

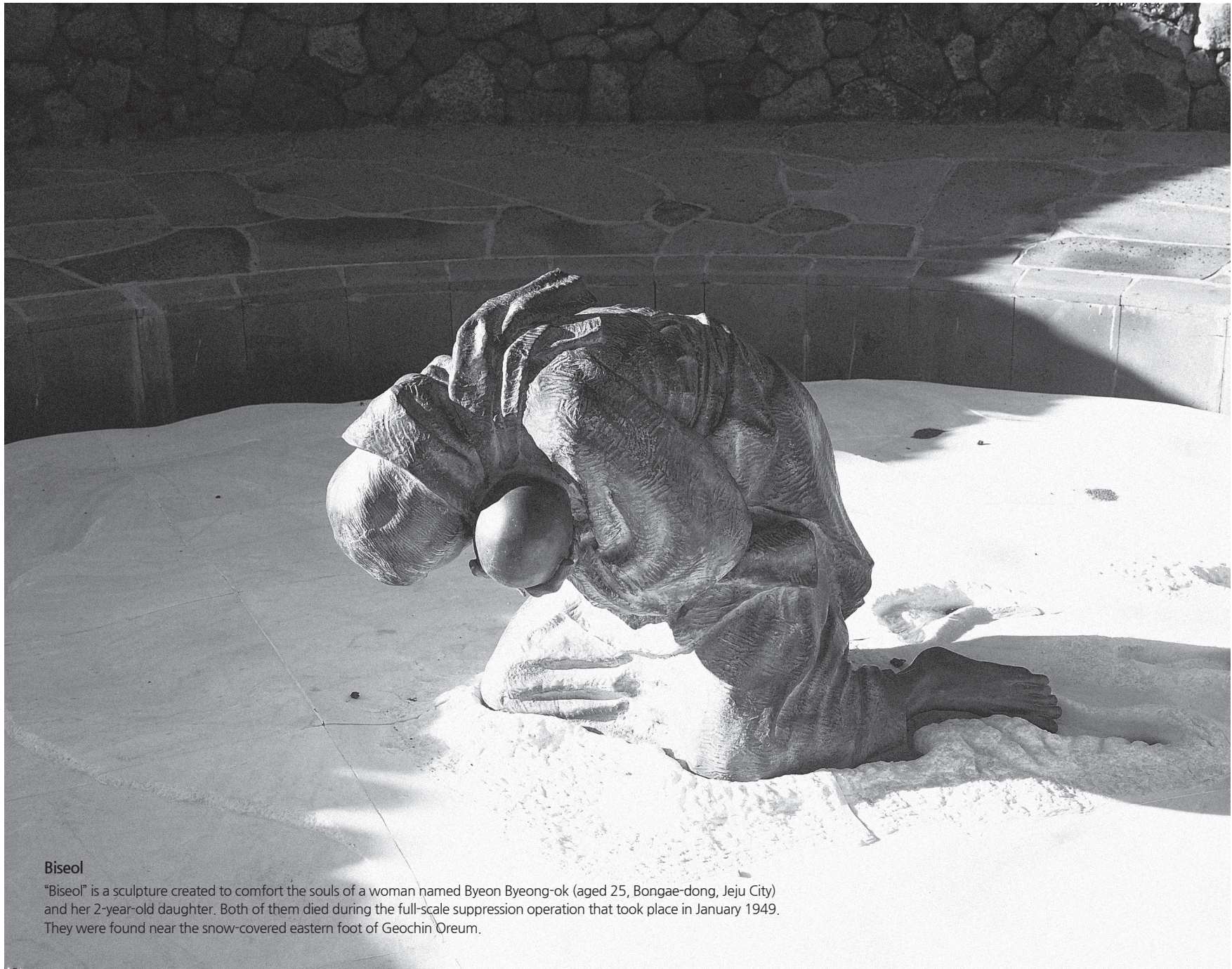
# Jeju 4·3

From Truth To Peace

Global Perspectives on a Korean Tragedy

Vol. 01





**Biseol**

"Biseol" is a sculpture created to comfort the souls of a woman named Byeon Byeong-ok (aged 25, Bongae-dong, Jeju City) and her 2-year-old daughter. Both of them died during the full-scale suppression operation that took place in January 1949. They were found near the snow-covered eastern foot of Geochin Oreum.



Dedication

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This book is dedicated to the victims of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre.





# Jeju 4·3

## From Truth To Peace

Global Perspectives on a Korean Tragedy

Vol. 01

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## Foreword

# ‘May you share the value of peace and human rights learned from Jeju 4·3’

Commemorating the publication of “Jeju 4·3: From Truth to Peace”

Jeju 4·3 is a tragedy in modern Korean history where nearly 30,000 people were victimized. It is also a historic world event that stemmed from national division and the Cold War. Many researchers in Korea and overseas have contributed to uncovering the truth behind the uprising and massacre. However, the case still needs more public attention, given its scope and significance.

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation has led a variety of in-depth research projects on the value of peace and human rights with regard to Jeju 4·3. We would like global recognition and awareness of this historic endeavor. This book has also been published in that same context.

Seventy years ago, countless Jeju locals lost their lives for objecting to the division of their nation. Ideologically framed, this tragedy had long been sealed, hidden away from the public for over half a century, until activists began fighting for the legacy of the victims. Thanks to their efforts, Jeju 4·3 was set on the path of truth, illuminated by the bright light emanating from the end of a dark, decades-long tunnel.

In 1988, the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jeju 4·3 re-ignited this struggle over its legacy. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1998, activists led a movement to legislate the Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims, although from 2008, the resolution of the case endured a long and rocky road spanning two conservative governments. The 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2018, however, precipitated monumental change with the new administration of President Moon Jae-in.

President Moon attended the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary memorial service and declared,

“a new spring is on the way to Jeju Island.” People gathered at Gwanghwamun Square in Seoul to remember Jeju 4·3 through cultural performances. The National Museum of Korean Contemporary History held a memorial exhibition on Jeju 4·3. Pope Francis sent a message of healing to Koreans commemorating the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jeju 4·3. Other religious groups also joined in the repentance and reconciliation movement. The campaign of wearing a camellia flower pin (in memoriam of Jeju 4·3) drew public attention nationwide. Considering the currently thawing inter-Korean relations, the day might be near when all Koreans recognize Jeju 4·3 as part of their national history.

Over the past decades, the Jeju public has made concerted efforts for reconciliation and healing within their local community. Despite remembering the fratricidal tragedy, they sublimated their pain and scars to achieve reconciliation and human rights for the greater good. Embracing both the victims and the victimizers

for the restoration of their community is an unprecedented effort even in world history. The local public effort to uplift the value of peace, human rights and mutual benefit can serve as a model for the wise resolution of conflicts and confrontations that are taking place all over the globe.

I’d like to express my most sincere gratitude to the reporters, editors and everyone who spared no effort in publishing this book. This small step we are taking will help build a solid foundation for us to take bigger steps in the future, drawing global attention to the value of peace and human rights learned from Jeju 4·3.

I believe that publishing “Jeju 4·3: From Truth to Peace” will contribute to raising awareness of Jeju 4·3 and the valuable lessons learned from it. Hopefully, this book will provide global readers an opportunity to reflect upon the benefit of promoting peace and human rights.

Thank you very much.

**Yang Jo Hoon**

Chairman of Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation



# Introduction

An objective account of tragedy is as unlikely in the fog of war as it is in the deceptive clarity of peace. It is for this reason that every nation faces the perennial challenge of establishing a shared history as it negotiates its path to the future. While this history is often imposed from above by repressive regimes, the voices of history’s victims bubble up from below to challenge such imposition. All conflicts are fraught with such contested truth, and the struggle over the truth of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre exemplifies how pain and suffering continue long after hostilities are officially over. A footnote of Korea’s history for so long, the bubbles of truth about the atrocity have now disturbed the once settled, state-sanctioned account of the authoritarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As highlighted in this volume, victims are now central in constructing the shared narrative that is slowly emerging.

This book explores this emerging narrative through English-language publications among the international (chiefly English-speaking and American) community from the massacre’s outbreak in the 1940s up to 2018, the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the attacks on police stations on April 3, 1948. By providing a selection of English materials on the massacre, this volume explores how the events have been interpreted by, and represented to, the international community over the years. Complementing this reportage is the inclusion of a diverse range of material from the realm of art and culture to exemplify the long-lasting impact that Jeju 4·3 continues to have on Jeju people. This includes brief profiles and interviews with individuals from the cultural realm who have helped bring the stories of Jeju 4·3 to a wider audience, while also helping Jeju people confront their own traumatic history.

In an attempt to exemplify how storytelling puts a human face on the historical record, interviews with survivors are interspersed between chapters as Living Memories. More than providing first-hand testimonies of their experiences, the Living Memories share personal stories through the cherished belongings of the interviewees which embody the memories of Jeju 4·3. Nine in total, these interviews were conducted by Ko Hyun-joo and then creatively written up by Huh Eun-sil, who provides the poetry also. The photography which accompanies the interviews is also courtesy of Ko Hyun-joo, and its simplicity conveys the everyday pain of tragedy.

Living Memories, two inserted between each chapter in the book, begin with interviews with Kang Jung-hoon, who discusses his mother’s sewing machine, and Ko Chang-seon, who introduces a postcard from the 4·3 era. These are followed by the Living Memories of Kim Du-yeon’s bullet-ridden mangjuseok stone pillar, and Kim Sul-seong’s gwe wooden chest. The photography of Ko Hyun-joo and the poetry of Huh Eun-sil then bring us the moving story of Yang Nam-ho’s brass spoon, before the tales of another two gwe wooden chests, first that of Oh Guk-man and then the gwe of Yoon Man-seok. The eighth and ninth Living Memories are from the same family as we hear about the sketches of Im Gyeong-jae, and the hanbok of Cho In-sook, both shared by the daughter, Im Ae-deok. Rather than an interview, the 10<sup>th</sup> in the series is a posthumous meditation on the clothing of Jin A-young who passed away in 2004.

The book begins with **Chapter 1: Fact and Truth** which reproduces material from the booklet “What is the Jeju Uprising and Massacre?” published by the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju April 3

Uprising and Massacre. The Memorial Committee comprises 109 Jeju-based NGOs and the booklet summarises the key findings of the Jeju April 3 Incident Investigation Report. The excerpts outline the key events at the height of the massacre from 1947 to 1949 and the translation<sup>1)</sup> was only edited for clarity with the consent of the Memorial Committee.

**Chapter 2: Issues and Opinions** begins with contemporaneous reports on Jeju 4·3 from The New York Times and the Washington Post which provide a taste of how the U.S. characterized the conflict at the time. This is followed by an introduction to the work of John Merrill and Bruce Cumings, the two foremost scholars of Jeju 4·3 outside of Korea in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, coverage of 4·3 begins to proliferate with articles from the Associated Press, The New York Times, The Sydney Morning Herald and the Asia Times. The final section then shines a light on the work of The Jeju Weekly, a local news outlet that sought to increase global awareness of the tragedy from its local base.

**Chapter 3: Sites of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre** introduces readers to key locations associated with 4·3 along a number of walking paths in areas of the island associated with the massacre. The chapter also includes a deeper look at a number of key sites and their relevance to the period and its aftermath ranging from the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park to the beautiful Jeju gotjawal woodland and the tragic Darangshi Oreum.

**Chapter 4: Art and Culture** then introduces key figures

in the Jeju 4·3 art and culture scene from internationally acclaimed artist Kang Yo-bae to award-winning filmmaker O Muel and local poet Moon Choong-sung. The coverage for this section comes chiefly from the English-language The Jeju Weekly in addition to coverage from the Hankyoreh English edition and Sisa News.

In closing, **Chapter 5: Peace and the Future** explores research and reporting on the process of transitional justice and reconciliation. It is split into three sections: US Responsibility; Truth and Reconciliation; and Official Apology. The first section covers the growing movement among scholars and activists for the U.S. to acknowledge the extent of its role in the massacre. The second section then takes a retrospective look at the reconciliation process and its legacies, including a letter of support from the Vatican. Finally, the first state apology is included, from former President Roh Moo-hyun in 2003, followed by the apology of current President Moon Jae-in on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragedy in 2018.

Finally, the editors and publisher would like to express gratitude to everyone who contributed to making this volume possible. In particular, we extend special gratitude to everyone whose work is included, and all individuals who have endeavored to work towards justice for the victims of Jeju 4·3. We hope that the combination of everyone’s efforts will help inspire others around the world to look deeper into what happened on Jeju 70 years ago to ensure that such a tragedy never happens again.

1) Although the editors used Revised Romanization (RR) when possible, some of the earlier texts in this volume follow the McCune-Reischauer system. This means that Jeju is sometimes written as Cheju and some personal names follow conventions for the period (Lee is written as Yi, for example).



# Jeju 4·3 Timeline from Liberation to the Korean War

## The Political Situation in Jeju

1945

**15 Aug.** - 66,780 Japanese soldiers remain on Jeju.



**9 Sept.** - Proclamation No. 1 by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur to the People of Korea is declared.

**22 Sept.** - Jeju People's Committee is established.



**3 June.** - Syngman Rhee argues for establishing a South Korea-only government.

**1 Aug.** - Jeju Island is raised to the status of a province.

**1 Oct.** - Daegu Autumn Uprising begins..

1947

**10 Feb.** - Around 1,000 high school students in Jeju protest the American presence in Korea.

**1 March** - Around 30,000 people join the 28<sup>th</sup> commemoration ceremony of the March 1 Independence Movement. Police shoot protesters, killing 6 people and wounding 8 others.

**10 March** - General strikes protesting against the March 1 Shooting Incident begin. By March 13, 41,211 people from 166 organisations had joined in the strike.

**12 March** - Vice Chief Choi Gyeong-jin (National Police Agency) alleges in his report regarding violent incidents on Jeju that 90% of Jeju residents were politically left leaning.

1948

**10 May** - Two out of three constituencies in Jeju boycott the general election.

**6 May** - The U.S. military government dismisses Kim Ik-ryeol from his position as chief of the 9th Regiment.

**1 May** - An arson attack is committed against Ora-ri.

**29 April** - William F. Dean, U.S. military general, visits Jeju on a secret mission. This is followed by a policy of heavy suppression.

**28 April** - Peace negotiations between Lieutenant Commander Kim Ik-ryeol and guerilla leader Kim Dal-sam begin.

**3 April** - An armed uprising begins in Jeju.

**14 March** - Yang Eun-ha is tortured to death at Moseulpo police station.

**6 March** - Jocheon Middle School student Kim Yong-cheol is tortured to death at Jocheon police station.

**1 Feb.** - Kim Ik-ryeol, lieutenant commander, is appointed as new chief of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment, succeeding Lee Chi-eop, lieutenant colonel.

**22 Jan.** - Jeju police conduct a surprise raid on a meeting of the Jocheon branch of the South Korean Labor Party at Sinchon-ri, arresting 106 persons and seizing documents planning a rebellion.

**2 Nov.** - The Northwest Youth Association Jeju headquarters is established.

**7 Sept.** - Park Tea-hun, head of Jeju Food Affair Office, is attacked at his home by the Northwest Youth Association.

**15 March** - Chief Jo Byeong-ok (National Police Agency) orders the arrest of protest ringleaders.



**9 Sept.** - The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) is established.

**11 Oct.** - Jeju Security Headquarters is established.

**17 Oct.** - It is announced that all land more than 5 k.m. from the coastline is restricted and any individual found therein is subject to summary execution.

**17 Nov.** - Martial Law is announced in Jeju.

**31 Dec.** - Martial Law in Jeju is lifted.

1949

**17 Jan.** - Around 400 villagers are killed by the army in Bukchon-ri village.

**2 March.** - Jeju District Command Post is established.

**15 May** Jeju District Command Post is dissolved.



**7 June** - Lee Deok-gu, general commander of the armed resistance, is executed by police.

**2 Oct.** - 249 people sentenced to death by court martial in 1949 are executed near Jeju airport and secretly buried.

1950

**16 July** - The 5th Army Training Station is established in Jeju.

**27 July** - Detainees under preventative custody at a distillery in Jeju are secretly dumped into the sea off the coast of Sarabong.

1954

**21 Sept.** - The ban on access to Mt. Hallasan is lifted.



# Chapter 1

## Fact & Truth

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction: Fact & Truth

The material for this section is taken from the “What is the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Uprising and Massacre?” booklet published by the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre. This booklet was published in English and Korean to mark the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragedy in 2018 in partnership with the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, Jeju 4·3 Archives, the Association for 4·3 Victims and Bereaved Families, the Jeju 4·3 Research Institute and others.

The publication aims to provide an accessible resource on the key findings of the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4·3 Events. This truth commission was established in 2000 and continues to carry out research into what happened on the island between 1947 and 1954 making it the longest-running truth commission in the world. The material this chapter draws from can be found in the much more extensive “Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report” published in 2003.

Due to inconsistencies in the English translation edition of the booklet, minor edits were made for its inclusion in this chapter. Additional changes were made where information was regarded as ambiguous by the editors, with some text removed for the sake of clarity. The final text reproduced here was reviewed by the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre before publication.

## Background to the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre



A woman inspects a tombstone, one of thousands within the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park where many of those who lost their lives during the uprising and massacre have found their final resting place. Photo by Kim Heung-gu

Jeju Island (or “Jejudo”) is a beautiful volcanic island located off the southern coast of Korea. Thanks to its beautiful beaches and volcanic landscapes it is not only a popular holiday destination in Korea but in the whole of Asia. However, few visitors are aware that 70 years ago the island was covered in blood in what is known as the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre. Also known as the Jeju 4·3 Incident, it is known colloquially as “sa-sam” in Korean, which indicates the date of April 3, 1948, when armed leftists attacked police stations on the island. This tragic period is defined as follows in Article 2(i) of the Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4·3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims:

*“The Jeju 4·3 Incident refers to the incident causing civilians’ sacrifices in the process of armed conflicts and the suppression operations beginning March 1, 1947, to April 3, through to Sept. 21, 1954.”<sup>1)</sup>*

This was a chaotic period immediately following independence from Japan as the Korean Peninsula entered the Cold War era. Some individuals, including the first president of South Korea, Syngman Rhee (1948-1960), in addition to the U.S. government, wanted to establish a separate government in the southern half of Korea. Others opposed national division and wanted to establish a unified country with the Soviet-occupied northern half. Jeju Islanders courageously resisted the division of the Korean Peninsula and strongly protested the first election that was scheduled for May 10, 1948, that would confirm the formation of the Republic of Korea

south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. The military and police ruthlessly cracked down on Jeju Islanders in response to the protests. Approximately 30,000 people, or one in every 10 Jeju residents at the time, lost their lives during this period.

In order to understand the historical context for the uprising and massacre, the following chapter draws from “What is the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Uprising and Massacre,” a booklet published March 2018 by the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre. These materials are provided in edited form with additional commentary where appropriate with permission from the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Uprising and Massacre.

1) All Korean-language quotations and references were translated from the original by Nouveau Publishing for the purposes of this publication.

Liberation from Japan in 1945



Independence movement activists who were detained in Seodaemun Prison, Seoul, cheer after being released following liberation.

On Aug. 15, 1945, Korea regained its independence, ending 35 years of Japanese colonial rule over the peninsula. It was a happy day for most Koreans as liberation meant the end of conscription and forced labor in addition to increased freedom to use Korean names.<sup>1)</sup> On the other hand, for those who had colluded with Japan, independence was a worrisome time amid calls for collaborators to be brought to justice. This conflict in how the public viewed the period after independence was the cause of a number of tragic events. Both the Daegu Autumn Uprising (1946) and Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre (1948) happened within three years, and the Korean War (1950) followed around two years after independence.

Why did Koreans suffer following independence?

There are many reasons for the tragic events that followed independence including conflict between left-wing and right-wing forces that was compounded by geopolitical competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the region. However, arguably the most crucial reason for the conflict is that Koreans relied on external powers rather than being able to achieve independence without assistance. As is well known, Japan was defeated by the Allies

1) During the Japanese occupation of Korea, the colonial authorities made Koreans adopt Japanese names.



The Japanese flag in front of the Japanese Government-General of Korea building in Seoul is replaced with the U.S. flag.

during the Pacific War and it lost control of the Korean Peninsula. It was through this process that Korea became independent, which means that the people did not secure independence from Japan without the help of foreign powers.

Why did the Allies divide Korea following liberation?

The Allies' fight against Japan was not driven by sympathy for the plight of Koreans under Japanese rule but for geopolitical control of the Asia-Pacific region. Following liberation, the strategic importance of the peninsula meant that the great powers divided it among themselves with the Soviet Union occupying the north and the U.S. occupying the south. Although this has drawn comparisons to the division of Germany in the wake of defeat in World War II, the division of Korea did not follow defeat in war but liberation from Japanese colonial rule.

The U.S. occupation of the southern half of Korea was announced in Proclamation No. 1 by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur on Sept. 7, 1945: "All powers of Government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority." Following the Proclamation, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) was the official ruling body for three years until the establishment of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) on Aug. 15, 1948.





Lyuh Woon-hyung was a leading political figure in Korea following the nation's liberation from Japan and was one of the founders of the Alliance for National government, a left-leaning organization that would eventually become the People's Committee.

Who ruled over the Korean Peninsula?

The peninsula was, of course, the land of the Koreans. As such, Koreans were not willing to allow the U.S. or the Soviet Union to rule over their land and people mobilized to establish a Korea without external influence. Lyuh Woon-hyung was one such individual. As the defeat of Japan approached, Lyuh joined others to establish the Alliance for National Government. Later, the Alliance for National Government became the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence. This committee even took temporary charge over security matters.

The committee was a nationwide organization established by Koreans to create a new state following the end of Japanese rule. Being a genuine grassroots movement for democracy, it changed its name to the People’s Committee. Naturally, the committee also established a branch office in Jeju. However, the USAMGIK declared itself the only legitimate power south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel and did not recognize the new state declared by the People’s Committee. As the People’s Committee enjoyed widespread popular support and was established throughout the country, the USAMGIK forcibly dissolved the committee so that it could effectively rule the country.

It was, however, the USAMGIK policy of rehiring officers from the Japanese colonial era that most antagonized Koreans. Although the USAMGIK tried to justify its policy by the need to implement effective governance, the failure to prosecute officers who had collaborated with the Japanese increased public resentment.

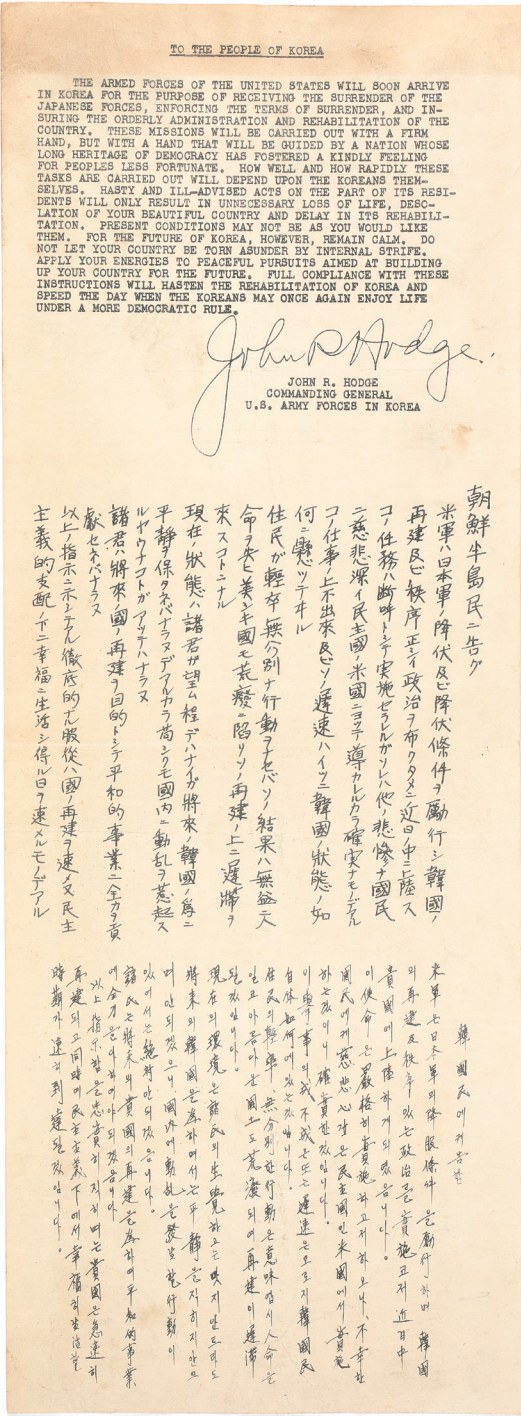
Jeju’s political climate following liberation

After liberation, the movement to establish a new country was also active in Jeju. Although the People’s Committees in other regions were either dissolved by the USAMGIK or operated under different names, the Jeju People’s Committee remained intact and enjoyed strong support. This was largely because the pro-Japanese faction was relatively weak in Jeju and many people who had fought for independence against the Japanese returned to their hometowns and became members of the People’s Committee in Jeju. There was also more social cohesion in Jeju where 80 percent of farmers were independent landholders in contrast to the national average of 40 percent. Furthermore, Jeju also had a strong community spirit that fed into the People’s Committee as an autonomous organization.

Most importantly, the People’s Committee invested heavily in education and actively helped to establish schools on the island. The People’s Committee in Jeju demonstrated leadership in the period following independence. The USAMGIK ruled the country in a larger sense, but the People’s Committee had more direct influence in Jeju people’s lives. Therefore, the USAMGIK considered the Jeju People’s Committee an important partner, and sent the organization official documents as it did to other public offices. E. Grant Meade, a USAMGIK officer, said, “The Jeju People’s Committee was the only political party in the island and the only organization acting like a government.”

However, as time went by, mounting conflict arose between the USAMGIK and the Jeju People’s Committee. Instead of fully enjoying their independence, people were being victimized by the same oppressive police officers and corrupt public officials as under Japanese colonial authority. The only difference was that now the oppressors had positions under the USAMGIK. The conflict increased in seriousness on March 1, 1947, when the so-called March 1 Shooting Incident occurred on the anniversary of the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919 against Japanese rule.

