIS and regular presentations at Peace Island Forum and workshops. (2). We completed 32 paragraphs of English edition of the Petition for U.S. involvements into Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy Social Healing Processes based on the Report on 27th of March, 2014. In translating its English edition into Korean one, the Institute for Jeju 4.3 and Korean Social Science Institute also participated in its works. We had around 10,000 signatures for U.S. involvements from Korean and foreigners. But because of hacking of homepage, World Association for Island Studies, www.peaceisland.asia we didn't get signatures through online system. In October of 2018, we just opening it again for supporting online signature movement by Jeju National University students if they asked to use it for getting online next Spring 2019. As JNU student delegation wants to join in USA reconciliation conference next year as same as 2018, they also contribute to doing it as university students in Jeju Island.

It is that reason in mind, why scholars involved in the translation works started "Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Conference" in Washington D. C.

So, we say about it in the Petition:

"The United States' Absence From the Social Healing Process: Paragraph 22 of the Petition. Another reason for stalled reconciliation is that the United States thus far has been uncooperative or absent at all stages of the reparative justice process. The South Korea government has not yet formally requested U.S. participation in reparative efforts. As described in paragraphs 9-11 and 15-17 and as supported by the Translated Report, Jeju residents, South Korean and American scholars and a former U.S. army colonel, conclude that the United States too played an important role in Jeju 4.3 and now bears some responsibility for joining in

efforts to heal past and persisting wounds."

At the North Carolina Jeju 4.3 Reparation conference in May of 2017, Dr. Timothy Webster of Case Western Reserve University asked three questions to me : 1. First, how widely known is Jeju 4.3 right now in Korea? Is Jeju 4.3 widely known among the public, especially the youth? Is it possible President Moon will raise the issue, or put it on his foreign policy agenda?

In April of 2008, President Moon made words of acknowledgment and apology at the Jeju 4.3 commemoration ceremony. His government put resolve of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy as one of one hundred policy agenda. I understand, in matching with words of Korean government about it, Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation push Jeju 4.3 Human Rights Forum at United Nations building with cooperation of Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June of 2019.

Secondly, do we have a clear sense of the role that the US military played in the massacre/ uprising? I know much of this took place under US military occupation, but it sounds as if the South Korean military police were the ones holding the guns. I respond to him as follow: It happened in March 1947, many Jeju residents demonstrated against harsh government policies and violent police practices and commemorated National Liberation Day.

As regards to the US, he would just reiterate his points again: (1) More public awareness of the issue in the US is probably needed; (2) A government administration more sympathetic would be helpful; (3) A lawsuit or other such action in the US may help draw attention to the case.

Regarding (1), there are many strong Korean NGOs in the United States. For example, comfort women statues have been erected in at least 8 different parks throughout the US. Perhaps the Jeju 4.3 group could work with them. I can respond to him. In October of 2018, regarding (1) Jeju 4.3 group showed their efforts to get 110,000 signatures from Korean people from January 1 to October 30, 2018, which speaks USA responsibility and asks for an apology from USA government to Jeju people.

Regarding (2), I cannot but to stress the importance of a sympathetic administration (or a member of the administration who is sympathetic). During the 1990s, Stuart Eizenstat (of the Clinton Administration) played a critical role in persuading the German government to negotiate for Holocaust Reparations. On the other hand, the Bush Administration (2001-09) was quite unsympathetic to similar calls for reparations brought by comfort women and victims of Japanese aggression during World War II.

Regarding to (2), Obama was unsympathetic to similar calls for reparations. If we can speak these

issues to the Trump Administration, it will probably be unsympathetic to similar calls for reparations.

Regarding (3), many reparations issues first gain public attention in the US from a lawsuit. The comfort women statues gained public attention from a lawsuit, as did the Holocaust litigation, as I mentioned in the paragraph above. We think including the testimony would powerfully emphasize the continuing need for social healing and would strengthen the argument for U.S. participation. If we can do it collaboratively and globally, we can do a lawsuit or other such action in the US may help draw attention to the case in 2019.