In every aspect, the Jeju People’s Committee was the only political party and the only government in Jeju.



“To The People of Korea” was declared Sept. 1, 1945, by U.S. General John R. Hodge, stating that the U.S. military would soon arrive in Korea to receive the surrender of Japan and to usher the peninsula into an era of democracy. Photo courtesy National Museum of Korean Contemporary History



Life on Jeju after liberation

Generally, people are more interested in their daily lives than they are in politics. If life is good, people are normally not that concerned about politics. However, life was harsh for the Jeju people following liberation. After gaining independence, around 60,000 Jeju citizens returned to the island from Japan where many, either forcibly or voluntarily, had been during the colonial period. As a result, jobs on the island were scarce and society was unstable.

*“After liberation, the people who had left their hometowns as conscripts, forced laborers or workers returned with great expectations. But there was no way to earn money on Jeju. Although some people say that Jeju 4-3 occurred because of the South Korean Labor Party, that was a secondary reason. People resisted because, even after liberation, the pro-Japanese had not been punished, there were no jobs available and they were being suppressed by a corrupt police force.”*

Testimony by Kang Soon-hyun (Ohyun Middle School teacher, 27-years old at the time of Jeju 4-3)

Compounding the situation was the fact that the USAMGIK did not allow people returning from Japan to bring back the money they had earned there. During Japanese colonization, daily necessities were imported from Japan, but this was not possible after liberation. As a result, the economic situation for the Jeju people became dire. Moreover, during the summer of 1946, Jeju suffered a cholera outbreak with around 50 cases a day, and Islanders were also dealing with a drought-inflicted food shortage. Even in this severe situation, the corrupt officers who had worked for the Japanese kept their positions of authority under the USAMGIK and continued to exploit the Jeju people.

Islanders, particularly the youth who felt the situation most keenly, were outraged and began to demand justice.



Downtown Jeju City following liberation.



“The Liberation” (1990) by Jeju artist Kang Yo-bae depicts the crowd congregated in Jeju City to simultaneously celebrate the March 1 Independence Movement and protest the upcoming general elections.

Commemorating the March 1 Independence Movement

Conflict boiled over on March 1, 1947, during an event to commemorate the March 1 Independence Movement. This tragic incident, known as the March 1 Shooting Incident, triggered the Jeju 4-3 Uprising and Massacre.

On March 1, commemorative ceremonies were held nationwide, including in Seoul, to mark the 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the March 1 Independence Movement. In Jeju, a March 1 Independence Movement event was held at Buk Elementary School in Jeju City. Unlike in Seoul where separate ceremonies were held by left-wing and right-wing groups, in Jeju only one ceremony was held due to the absence of political conflict on the island at the time. This led to an unprecedented number of people gathering and calling for unequivocal independence and a better society.





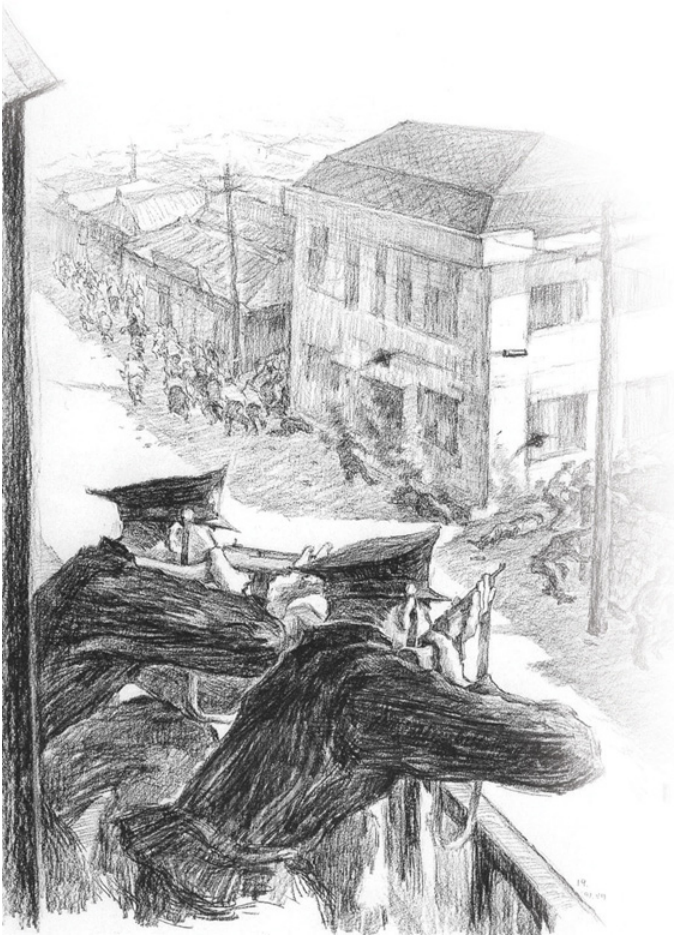
Mounted police officers of the U.S. Military government make their way through a crowd on the mainland.

Faced with the deteriorating situation following independence, people struggled to overcome hardship and strived to rekindle the spirit of resistance against Japanese rule. This is the mood in which the ceremony to commemorate the March 1 Independence Movement was held in Jeju.

Around 30,000 people gathered at Buk Elementary School under the slogan “Let’s achieve unification, independence in the spirit of March 1.” The Korean people believed that they had suffered following independence due to lingering foreign control over the country’s fate. With the Soviet Union and the U.S. exercising control over the north and south of the country, respectively, Koreans were also worried about potential national division. As such division would likely lead to war, they called for unification and independence. In other words, Koreans believed that if they were able to establish an independent country free of foreign influence, then the social conflict would naturally be resolved.

### The trigger for the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre

The tragic March 1 Shooting Incident occurred following a ceremony for the March 1 Independence Movement held at Buk Elementary School. At around 2 p.m. as the ceremony came to a close, the crowd marched toward Jeju Gwandeokjeong Pavilion. As the people were marching to the west of the pavilion, a boy was trampled by the horse of a mounted police officer. The crowd was enraged when the police officer ignored the injured boy and some of them began pursuing the mounted policeman and throwing stones.



Artist Kang Yo-bae's depiction of the 1947 'Shooting Incident,' sketched from the descriptions of witnesses.

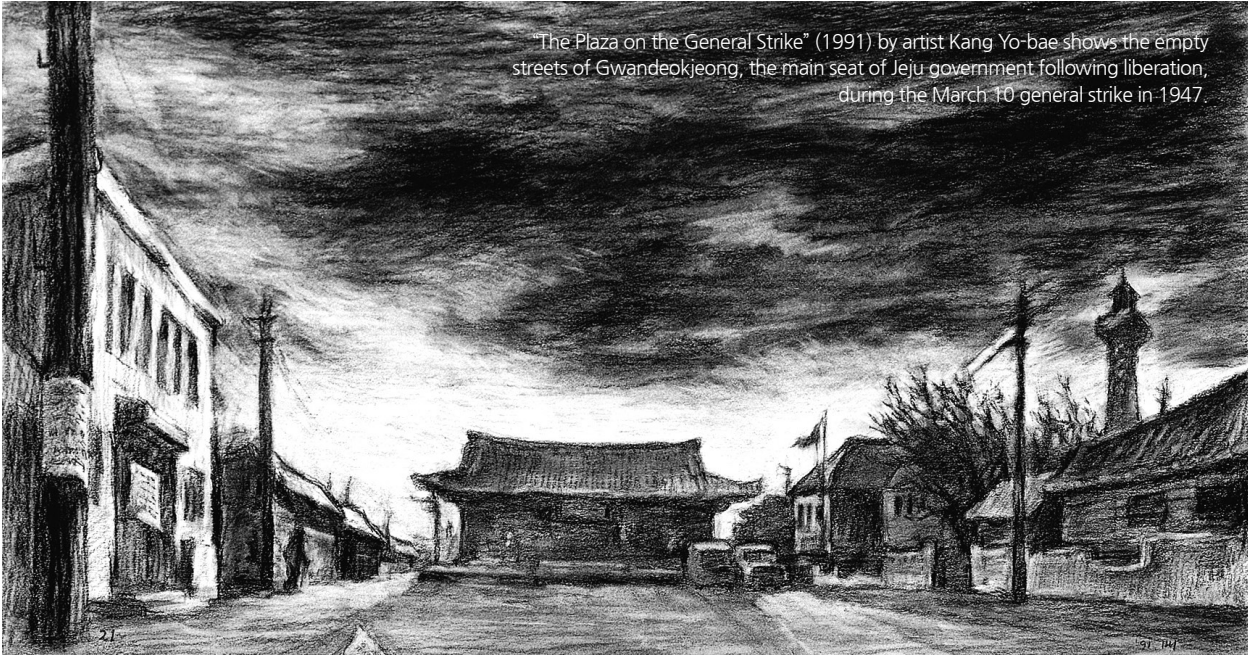
As people ran after the mounted police officer while he headed to the nearby police station, police officers fired on the crowd from a watchtower. As a result, six civilians were killed and six more were injured. Nevertheless, no one could have imagined that this shooting incident would trigger the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre that would leave an estimated 30,000 dead.

Ahead of the ceremony to mark the March 1 Independence Movement, the USAMGIK deployed around 100 police officers from the police reserve. The police who fired the shots that day were part of a deployment from the mainland.

It was an overreaction by the police against an unarmed crowd. Most of the people killed had been shot from behind, evidence that the police shot at them while they were running away. One of the victims was a woman carrying a baby while others were students and bystanders. If it was a mistake, the police should have apologized and sought to remedy the situation. Unfortunately, the police insisted that they acted in self-defence. Furthermore, the police then started arresting the organizers of the March 1 Independence Movement ceremony.

Who ordered the shooting? Was it possible for the police to use their weapons then without an order from the USAMGIK?





"The Plaza on the General Strike" (1991) by artist Kang Yo-bae shows the empty streets of Gwandeokjeong, the main seat of Jeju government following liberation, during the March 10 general strike in 1947.

### The March general strike in Jeju

As part of the strong resistance and protest by the Jeju people, a general strike was called for March 10 to 22, 1947. Students refused to attend school, vendors closed shop and even public officers did not go to work. Although the strike made it harder for locals to provide for themselves, they did so to call for justice following the March 1 shooting.

If the USAMGIK wanted to instill democracy in Korea, then it should have listened to the voice and agony of the Korean people. Unfortunately, the USAMGIK reacted in the opposite manner, designating Jeju an "island of reds" and began indiscriminately arresting people. Although the government blamed the influence of North Korea for the unrest and claimed that "90 percent of Jeju people are leftists," recent research challenges this and indicates the whole island was enraged by the policies of the USAMGIK.

There were some people who tried to find a rational solution for the situation. Then-Jeju Governor Park Gyeong-hun (1946-47) submitted his resignation in protest and stated that he took full responsibility for the situation. The state-



Park Gyeong-hun  
The first Jeju governor  
under the US Military  
Government

ment he issued proclaimed that "Independence is not complete even after liberation," adding that "all 300,000 Jeju people are expressing condolences to the people killed in this tragic incident." He also expressed the people's support for "our unified independence in the future."

However, these efforts were ineffectual as the USAMGIK ignored the public and continued to suppress the Jeju people. In the month following the March 1 shooting, around 500 people were arrested and 245 people were detained. In the year leading up to the uprising in April 1948, around 2,500 people would be arrested. This not only indicates that most of Jeju's youth and educated population had been arrested by the USAMGIK, but also indicates that the Jeju 4·3 Uprising was not a sudden event but was rooted in ongoing animosity toward the USAMGIK.

### The arrival of the Northwest Youth Association

The Northwest Youth Association (Seobuk Cheongnyeondan) was formed by a group of landowners who were forced to leave North Korea due to the political climate there including land reform and a crackdown on pro-Japanese factions. They were, therefore, naturally hostile to left-wing groups. Having learned that Jeju was the "island of reds," they saw little wrong in killing Jeju Islanders. Alongside police officers from the mainland, the Northwest Youth Association was deployed to Jeju Island after the shootings on March 1 under orders from the USAMGIK. Although they were given the title of police officers, they were not paid and sustained themselves through the looting of Jeju Islanders.



Throughout the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre, the Northwest Youth Association inflicted unforgettable trauma on the Jeju Islanders. Pictured above, a group of men from the group call for communists to be "crushed down."

*“The Northwest Youth Association was deployed following a request by the government to go to regions where leftists were running wild. What objective standards could we have? One example was Jeju Island. Head of police, Jo Byeong-ok, called us as soon as the 4·3 incident happened. He said that a big incident had occurred on Jeju Island and he requested that we send around 500 anti-communists as riot police.” Moon Bong-jae (head of the Northwest Youth Association during the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre).*

“

*When we found out that our schoolmate Kim Yong-cheol died at Jocheon police box after being tortured, our anger toward the police and the Northwest Youth Association grew. We handed out brochures stating, ‘No more vicious police!’*

”

Taking responsibility for the March 10 general strike, Park Gyeong-hun, the first Jeju governor under the USAMGIK, resigned. His successor, Yoo Hae-jin (1947-1948), assumed the position on April 10, 1947, and it was during his governorship that the first seven members of the Northwest Youth Association arrived on Jeju. From that point until the start of the 4·3 Uprising in 1948, around 760 members of the Northwest Youth Association entered the island. Another 1,700 arrived later. Upon the first arrival, they wore police uniforms before later donning military uniforms.

*“When we found out that our schoolmate Kim Yong-cheol died at Jocheon police box after being tortured, our anger toward the police and the Northwest Youth Association grew. We handed out brochures stating, ‘No more vicious police!’ We were shocked when we saw people who had initiated the April 3<sup>rd</sup> Uprising getting killed by the police. The police and the Northwest Youth Association made it impossible to live in my village, so I went up the mountain in August 1948. I was in the second grade of Jocheon Middle School. I did not expect this situation to continue for that long. By chance, I met Lee Duk-koo, the second commander-in-chief of the guerrilla unit. He used to be my school teacher and I was happy to see him. He looked at me with an anxious face and asked me why I was there, and not studying.”*

**Kim Minjoo** (17 years old in 1948)

“

*The armed resistance announced:  
“Resist against Oppression!”*

”

#### **Day of infamy: April 3, 1948**

It was a month before the first election on May 10, which was being held unilaterally in the south and would constitute the formation of the Republic of Korea. As outlined, Jeju Islanders had a great deal of anguish due to the oppression of the Northwest Youth Association, which was operating above the law. The election being held only in the southern half of the peninsula increased agitation over fears that a divided country would result in armed conflict. In fact, this worry proved to be prescient. Following the election, tensions escalated between the newly formed nations and the Korean War would erupt only two years later. It is in this context that on April 3, 1948, 350 individuals on Jeju attacked police stations in part due to strong opposition to the division of the country. This is how, why and when the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre began. On this day, 12 of the 24 police stations on the island were attacked

and 14 people were killed. The armed resistance announced: “Resist against Oppression!”

However, Jeju Island was not the only place where this kind of uprising occurred. Many Koreans did not want a divided country after hard-won independence from Japan. Since national division risked further war, there were uprisings in other regions where they refused to hold an election restricted to southern Korea. When the uprising first occurred on Jeju, it seemed that the police force would be able to control the situation and the military would not be required. If a peaceful resolution had been sought at this stage through dialogue and negotiation, then the situation might not have deteriorated and the deaths of some 30,000 people could have been avoided. There was no peaceful resolution, however, and Jeju Islanders faced a brutal crackdown.





The arson attack of Ora-ri as filmed from the sky by the U.S. military.



Jeju residents, mainly women and children, search for refuge in the island's mountainous region from the government's crackdown following Jeju's boycott of the general election in May 1948.

### April 28 Peace Negotiation and the Arson of Ora-ri

The police under the USAMGIK claimed the attacks against police stations on the morning of April 3, 1948, were committed by “Communists connected to the North.” However, many people believed this to be a false accusation. Public Prosecutor General Lee In stated that the root cause of the unrest was the unjust conduct of the USAMGIK. “The behaviour of the wicked officers of the U.S. military government was the major cause of the incident,” he said. The Korea Constabulary was reluctant to intervene as it identified the conflict as being between Jeju Islanders and the police and the Northwest Youth Association. However, the USAMGIK dismissed this characterization and ordered the Korea Constabulary, which was under its purview, to crack down on Jeju Islanders. About a month after the April

3 attacks, the Korean army executed the USAMGIK's order.

Meanwhile, Kim Ik-ryeol, commander of the 9th Regiment, tried to resolve the situation peacefully. As a result, on April 28, less than a month after the attacks on the police stations, negotiations were set up with the armed resistance that had initiated the 4·3 Uprising. On April 28, 1948, 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment Commander Kim and Kim Dal-sam (real name Lee Seungjin), the head of the armed resistance group, reached a significant and potentially successful resolution after heated debate. They agreed upon a complete ceasefire within 72 hours in addition to gradual disarmament and safety guarantees for the armed resistance group.

The April 3 Uprising and Massacre could have been

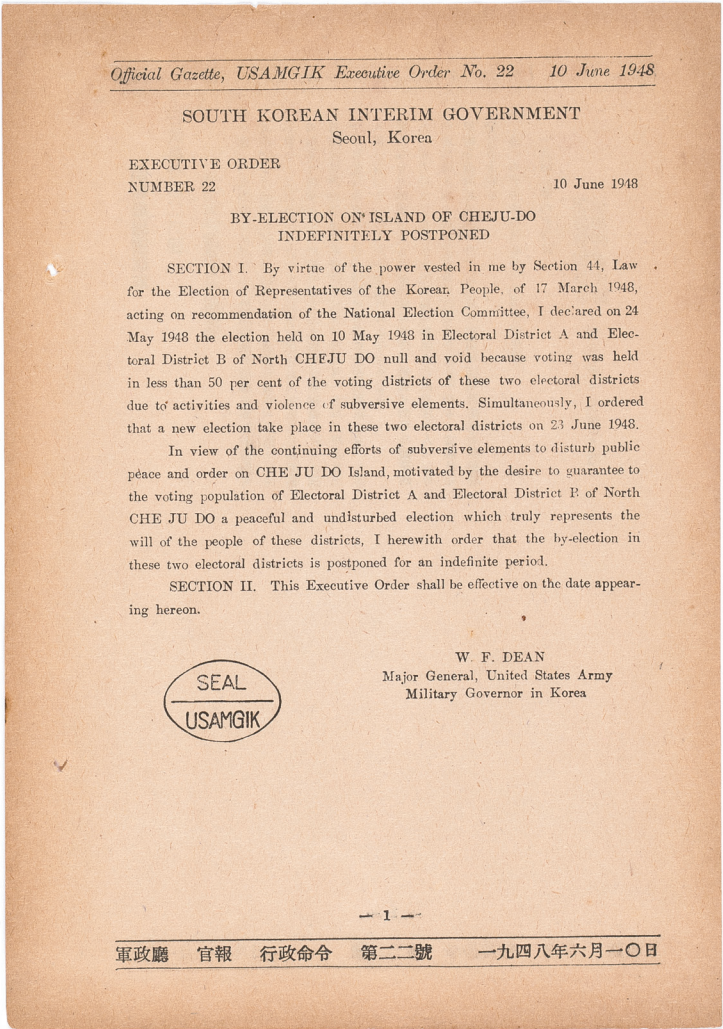
avoided had these agreements been implemented. However, the peace agreement was sabotaged only three days later on May 1 when unidentified men disguised as members of the armed resistance set fire to Ora-ri village in what is known as “the Arson of Ora-ri.” The USAMGIK documented the arson attack from the sky and from the ground and it was used in a propaganda film titled “Cheju-Do May Day.” Although it was later found that the arson was committed by members of the right-wing Northwest Youth Association, at the time it was attributed to the armed resistance and it resulted in the annulment of the peace agreement.

On May 3, the civilians who descended from the mountain regions, trusting the peace agreement, were shot by police who were disguised as members of the

armed resistance group. The violence was planned so that the armed resistance group would be blamed for breaking the ceasefire and annulling the peace agreement.

The USAMGIK dismissed Kim, who strongly criticized the situation, and replaced him as regimental commander with hardliner Park Jin-gyeong. Park Jin-gyeong served as second lieutenant in the Japanese army during the Japanese colonial period and was favored by Major General William F. Dean, commander of the USAMGIK and military governor of Korea. He took a completely different stance from Kim. At his inauguration he said, “It is fine to sacrifice 300,000 to suppress a riot in Jeju which hinders the independence of our nation.”



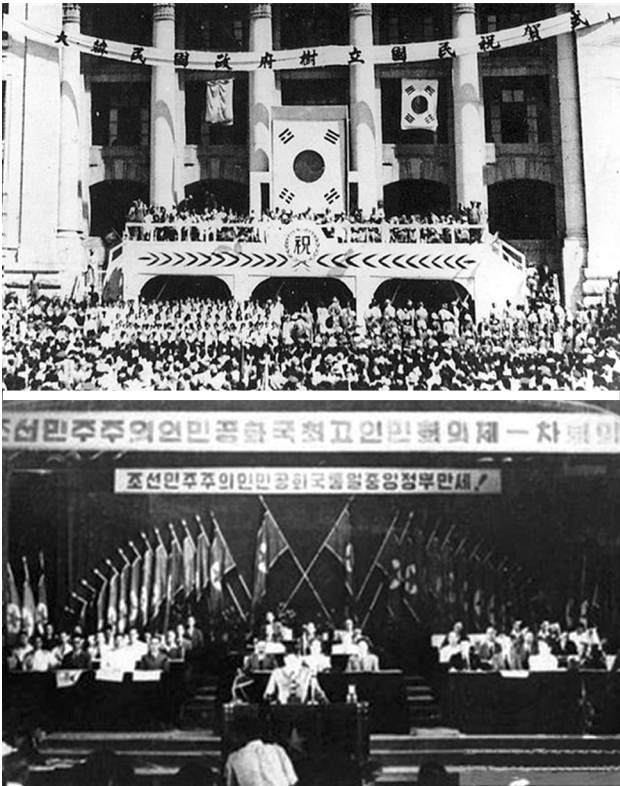


Left: Official Gazette, USAMGIK Executive Order No. 22 by Major General in Korea William F. Dean. Photo courtesy Jeju Peace Museum

Below: People make their way down the mountain in May 1948.



Poster of the first cabinet of South Korea. Photo courtesy National Museum of Korean Contemporary History



Top: National Congratulatory Ceremony for the establishment of the South Korean government.

### The breakdown of the May 10 general election

On May 10, 1948, a general election for the Constitutional Assembly was held for the first time in what would become South Korea. To establish the government, it was necessary to elect parliamentarians to enact the Constitution. As mentioned earlier, some people refused to participate in the election due to concerns about the risk of war because the election was only being held in the south. Kim Koo, the last premier of the Provisional Government of Korea during the Japanese colonial period and later a

Korean nationalist politician, said, “Even though I collapse on the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, I cannot cooperate with the establishment of a divided country.”

This was also regarded as the reason for the outbreak of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre, according to the Jeju chapter of the South Korean Labor Party. For this reason, the May 10 election was invalid in Jeju as two out of three constituencies boycotted the ballot meaning just one out of three parliamentarians was elected. The failure of the May 10 general election heralded a tragic period in Jeju history.

### Two governments in one country

Even though the election for the Constitutional Assembly on Jeju was deemed invalid due to low voter turnout, the first Constitution was proclaimed on July 17, 1948, as the election was successfully held in other parts of the country. Against this backdrop, the Republic of Korea was formed on Aug. 15, 1948, and Rhee Syngman became its first president. The North then rapidly declared its own government with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea being established on Sept. 9, 1948.

Although this was a momentous chapter in Korean history, it would become a horror for the Jeju people. After establishing the government, President Rhee wanted to

remove any obstacles to his legitimacy. In this light, the Jeju Islanders, who strongly resisted the South-only general elections, were a threat.

At the same time, President Rhee was impatient because the United Nations process for approving the new government was scheduled for December 1948. To be approved at the international level, domestic issues had to be resolved beforehand. The USAMGIK, which was supposed to leave South Korea by the end of 1948, was also running out of patience and wanted to clear up any remaining issues before its own withdrawal. Unfortunately, instead of peace, the path that all parties eventually went down led to pain and suffering.





Suspected political criminals wait to be interrogated.



“Cry of the Sky” (1991) by artist Kang Yo-bae depicts Jeju Islanders forced from their villages during the scorched-earth operation.

**Fall 1948 and ‘the era of madness’**

The severe crackdown started Oct. 17, 1948, when Song Yo-chan, who was appointed the 9<sup>th</sup> regimental commander, announced in a decree that all land beyond 5 km from the coast is “hostile territory” and any individual entering the region “will be killed unconditionally.” This decree seriously violated human rights and resulted in the illegal killing of Jeju people. Such acts also would have violated the 1949 Geneva

Convention, which stipulates that prisoners of war and non-combatants must be treated humanely, if it had been in force at that time.

On Nov. 17 of the same year, martial law was declared. Originally, martial law was a temporary measure to allow the army to take control of judicial, legislative and administrative powers during a state of emergency. However, it is still doubtful whether the

crisis on Jeju Island at that time justified its imposition.

Even if the imposition of martial law was justified, it still would have been illegal to kill people without due legal process. Nevertheless, most villages situated in the mid-region of Mt. Hallasan were burned and all villagers unable to leave were brutally killed. No exceptions were made even for women, children or the elderly. These killings were illegal even during war, and this merciless carnage continued unchecked.

At the start of the conflict, around 500 members of the armed resistance were identified by the military and the police. However, some 30,000 people were killed in order to punish those 500 people, and in the process many evil and unimaginable acts were committed on the island. This is why people call this period “the era of madness.” The period continued until the spring of 1949.

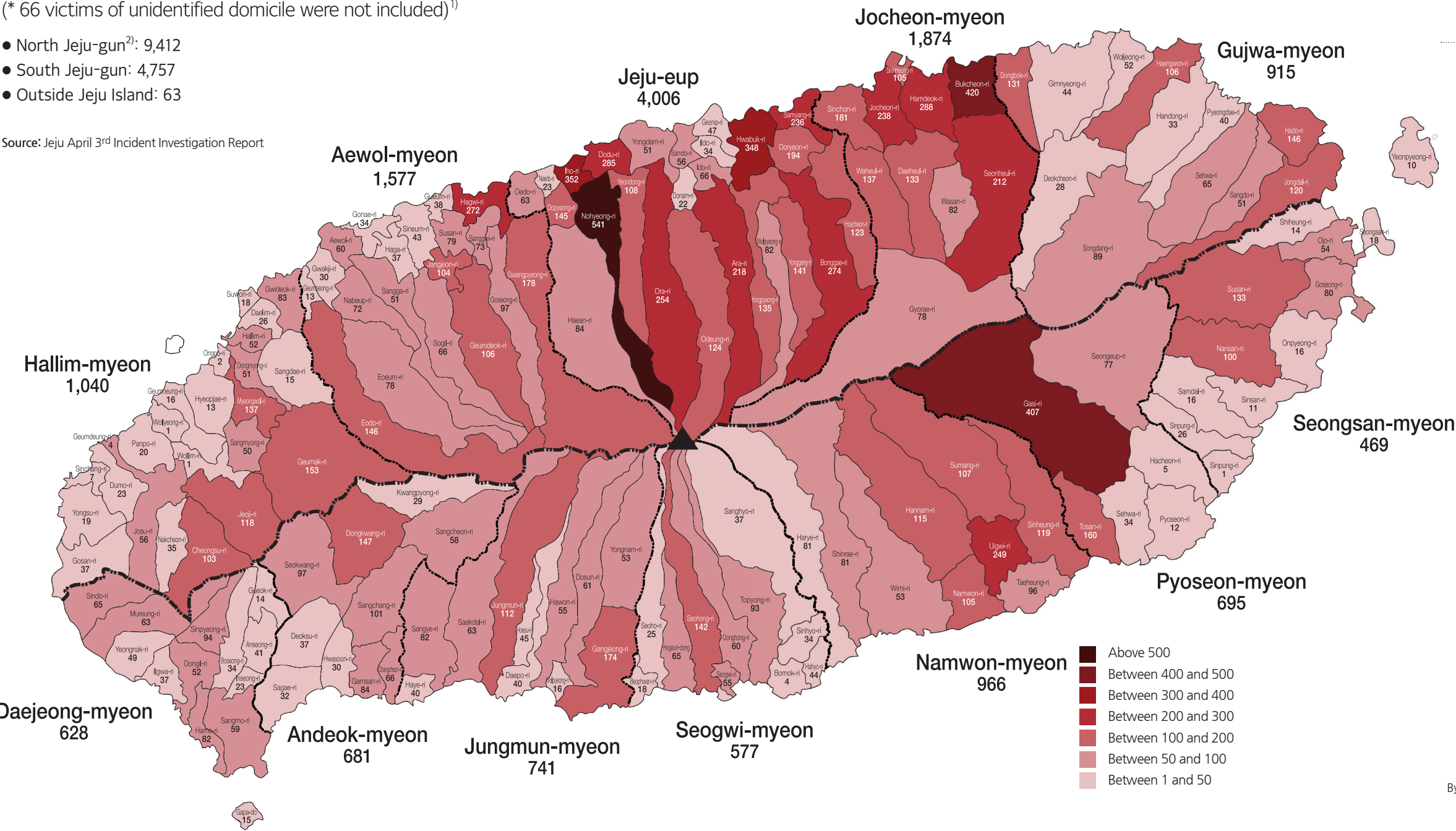


# Victims of Jeju 4·3

Total identified victims: **14,232** (As of 2017)  
(\* 66 victims of unidentified domicile were not included)<sup>1)</sup>

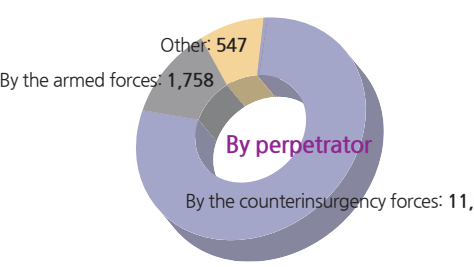
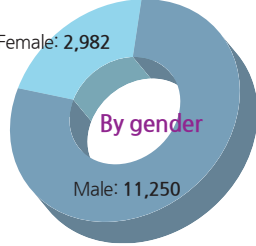
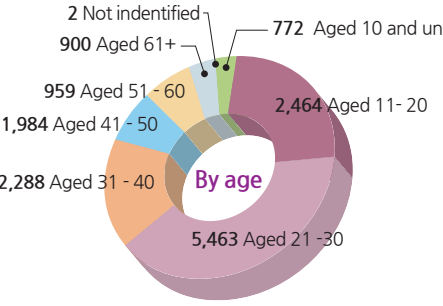
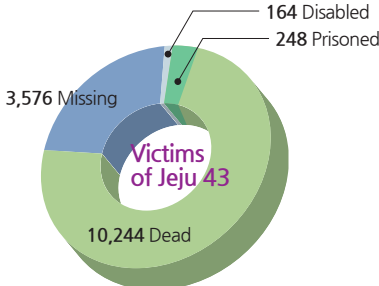
- North Jeju-gun<sup>2)</sup>: 9,412
- South Jeju-gun: 4,757
- Outside Jeju Island: 63

Source: Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Incident Investigation Report



The number of victims estimated by the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Incident Committee  
**25,000 - 30,000**

The number of victims of Jeju 4·3 reported by Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Incident Committee



1) Victims are listed according to their registered address at the time of death.  
2) Administrative units are listed according to the relevant divisions in the period 1947-1954. Jeju province was divided into two "gun" (county districts) at the time, one in the north and the other in the south. Below that were various eup, myeon, and ri districts which are roughly equivalent to town, township, and village respectively.





# Living Memories

Interviews & photographs Ko Hyun-joo  
Written by Huh Eun-sil

## Living Memories: Kang Jung-hoon's sewing machine



“  
*Death was that simple*  
”

*The sound of a sewing machine raised the son taller.  
The needle that pricks skin-like fabric over and over  
sews and stitches the ripped and torn life back together.  
After father passed away during the 4·3 massacre,  
mother tailored and mended for others  
to educate the little ones, to rebuild the utterly indebted home.  
And so her son's faithful devotion grew, and her words became law.*



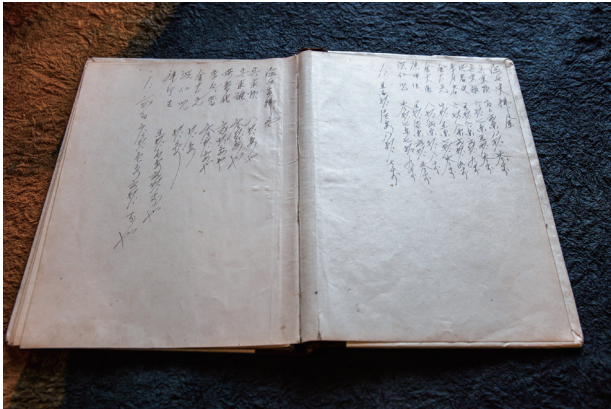
Living Memories: Kang Jung-hoon's sewing machine



**Hand-carved phoenix desk:** Kang Jung-hoon used his father's desk to read books and to write. The desk, with an elaborate carving of a phoenix on each of its sides, serves as a repository of records and a sanctuary of memories.



**Ledger book:** Kang's father kept this ledger book from when he did business in Japan. Kang removed pages with writing on them lest they cause harm to the owners of the names recorded within.



**Father's handwriting:** The front cover of the ledger book is the only page with writing by Kang's father. On the remaining pages, Kang practiced writing poetry. After spending some years wandering throughout the country, Kang finally became a poet. In his poems, he sings about the continuing painful history of Jeju 4·3.

“

*Rather, it is a matter of how to record the facts as history and how to soothe the pain and suffering of the victims and survivors.*

”



Kang Jung-hoon

“The victims were killed as if they were a shoal of anchovy -- they all died together. This place is called Teojinmok. Over 490 people were massacred here over two years, starting from November 1948. I was eight when I witnessed my grandparents, my father and his two brothers and sister murdered. Death was that simple.

On a spring day the previous year, my father and I returned home from school after my school entrance ceremony. We were sitting on our wooden porch, talking. Suddenly, his face turned serious and he said, ‘Tell them I’m not here. Tell them I don’t live here.’ And he hurried to the shed. As soon as he hid there, police forces raided my house. Stepping on the floor with their military boots on, they searched for my father. I was terrified and even wet my pants. But at such a young age, I thought I had to protect my father. So I asked them why they came. I told them that he was

not home, and that he had been away from home for a long time. I was so calm and confident. The police officers opened the drawers of this desk and said, ‘It’s not here.’ Then they searched through the gwae, and again they said, ‘I can’t find it.’ And they left my house. But they kept chasing after my father. That is why I can’t forget this desk. This brings back the vivid memory of that situation.

After my father passed away, my mother sewed to raise us. We lived by this (sewing machine). When I became a teenager, I hated Jeju and ran away to Seoul. But I came back and had my house built right in front of the site of the massacre. It is now a memory I can’t avoid. Facing it, however, soothes me.

I don’t think 4·3 is a matter of fact, compensation or state liability. Rather, it is a matter of how to record the facts as history and how to soothe the pain and suffering of the victims and survivors.”



Living Memories: Ko Chang-seon's postcard



“  
*We couldn’t even discover  
his body*  
”

*This is the only written proof of his life,  
evidence that ‘he’ existed, living here in the old times,  
a testament to a man named Ko Chang-man, once alive.*

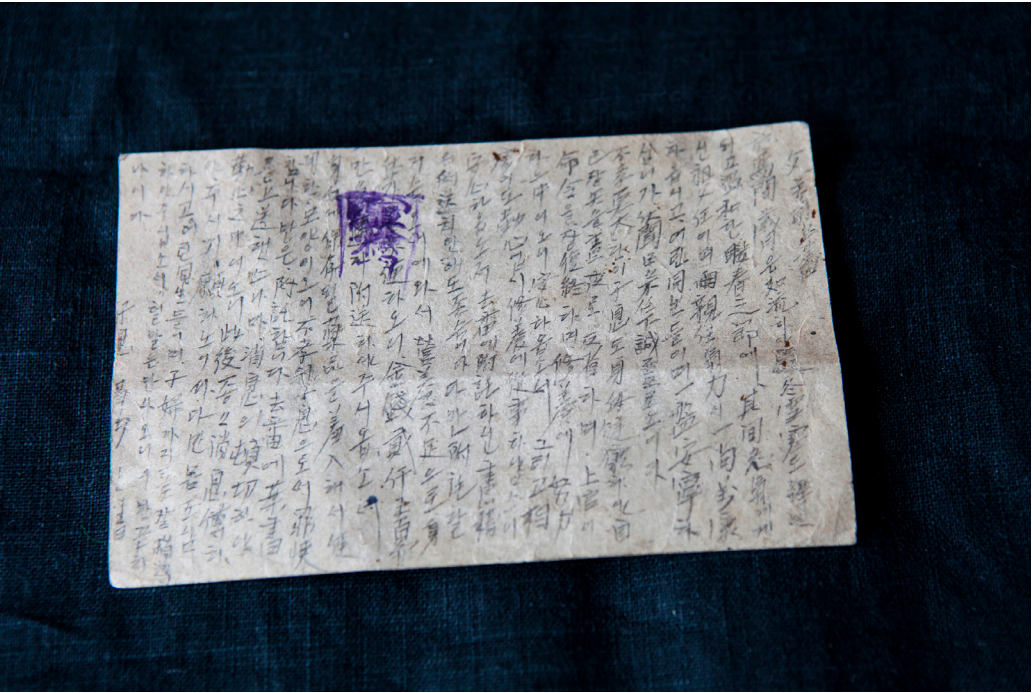
*His palm-sized postcard,  
with the pointed handwritten lines,  
is now as aged as the knotted hand of his little brother.  
The paper discolours with the uncaring passage of time.  
But it keeps his memory and love ever more alive.*



Living Memories: Ko Chang-seon’s postcard



Postcard (front):  
A postcard to commemorate national liberation, dated April 28, 1949, brings back the memories of 70 years ago.



Postcard (back):  
Chang-man sent this postcard from Daegu prison. It is Chang-seon’s only relic, and the last sentence he wrote on it became his last words: “I still have many more things to say to you, but I should stop here.” With all those things left unsaid, Chang-man soon became one of the missing.

“  
*We couldn’t even find his body*  
”



Ko Chang-seon

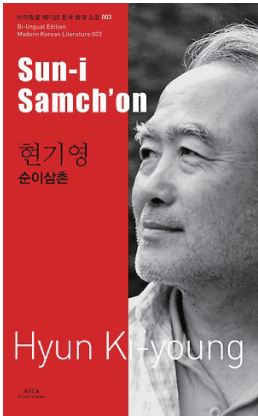
“From November 1948, an army battalion was stationed at Oedo Elementary School. The troops convened the villagers able to work and collect firewood for cooking. In fact, it was all a trap set up to kill young men. My father said he would go and that we should stay home. But, my eldest brother left home, as he said he would during breakfast that morning. An estimated 50 villagers responded to the call from the battalion. In the afternoon, only the elderly returned and the young ones went missing (without any news, as if they were dead). After my elder brothers were arrested, the soldiers visited my village and killed people day after day. They just checked off the name of the resident and ruled that they were sentenced to 15 years in jail for aiding and abetting the rebellion. That way, people were locked up in a classroom of Buk Elementary School, without any investigation nor on any grounds. The next day, they were all taken elsewhere by boat. But the following year, we received a postcard from my brother, sent from Daegu prison. That was when we

learned that the military forces didn’t just dig a hole and kill him as we thought they had.  
When the Korean War broke out, however, my brother went missing once again. He was conscripted for forced labor, but the army abandoned him when retreating from a battle. The very spot where he went missing was turned into a reservoir. We couldn’t even find his body.  
He got married at the age of 20 and died early. So, his wife, who didn’t remarry, passed away having borne no children. After her death, I found the postcard and the prayers in Chinese characters that my brother wrote for ancestral ceremonies. She kept them in the drawer of the gwe. The postcard reads that he had been at Daegu prison. He asked after the family and said he is in bad health, requesting some money. But I figured that he had been suffering from mental and cognitive issues for a while. He used to be very smart, knowing how to read and write Chinese characters. But he mistyped the characters of our father’s name.”





Photo by Kim Heung-gu



(Top) “Changbi,” a quarterly containing “Sun-i Samch’on” (1978);  
(Below) The 2012 translation of “Sun-i Samch’on” into English.

“Sun-i Samch’on”  
by Hyun Ki-young

An iconic novel that captures the essence of Jeju 4·3

“Sun-i Samch’on” (published in English as ‘Aunt Suni’) is Hyun Ki-young’s short novel that vividly depicts the lasting trauma of the Bukchon Massacre, the bloodiest atrocity of Jeju 4·3. The story was published in the September print issue of Changbi (a quarterly magazine of literary criticism) in 1978. The story is considered one of the greatest Korean literary achievements given the circumstances of its publication at a time when historical materials about Jeju 4·3 were sparse and victims’ families would rarely speak about the tragedy. Still regarded as an iconic novel, the story is the first public reference to Jeju 4·3, talk of which was considered taboo for decades.

“

*However, “Sun-i Samch’on” brought new vitality to research on Jeju 4·3 and had a tremendous impact on the overall cultural sphere in South Korea including in literature, fine arts and theater.*

”

Hyun was the first in the literary realm to discuss the truth hidden behind Jeju 4·3 by retelling the Bukchon Massacre from the perspective of typical Jeju villagers. In this context, “Sun-i Samch’on” is referred to as a controversial work that best represents the 1970s, an era of great significance in South Korean literature and history. After its publication, the author suffered greatly as his book was not only banned from being distributed but he was tortured by the state for having written it. However, “Sun-i Samch’on” brought new vitality to research on Jeju 4·3 and had a tremendous impact on the overall cultural sphere in South Korea including in literature, fine arts and theater.



## Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture

### Haewon Sangsaeng Gut

A shamanic ritual to soothe never-ending sorrow and trauma

In Jeju's Haewon Sangsaeng Gut, humans are not the sole subject of consolation. To the survivors of Jeju 4·3, shamans, who are believed to be the envoys of the divine spirits, are the only beings to plead for the resolution of their deep sorrow. The survivors are those who were left behind, and what embosoms and soothes them is shamanism, the oldest form of religion which often involves ritual performances, or "gut," in Korea. Therefore, alongside ancestral rituals, or "jesa," gut have long served as the only measure that many Jeju locals could take to ease their deep-rooted pain.

To perform the Haewon Sangsaeng Gut, shamans visit different massacre sites.

“

*As their rituals are dedicated  
not just to the souls of the victims  
but to the damaged island as well,  
the performances are also considered  
a process of bringing new birth  
and life to the dead.*

”

The Haewon Sangsaeng Gut is performed to enlighten the public that nature and humans are both subject to healing. In a sense, it is a resurrection ritual that could resuscitate an island that has been covered with dead soil and has suffered in agony due to its painful scars. The provincial ritual of the Haewon Sangsaeng Gut is performed every year during the annual Jeju 4·3 memorial service.

By Song Jung-hee



Ritual for the victims massacred at Darangshi Cave (2002)



Ritual for the victims drowned near Sanji Port (2015)



Ritual for victims at the lost village of Goneul-dong (2004)

All photos courtesy Park Kyong-hoon





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## Chapter 2

# Introduction: Issues & Opinions

### Global perspectives on the Jeju Uprising and Massacre

This chapter provides a snapshot of how the Jeju Uprising and Massacre has been covered in English in the years since its occurrence. The chapter is split into three sections beginning with contemporaneous international reporting in the late 1940s. This flurry of reports in 1948 and 1949 was followed by a long period of silence due to the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-53) and limits on freedom of expression before democratization in 1987. The second section introduces the scholarly work of John Merrill and Bruce Cumings whose historical analyses, critical of the American role in the massacre, are early landmarks in English-language coverage of the massacre in the 1980s and 1990s. The third section moves forward to the new millennium as the broad theme becomes the struggle for transitional justice with press reports from Howard W. French, Hamish McDonald and Andrew Salmon. Finally, the fourth section is devoted to coverage in The Jeju Weekly, the island's sole English-language press outlet, which was the first to bring many of the massacre's key debates to an international audience in recent years. All photographs that accompany the content of this chapter were selected specifically for this book and were not originally published with the source material.

### Contemporary Reports

In selecting articles for the first section, the editors first searched for historical press materials covering Jeju through various online portals. Although contemporaneous reporting on the massacre was sparse, the most illustrative examples have been selected and displayed as press clippings with headlines, subheadings and key passages. The articles were all published between 1948 and 1949 with three, half the selected total, written by The New York Times war correspondent Richard J. H. Johnston. United Press provides the remaining three articles, which were published respectively in The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times. The articles provide a window into how the conflict was viewed by the US military government of the time. The uncritical assumptions about “reds” and “communists,” for example, reflect the McCarthyist atmosphere of the early Cold War years. It is important to note that this picture of a just, if brutal, crackdown upon communist guerillas was not effectively challenged until democratization in 1987.

# Los Angeles Times

## Help Rushed to Quell Red Riots on Korean Island

SEOUL, April 23 (U.P.) -- Communist rioting today on Cheju Island off Korea's southern coast has created a "serious situation," authorities reported.

A battalion of Korean Constabulary has been rushed to Cheju to reinforce the hard-pressed garrison.

Reports from Cheju said communication lines on the island have been cut. Communists reportedly were distributing handbills urging the Constabulary and Rightists to desert to the Communist cause.

### 46 Killed Since April 2<sup>2)</sup>

A United States Army spokesman said at least 46 persons have been killed since the outbreaks began April 2. He said it is probable many more casualties have not been reported because of cut communications.

A small American Army unit is stationed on Cheju. It reported Communist activity seemed to be increasing.

The Communists are said to have started slowly, with raids on isolated police stations. Later they shifted to attacks on police regional offices.

1) Prior to the Revised Romanization (commonly referred to as RR) of Korean in 2000 by the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Cheju was a common spelling for the island. With the implementation of RR, Jeju Island became its official English name.

2) The day the uprising began was erroneously reported as April 2 by United Press. In fact, police stations were attacked by left-wing groups on April 3, 1948.

*Originally published in the Los Angeles Times, April 24, 1948.*

# The New York Times

## Korea Police Raid Strife-torn City 60 Suspected Agitators Taken in Cheju After Series of Fatal Disturbances



A Douglas C-47 Skytrain, which flew between Jeju and Seoul twice a week, is pictured at Jeju Airport in June 1948.

SEOUL, Korea, April 24 (U.P.) -- Korean constabulary troops armed with American Garand rifles surrounded the strife-torn city of Cheju on Cheju Island early today while Korean police raided the homes of suspected agitators and arrested sixty.

It was the first Government counter-action against alleged Leftist-inspired disturbances that have resulted in forty-six deaths on the Island of Cheju since April 2.

The constabulary men held the city paralyzed for five and one-half hours

while police carried out the arrests without violence. Thirty of the sixty arrested were released later. Sporadic sniper fire sounded throughout the hours of darkness, but the area was quiet by daylight.

Cheju is the largest city on the Island of Cheju, fifty miles south of Korea and in the American occupation zone. Americans are reported to be advising the police there, as they do elsewhere in Southern Korea, but otherwise are not involved in the Cheju troubles.

*Originally published in The New York Times, April 25, 1948.*



The New York Times

Small War Rages on Korean Island

Communists on Cheju Attack Villages, Demand Police Surrender, No Election

By Richard J. H. Johnston

SEOUL, Korea, May 2 — A small scale war is reported to be raging on the Island of Cheju, sixty-five miles off the southern Korea coast. Korean police, supported by Korean constabulary, are battling swift-moving bands of Communists who are terrorizing the island's 276,000 inhabitants.

The Communists are directing their assaults against registration headquarters in the coastal towns and against both election officials and candidates.

In the last twenty-four hours attackers have killed two men, two women and a 10-year-old girl in small villages

on the outskirts of the island's capital city, Cheju.

The authorities reported that all communications with the island's interior had been cut off.

Korean Coast Guard headquarters at Pusan reported that the Communists had demanded the surrender of the police forces on the island. The Communists offered a five-point surrender demand, including confiscation of all police weapons, punishment of police and other security forces. And a guarantee that the United Nations-sponsored elections on May 10 would be called off.

Originally published in The New York Times, May 3, 1948.

The Washington Post

Communist Terrorism Marks Election in Southern Korea

39 Dead, 17 Hurt, 142 Held

Seoul, Korea, (Monday) May 10 (U.P.) — Communists spread terrorism and sabotage across American-occupied southern Korea today as Koreans went to the polls.

Reports reaching Army headquarters here during the last 36 hours listed 39 dead, 17 wounded and 6 missing. Police arrested [illegible] rioters.

Sharp fighting was in progress on Cheju Island, 50 miles south of Korea. Communist bands, striking from the hills, terrorized half of the election

officials there into quitting. Ballots could not be distributed in some areas and voting may be impossible.

Sabotage disrupted telephone and railroad service.

The avowed purpose of the violence was to break up the election. Some eight million persons in southern Korea were registered to vote. Unless frightened away from the polls, they will elect a 200-man assembly to write a constitution to create Korea's first representative government.

Originally published in The Washington Post, May 10, 1948.



# The New York Times

## Drive Upon Rebels is Opened in Korea

Army Ordered to Take or Wipe Out Communist-Led  
Groups That Cause Starvation

By Richard J. H. Johnston

SEOUL, Korea, March 14 — Korean Army forces have opened a spring offensive against Communist-led guerrilla bands that are terrorizing South Korea.

President Syngman Rhee issued orders yesterday to Army commanders to capture or wipe out insurgents who, under North Korean

Communist orders, have been burning villages and confiscating food from rural settlements. At the same time President Rhee sent Premier Lee Bum Suk, who is also Defense Minister, and Sihm Sung Mo, Minister of Home Affairs, to ravaged Cheju Island, fifty miles off Korea's south coast to step up the offensive against several thousand rebels.

Government sources said today that insurgent activities had paralyzed the island and had forced most of its quarter of a million inhabitants from remote inland areas to the coastal towns. A Government spokesman said that the toll of islanders killed by Communists since last summer was 15,000. About 10,000 houses have been destroyed by fire, he said.

**DRIVE UPON REBELS IS OPENED IN KOREA**  
Army Ordered to Take or Wipe Out Communist-Led Groups That Cause Starvation  
By RICHARD J. H. JOHNSTON  
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SEOUL, Korea, March 14—Korean Army forces have opened a spring offensive against Communist-led guerrilla bands that are terrorizing South Korea. President Syngman Rhee issued orders yesterday to Army commanders to capture or wipe out insurgents who, under North Korean Communist orders, have been burning villages and confiscating food from rural settlements. At the same time President Rhee sent Premier Lee Bum Suk, who is also Defense Minister, and Sihm Sung Mo, Minister of Home Affairs, to ravaged Cheju Island, fifty miles off Korea's south coast to step up the offensive against several thousand rebels.

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led Korean Arm

MANCHURIA  
Mukden  
Yalu River  
Sea of Japan  
Yellow Sea  
Cheju Island  
JAPAN  
The New York Times March 15, 1949

Originally published in The New York Times, March 15, 1949.

# The New York Times

## Rhee Visits Scene of Korean Revolt

Flies to Cheju Island Where Police and Army Are  
Mopping Up Reds—15,000 Dead

By Richard J. H. Johnston



South Korean President Syngman Rhee makes an inspection of Jeju Island from the passenger seat of a military jeep on July 3, 1952.

SEOUL, Korea, April 9 — President Syngman Rhee left Seoul by air this morning for Cheju Island, fifty miles off the south coast, where he will conduct a personal inspection of the mopping-up operations against Communist-led guerrillas.