One of participants in USA Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation conference in May of 2017, professor Carlton Waterhouse of Indiana University, USA emphasizes that, when we will have feeling toward “Existing the Road to Resentment,” it makes us from moving from reactionary reconciliation to social healing with Justice (WEIS Volume 7 Number 4, 2017):

“The call and the need for reparations grows out of some of the worst abuses humans have inflicted upon one another. In the aftermath of past atrocities, societies often grapple to understand their identity. They routinely struggle to reconcile their contemporary moral standing with their past actions. Pressure from internal and external groups often force governments to publicly denounce past injustices and mistreatment to establish or sustain political legitimacy. Pursuing this brings them squarely into the world of reconciliation and redress. In less than a century, countries on every continent have confronted this issue. Their approaches and outcomes have varied just as widely but lessons from their experience should guide ongoing and future efforts to achieve success.”

As Jeju ordinary people have a strong feeling of “Existing the Road to Resentment” from fact of the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy. If we look at some kinds of phenomena or events during 2017 and 2018 during era of Moon Jaein Korean government, I would like to tell those symptoms at Korea and Jeju society.

4.3 Grassroots advocates, including victims, survivors’ families, teachers, students, lawyers, artists, filmmakers, local officials, business people, as well as Jeju, Korean, and international scholars, are fashioning next steps for Jeju 4.3 social healing. For instance, in April 2017, eighteen Jeju 4.3 victims asked the Jeju District Court to set aside unlawful 4.3 convictions based on false accusations and resulting in harsh imprisonment. In September 2018, the Jeju court agreed to reopen the survivors’ cases, granting re-trials. These Jeju survivors and their families’ lawsuit reveals the 4.3 Tragedy’s continuing damage and demonstrates the survivors’ courage in still fighting to clear their names and the names of the thousands similarly convicted during Jeju 4.3.

In complementary efforts, in July 2017 a Jeju 4.3 delegation submitted to U.S. Congress foreign affairs committee members a signed petition urging U.S. participation in future 4.3 social healing efforts and asking for congressional hearings on the 4.3 Tragedy. And in December 2017, the Jeju people and Korean and international supporters proposed that the Korean government revise the 4.3 Special Act to authorize meaningful reparations for Jeju 4.3 victims and families. Additionally, Jeju justice advocates are in the process of memorializing the 1947 Jeju 3.1 National Liberation Independence Day demonstrations in the nonviolent spirit of the 1919 national liberty demonstrations. In that spirit, the Jeju people are registering the records of 1947 legal cases of 328 people involved in the demonstrations. With the Jeju peace island human rights movement, the justice supporters are also advocating for recognition of the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy under the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme.

References

- i) 고창훈. 2018. 섬으로부터의 편지 : 다량취굴 4.3의 불관용 정치와 문명. 제주: 디자인누리 출판사. pp. 8-9.
I tell Jeju people started social healing process of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy in April of 1995 for memorial services of victims with their name list on the altar. I wrote an memorial speech about Jeju Islanders' Tolerance make us toward next step for social healing of Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy.
- ii) Bruce Cumings, " American Responsibility and the Massacres in Cheju Conference on Overcoming the Past: Healing and Reconciliation -- Cheju and the World in Comparison," revisited in the journal, World Environment and Island Studies (Volume 6 Number 4), pp. 203-209.
- iii) As American organizer of New Haven conference asks me to be screened to audience without comments of scholar. So, we do it.
- iv) Eric K. Yamamoto, Margaret Chon, Carol Izumi, Jerry Kang and Frank Wu, RACE, RIGHTS AND REPARATION: LAW AND THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT (2nd ed. 2013) (Wolter Kluwer/Aspen Publishing).
- v) Prof. Eric Yamamoto says about the similarity between two cases in his manuscript for keynote speech in Human Rights and Reparative Justice in the Jeju 4.3 Grand Tragedy On September 20, 2018:

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88) Ibid., p. 283.