Dr. Rhee's office said the President would express to the islanders his personal thanks on their "firm, loyal stand against subversive elements and sympathy for the suffering they have endured from Communist terrorists."

In his first departure from the mainland since his inauguration last Aug. 15, Dr. Rhee was accompanied on a United States Army plane by Mrs. Rhee. The President's office did not disclose when he would return to the capital.

Cheju Island has been the scene of a concentrated Communist terror campaign against the army, the police and inhabitants for several months.

At least 15,000 islanders have been killed by heavily armed guerrilla bands and more than 10,000 houses have been destroyed.

Originally published in The New York Times, April 10, 1949.



## International Scholarship on the Jeju Uprising and Massacre

This section introduces the work of John Merrill and Bruce Cumings, two scholars largely responsible for having introduced the English-speaking world to the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre. While that credit is admirable on its own, these two writers contributed valuable research that helped to challenge the false narrative that had been propagated by the state for decades.

Merrill's "The Cheju-do Rebellion" was published in the *Journal of Korean Studies* (Duke University Press) in 1980 at a time when any mention of the massacre was strictly censored in South Korea under the dictatorship of Chun Doo-hwan (1980-1988). The 60-page paper was the first thorough account of the atrocities committed by the state on Jeju and it is regarded as a seminal paper in the movement for truth and reconciliation. Merrill is also frequently cited throughout 2003's "4·3 Incident Investigative Report," which was written following the signing of the Jeju 4·3 Special Act that spearheaded the government's current truth and reconciliation commission. Merrill is currently a visiting scholar at Johns Hopkins University and was formerly the head of the Northeast Asia Division of the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

Cumings, a professor of history at the University of Chicago, is an award-winning writer and academic who has regularly written about the Jeju Uprising and Massacre throughout his career, starting in 1981 with the Volume 1 of "The Origins of the Korean War" (Cornell University Press). Jeju was then covered more extensively in Volume 2, published by Princeton University Press in 1990. Cumings' work is best known for bringing attention to the unknown role of American power in various atrocities on the Korean Peninsula and elsewhere. Cumings is credited with having uncovered evidence of the direct involvement of the U.S. military in the atrocities that took place on Jeju 70 years ago.

The work of both of these scholars has shone a light on the truth of the Jeju massacre through decades of darkness.



# The Cheju-do Rebellion

The Journal of Korean Studies, Volume 2 (1980)

by John Merrill

The Journal of Korean Studies, Volume 2 (1980)  
Duke University Press  
Excerpt pp.139-140 and pp.154-155

Cheju-do is known today mostly for its booming tourism, its hardy diving women, and its lush orange groves. Located some 50 miles below the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula, and about twice that from the nearest landfall in Japan, the 700-square-mile island is dominated by the extinct volcanic crater of Halla-san, at 6,000 feet the highest peak in South Korea. Cheju-do is now an easy hour’s flight from Seoul. Visitors come and go, soaking up the local color and enjoying the spectacular scenery. Few of them know anything of its history, other than romantic guidebook tales of its founding in the union of three island men spewn from an underground spring and three women washed up from the sea. The story has a particular appeal to the many newly wed couples who have made the island the most popular honeymoon spot in South Korea. Yet discordant notes occasionally intrude: the ruins of wrecked temples on the slopes of the mountain, clusters of memorial tablets enclosed by stone walls, the foundations of an upland village now overgrown with brambles. For beneath the island’s natural beauty and newfound prosperity lies a tragic and bloody past.

The most appalling chapter in its history occurred little



John Merrill

more than 30 years ago. Led by Communist guerrilla bands rushing down from Halla mountain, the people of the island rose up on April 3, 1948, in opposition to elections scheduled for the southern zone. Before it was over, a year later, the rebellion had claimed tens of thousands of persons as its victims. Whole villages in the interior of the island were laid waste, their inhabitants cruelly massacred or forcibly relocated to refugee camps along the coast. Only fragmentary accounts of this slaughter ever reached the outside world. Few relief efforts were undertaken. And for years the island languished in poverty and obscurity, ignored by the Rhee government. It was only in the 1960s that it finally began to recover.

Despite its importance, the Cheju-do rebellion has been little studied. No more than a few paragraphs have been published on it in English, and no definitive treatment has yet been done in any language. Information

on the rebellion is available mostly in scattered Korean accounts and in a large number of recently declassified American archival documents.

A week after the [March 1] demonstrations, a crowd of over a thousand persons armed with rocks and clubs gathered in front of the [Jeongmyeong] jail demanding the release of prisoners. When the demonstrators began throwing rocks and pressed in on the jail, the police inside panicked and opened fire. Five persons were killed in the attack.

A general strike called on March 9 to protest the [Shooting Incident] paralyzed all administration on the island. The strikers demanded that the police be punished and purged of Japanese collaborators, that those injured in the incident be compensated and those arrested immediately released, and that the United States-Soviet Joint Commission be reconvened. None of these demands was met. Instead, the military government sent additional security forces to reinforce its control of the island. About 400 police were dispatched from the mainland to strengthen the local force of 300 men. More importantly, a large number of extreme right-wing Northwest Youth Group<sup>2)</sup> members were brought in to help the police. Although it is not clear just how many



Defectors are screened by an interrogation team in a schoolyard in April 1949.

were sent, a Communist source states that 800 were stationed in towns throughout Cheju-do.

These reinforcements came to the “red island” with many scores to settle. Only a half-year had passed since the bloody Taegu riots<sup>3)</sup> in which more than 400 police had been killed. The Northwest Youth Group, too, was composed of strongly anti-Communist refugees from North Korea whose members adopted terroristic methods to fight the [South Korean Labor Party] and to avenge themselves for being driven from their homes in the North. The group operated without even the minimal constraints that, in theory at least, limited the police.

*Originally published in the The Journal of Korean Studies, Volume 2 (1980), pp. 139-197, Duke University Press.*

2) Referred to in this book as the Northwest Youth Association, the Seobuk Cheongnyeondan is also sometimes translated as the Northwest Youth League.

3) Known today as the 10.1 Daegu Uprising or the Autumn Uprising of 1946, this revolt against the USAMGIK’s policies spread nationwide and has not been fully investigated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Korea.

1) Rhee Syngman, the first president of South Korea (1948-1960).

## The Origins of the Korean War

Volume 2, The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950.  
Princeton University Press. 1990.

by Bruce Cumings

Excerpt pp. 252-256

Before 1950 no place suffered the political conflicts of liberated Korea like Cheju. During the Korean War no place was more quiescent. But then no place so deserved serenity. Cheju had its war earlier, a war over the people's committees that was a harbinger of the conflict to come, and that best expressed its civil and revolutionary character. Cheju is a magnifying glass, a microscope on the politics of postwar Korea, for in no place else were the issues so clear and the international influences so tangential as in the peasant war on this windswept, haunted, magnificent island.

The effective political leadership of Cheju until early 1948 was provided by strong people's committees that first emerged in August 1945. The American Occupation preferred to ignore Cheju rather than do much about the committees; it appointed a formal mainland leadership but let



Bruce Cumings

the people of the island run their own affairs. The result was an entrenched left-wing, having no important ties to the North and few to the [South Korean Workers Party<sup>1)</sup>] on the mainland. In early 1948 as Rhee<sup>2)</sup> and his American supporters moved to institute his power in a separate southern regime, the Cheju people responded with a strong guerrilla insurgency that soon tore the island apart.

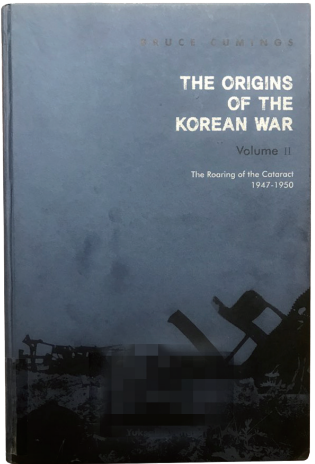
1) The South Korean Workers' Party (SKWP), also known as the Workers' Party of South Korea, was a communist political party that was active from 1946 to 1949 .

2) Rhee Syngman, the first president of South Korea (1948-1960).

“

*He justified his by saying that “there was no middle line”  
in the Island [sic] politics*

”



Before Rhee came to power, silenced his officials and blamed the rebellion on alien communist agitators, Koreans in the Military Government attributed the origins of the insurgency to the tenure of the Cheju committees and subsequent police terrorism. An official investigation by USAMGIK Judge Yang Won-il conducted June 1948 found that “the People’s Committee of Cheju Island, which was formed after the Liberation ... has exercised its power as a de facto government.” He also found “the police have failed to win the hearts of the people by treating them cruelly.” A Seoul prosecutor, Won Taek-yun, said the troubles began through official incompetence, not “leftist agitation.” Lt. Col. Kim Ik-yol, commander of Constabulary units on the island when the rebellion began, said that the blame “should be paid entirely at the door of the police force.”

who worked together with “ultra rightist party terrorists.” Some 365 prisoners were in the Cheju city jail in late 1947; an American investigator witnessed 35 of them crowded into a 10-by-12-foot cell. “Direct control of food rationing” had also been placed in the bands of “politicians” presonsive to Yu, who operated out of myon (township) offices. Unauthorized grain collections had been five times as high as official ones in 1947.

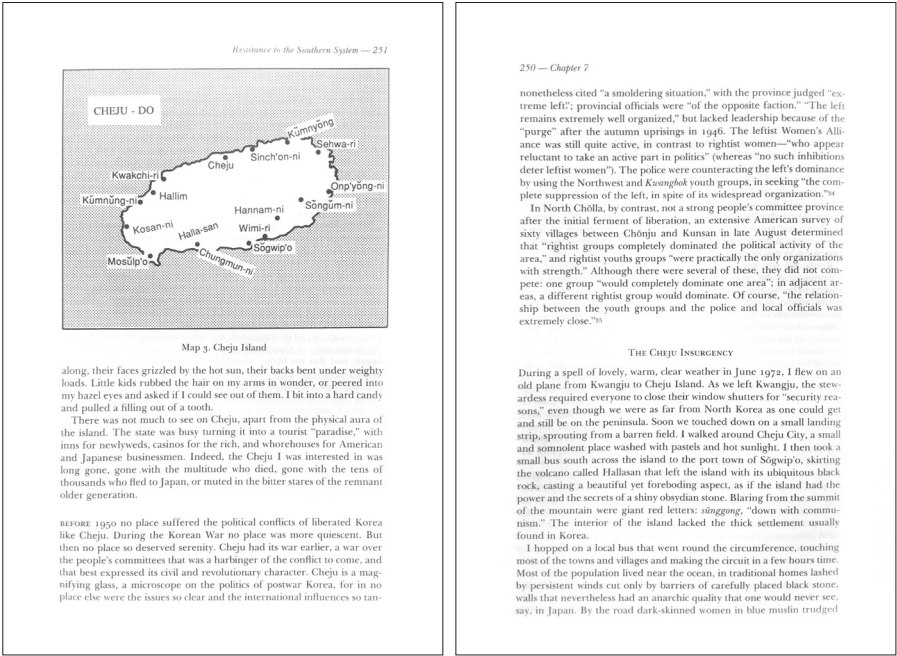
When Americans interviewed Governor Yu in February 1948, he acknowledged that he had utilized “extreme rightist power” to reorient the Cheju people, “the large majority” of whom were leftist. He justified his by saying that “there was no middle line” in the Island [sic] politics; one supported either the Left or the Right. He said the police controlled all political meetings, and would not allow the “extreme leftists” to meet. Although the author of the survey called for Governor Yu’s dismissal, Ge. William F. Dean decided in late March not to do it.

Governor Yu<sup>3)</sup> had filled national police units on the island with mainlanders and north Koreans,



3) Jeju Governor Yu Hae Jin, who was known as an extreme right-leaning politician, governed the island from April 1947 to May 1948.





Chapter 2  
 Introduction: Issues & Opinions

International press after democratization

After the international reporting on the massacre at its height in 1948 and 1949, coverage of Korea in the years that followed was dominated by the Korean War (1950-53). Even after hostilities ceased between North Korea and South Korea, domestic reporting on the massacre was suppressed by authoritarian governments particularly under Park Chung-hee (1961-79) and Chun Doo-hwan (1980-88). During these decades the victims of the massacre were tainted as “reds” and victims’ families were discriminated against and silenced. In such a climate, and given the involvement of the U.S. military government, it is unsurprising that there were few English reports on the massacre. When Jeju was covered by the international press between the 1970s and 1990s, the coverage was highly orientalist with idealised representations of sandy beaches, exotic Asian culture and ‘haenyeo’ diving women portrayed as mermaids.

Notwithstanding the scholarly work by John Merrill and Bruce Cumings previously introduced, it was not until the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre was explored in the international press. Although the work has been varied, and at times extensive, the coverage previewed here is limited to four pieces that stand out for their importance and scope. The first is an Associated Press account from 2001, which first reported the ongoing truth and reconciliation commission to the world. This is followed by a piece from the same year by Howard W. French of The New York Times, which covers the truth-finding efforts of victims of the massacre. The third piece, originally published in 2008, is written by Hamish McDonald of the Sydney Morning Herald and he frames the massacre within the context of the movement for transitional justice in South Korea post-democratization. Finally, the work of Andrew Salmon in the Asia Times reflects on what has been achieved and what remains to be settled on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the massacre in 2018.

AP

# South Korea Reviews 1948 Killings

SEOUL, South Korea (AP) -- The government is reviewing the cases of 14,000 people who were reportedly killed during a crackdown on a leftist uprising by the U.S.-backed government in 1948 following South Korea's liberation from Japanese rule.

A government panel will verify victims and offer medical and other benefits to survivors and families of the slain.

On Tuesday, the committee completed the first years of its investigation and plans to wrap up the probe by February 2003 and build a large memorial for the victims.

Fighting between leftist guerillas and government forces in the southern island of Jeju followed the end of World War II.

Estimates of those killed or injured in the government crackdown range from several thousand to 50,000.

Many victims are believed to have been residents executed by government forces who suspected them of being leftist sympathizers. Then-

President Syngman Rhee saw communism as the biggest threat to his government.

Last year, the government of President Kim Dae-jung, a former pro-democracy fighter, won parliamentary approval of a special law that mandated an official investigation.

The first police crackdown in Jeju began in March 1947, when police opened fire on demonstrating residents.

The unrest escalated as police and soldiers hunted down leftists, and guerillas operating in the island's rugged hills attacked police and government buildings.

President Rhee, who took power in August 1948, declared martial law on the island.

Survivors argue that Washington is partly responsible for the Jeju crackdown because the U.S. military supervised the southern part of the Korean peninsula until Rhee's election, and supported his rule thereafter.

Jeju is now a popular destination for Korean honeymooners and other tourists.

*Originally published by Associated Press, Aug. 8, 2001.*

The New York Times

# South Koreans Seek Truth About '48 Massacre

by Howard W. French

A half-century later, Kim Hyoung Choe has no trouble finding his way back to the spot where he hid in the brush on this fragrant, nutmeg-forested mountain and watched helplessly while soldiers mowed down much of his family.

Mr. Kim had been urged to hide in a cave with other relatives as the attackers closed in, but his instincts told him it was not safe, and he managed to conceal himself in the brush and then crawl away. When he returned to the scene a day later, he said, he saw the bodies of at least 100 villagers, their hands tied behind their backs, being doused with gasoline by government forces.

A series of massacres on Mount Halla, which rises over Jeju Island, between October 1948 and February of the next year are estimated to have killed 30,000 people, and rank among the worst atrocities this country has ever seen.

Yet many Koreans, especially those who have never lived on Jeju Island, in the far south of the country, know little or nothing about it.

Japan's history of violence toward Korea and

other neighbors still brings angry protests in South Korea, as was the case during the recent visit by Japan's prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi. But many Koreans say the time is past due for them to begin clearing the historic skeletons out of their own closets.

The Jeju massacres were part of a particularly brutal effort by the government in the southern part of Korea to root out those it suspected of being Communists on the eve of the country's civil war.

The story of what happened in Jeju is an all too familiar cold war tale of excessive ideological zeal. With the split between North and South Korea taking root, elections were organized in the southern part of the country, where there was a strong American military presence, in May 1948.

The elections were meant to highlight the growing contrasts between the two halves of the country, but in Jeju, where resentment of heavy-handed administration by people sent from the mainland ran deep, the elections were boycotted in two districts, the only ones in the southern part of the country to abstain.



American commanders in Korea were furious, and after a series of incidents their South Korean counterparts embarked on a campaign to cleanse the island of supposed Communist agitators.

Although he concedes that no documentary evidence exists that the Americans knew what happened, Yang Jo Hoon<sup>1)</sup>, a prime ministerial appointee who heads a committee established to collect testimony about the killings, believes with many others here that the Americans must have known of, and perhaps even ordered, the crackdown. A team of South Korean researchers is in the United States now seeking proof of an American role.

History textbooks here still give the Jeju massacres only cursory mention. “I feel very frustrated and angry even now,” said the 80-year-old Mr. Kim, his face heavily creased from years of outdoor work as a beekeeper. “Those who were killed were never even officially identified. Even now their children and grandchildren come to me to ask what kind of people their relatives were. It makes me feel horrible to realize that people could have disappeared like this without leaving even a trace of themselves.”

In places like Jeju the debate about how text-

books present history has entered a second phase.

In addition to demanding an accounting of atrocities by foreign invaders like imperial Japan, in one country after another local community advocates, historians and human rights groups are pressing governments to acknowledge massacres and other large-scale rights abuses committed against their own people.

On the Japanese island of Okinawa, demands have grown for official recognition of the killing of large numbers of local residents by Japanese troops to prevent them from surrendering to American forces in 1945. In Taiwan, civic groups have mounted increasing pressure for an official accounting of the deaths of between 15,000 and 30,000 people by Chinese Nationalist forces in 1947.

A monument to the victims in Taiwan was erected in 1995, but people pressing the issue say that even now the facts have not been fully investigated.

In South Korea, until a decade ago, the Jeju massacres were ascribed both officially and in textbooks to North Korean infiltrators. Gradually local journalists, university students and members of Parliament began pushing for recognition of

what historians say really happened: a largely unfounded witch hunt that resulted in the killing of more than 10 percent of the island’s population.

“The National Assembly passed a law about the massacres for the first time in December 1999, and the government began to investigate this incident for the first time only the following September,” Mr. Yang said.

“All along,” he said, “the government has known that thousands of innocent people were killed, and that’s why they made a lot of noise about a Communist threat. People were threatened with jail for so much as mentioning the matter. Relatives of the dead were afraid of being labeled Communists too.

“Even today, many people are still too afraid to come forward and tell us what they know.”

Still, even without such testimony, much is already known. Working together, police and army units declared any part of the island more than three miles from the coastline -- the forested interior areas that were presumed to be the lair of rebels -- to be enemy territory and unleashed a merciless campaign of terror, including the burning of scores of villages, summary executions and

widespread torture.

“I still don’t know how I survived,” said Mr. Kim, the beekeeper. “When I returned here to look for my relatives, they were carting off the surviving women and children. There was still plenty of shooting, and they were setting fires at all of the cave entrances they could find to suffocate the people inside.”

Mr. Yang, a Jeju native, says that when he was an agitated teenager, his parents often told him cryptically that “you are very lucky to be growing up now instead of in our era.”

Later, as a university student, he read a novel that spoke of the Jeju events and finally understood clearly for the first time what his parents had meant.

He became a journalist, then a prefectural government official in Jeju and spent five years researching the massacres. Local residents say he is as responsible as anyone else for causing the details of the Jeju tragedy to come out into the open.

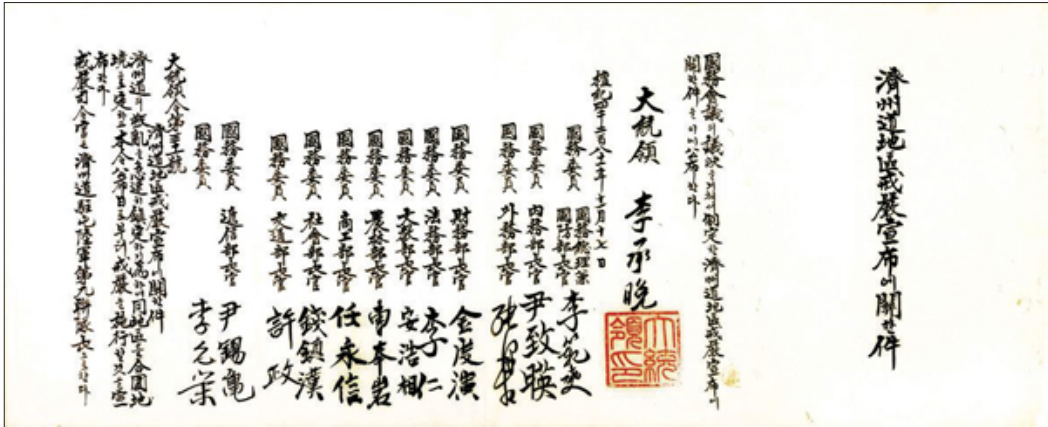
These days, Mr. Yang, 41, says he has one wish. “The facts of Jeju are still not taught in schools, even today,” he said. “My goal is to make the whole nation recognize this history.”

*Originally published in The New York Times, Oct. 24, 2001.*

1) Yang Jo Hoon wrote the foreword for this volume and is currently chairman of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation.

## The Sydney Morning Herald

### South Korea owns up to brutal past



The proclamation of martial law in order to quell the rebellion, issued by the Syngman Rhee regime on Nov. 17, 1948.

By Hamish McDonald

Something remarkable has been happening in South Korea this year, without getting much attention anywhere.

It has been a nation dragging its darkest secrets into the daylight - not historical crimes committed by the long-dead, but those carried out during the 60-year life of the Republic of Korea.

The stream of reports coming out of Seoul's Truth and Reconciliation Commission are unset-

tling not just for Koreans, but also allied countries, including Australia which defended the southern Korean state and supported its successive leaders.

Out of the competing barrages of propaganda that have shrouded the 1950-53 Korean War, we are finally getting conclusive admissions that some of the worst atrocities, blamed at the time on the enemy, were in fact committed by our side - and we knew it.

The commission is the legacy of Roh Moo-hyun, the former human rights lawyer and political liberal



Protestors calling for a revision of Jeju 4-3 Special Law. Photo by Kim Heung-gu

who was South Korea's president for five years until February. It was set up in December 2005, and operates with a staff of 240 and a budget of \$US 19 million (AUD\$ 29.7 million) a year, with the daunting task of opening up a century of hidden history.

One of the worst incidents preceded the Korean War, in 1948, when the new Syngman Rhee government installed in Seoul by the United States ordered its army to suppress a leftist revolt on Cheju Island. About 30,000 local people were gunned down.

At a recent ceremony in which the Supreme Court Chief Justice, Lee Yong-hoon, bowed his head and apologised for unjust court judgments in the past, Lee said the courts had to “guard against judicial populism”.

Of course the findings reflect badly on the right, but even worse things will be unearthed if a similar inquest is ever held into North Korea's history.

The exercise suggests an impressive maturity and sophistication in South Korea, a lesson for its bigger neighbours Japan and China.

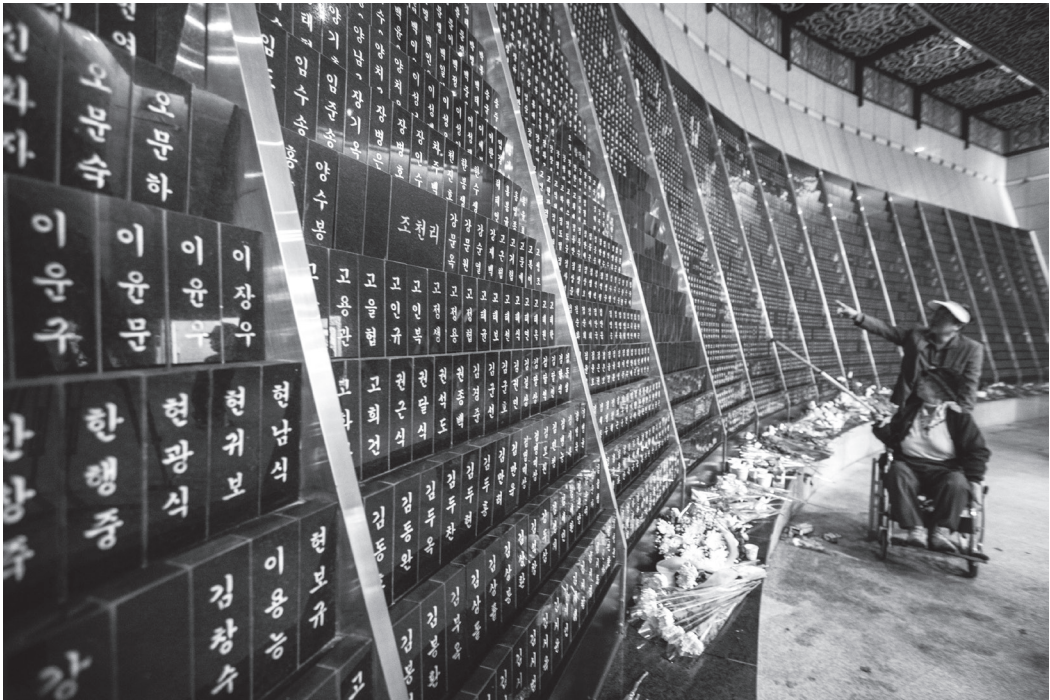
Originally published as an editorial in The Sydney Morning Herald, Nov. 15, 2008.





On Jeju, Korea’s island of ghosts,
the dead finally find a voice

70 years ago, an estimated 30,000 people were massacred in an anti-communist blitz on today’s vacation island of Jeju. Now, fingers point at America



Jeju 4·3 Peace Park. Photo by Kim Heung-gu

By Andrew Salmon



“Not many people know what happened on this island 70 years ago,” said Yang Yoon-kyung,

chairman of the 60,000-member Association of Bereaved Families. “This pains us.”
Across Jeju, there is an almost desperate urge to inform the world. Last month, a restaurateur refused payment for drinks, imploring a visiting reporter to write the story.

“

*Still, there have been reconciliatory moves between representatives of victims and the security forces*

”

“Please let people know,” pleaded Kim.

Still, there are contradictory narratives about “4·3.”

While some partisans certainly had North Korean connections, Jeju tour guides label them pan-Korean nationalists. Go<sup>1)</sup>, the massacre survivor, is even-handed. “During the day, the soldiers and police bullied us,” she said. “At night, the armed resistance came down and bullied us.”

The numbers killed are questioned by some. Millett, in his history, cites census figures between 1946 (233,445) and 1949 (253,164) which actually show a rise in the island’s population. But even Millett concedes that the peace won was “Carthaginian” - a reference to the city famously annihilated by Rome.

There are no surviving partisans: Only a handful escaped to Japan. The victors - those who did the killing - never confessed and were never punished

for their excesses. “Not a single person has spoken up from the police or paramilitaries,” Kim said. “Maybe they are ashamed.”

Still, there have been reconciliatory moves between representatives of victims and the security forces. “Every year, we meet and we pay respects at different memorial parks; we go together,” said Han Ha-young, chairman of the Jeju City branch of the Bereaved Families Association. “The police officers were also victims.”

Younger people dispute this. “Deep inside their hearts, they still hate each other,” said Kim. “We are very uncomfortable with the word ‘reconciliation,’” a tour guide admitted.



Originally published in Asia Times, April 3, 2018.

1) Go Wan-soon, a resident of Bukchon-ri, was nine years old at the time of the Bukchon-ri Massacre

## Introduction: Issues & Opinions

### Local reports with a global perspective

This chapter highlights some of the coverage of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre in the island's first, and still only, English-language news magazine, The Jeju Weekly. When the publication began in 2009, few English speakers outside of academia had heard of Jeju's tragic history. The paper sought to change that by offering comprehensive articles detailing the tragedy and how it continued to shape the island. Many of The Jeju Weekly's freelance contributors were English teachers who, like the publication's readers, were learning about Jeju's tragic history for the first time. This brought a fresh look to their coverage which allowed them to interpret the events from a non-Korean perspective. The Jeju Weekly also aimed to provide a more accurate picture of Jeju Island than the heavily curated wonderland being sold worldwide by the provincial government of the tourism-dependent island.

Many of the stories here — and throughout this book — come from The Jeju Weekly's massacre series that ran in 2011 and 2012 to increase understanding of the massacre for an international audience. While most of the information in The Jeju Weekly had been printed in the Korean press a decade earlier, it was news in English and it brought the massacre to the attention of many people for the first time. The mission of the paper to clarify some of the main debates about the massacre such as the controversy over its official title as well as the nature of the American role is clear in the materials selected for inclusion here. The articles included take the form of snippets that encapsulate a key aspect of the story. The headlines and subheadings have been edited to provide the additional details relevant for this new format. All of the stories were available in full at the time of going to print at [www.jejuweekly.com](http://www.jejuweekly.com).

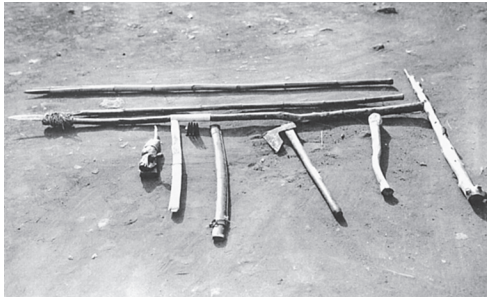


## The Jeju Weekly

### Massacre defined by political divide

Conservatives prefer revolt, liberals uprising and the government chose incident, but none of these names properly define 4·3

By Darryl Coote



Confiscated weapons such as bamboo spears and axes from the armed resistance group are seen here in this May 1948 photograph.

Jang Jung Eon, director of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, the government-sanctioned body responsible for the information in the Jeju Peace Park museum, said, “The right wing wants to define it as a ‘riot,’ and those involved in social movements want to call 4·3 an ‘uprising.’ However, according to the government, the term is Jeju 4·3 Incident. Other terms will cause controversy.”

This is the neutral perspective, chosen specifically to appease both sides of the argument.

Yang Jo Hoon, lead April 3 Massacre investigative reporter for Jeju Sinmun and then Jemin Ilbo from 1988 to 1999, said “The 4·3 rebellion was political, but the massacre was not. The terminol-

ogy was very difficult. 4·3 has two facets; one is resistance and the other is the massacre. It is hard to find a single word to combine those two aspects. I’m still looking for the right word...”

*Published under the headline “Massacre defined by political divide” in April 2011.*

FRIDAY, April 8, 2011

The Jeju Weekly

April 3 Massacre | 07

## Massacre defined by political divide

‘4.3 has two facets; one is resistance and the other is the massacre,’ says Yang Jo Hoon

By Darryl Coote  
darrylcoote@jejuweekly.com

The Jeju April 3 Massacre is a volatile subject, for it is still an incomplete history with more information needed to give it form. Its title went through several variations before today’s present politically-neutral term, the Jeju April 3 Incident, the official framework used to view this still-misunderstood chapter in Jeju’s history. This title, like all titles, is the lens that dictates how events should be examined.

In a previous article, “Shedding light on a dark corner of Jeju’s past” I wrote that all those spoken-to referred to what happened as an “incident.” For this article that all changed.

In an email interview Pastor Lee Sun Kyo, a man who has filed six lawsuits against April 3 related organizations – and recently had one dismissed by the Seoul High Court on March 31 – said the reason for taking legal actions was “to correct the Jeju 4·3 Truth-Finding Research report because the report is wrong and left leaning.”

Kim Chang Hoo, head of the 4·3 Research Institute, has on previous occasions referred to Pastor Lee as a neo-conservative, but on March 31, before the verdict was known, he said that Lee was not rational and only saw what he wanted to believe.

I asked Kim how he views his organization. “We think we are liberal,” he said.

Lee answered the same question stating that Korea was established by “liberal democrats, conservatives, who were rightest,” and if it were not for the police and military suppression of the Jeju 4·3



The 63rd year memorial ceremony was held at the 4·3 Haewon Bangsatap on April 1. Photo courtesy Jeju Special Self-Governing Province

revolt, South Korea “might have become Communist and dominated by North Korea and Kim Il Sung.”

Kim said, without praise for the military or police, that after liberation from Japan much of Jeju’s citizens considered themselves socialist, and “If 4·3 was successful, Jeju might have become socialist ... It is probable that socialism might lead to communism.”

When asked what was the most important issue concerning the massacre today, Lee said it is how it is referred to, continuing that “Jeju 4·3 is definitely an armed revolt, not an armed uprising.” Lee then listed 16 specific instances of rioters committing murders and kidnappings, particularly of conservative politicians, as evidence.

I mentioned some of Lee’s points to Kim,

who remarked that his information was partially inaccurate and exaggerated but said “It is true that rebels harmed people. However, that is only a small thing compared to the huge massacre perpetrated by the military and the police. He only wants to focus on this one small thing. He is exaggerating. He is not looking at the big picture.”

Kim is correct, according to Yang Jo Hoon, lead April 3 Massacre investigative reporter for the Jeju Ilbo from 1988 to 1999: “90 percent of victims were harmed by the military and the police, [only] 10 percent of victims were harmed by rebels.”

“As a liberal,” said Kim, “I personally believe we should call [it the] 4·3 uprising. However, when I make official speeches about 4·3, I use the term ‘incident,’ since ‘uprising’ is a controversial term. If I call it

the 4·3 uprising, I have to explain everything all over again.” He briefly explained earlier in the interview that “... ‘uprising’ is the best term for 4·3 because people who participated in the 4·3 uprising fought for a unified Korea.”

Jang Jung Eon, director of the Jeju April 3 Peace Foundation, the government-sanctioned body responsible for the information in the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park Museum, said “The right wing wants to define it as a ‘riot,’ and those involved in social movements want to call 4·3 an ‘uprising.’ However, according to the government, the term is Jeju April 3 Incident. Other terms will cause controversy.”

This is the neutral perspective, chosen specifically to appease both sides of the argument.

Yang said, “The 4·3 rebellion was political, but the massacre was not. The terminology was very difficult. 4·3 has two facets; one is resistance and the other is the massacre. It is hard to find a single word to combine those two aspects. I’m still looking for the right word. It is also hard to change the date, April 3, the day the guerrillas attacked, because the term is too widely known now. So it is hard to change it at the moment.”

All four of the people spoken to for this article have played important roles in defining what the April 3 Massacre is, and all said they were trying to uncover the truth of what happened exactly 63 years from the day this article was written. All of them, except for Jang, said that this title, this lens, needs to be changed.

*(Interpretation by Song Jung Hee,  
Translation by Koh Yu Kyung)*

## The Jeju Weekly

### Northwest Youth Association carried out state violence

North Korean refugees driven by the desire for vengeance against leftists formed  
a formidable paramilitary group

By Lauren Flenniken

In a paper presented at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre, Professor Bruce Cumings of the University of Chicago states that at the time, Jeju’s local government and police were comprised mostly of mainlanders who “worked together with ultra-rightist party terrorists,” otherwise known as the Northwest Youth Association.

According to Cumings, they were brutal towards the islanders, exercising more police power than the police. This resulted in Jeju citizens having a deep resentment towards the Northwest Youth Association. What had begun as a group of patriotic anti-communist civilians, quickly became



Special Forces of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment disguised as armed rebels pose for a photograph in February 1949.  
Photo courtesy Jeju 4·3 Research Institute

a means to crush anyone who opposed President Rhee and the KDP.

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The Jeju Weekly

FRIDAY, April 8, 2011

# The Northwest Youth League

How an abuse of power led to another Korean tragedy

By Lauren Flenniken  
contributor@jejuweekly.com

According to the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Incident, the Jeju April 3 “incident” was a series of events that lasted from 1947-1954 in which thousands of islanders were killed as a result of clashes between armed civilian groups and government forces.

At that time, then-Governor Yu Hae Jin, a mainlander known for his scorn for the local islanders, called upon then-President Syngman Rhee to send reinforcements to Jeju in order to squash the escalating rebellion. President Rhee, sharing in his contempt for anti-democratic leftists, sent hundreds of extreme right-wing paramilitary (known as the Northwest Youth League) to Jeju with orders to assist local police and military in seeking out and pacifying rebellious forces.

According to the paper “Paramilitary Politics under the USAMIGK and the Establishment of the Republic of Korea” by Jeju College of Technology Professor Kim Bong Jin, the Northwest Youth League was established on Nov. 30, 1946 and was composed mainly of North Korean refugees who had fled North Korean oppression. Murals in the Jeju April 3<sup>rd</sup> Peace Park Museum state that the Northwest Youth League members

held animosity towards the Soviets and Communist Koreans because “members of their family had been imprisoned, raped or murdered in the North Korea, and that their property had been confiscated.”

As a result, members of the Northwest Youth League were vindictive towards Communists and those who opposed the Korean Democratic Party (KDP).

In an interview with The Jeju Weekly, Oh Seung Guk, April 3 Peace Foundation researcher said members of the Northwest Youth League had no legal right to exercise brute force of power. Oh confirms the Northwest Youth League’s hostility towards leftists stating that they were supported by President Rhee and “indignant toward the North and the Commies.” Despite the Northwest Youth League lacking legal backing to exercise their power, President Rhee and the KDP allowed the group to use aggressive force against supposed Communists without restrictions.

In a paper presented at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference of the April 3, 1948 Chejudo Rebellion, Professor Bruce Cumings of the University of Chicago states that at the time, Jeju’s local government and police were comprised mostly of mainlanders who “worked together with ultra-rightest party terrorists,” otherwise known as the Northwest Youth League.

According to Cumings, they were brutal towards the islanders, exercising more police power than the police. This resulted in Jeju citizens having a deep resentment towards the Northwest Youth League. What had begun as a group of patriotic anti-communist civilians, quickly became a means to crush anyone who opposed President Rhee and the KDP.

While there is no evidence the United States had a direct role in the killings, the U.S. military, who were currently occupying the southern half of the peninsula, did little if anything to stop the mass murder of thousands of innocent civilians.

However, Col. Jimmie Leach, a retired U.S. military officer, maintains a different view of the events that happened on Jeju. According to a letter dictated by Col. Leach and published on the Marine Corps Community for USMC Marine Veterans Web site in 2006, the role of the military and its supporters was to end raids and disruptions by small bands of Communist sympathizers who were terrorizing farmers and civil officials. As the liaison between the U.S. Military and South Korean forces, Col. Leach recalls the events on Jeju as a “legitimate military action against a rebellion that threatened a legitimate government.”

One of the military units assembled to fight the rebellion was made of members of the Northwest Youth League. Col.

Leach confirms that there was violence during this time but states with complete certainty “that no hint of such mass killings happened on my watch there on Cheju-do from May through September 1948.” He left a month before scorched earth — the military campaign, given the go-ahead by the U.S. military, that resulted in 70 percent of the deaths that occurred during the April 3 Massacre.

By the end of 1949, an estimated 300 members of the Northwest Youth League had joined the local police while approximately 200 became either members of the local government or merchants.

After the massacre, many of the remaining members of the Northwest Youth League joined the Korean military and fought in the Korean War while other, more moderate members, stayed on the island and married Jeju women. The most notoriously brutal members of the Northwest Youth League were despised by the Jeju citizens and left the island of their own free will. Despite the acknowledgement on both sides regarding the Northwest Youth League’s illegal exertion of brute force, no charges or apologies for their crimes have been made.

(Interpretation by Koh Yu Kyung. Darryl Coote contributed reporting)

Published under the headline “The Northwest Youth League” in April 2011.



## The Jeju Weekly

### Jemin Ilbo uncovers truth and transforms public understanding of Jeju 4·3

Facing public concern and government opposition, local reporters wrote 500 articles on the uprising and massacre in 1988

By Darryl Coote

While the Jemin Ilbo was transforming the public’s view of the massacre, those who suffered at the hands of “guerrillas,” those for whom the former image of the massacre reflected their pain, were upset that the perpetrators of their suffering were being cast in a new light. “[They] thought 4·3 was the rebels’ fault, while our investigation team proved that it was wrong. They showed dissatisfaction with our reports … In addition, the police and the military also showed dissatisfaction because they also considered the incident a communist revolt. At that time, it was really serious.”

“I told my journalists that we should not have prejudice. Our job was to reveal the facts about 4·3. Then 4·3 will gradually be evaluated in a right way. What I emphasized was that we should not hurry, but we rather should take sufficient amount of time in revealing the facts, like a marathon runner,” said Yang<sup>1)</sup>.

*Published under the headline “Seeking the truth” in April 2011.*



The first coverage on the Jeju massacre in Jemin Ilbo.

1) Yang Jo Hoon, current chairman of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, was head investigative reporter for the Jemin Ilbo from 1988-1999.

## The Jeju Weekly

### Thousands remain missing decades after the massacre

As witnesses die, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation is in a race against time to fill the gaps in its 2003 report

By Darryl Coote

The new research project, which will take three years to complete at a cost of 200 million won annually, picks up where the other one left off. Its purpose is threefold: to uncover the truth of what happened to 5,000 people (assumed dead) who went missing during the massacre and have yet to be accounted for, to determine which villages victims of the massacre were from, and to understand the aftereffects of the massacre upon Jeju citizens who lived through the tragedy.

“All three aspects we had a hard time finding the truth last time because we heavily relied upon government documents and records,” said Park Chan Sik, Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation researcher and one of seven researchers working on the new project.

*Published under the headline “ ‘Last official research’ on Jeju Massacre victims begins” in April 2012.*



Remains in the process of being exhumed from Jeju International Airport.

## The Jeju Weekly

### Scorched earth policy responsible for ‘70 percent of the total killings’ during Jeju 4·3

Republic’s strategy was a perfect storm of oppressive military tactics



Researchers inspect the remains found within Darangshi cave following their discovering in 1992.



Ora village leader Yang Nam Ho, left, with fellow April 3 Massacre survivor Lee Mu Kyung, converse of the past, when they had to flee from thier homes and find refuge in hiding during the military’s scorched earth campaign. **Photo by** Darryl Coote

By Christian Yetter



Lee Mu Kyung, who was 11 at the time, fled with his mother and sister from Ora village to near what is now Gu-Jeju; then when scorched earth began they were evacuated again to the coast near Yongduam. “We were lucky,” he said, and explained that his family was only treated so well by the police because there were none among them who could be a threat. The family of another survivor — Yang Nam Ho, who was 5-years-old — ran instead to the mountains. Both men agree: it was a very confusing time.

Those on the wrong side of the scorched earth line that ran 2.5 miles inland around the perimeter of the island often hid in the caves that dot Jeju’s geography and were generally killed upon discovery. Smoking survivors out into gunfire was “very common” according to Oh, but three children and eight others hiding in Darangshi cave were actually suffocated with smoke. The cave was only discovered in 1992, and research done by Jemin Ilbo, a Jeju newspaper, concluded that the fire had been set by the military.



He went on to emphasize, “...it is of paramount importance... that all orders pertaining to operational control of the Constabulary [Republic of Korea] be cleared with the appropriate American Advisor, prior to publication.” This would suggest the Republic’s military planned and conducted their own operations, but never without the explicit go-ahead of United States. This includes all scorched earth operations. In a future column to be published in the Jemin Ilbo by Yang Jo Hoon, a U.S. report says, “the 9<sup>th</sup> regiment has adopted the program of mass slaughter,” and evaluates it as a “successful action.” Another document from PMAG chief William L. Roberts praises the 9<sup>th</sup> regiment’s commander Song You Chan as displaying “excellent powers of command.”

The scorched earth program implemented on Jeju was, in many ways, a perfect storm of oppressive military tactics: a president eager to exert his new-found powers (even inventing new powers for himself); a hard-line paramilitary organization backed by the fledgling government; a war brewing between and around the two new nations; a people fed up with years of occupation (the April 3 Peace Foundation estimates of violent Jeju citizens range from 350-500 or between 1.2 and 1.6 percent of those killed); and a superpower which allowed and sometimes encouraged the most brutal of tactics.

*Published under the headline “The deadly effectiveness of the republic’s 4-3 scorched earth policy” in April 2012.*



## The Jeju Weekly

### Bukchon-ri massacre continues to haunt survivors

Chairman of the Bukchon Village 4-3 Victims and Bereaved Families Association recounts the day 300 villagers were killed in cold blood by state forces



Researchers inspect the remains found within Daranghsi cave following their discovering in 1992.

A memorial stone was erected in 2009 to honor those who died during the Bukchon massacre and to educate those unaware of the horrors that this village experienced.

By The Jeju weekly



It was a warm late-spring day and I<sup>1)</sup> was in the fourth grade of elementary school. I lived in Naensibillebatt, near Bukchon Village, Jocheon-up. As soon as I arrived home, my mother told me to take lunch to my eldest brother who was plowing a field. The lunch was just a clear soup with flour dumplings, sujebi, and some pickled garlic.



I couldn't find my brother, but I saw an older man and he took the lunch. My stomach began growling with hunger. I noticed some round yellow pieces of iron scattered about and I asked the old man what they were. He told me they were

spent bullet cartridges. "When you grow up I will tell you all about the history of this field," he said with a sigh, and looked up at the sky.

I remembered a candy vendor ex-changing the cartridges for notebooks and so I started to pick them up. I couldn't hold all of them, so I filled my hat and glanced at the lunch bag, which contained some leftover soup and dumplings. "Can I eat it, uncle?" I asked. "Sure, I left it for you," he replied. I will never forget that taste. With the empty bag I combed the field and found about 20 spent cartridges and even rubber shoes and sneakers.

Unwitting, I happily continued to collect the spent cartridges in the field, not knowing they were the evidence of a mass execution which had occurred during the Jeju 4-3 period.



*Published under the headline "Lunch, a rocky field and some spent cartridges" in April 2014.*

1) Lee Jaehu was chairman of the Bukchon Village 4-3 Victims and Bereaved Families Association when he recounted this story in 2014.



## The Jeju Weekly

### Is the US responsible for the Jeju Massacre?

Foreign scholars should do more to shine a light on the US’s role, says Prof. Katsiaficas

By Darren Southcott

“The massacre could only have been carried out with the active knowledge and collaboration of the U.S. military, who maintained direct control over military operations south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel,” Katsiaficas said. “Even after control had been officially relinquished, U.S. control was the reality on the ground.”

Katsiaficas believes that the Jeju Uprising should be seen as part of wider U.S. strategic aims to consolidate power in the region and to build military bases against perceived threats from Russia and China. Comparisons with similar events in Taiwan are elucidating.

“To seize Taiwan in 1947, U.S. forces aided in the slaughter of 20,000 indigenous Taiwanese, whose bodies were thrown to the sea or left to rot in the fields. U.S. policy-makers applied the lessons learnt to Jeju Island,” Katsiaficas said.

The scholar is adamant that had the U.S. public been aware of such mass slaughter, there would have been a heavy political price to pay.



General Roberts (left), who visited Jeju Island to investigate the assassination of Major Park Jin-gyeong, returns a guard's salute while leaving the headquarters of the 11<sup>th</sup> Regiment



Military Governor Dean delivers his funeral address at the ceremony for dead Regiment Commander Park Jin-gyeong at Jeju Agriculture School where the headquarters of the 11<sup>th</sup> Regiment was located in June, 1948.

Published under the headline “U.S. complicit in Massacre?” in March 2010.

FRIDAY, April 30, 2010

The Jeju Weekly

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## U.S. complicit in massacre?

Events part of wider agitation, U.S. scholar believes

By Darren Southcott  
editor@jejuweekly.com

Mention 4-3, or the Jeju Uprising, to most non-Koreans and it is likely you will be met with blank stares, yet between 1947 and 1954 a conflict was fought on Jeju Island which officially claimed at least 25,000 lives and created 60,000 refugees. (Some researchers believe the true number of fatalities was as high as 80,000.) A third of the then 300,000 Jeju people were either killed or fled. More than half of the 400 villages on the island at the time were destroyed, with only 170 spared.

Discussion of the 4-3 events within Korea has been muted and beset by the polarization characteristic of post-war civilian atrocities in South Korea. Even now, internal ideological division often preempts objective analysis of the tragedy. So what light, if any, can foreign scholars shed on the conflict?

George Katsiaficas, a professor of Humanities and Social Science at Wentworth Institute of Technology, Boston, believes, at the least, that foreign scholars can encourage a U.S. reassessment of its role in the conflict. Katsiaficas believes it was U.S. strategic interests, rather than left-wing insurgency, that were the primary drivers behind the eventual murder of up to a tenth of the Jeju population.

“The muted media coverage of the massacre was not limited to Korea, with U.S. authorities suppressing knowledge of the events,” Katsiaficas said. “An academic colleague of mine was even accused of fabricating the events, such is the ignorance.”

The conflict itself lasted eight long years, yet the most infamous date is April 3, 1948. On this day, Jeju “people’s committees” launched an insurgency against the aggression of local police units and extremist forces, which came under U.S. command.

Over the subsequent years, rape, torture and murder were all employed to terrorize Jeju and the 400 or so insurgents, who were armed primarily with bamboo spears and antique rifles.

A scorched-earth policy was employed by the military – with extremist Northwest Youth League and police assistance – laying waste to all life in the island’s interior. The scarcity of trees on

Jeju’s many oreum is an ominous testimony to the dead.

Jeju residents, both young and old, were burnt out from their villages, leaving a wasteland of corpses from the sandy beaches to the caves of Halla Mountain. It is hard to imagine such brutality on today’s honeymoon island.

“The massacre could only have been carried out with the active knowledge and collaboration of the U.S. military, who maintained direct control over military operations south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel,” Katsiaficas said. “Even after control had been officially relinquished, U.S. control was the reality on the ground.”

Katsiaficas believes that the Jeju Uprising should be seen as part of wider U.S. strategic aims to consolidate power in the region and to build military bases against perceived threats from Russia and China. Comparisons with similar events in Taiwan are elucidating.

“To seize Taiwan in 1947, U.S. forces aided in the slaughter of 20,000 indigenous Taiwanese, whose bodies were thrown to the sea or left to rot in the fields. U.S. policy-makers applied the lessons learnt to Jeju Island,” Katsiaficas said.

The scholar is adamant that had the U.S. public been aware of such mass slaughter, there would have been a heavy political price to pay.

“Awareness-raising is one of the most important aspects of foreign scholarship on the Jeju Uprising. To stop the killings becoming a footnote of history it is imperative the U.S. confronts [its] past military aggression.”

On the ground, U.S. complicity was shadowy, with atrocities largely carried out by Northwest Youth League henchmen, and the hated remnants of Japanese collaboration. The U.S., however, with military control below the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, has to assume the ultimate responsibility.

“In 1945, even the most cynical New Yorker would not have entertained the idea that the American military would be responsible for the massacre of tens of thousands of innocent islanders, after the end of WWII. I continue to be ashamed of U.S. brutality,” Katsiaficas said.

He is scornful of the scant regard paid to Jeju history and tradition by the world superpower, but believes the strength of the Jeju people can overcome the tragedy and even challenge the increasing



One of the many displays at the 4-3 Peace Park. Photo by Justin Nalepa

militarization of the newly branded “Island of World Peace.”

“Unfortunately, Jeju’s own matrifocal history and unique past remain marginalized factors even today, but if the Jeju people can resist South Korean military designs on building a naval base on the island it will be a shining example of peace and freedom to the world,” Katsiaficas said.

The scholar is under no illusions about U.S. complicity in what is often portrayed as a local uprising, but despite the suppression of Jeju identity under the megalith of Cold War ideology, he believes there is still

hope for reparations and sovereignty.

“There is a strong movement for peace on Jeju Island and it shows we must look beyond blame, to reconciliation. However, this is only possible if there is a frank acknowledgement of the past, from all sides,” he concluded.

Only the years to come will determine the lasting legacy of the Jeju Uprising, but for the sake of true reconciliation and the thousands of Jeju people who were murdered, Katsiaficas believes all sides must work together to build a peaceful future for the island and the region as a whole.





# Living Memories

Interviews & photographs Ko Hyun-joo  
Written by Huh Eun-sil

Living Memories: Kim Du-yeon’s bullet-ridden mangjuseok



“  
*I couldn’t speak of 4·3 while growing up*  
”

*The red rust, at first blush, looks like a bloodstain.*  
*The mangjuseok might have been shot to save people from pain,*  
*now left with a scar inlaid by history as a message to sustain.*  
*The stone pillars stand upright, fighting oblivion,*  
*with solidity to outlive eternity,*  
*grasping the metal, and wailing at the merciless gunshots of that day.*



## Living Memories: Kim Du-yeon's bullet-ridden mangjuseok

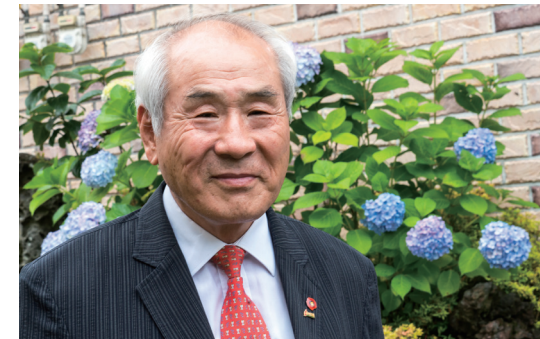


Two mangjuseok pillars guarding the graveyard. One of them was damaged when the counterinsurgency forces fired on it, mistaking it for an armed guerilla during Jeju 4·3. The rusted bullet is still stuck in the pillar.

“

*I was terribly hurt when people branded me a commie  
or an armed guerilla. Scared, I incinerated everything  
I had related to 4·3*

”



Kim Du-yeon

“Two mangjuseok pillars stand at the entrance of Jeju 4·3 Peace Park.

My family donated them to the park, and one of them has a bullet stuck in it. We had a family cemetery near the hospital in the Sancheondan area (near the northern foot of Mt. Hallasan). The mangjuseok poles guarding the graveyard were about 1.5 meters in height. During 4·3, when the military and police forces conducted scorched earth operations in the mid-mountain villages, people used to live in hiding in fields among pine trees or behind the Jeju basalt stone walls surrounding the graveyards. So, when some officers saw the mangjuseok at night, they mistook the pillars for a person and opened fire.

During the 4·3-related exhumation project, a cave inspection team discovered my father's remains 37 years after his death. My family buried his remains at our family grave site. That's when we donated the pillars to the park. Think about what a bullet stuck in the mangjuseok could mean. As you know, Jeju's stone is quite durable. But one of the pillars was broken to pieces and the other is left with a rusted bullet inside of it.

When I was four, my father, who was the third-

generation only son of his family, participated in the counterinsurgency operation in the village of Gyorae. Returning home, he was caught by mountain-based guerrilla forces. Of the five captives, four were shot to death and only one innocent person came home alive.

Before my father passed away, in the lunar equivalent of December in 1948, the eldest of his five sons was a newly married groom aged 20. He came home only at night but remained in hiding during the day. If one member was caught, the entire family would face annihilation. My father used to be a community leader back then. One day, we saw a military unit stationed at Hamdeok Beach, on the current site of a parking lot. The police forces joined the military and convened all the villagers at the playground of the nearest elementary school. They ordered the villagers in hiding to turn themselves in. According to my mother, one of the seven people who surrendered to the police ran away. He was my brother. He might have lived if he had been lucky. But the moment he appeared in the valley on his way back to the village, the police killed him immediately. My father was the one who had persuaded my brother to surrender. Can you guess how he would have felt?

That is how my brother was killed by the counterinsurgency forces and my father by the mountain-based guerrillas. Because of this, I couldn't speak of 4·3 while growing up. I was terribly hurt when people branded me a commie or an armed guerilla. Scared, I incinerated everything I had related to 4·3. I have nothing left. I wish I had kept a photo of my father or my brother. Now, all I want is to see them in dreams. They showed up in my mother's dreams and in my other brother's dreams, but not in mine, not even once. I cried so many times.”





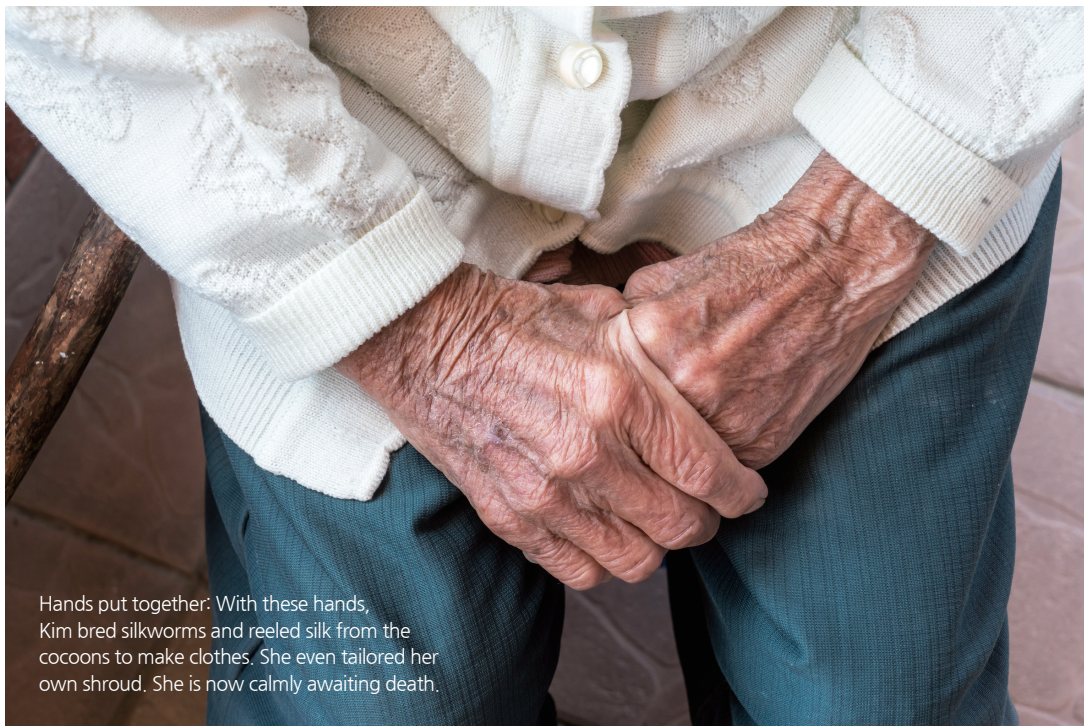
“  
*My Grandmother-in-law Kim Sul-seong  
endures a headache by wrapping  
her head in a towel.*  
”

*The gwe recording the deathday and grave of the lady's father-in-law  
was the bequest of her husband killed during the massacre.  
She survived the later years, one after another,  
just to perform ancestral rites for her forefathers,  
spending all those years feeding the deceased souls.*





Kim looks into the distance, with a towel over her head. Kim has suffered from headaches since she was battered during Jeju 4·3. Without wrapping her head with a towel, the pain remains. She has had to live with these headaches over the past decades, wrapping her head with the towel as if sealing in her memories.



Hands put together: With these hands, Kim bred silkworms and reeled silk from the cocoons to make clothes. She even tailored her own shroud. She is now calmly awaiting death.

“  
*She worshiped her ancestors with  
the most sincerity she could*  
”

“One day, my grandmother-in-law, enraged, told me not to buy dolls for my children. She said that stuffed dolls reminded her of dead dogs and cattle, something that she witnessed during 4·3. She even burned all the stuffed animals we had at home.

She had three grandchildren who took turns visiting her every weekend. Staying overnight at her place, her grandchildren shared a lot with her. Naturally, she told them what she had experienced during 4·3, although she remained silent about this subject with others. Ten years ago she told me her story.

Usually, she didn't speak a word about 4·3. But at times, she became infuriated and said she had a headache or that she didn't want to live for much longer. During 4·3, some soldiers took her to a Buddhist temple on the coast of Taeheung and tortured her all throughout the day, asking about the whereabouts of the missing village members and of her relatives. But she didn't tell them anything. The soldiers hit her head with the butt of a rifle, which left her suffering from headaches throughout her life. She used to say that thinking of 4·3 gives her a headache, and that it is too painful to endure without wrapping her head in a towel.

During 4·3, she recorded on the inside of the gwe's



Kim and her granddaughter-in-law, Park Seon-hee

lid the date when her father-in-law passed away and where he was buried. Her grandfather-in-law saw his son murdered. Frightened that he'd lose Kim, too, he told her to record it inside the gwe. She was 26 when 4·3 took place. Her husband soon died and all she was left with was her newborn child and that gwe. To keep it safe, she hid it in different places. At night, it was taken outside the home, and during the day, it was taken back inside. She sometimes left it under a tree in her orchard.

She worshiped her ancestors with the most sincerity she could. She created the stone walls around the graveyard and took care of all five burial sites on her own. I heard that she even managed the reburial procedures when she found a better grave site.”



Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



Camellia Has Fallen (1991)



People of Halla Mountain (1997)

Kang Yo-bae

The artist’s epic work brings the Jeju of 4·3 vividly to life

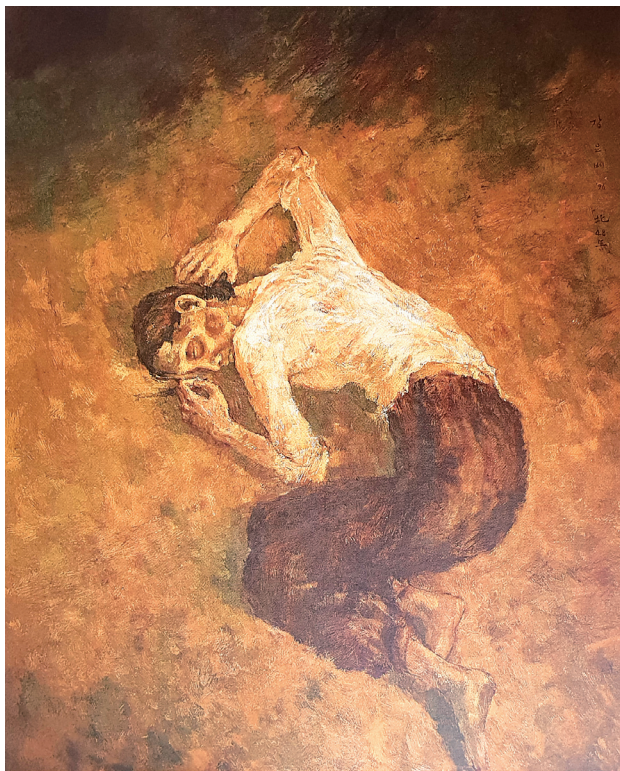
Kang Yo-bae created a series of works on Jeju 4·3 starting from the late 1980s. With the publication of the art book “Camellias Fall” (1992), Kang became the first artist to publicize the Jeju Uprising and Massacre nationwide. He presented some 50 drawings and oil paintings in his solo exhibition titled “Camellias Fall: Touring Exhibition in Commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising” (Hakgojae Gallery, 1992).



Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



Breastfeeding (2007)



'48 (1996)



Flower rain (2004)

As if documenting the historic events, he chronologically painted the period of the massacre, which began in 1947 when police fired on an event commemorating the March 1 Independence Movement. The period continued until Sept. 21, 1954, when the ban on entering Mt. Halla was lifted. Kang's work covers nature and society in the intervening period as many innocent civilians are massacred against the backdrop of clashes between the armed guerillas and the counterinsurgency forces.

Just as novelist Hyun Ki-young revealed in "Sun-i Samch'on" (1978) the painful scars of Jeju 4·3, painter Kang Yo-bae recorded its agonizing scenes by portraying Jeju's beautiful nature and the humanism that never yielded to the devastating tragedy.

By Song Jung-hee





〈Wailing〉 Wood engraving (1988)



〈Gazing〉 Gum bichromate (1988)

### Wood engravings by Park Kyong-hoon

Powerful cuts made by the artist in his early years

Wood engravings by Park Kyong-hoon play a pivotal role in highlighting Jeju 4·3 in the fine arts. Since the beginning of his career, the artist has created an array of works, encompassing diverse media including painting, engraving, digital, installation and public art. His wood engravings were mostly produced when he was in his late 20s to early 30s, which was from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. This means that many of his woodcuts were created around the late 1980s when he participated in the so-called people's art movement.

With his work he expressed Jeju Island using the symbolic imagery of a mother or rural villagers. For instance, “Wailing” depicts a woman mourning for her dead child whose body is covered with a straw mat. This alongside other works such as “The Son’s Gun” and “Oh, Hallasan!” provide direct imagery of Jeju 4·3. True to the nature of woodcuts, the contrast of black-and-white creates vibrant and compact images made by the strong cuts of the artist when he was young.

By Song Jung-hee





# Chapter 3

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## Chapter 3

### Introduction: Recollection and Jeju 4·3 sites

#### Walking the Jeju 4·3 Trails

This section introduces the Jeju 4·3 Trails, which allow walkers to get close up to key historical sites associated with the Jeju Uprising and Massacre. The sites included were developed in partnership with the Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Uprising and Massacre. As part of an embrace of “dark tourism,” a trend in global tourism to encourage visitation to sites associated with death and tragedy, the trails aim to promote understanding of the massacre’s history and geography.

As the dark tourism industry is still in its infancy on the island, some of the sites are more accessible and visitor-friendly than others. Nevertheless, at most sites visitors can expect signage and an introduction to the site’s relevance to the massacre. The main advantage of visiting the sites is gaining an understanding of the social and environmental context of the massacre. By walking through Jeju’s villages and natural areas, walkers can attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the atrocities committed 70 years ago.





Ttarabi Oreum in Gasi-ri, Pyoseon-myeon, is one of Jeju's most loved volcanic cones but the land surrounding it witnessed some of the worst violence of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre.

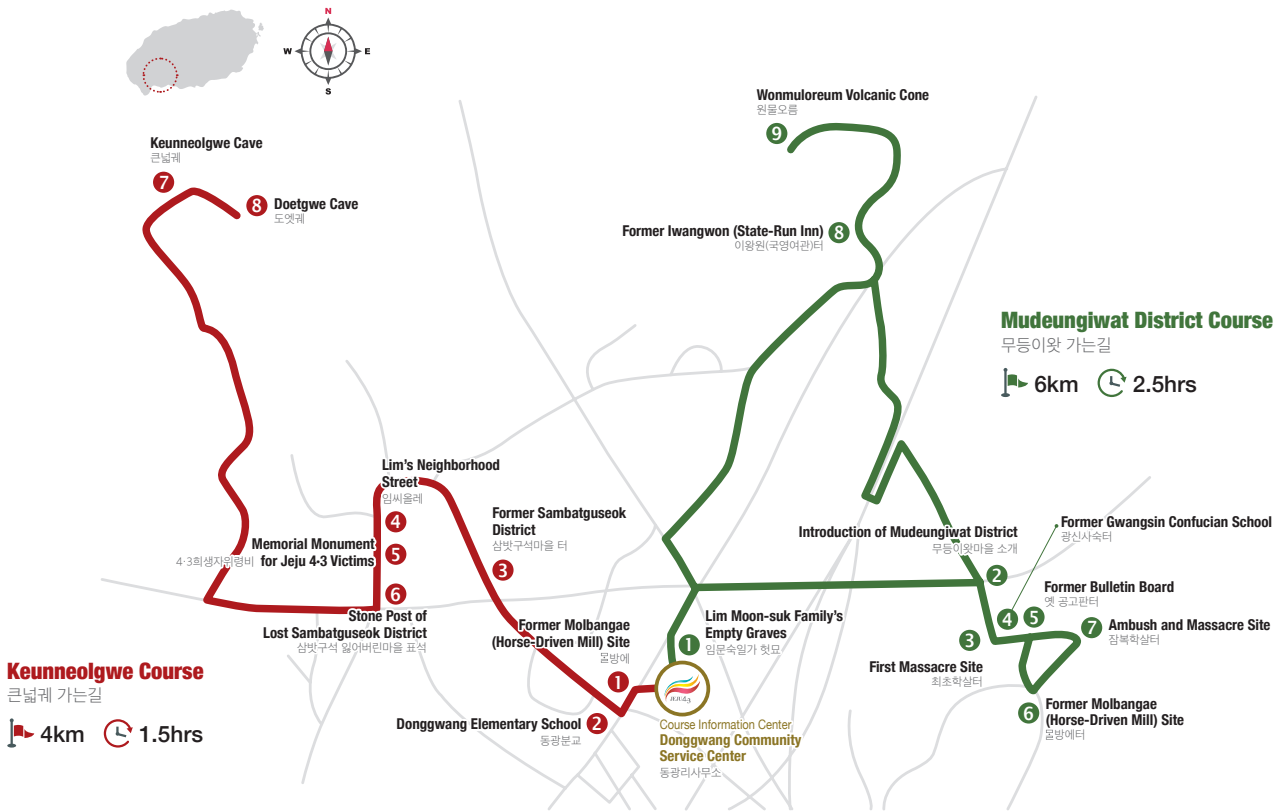
### Walking the Jeju 4·3 Trails

The Jeju 4·3 Trails introduced overleaf provide a valuable opportunity to visit village sites and learn about how Jeju 4·3 impacted rural communities. The Donggwang Village Jeju 4·3 Trail, for example, take walkers to Keunneolgwe cave where locals hid during Jeju 4·3. There is also a route which takes visitors to Ora-ri, now the largely urbanized Ora-dong in Jeju City and the site of the infamous Ora-ri Arson in 1948. The Gasi Village Jeju 4·3 Trail in Pyoseon-yeon also provides walkers the chance to learn about the tragic history of a landscape that is among Jeju's most beautiful. These routes are still in the development stage and signage may not be as developed as some of the island's other walking routes. Nevertheless, opportunities for tourists to learn about Jeju 4·3 are increasing as villagers seek to increase awareness of their own experience of this tragic chapter in local history.



Donggwang-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Andeok-myeon)

Donggwang-ri village in Andeok-myeon, southwest Jeju, was a focus of attention for the US military government after it attained control over the southern half of Korea following liberation from Japan in 1945. Villagers here were unhappy with the heavy taxation system and a government official was assaulted to protest against the burden placed on locals. After the outbreak of Jeju 4·3, numerous Donggwang-ri residents were arrested and eventually executed at the coastal cliff of Jeongbang Falls. It was nearly impossible to identify the deceased as the corpses either washed away or were piled atop one another. In total, more than 160 people from Donggwang-ri were killed during the Jeju Uprising and Massacre period.



Former Sambatguseok District



This site used to be called Sambatguseok District, named after the local hemp fields (sambat in Korean) that produced materials for clothes, rope, etc. Before Jeju 4·3, the area was populated by 46 households all surnamed Lim. However, the counterinsurgency forces' scorched-earth operation forced the villagers to seek refuge in nearby Keunneolgwe cave or other natural shelters to avoid the carnage. That is until they were discovered and were either killed on the site of arrest or executed near Jeongbang Falls. The houses, neighborhood streets and vegetable gardens partly remain in this area.



Doetgwe Cave

Doetgwe cave provided residents of Donggwang-ri refuge during Jeju 4·3. The 30-meter-long cave is connected to Keunneolgwe cave nearby. Utensils used by the refugees can still be found on the cave floor, vivid proof of the dire situation residents faced during Jeju 4·3. The cave was one of the filming locations of the award-winning film "Jiseul."



Lim Moon-suk Family's Empty Graves

When Donggwang-ri residents who had been hiding in Keunneolgwe cave

were discovered by the counterinsurgency forces in mid-November 1948, they scattered in all directions. In the harsh cold, most of them failed to find another hiding place and were captured only to be massacred near Jeongbang Falls without due process. Their bodies were either left to decompose where they were shot or were swept away into the sea. The bereaved family of Lim Moon-suk created seven empty graves (two of which were for married couples) to appease the souls of their nine missing family members.

Mudeungiwat District's First Massacre Site



at the site pictured. Ten people were selected at random and beaten to the extent that their limbs were broken. The less injured escaped while the rest were shot to death.

Ambush and Massacre Site

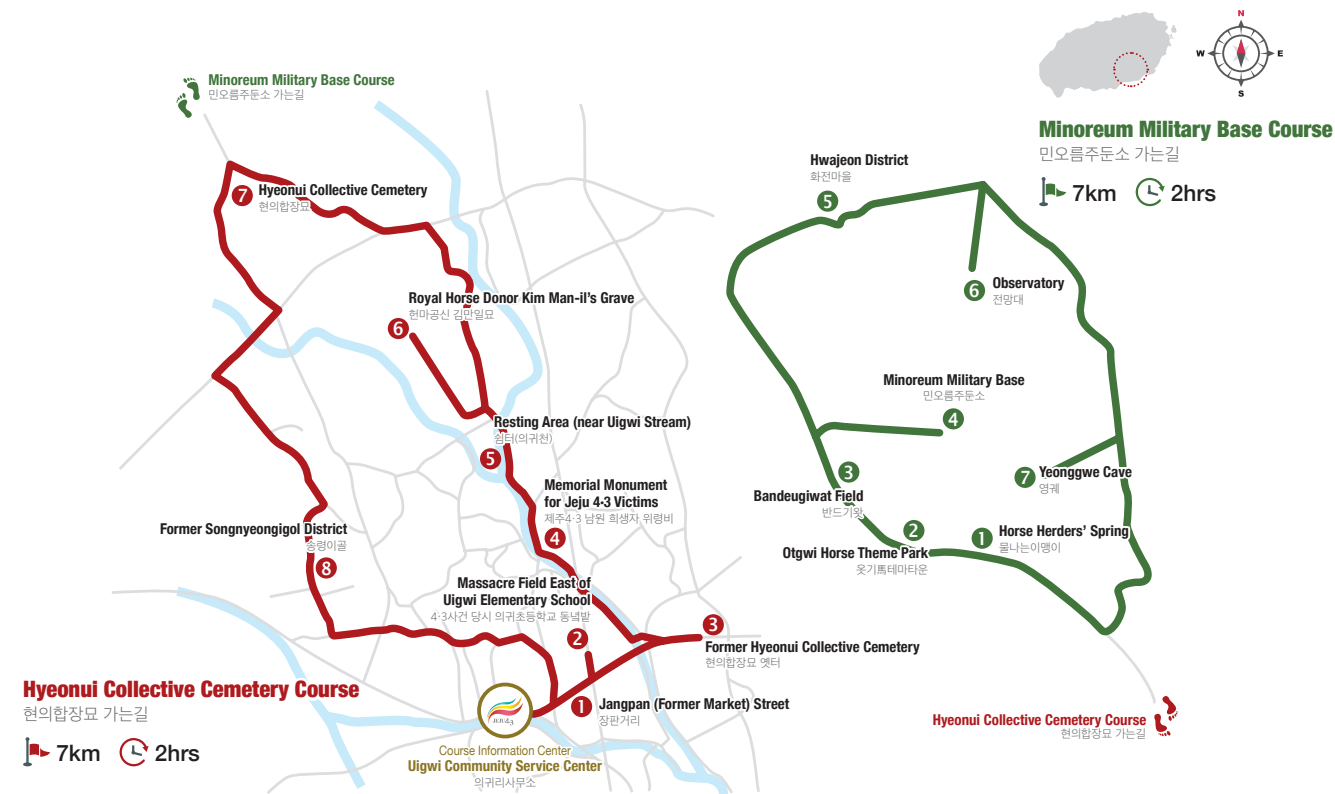


On Dec. 12, 1948, counterinsurgency forces hiding in ambush on the site pictured in Mudeungiwat District cornered more than 10 members of Kim Du-baek's family and covered them with straw mats that were then set on fire, burning them alive. The victims, most of whom were women, the elderly and children, screamed as they were engulfed in flames.



## Uigwi-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Namwon-eup)

During Jeju 4·3, the residents of Uigwi-ri village experienced severe oppression due to the initial hardline suppression by the army-police counterinsurgency forces. To survive, the villagers had no choice but to hide in nearby oreum (small volcanic cones), forests or caves. Many residents who were arrested were later either killed or sent to prisons on the Korean mainland. The majority of the victims are still missing, without any information on whether they survived or lost their lives.



### Uigwi Elementary School



Uigwi Elementary School was where children from Uigwi, Sumang, Hannam and Sinheung villages studied together until Jeju 4·3 broke out. From Dec. 26, 1948 (in the midst of the uprising and massacre), B Company, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of the Army was stationed in the school. Early in the morning of Jan. 12, 1949, an armed guerilla unit attacked the school, resulting in the deaths of four soldiers and 51 guerillas. In retaliation, the army murdered some 80 villagers (who had been detained in the school at that time) in the field east of the school grounds. The victims are now buried in the Hyeonui Communal Cemetery.

### Hyeonui Communal Cemetery



The Hyeonui Communal Cemetery enshrines more than 80 innocent victims who were killed by counterinsurgency forces stationed in Uigwi Elementary School during Jeju 4·3. In 1983, a tombstone was erected in memoriam of the victims and a memorial ceremony has been held here every Aug. 14 of the lunar calendar.

### Former Songnyeongigol District



The armed guerillas who died during the battle at Uigwi Elementary School were buried in the site pictured. Early in the morning of Jan. 12, 1949, armed guerillas attacked counterinsurgency forces stationed at the school but retreated with 51 casualties following the two-hour battle. The dead guerillas were left barely covered with soil in the backyard of the school. In the spring, the counterinsurgency forces relocated the bodies to the current burial site.

### Min Oreum (Yeonggweomor) Military Base



In 1952, a combat police unit created to arrest guerillas hiding in the mountainous areas staged a suppression operation from its Min Oreum (a small volcanic cone in the northeastern area) military base to crack down on the remaining armed guerillas.

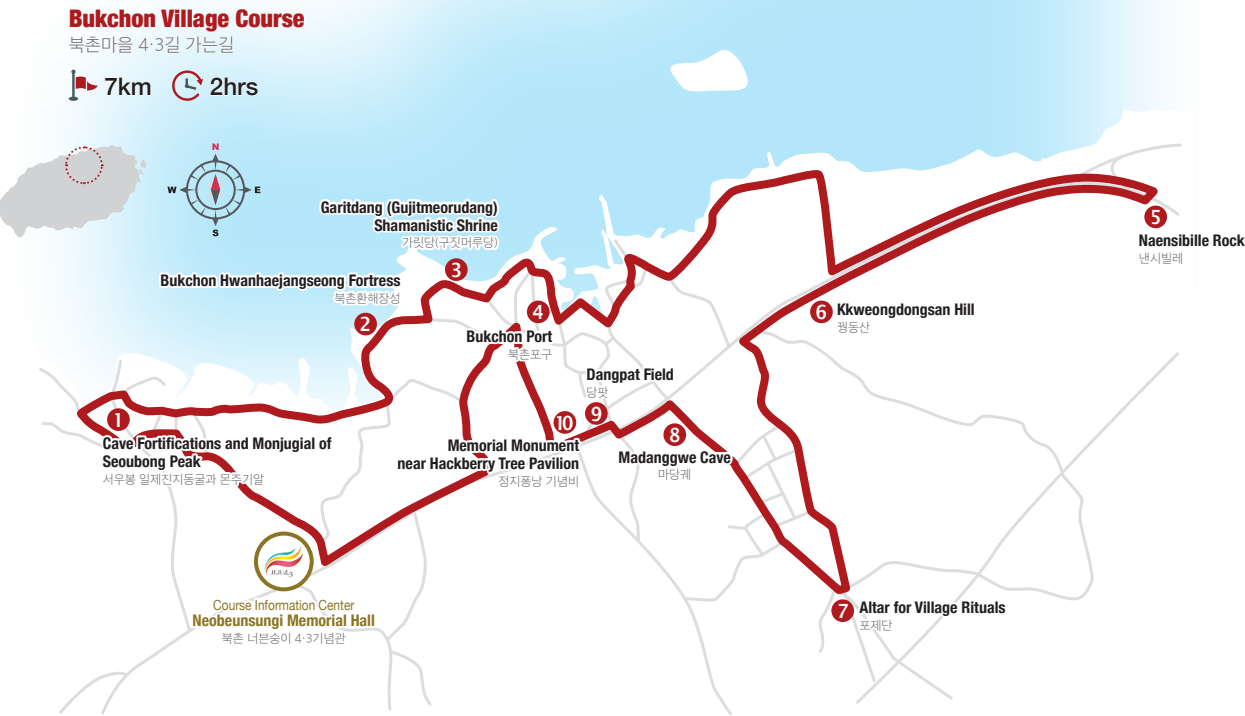


### Yeonggwe Cliff Cave

Yeonggwe is where Uigwi villagers hid to avoid hardline suppression operations by the counterinsurgency forces during Jeju 4·3. According to testimony, the villagers couldn't stay in the cave for long due to its wide entrance that could be easily seen. For short periods of time, however, the cave provided shelter from the cold and rain.

## Bukchon-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Jocheon-eup)

The massacre committed at Bukchon-ri village by the Korean Constabulary on Jan. 17, 1949, stands out for its brutality even among the horrors of the 4·3 period. Over 400 villagers were murdered by state forces in this corner of northeast Jeju as officers retaliated against the murder of two soldiers by rebels nearby. Houses were torched and people dragged to a local field where they were executed. Even those who fled were hunted down and executed the next day. The events would become the inspiration behind Hyun Ki-young’s 1978 novella “Sun-i Samch’on.” The village today is renowned for its strong haenyeo (diving women) culture and community spirit.



### Neobeunsungi 4·3 Memorial Hall (in Bukchon-ri)



On Jan. 17, 1949, two soldiers were killed in ambush by armed guerillas on the uphill path west of Bukchon Elementary School. In retaliation, counterinsurgency forces rushed into Bukchon-ri, massacring 300 villagers in Neobeunsungi Stone Field. In 2009, an altar, a memorial hall and a memorial monument were built near the field. The site also has a literary monument for Hyun Ki-young’s “Sun-i Samch’on,” a short story inspired by the massacre.

### Cave Fortifications and Monjugial (at Seoubong Peak)

#### ► Cave Fortifications (Registered Cultural Property No. 309)



During the Japanese colonial era, nearly 20 cave fortifications were built along the coast of Seoubong Peak. The fortifications located nearest to the peak at 180 meters above sea level have three entrances that are connected with one another. Because of this, villagers call the cave fortifications the “Three Brothers’ Cave.”

#### ► Monjugial (Coastal Cliff)

Monjugial is the coastal cliff of Seoubong Peak. At the bottom of the cliff, there is a natural cave with a narrow entrance. The cave was large enough to provide shelter for residents of Bukchon and Hamdeok villages during Jeju 4·3 and is accessible only during low tide. Many residents, including four to five women, were massacred here by counterinsurgency forces on Dec. 26, 1948, when the suppression operation was at its height.

### Bukchon Port



On June 16, 1948, a ship left Udo Island for Jeju-eup (current Jeju City) but had to change course for Bukchon Port due to a sudden storm. Among the 13 passengers aboard the ship were the Udo regional police chief and his family as well as some police officers. As the ship anchored at the port, the chief fired his gun at some fish nearby in the water. Hearing the gunshots, armed guerillas attacked the ship and killed two officers.

### Dangpat Field

During the Bukchon Massacre, many Bukchon villagers who had been summoned to the yard of Bukchon Elementary School on Jan. 17, 1949, were then taken to the nearby Dangpat Field. Immediately after their arrival, the villagers were shot to death. The Bukchon Massacre occurred in Dangpat Field (east of Bukchon Elementary School) and Neubeunsungi Stone Field (west of the school). The Dangpat case resulted in more than 100 victims.

### Memorial Monument near Jeongji Pongnang

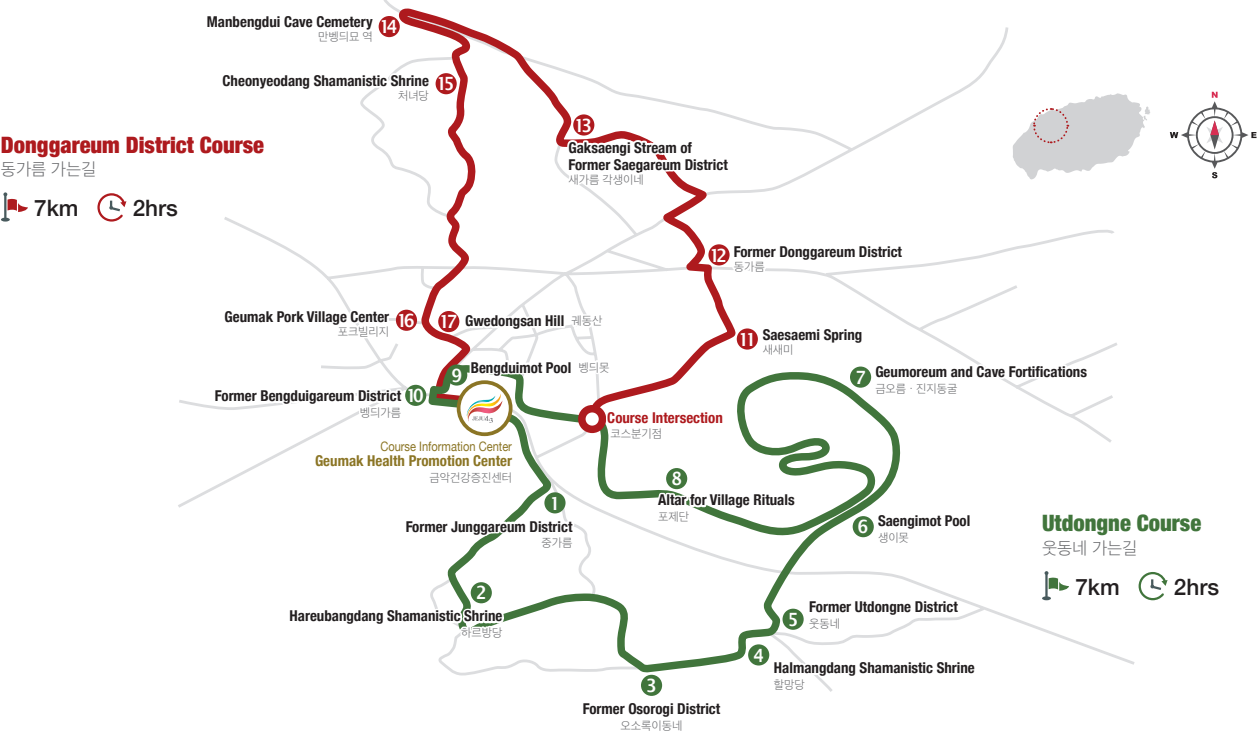


Jeongji Pongnang (the hackberry tree pavilion) contained a pond and was used as a resting place by government officials during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). The 800-year-old hackberry tree had served as a gazebo for the community until September 1958 when Typhoon Sara destroyed it. A new tree has since been planted to replace the old one. The Commemorative Monument for former Jeju governors still has bullet holes from being shot at during Jeju 4·3.



## Geumak-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Hallim-eup)

Geumak-ri village, an interior village in the mid-mountain “jungsangan” region, was established around 1550 by two clans from the mainland, the Kang family and the Hong family. Other families later settled here including the Yang, Park, Kim, Lee and Song clans. Despite this 400-year history, many of the settlements were razed, never to recover, as part of the government’s 4·3 counterinsurgency operations. Geumak-ri lost an estimated 300 homes with 152 residents massacred or missing. Many settlements never recovered including Utdongne and Donggareum.



### Utdongne District



Utdongne District used to boast a 400-year history. Before Jeju 4·3, it was populated by 141 residents of 38 households surnamed Kang, Kim, Park, Yi, Song and Hong who lived by farming and raising cattle and horses here. With the eviction order issued on Nov. 21, 1948, the district was burnt down and all villagers left the community. In the process, eight innocent civilians died. Even after the restoration of districts was ordered for Geumak-ri, Utdongne was left abandoned. Only a hackberry tree (where villagers used to discuss community events and children used to play around), Weoldae (a commemorative stone altar) and a completely crushed Molbangae (a horse-driven mill) remain from before the tragedy.

### Geum Oreum and Cave Fortifications

#### ■ Geum Oreum Volcanic Cone

Geum Oreum, 427.5 meters above sea level, is located at the center of Geumak-ri. The outer circumference of the crater is 1,200 meters. It used to have many names (Geummurak, Geomun Oreum, Geumak, etc.), but is now called Geum Oreum.



#### ■ Cave Fortifications

Historically, Geum Oreum was an important site as it held a view of the entire western part of Jeju. That is why many cave fortifications were built here by the Japanese. During Jeju 4·3, nearby residents used the site as a watchtower. When police were seen approaching the village, residents would wave a red flag, and a white flag

when the officers left. All but two of the cave fortifications have been restored thanks to restoration work. The site was also one of the filming locations for the award-winning film “Jiseul.”

### Donggareum District

Donggareum (meaning “eastern district”) once stretched to the southern stream of Gaksengi, housing some 50 households before Jeju 4·3. But following the eviction order by the military, all of its villagers became displaced, never to return. Now, only bamboo flourishes on the district’s former site.



### Manbaengdui Cemetery

The victims buried in the Manbaengdui Cemetery were civilians killed on Aug. 20, 1950, in the former

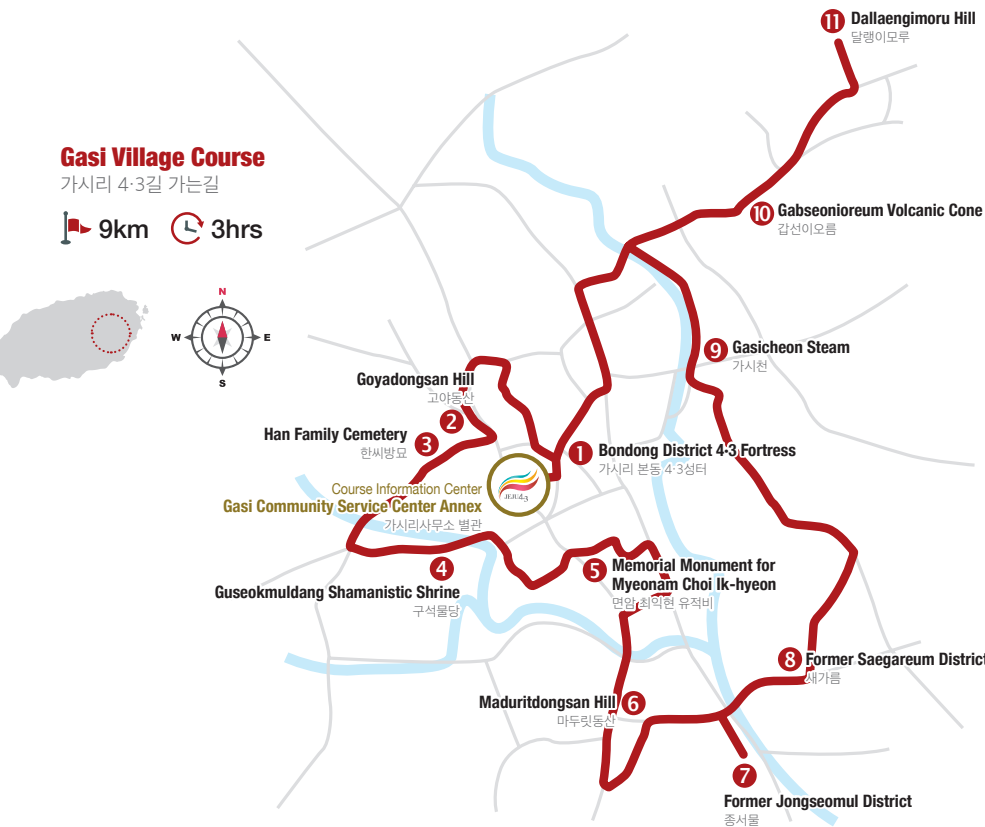
Japanese ammo dumps of Seodal Oreum volcanic cone near Mt. Songaksan (the current Baekjoilson Communal Cemetery). The bereaved families had to remain silent for six years until March 1956 when they were allowed to move the remains to the current cemetery.

### Cheonyeodang (Amidang) Shamanic Shrine

Cheonyeodang is a shamanic shrine honoring the folk myth of a virgin goddess. During Jeju 4·3, an official of the armed guerilla forces hid in the shrine but was arrested by the police, and was beheaded in the field across from the shrine with his own large knife that he had been carrying. The police abandoned his body in the field and hung his head from a flagpole in the yard of Gwandeokjeong, the pavilion in front of the former government office in Jeju City.

## Gasi-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Pyoseon-myeon)

Prior to the outbreak of Jeju 4·3, Gasi-ri village, a mid-mountain village famed for its horse pastures and bleak beauty, comprised nearly 360 households. However, the evacuation order and scorched-earth operation left the village in ruins. The villagers who had been caught after fleeing to the mountain, or the relatives of fugitives, were massacred by counterinsurgency troops near Hanmosal (Pyoseon Beach) and Beodeulmot (a pond once surrounded by willow trees).



### Han Family Cemetery



This is the cemetery of Han Cheon of the the Cheongju Han family clan who was among the founders of Gasi-ri 600 years ago. In 1392 when he moved from the mainland and settled in the area, people learned that the scholar had served as Daejehak (a high-ranking official). With people from neighboring villages visiting him to study, Gasi-ri was established. The cemetery of Han and his son has been well preserved. Maintaining its original shape, the cemetery is now designated Jeju Provincial Monument No. 60-2, and is cherished as important research material for the local memorial rituals on graveyards.

### Memorial Monument for Myeonam Choi Ik-hyeon



Han Cheon, the first settler of the Cheongju Han clan on Jeju, served as Daejehak (a high-ranking official) of Yemungwan (Office of Special Advisers) during King Gongyang’s reign during the late Goryeo era. When King Gongyang was ousted, Han was exiled to Jeju. Moving to the island in 1392, Han created Gasi-ri. In 1879, Choi Ik-hyeon (pen name Myeonam) was also exiled to Jeju. Choi was greatly impressed by Han’s descendants on Jeju and gave them the epitaph for Han. Han’s tomb and epitaph have been preserved to date.

### Maduritdongsan Hill

On Maduritdongsan Hill, Jeju villagers waited to receive warning signals from Goyadongsan Hill. During Jeju 4·3, civilians were so afraid of the police and the military that they nicknamed the former ‘black dogs’ and the latter ‘yellow dogs.’ So as to warn the nearby villages of approaching danger, when either of these groups was seen, watchmen would lower a flag on Goyadongsan Hill, and people on Maduritdongsan Hill would carry the news to the villages below. At that time, people could see Goyadongsan Hill from Maduritdongsan Hill, but now trees between them block the view.

### Saegareum District



In 1948, the entire district of Saegareum was destroyed during Jeju 4·3. The neighborhood that was once populated by 20 households with 100 residents was burned down and the villagers escaped to other villages nearby. With the district reconstructed in 1948, two households returned but soon left again, leaving the area lost to this day.

### Dallaengimoru Hill

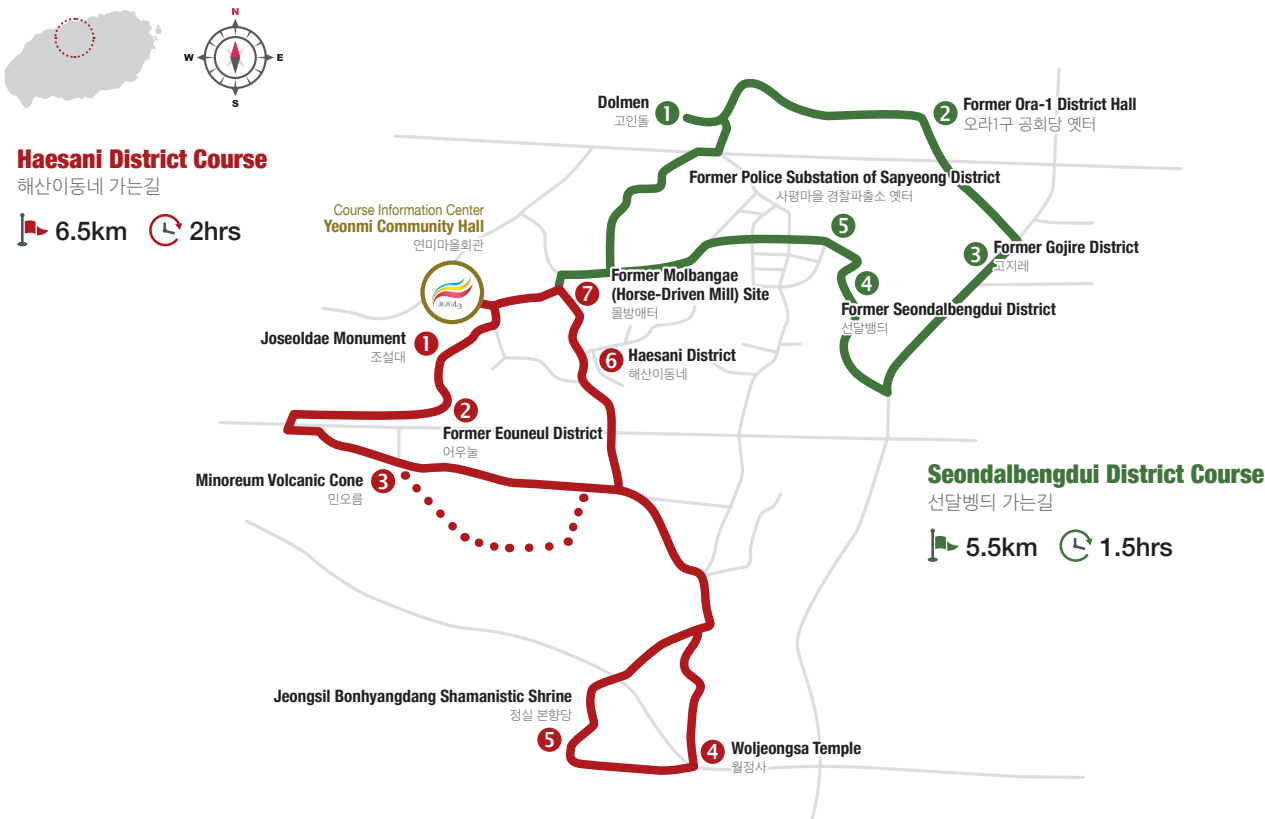


Now known as “Hill of Blood-red Soil,” Dallaengimoru Hill is where 12 locals of Gasi-ri were killed on Nov. 15, 1948. With the eviction order issued after the massacre, all Gasi-ri residents fled either to the coast or to the mountains.



Ora-ri Village Jeju 4·3 Trail (Jeju City)

Although Ora-ri village (now Ora-dong) is part of modern Jeju City, it was a rural community of thatched cottages at the time of Jeju 4·3, and it still boasts tranquil woodlands, volcanic cones and lush river valleys. Its day of infamy came on May 1, 1948, when the community was the victim of an arson attack that would intensify violence across the island. Although the arson was blamed on the armed resistance group, it was actually carried out by the Northwest Youth Association to scupper a peace deal agreed on April 28. Nevertheless, the attack precipitated intensified repression across the island by state forces, and footage of the arson filmed by the USAMGIK was used in a propaganda film titled “Cheju-Do May Day.” More than 240 Ora-ri residents lost their lives during Jeju 4·3 including two of the six people shot dead in the March 1 Shooting Incident at Gwandeokjeong Pavilion.



Joseoldae Monument



The 1905 Korea-Japan Protectorate Treaty was followed by the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. In protest, 12 local Confucian scholars formed a group called “Jibuigye” to reaffirm their commitment to the fight against Japan. They inscribed the term “Joseoldae” on a stone wall, meaning that they will avenge Joseon’s disgrace against Japan.

Eouneul District

The former traditional farming district of Eouneul could not evade Jeju 4·3. The district was completely destroyed and the villagers had to either move to other areas (such as Ora-ri) or wandered in the snowy weather. Thirteen of the 100 residents were killed during Jeju 4·3. Eouneul District was never rebuilt.

Woljeongs Temple



Woljeongs Temple was Jeju’s first Buddhist training center. During Jeju 4·3, five buildings at the temple site were burned, and Buddhist monk Kim Deok-su (son of Buddhist monk Kim Seok-yoon) was killed near Bakseong Stream in December 1948. In February 1949, the counterinsurgency forces, which had previously burned Gwaneumsa Temple, set fire to Woljeongs’s Buddhist sanctum and the entire temple was devastated. After Jeju 4·3, several monks tried to bring life back to the temple, and as a result, Woljeongs was reborn.

Haesani District



Haesani District, southeast of Yeonmi Village, was home to 10 households with 50 residents prior to 4·3. Each and every one was forced to flee the violence, and no one has since lived there. Broken glass bowls from that time have been found in the area, and where there used to be houses bamboo now flourishes.

Dolmen (Ora Dolmen No. 1)



The history of this memorial stone dates back to the Bronze Age. The Jeju myth of “Dolbae” is related to the dolmen remains. The flat stone walls create a room for the remains, which is covered with another wide flat stone on top. Presumably, the dolmen culture traveled from the Korean Peninsula to Jeju Island and then to Kyushu, Japan. Jeju’s dolmen provide invaluable research data for the prehistoric cultural exchange.

Seondalbengdui District

This is where seven local households had lived before Jeju 4·3. In November 1948, the eviction order displaced the villagers and their houses were burned down during the suppression operation by the counterinsurgency forces. To this day, a small stream and neighborhood streets, as well as a tree where a swing had been hung, have been preserved.

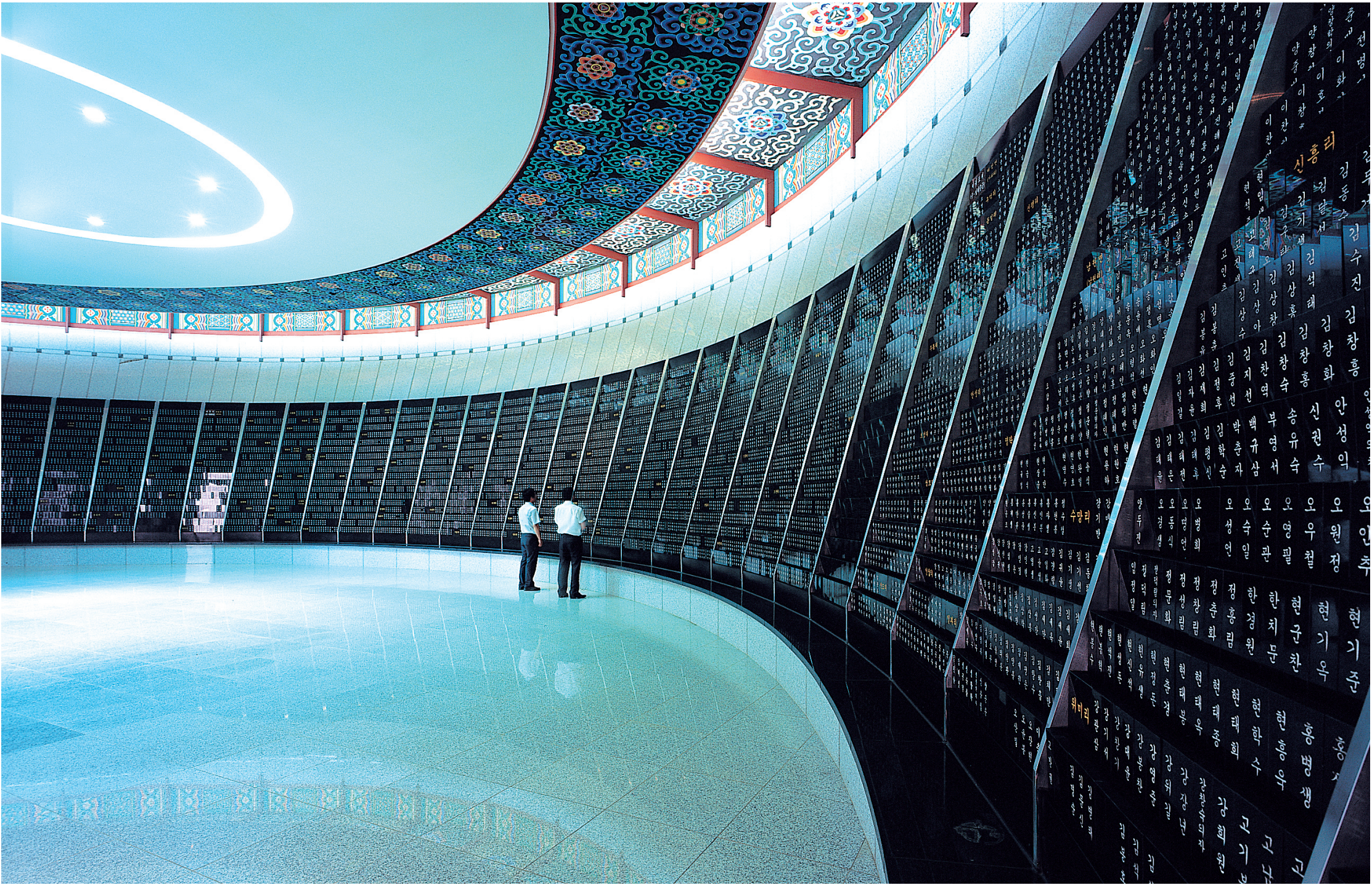
## Sites of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre

Although all of the sites introduced above are worth taking time out of one's day to visit, there are certain must-see locations on Jeju for visitors wanting to learn more about the massacre. The decision on what to include in this section was difficult, but the editorial team decided that the sites should be chosen by the degree to which they are accessible, informative, relevant and, to some extent, reflective of the essence of the island. Inevitably, there are many sites that are absent such as the Alltteureu Airfield, Seonheul Fortress, Seodal Oreum and others. Nevertheless, a visit to the locations below, either individually or as part of a wider tour, will help to give a deeper appreciation of both the massacre and island culture and nature more broadly.

The first site introduced is the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park which opened in 2008 as part of the truth and reconciliation process. This evocative site high on the slopes of Mt. Hallasan includes a museum, education center, a cemetery and the All Soul's Altar at which the annual memorial service is held. The next site introduced is Gwandeokjeong Pavilion, which was not only the Joseon provincial seat of government, but also the flashpoint of violence on March 1, 1947, when a child was struck/killed by a police horse during a protest. Two of the most harrowing events of the massacre period occurred at Darangshi Oreum and Bukchon-ri village, and these are introduced next.

A beautiful volcanic cone with outstanding views across the island, a cave at the foot of Darangshi is also where the remains of 10 people were found in 1992 after being massacred by state forces. The Bukchon-ri massacre is one of the most horrific of the period and visitors today can visit graves within the village including those of local children. The village remains at Goneuldong are somewhat unique in not only being preserved as they were in 1949, but also in being the only known coastal village completely razed during the massacre. Finally, there is a more generic introduction to Jeju's gotjawal woodlands, which provided a haven for so many villagers as they sought refuge from the bloody chaos outside.





The names of victims of the massacre are engraved on tablets in the Enshrined Memorial Tablet Hall at the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park.

## The Jeju 4·3 Peace Park: A place to honor, grieve, learn

When late South Korean President Kim Dae-jung signed the Jeju 4·3 Special Law into being Jan. 11, 2000, he enacted legislation that would not only reshape the island's past but redirect Jeju's trajectory into the future. And no product of this act better exemplifies these two goals than the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park.

Opened in March 2008, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park is a massive complex that strives to honor victims of the massacre, educate (and in many ways re-educate) the public about the events and continue research into how the massacre has impacted the island's residents.

And while there are several facilities throughout the park, the two main areas that best fulfill its functions to honor and educate are the All Souls' Altar and the museum within the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall.

The All Souls' Altar stands near a cemetery where known victims of the massacre were laid to rest. Families come here to grieve by the graves of their lost loved ones, while inside the semidome altar the names of the dead organized by village are chiseled on stone tablets in the Enshrined Memorial Tablet Hall.

Every year on April 3, around 10,000 Jeju citizens gather





The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall at the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park includes a museum and a research institute.



The “Biseol” sculpture within the park commemorates Byeon Byeong-ok, a 25-year-old local woman who died with her 2-year-old daughter at the foot of a nearby volcanic cone.

before this altar to honor their loved ones as local and central government officials show their respect and grieve alongside those most directly affected by the government’s actions.

It is here during the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragedy where President Moon Jae-in gave his apology on behalf of South Korea, becoming the first sitting president to attend the event.

The museum, within the main building of the peace park, is what draws most visitors here. It is a thorough, chronological retelling of the events that led up to the Jeju massacre, the massacre itself and its aftermath.

It begins with a short walk into a cave-like tunnel that metaphorically acts as a portal for the visitor transporting them back 70 years while subjecting them to what many survivors experienced while hiding underground from the horrors above.

What follows is a detailed explanation of the politics that created the volatile situation that erupted into 4·3.

The information is presented in both Korean and English, and while the displays are informative, art is used to better materialize the gravity and horror of the

massacre.

For instance, on exiting the tunnel into the museum, an unmarked tomb lays at the bottom of a tall silo, reminding visitors that while many bodies of the dead have found places to rest in the cemetery outside, countless others have not.

There is also an animation of the March 1, 1947, “Shooting Incident” that incited the massacre as well as a video piece that artistically visualizes the US military government’s indiscriminate hunt for so-called communists from amidst Jeju residents on the “Red Island,” as it was then labeled by the occupying force.

The museum ends by detailing the literal and figurative work done to unearth the truth of 4·3 in the decades following the massacre, including a recreation of Darangshi Cave, one of the most important pieces of evidence of state violence on the island that helped force the government to acknowledge its wrongdoing when discovered in 1993.

The park, along with the museum, the 4·3 Children’s Activity Center and all its facilities, is free and is closed every first and third Monday of the month.





## Site of political unrest: Gwandeokjeong Pavilion

If the Jeju Uprising and Massacre had a geographical epicenter, it would be the area around Gwandeokjeong Pavilion in the old downtown of Jeju City.

Sadly, visitors to Gwandeokjeong today find little trace of its role in the tragic 20<sup>th</sup> century history of Jeju. Although streams of walkers approach the site along Olle Trail 17, and spend their time enjoying the recreated grounds of Jeju Mokgwana — the Joseon-era (1392-1910) office of government, restored in

2002 — there is little trace of the site's pivotal role in the Jeju Uprising and Massacre.

The pavilion was built for military training in the reign of King Sejong in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was the political heart of Jeju throughout the Joseon era. Although Jeju Mokwana was burned to the ground by the Japanese, Gwandeokjeong Pavilion survived and remained politically important throughout the Japanese period (1910-1945).

Jeju citizens protested against the Japanese occu-



Gwandeokjeong as it looks today in the historical Wondoshim region of Jeju City.

pation at Gwandeokjeong and further protests were held even after liberation in 1945, but this time against another foreign government. This is because the USAMGIK office stood across the street from Gwandeokjeong, although all that stands today are modest commercial units.

Despite the situation being relatively calm in the period following liberation in August 1945, relations soon soured and on Feb. 10, 1947, between 300 and 1,000 (depending on the source) middle and high school students held a protest against the American presence.

Less than a month later, on March 1, 1947, another protest at Gwandeokjeong would spark the period of violence known as the Jeju Uprising and Massacre.

Known today as “The Shooting Incident,” a massive gathering of around 30,000 people congregated at the nearby Jeju Buk Elementary School that morning to simultaneously celebrate national independence and protest the upcoming national elections that would effectively confirm the bifurcation of the country.

By this point, Jeju police had failed to instill trust in the people by not expelling those who oppressed Jeju Islanders during Japanese occupation from their ranks as well as facili-

tating corruption during severe food shortages.

Following speeches at the school, a parade, unauthorized by the US military government, traveled from the school and through Gwandeokjeong Square. As the marchers exited the square, the horse of a mounted police officer kicked a 6-year-old child.

According to bystanders, the policeman tried to move along as if nothing had happened, but this enraged the assembled crowd, which began to accost the officer and throw stones as he escaped to the police station out front of Gwandeokjeong.

On seeing the commotion, police manning the station assumed they were being attacked and opened fired, killing six people.

Already angry with police, the public became furious with them.

What followed was a general strike of both Jeju civilians and government officers, which was unheard of in Korea. The demands included the execution of the officers who opened fire on the crowd.

The military government justified the shooting as a communist-incited incident. And President Syngman Rhee used it as an excuse to sic more mainland police and the extreme right-wing group the Northwest Youth Association to the island to clamp down on communist attacks.

This incident at Gwandeokjeong is where all the anger, fear and politics merged setting in motion the political war for Jeju Island that would see the deaths of an estimated 30,000 people.



## Darangshi Cave

Darangshi cave and the bodies it once entombed is credited by many as being the most important evidence to challenge the government's notion of the massacre and to force it to acknowledge its actions.



The bodies of 11 victims of Jeju 4·3 were found at Darangshi cave in 1992. The incident became a watershed moment in increasing public awareness of the tragedy.

### Darangshi cave, where truth of 4·3 lay hidden for 50 years

Darangshi Oreum is a place of beauty that attracts visitors from across the world. The circular walking route along the crater of this volcanic cone provides outstanding views to Yongnuni Oreum and Bijarim Forest, and paragliders soar from its peak into the skies of eastern Jeju.

However, although visitors come today for leisure and energisation, 70 years ago a cave at the foot of this volcanic cone was, far from a refuge, a tomb for 11 villagers attempting to evade government troops terrorizing the countryside.

And when researchers eventually did find the bodies

in 1992, they knew instantly that the history of Jeju was about to be rewritten.

They had searched the mountainous areas of Gujwa-eup, western Jeju, for a month on information from a survivor of the Jeju massacre. He said he had been there 45 years earlier and that he knew of the dead the cave concealed.

And when the researches unearthed the cave they found the bodies as the man said they would: arranged side by side.

The researchers knew the bodies meant more than resolution for the families they belonged to -- they meant that no longer could the South Korean government deny what it had done here.

Although the period of violence lasted from 1947 to



Darangshi cave as it was discovered in 1992 with some of the items used by the victims while they hid in the cave.

1954, the worst of the atrocities were committed following the scorched-earth policy of the government, which began on Nov. 17, 1948.

This military tactic labeled everyone guilty until proven innocent, and they burned down villages looking for communists and their sympathizers. This forced villagers to search for safety in the mountains of the island.

Some found caves, but it often wasn't long before those caves were also found by the military.

It was a month and a day after that operation began when Darangshi cave was discovered by soldiers who demanded the cave's occupants come out. But they didn't, rightly fearing they'd be executed. The soldiers then set fire to the mouth of the cave, asphyxiating everyone inside.

When the cave was rediscovered 45 years later, mention of the massacre came with fear of government reprisal as South Korea still denied what it had done. But the researchers knew that if handled properly the discovery of the bodies would make the massacre a global issue, and force Korea to acknowledge what had happened.

So they first went to the press, which took the story to the front pages of national newspapers.

Once the stories of the cave were printed, the government tried to cover it up. It sealed the cave and convinced the bereaved families to cremate the bodies of the dead and have the ashes scattered at sea.

But it was too late. The government could no longer deny the state violence it perpetrated on Jeju Island. A movement for truth pursued only by activists had transformed into a movement of the people who would no longer be denied their history.

Darangshi cave and the bodies it once entombed is credited by many as being the most important evidence to challenge the government's notion of the massacre and to force it to acknowledge its actions.

In fact, it is so important to the movement that within the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall, visitors walk through a recreation of Darangshi cave as they travel through the museum of the massacre.

It's been 25 years since the cave was rediscovered and its importance has only been magnified with time.



## The nightmare of the Bukchon Massacre

A short drive east of Jeju City is the coastal village of Bukchon, and while seemingly ordinary, this quiet fishing village is known for two things: Its strong haenyeo (women divers) culture, and for being the site of the worst indiscriminate mass killing during the Jeju Uprising and Massacre.

The tragedy is memorialized near the site of the slaughter in the Neobeungsi 4·3 Incident Memorial

Hall where visitors can learn of the town’s dark history, known now as the Bukchon Massacre.

However, nothing can fully translate the horror that the Korean Constabulary brought here Jan. 17, 1949.

Early that morning two Korean soldiers were killed in ambush by rebels near the village. Their bodies, found by villagers, were brought to the local battalion headquarters by Bukchon elders. In retaliation, the elders



A memorial stone in Bukchon-ri village commemorating the site of the Bukchon Massacre of January 1949.

“

*The effects of the Bukchon Massacre can still be felt within the sleepy town*

”

were shot dead and the battalion commander sicced two platoons on Bukchon.

The soldiers went door to door, torching houses in search of rebels and dragging residents out into the street at gunpoint. They then corralled around 1,000 villagers into the yard of the local elementary school, where families of police and military were separated and spared.

The killing began with the public execution of the head of the local organization responsible for the town’s security for failing to do his job.

Residents were then taken in groups to a nearby farm where they were shot to death.

The terror ended when a police officer, a native of the nearby village of Hamdeok, begged the commander to stop.

The horror had begun at 11 a.m. and ended at 5 p.m. Over 300 men, women and children (though mostly men) were murdered that day, with over a hundred more who had escaped to a nearby village executed the day following. Entire family lines that had lived for generations in Bukchon were expunged.

According to the Hamdeok police officer’s testimonial in the 4·3 investigation report, senior officials encouraged the slaughter as they wanted young recruits to experience killing. They also did not want to find shelter for the villagers whose homes they had just razed.

The village, and the horror it experienced, would become the inspiration for Hyun Ki Young’s 1978 novella

“Sun-i Samch’on,” the first public mention of the massacre and cause for the author’s arrest and torture.

While it made many people aware of the atrocity for the first time, Hyun’s work does not attempt to predict the effect of the massacre on future Bukchon generations. In 1960, an article referred to Bukchon as the “Village of Widows,” and its strong haenyeo culture was of necessity, says a local resident, who explained that the majority of the survivors were women and their children, and the mothers became haenyeo to provide for their families.

The effects of the Bukchon Massacre can still be felt within the sleepy town, and the memorial stands not only as a tool of education but as a reminder of the nightmare that this coastal village experienced seven decades ago.



Bukchon Elementary School where villagers were ordered to congregate before being taken away and killed by the military.



## Goneuldong: The massacre that reached the sea



The village of Goneuldong was rare in being a coastal village that was entirely razed during Jeju 4·3. **Photo by** Eric Hevesy



Flowers bloom in the eerily abandoned fields of Goneuldong. **Photo by** Eric Hevesy

People once lived on the sides of this steep headland. They built their homes here. They married here. In late 1948, the 76-household-strong community of Goneuldong just west of Hwabuk, Jeju City, was split into three: Gaundet Goneul at the center, An Goneul to the west and Dong Goneul (or Bat Goneul) to the east.

By January 1949, all that was left were the charred remains of homes and bullet-ridden bodies.

It was on Jan. 4, 1949, the same day Brigadier Ham Byeong-seon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division had requested an extension of martial law on the island, that a 42-strong platoon laid siege to the village.

According to the official 4·3 investigation report, from around 3 p.m., government forces moved from house to house, forcibly removing villagers to the coast, where 10 were immediately executed by firing squad.

The soldiers doused the thatched roofs and sacks of barley with oil found hanging in people's homes. The winds quickly fanned the flames and burned An Goneul and Gaundet Goneul to the ground.

The next day, Jan. 5, the villagers still held at Hwabuk Elementary School were removed to the local “Yeondemit,” one of Jeju’s unique Joseon-era coastal defense structures. All 12 were swiftly executed. Their homes at Dong Goneul were torched.

The official Jeju 4·3 investigation report says 23 died in the attack, as “the Punitive Force shot the villagers of Goneul-dong to death, taking 2 days.”

The village never recovered.

### An island-wide story

Goneuldong is not alone. As many as 84 villages were thus destroyed during Jeju 4·3, but most were upland “jungsangan” villages, ostensibly razed to punish villagers for aiding “insurgents” sheltering on Mt. Hallasan.

Why, then, was ruin brought to coastal Goneuldong?

According to local residents, the punitive actions were in response to an attack on military vehicles in nearby Hwabuk. An assailant fled towards Goneuldong, possibly seeking shelter on nearby Byeoldobong Peak, thus damning it as an “insurgent village.”

In 2009, as the site was cleared of weeds, untouched millstones were uncovered just as they had been left six decades earlier. A spring and pond were also found, as were “doldam,” or stonewalls, enclosing the original “olle,” paths leading between houses.

Today the site is still dissected by olle, Jeju Olle 19, one of the island’s famous walking trails. There is also a stone memorial telling the massacre’s tragic tale.

The memorial, however, was opposed by some villagers, and it has been vandalized in the past. They dispute the official account, insisting even more people were slaughtered on those winter days in 1949.



The stone walls of Goneuldong have been left largely as they were in January 1949 at the time of the massacre. **Photo by** Eric Hevesy



There were once 76 households in this coastal village and the walls and foundations of their houses are still visible. **Photo by** Eric Hevesy





Many of the caves found in regions of gotjawal woodland provided shelter to villagers evading the military during Jeju 4-3.

## Gotjawal: Providing shelter and shade from violence

It was the gotjawal that provided sanctuary to villagers when all land -- and life -- beyond 5 km off the coast was declared hostile to the state. It was within the forest's deepest corners, its volcanic caves, that villagers found some modicum of safety.

The woodlands cover 6.1 percent (113.3 square kilometers) of the island and survive in four main areas, which mark the ancient flow of lava across

the landscape: Hangeyong-Andeok in the southwest; Aewol in the northwest; Jocheon-Hamdeok in the northeast; and Gujwa-Seongsan in the east.

Much more widespread in the late-1940s, the woodlands were the lifeblood of local life and culture by providing grazing, charcoal, nutrition, medicine and much else. With the outbreak of bloodshed, they also sheltered villagers from rapacious troops.

The name gotjawal combines 'got' (woodland) and 'jawal' (rock) in the Jeju language, which aptly describes the habitats key features. Somewhat more vividly, the Jeju Dialect Dictionary runs, "a forest where trees and vines are disorderly entangled."

As per its etymology, gotjawal is rocky forest; it lies on lava formations that are barely hidden beneath the woodland floor. The basaltic lava is mostly "a'a clinker" which is known in the Jeju language as "bille." There are also smaller areas of Pahoehoe lava, but most gotjawal sit atop a'a clinker.

The a'a clinker is classified as either slabby or rock block a'a lava. These forms of a'a clinker are quintessential to gotjawal, as can be seen underfoot as one seems to be treading across strewn rubble. The a'a clinker forms a platform 1-3 meters in depth, with lowland gotjawal tending to have a thicker shelf.

The rocky volcanic floor helps to create a distinct microclimate with vents in the ground seeming to breathe; the gotjawal is known as the "lungs" of Jeju for this reason. It is poignant, therefore, that at the height of Jeju 4-3, particularly in the long winter of 1948-49, it was in the gotjawal where many villagers found room to breath.

This was represented so viscerally in the 2012 film "Jiseul" by O Muel as Keunneolbgwe cave in Donggwang-ri provides the backdrop for one of the movie's most iconic scenes. Villagers share jokes and sweet potatoes in a dark, damp cave, distracting themselves from the terrors outside with island humor.

Keunneolbgwe ("Big Wide Cave") is now a key site along the 6 km Donggwang-ri 4-3 Trail, which



Gotjawal woodland has played a key role in the development of Jeju culture.

allows visitors to see massacre sites in Andeok-myeon, southwest Jeju, up close.

Jeju woodlands have always been central to life and community, and walkers today are treated to abundant cultural heritage such as ancient agricultural walls, animal shelters and "gamateo" traditional kilns hidden amid the volcanic topography.

It is to this volcanic topography that a natural, underground aquifer, into which 46 percent of Jeju's rainfall permeates — the highest rate in all of Korea — owes its existence. The water pools in subterranean chambers, then travels in rivulets down the mountain where it is siphoned for use.

The high rate of permeability means that in the areas of the east and west where gotjawal is found, there are very few rivers. This rocky habitat, with its underground water system, is not only unique in Korea, but extremely rare internationally.

Gotjawal is unsurprisingly a haven for Jeju flora and fauna. In addition to endemic plants such as the Jeju gosarisam and Mankyua jejuense, the gotjawal provides a habitat for the endangered Fairy Pitta and the black-headed snake.

It has always been in the nature of woodland to provide such sanctuary.





# Living Memories

Interviews & photographs Ko Hyun-joo  
Written by Huh Eun-sil





“

*I am now aged 76,  
and now may be the time to let it go.*

”

*Steam rises, just like a sigh, just like the incense smoke.*

*The spoon next to it resembles the lonely man who died alone.*

*His wife served meals on the table for the missing soul.*

*The bowl was heaped three times a day with newly cooked rice*

*for 30 years until she heard her husband had died in jail.*



Living Memories: Yang Nam-ho's brass spoon



At the age of 27, Moon Im-saeng (Yang's mother) was separated from her husband. This brass spoon was the only one Moon ever used. It was even the spoon she used for her last meal.



Pots and bowls: All of her family used these pots and dishes when hiding on Mt. Hallasan to avoid being killed during suppression operations by the counterinsurgency forces.

“  
*Until she passed away,  
she had her meals only with  
this brass spoon*  
”



Yang Nam-ho

“Since childhood, I have lived with the memory of 4·3. When I was six, some state forces burned the village of Ora. And my family, including my grandparents, my first uncle, my second uncle, my parents and I went up Mt. Hallasan to hide. Even after my relatives left the mountain, I stayed there with my mother a little longer. We used to wear gotgam bosi, a hat with earmuffs. Surviving the winter only with that hat, we cooked meals with these utensils. For four to five months, my mother repeatedly hiked up and down the mountain, carrying food we had hidden in the dark. After returning to the village, we still used these pots until I graduated from middle school.

My mother loved my father very much. Until she passed away, she had her meals only with this brass

spoon. Every day, she washed it carefully with rice straw and ashes. She kept it in the closet where she prepared the memorial table with food for my missing father for nearly 30 years until she finally heard that he had died in Daejeon prison. However, she had never let us prepare her birthday feast until she died in 2009. She used to say, ‘I was unable to prepare birthday meals for your grandparents. I don’t deserve to have mine prepared for me,’ or ‘It dates back to a long time ago. Even if you hear it now, would it bring back any of the dead victims?’

Looking at relics like this spoon, I cannot but feel sorry for my mother. I am now aged 76, and now may be the time to let it go.”



## Living Memories: Oh Guk-man's gwe



“

*I was treated like a subhuman,  
framed as a commie  
or an armed guerrilla.*

”

*Numbers stained with blood lie in the sun to dry off.*

*The sunlight pats the letters from 70 years ago*

*as does the pacifying touch for the newborn.*

*Father wrote inside the gwe the birthdays of his five children.*

*In the same wooden container,*

*the surviving son kept the clothes to enshroud his father.*

*That way, life and death were kept in one box.*





On the lid of this gwe, Oh's father recorded the birthdays of his children. Based on the records, Oh performs rites for his three elder brothers who went missing and probably lost their lives during Jeju 4·3. On Jeju, the memorial ceremonies of many victims are held on their birthdays, instead of the unidentified anniversaries of their deaths.

"I was 17 when 4·3 broke out. The counterinsurgency forces raided my village in Gasi. We were ordered to evacuate the village to Pyoseon Elementary School. A few days passed and my parents took four of their children including me down to the Pyoseon area. My three elder brothers took refuge in the nearby mountain. After that, I did not see them again. We were detained in the elementary school.

Making a list of the detainees, the counterinsurgency forces ordered that minors aged under 15 and breastfeeding mothers step aside. My father had me

listed as a 14-year-old minor, saving my life. If I told them my real age, I would have been dead because all the kids my age died. All those that were taken outside the building were shot to death. The next day, we were told to take care of the bodies of our family members or friends. My uncle covered the bodies of my parents with soil, and the following year, I mean, in 1949, we carried them to this area for reburial. In Pyoseon, a group of 76 people was massacred at the same time. I lost both of my parents and was left with my 15-year-old sister and my 7-year-old brother.

“

*Up until a few years ago, I could not openly tell others that my parents were the victims of 4·3*

”



Oh Guk-man

With my little brother on my back, I kept crying for the next seven days or so. And I kept thinking, I kept asking myself what I was supposed to do for my sister and my brother, as the head of the household. The answer was that above all, I needed food for them. Living with the responsibility that I cannot let them starve to death, I managed to raise them and helped them get married, just as our father would have done.

Up until a few years ago, I could not openly tell others that my parents were the victims of 4·3. Obviously,

it could cause me harm. Because my brothers hid in the mountain, I was wrongfully accused of being a 'family member of the runaway rebels.' I was treated as a subhuman, framed as a commie or an armed guerilla. I could barely speak of my family without feeling guilty until former President Roh Moo-hyun, who took office after former President Kim Dae-jung, made an official apology. How good it is that I can at least talk about it now."



Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



Promotional posters for some of the 4·3-themed performances of the traditional theatrical group, Noripae Hallasan.  
Photos courtesy Park Kyong-hoon

‘Noripae Hallasan’

Uncovering the truth of Jeju 4·3 through madanggeuk art

Founded in 1987, traditional drama group Noripae Hallasan has striven to translate the voices of everyday life into such art performances as nori (a traditional

musical performance), geuk (a traditional theatrical play) and gut (a traditional shamanic ritual). In 1989, the art group performed “Hallasan,” the first madang-geuk (a traditional outdoor musical performance) with the theme of Jeju 4·3, highlighting the truth of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre. After the performance, some of its members experienced severe hardships including police investigation.

“  
... the group has contributed to disseminating the truth of the local uprising and massacres of Jeju  
”

Noripae Hallasan’s representative works include “Baekjo Ilson,” “Heonmyo” and “KKon Nollim.” The artists perform regularly in an effort to speak the truth of Jeju 4·3 both domestically and internationally. Performing on Jeju and in many different regions including

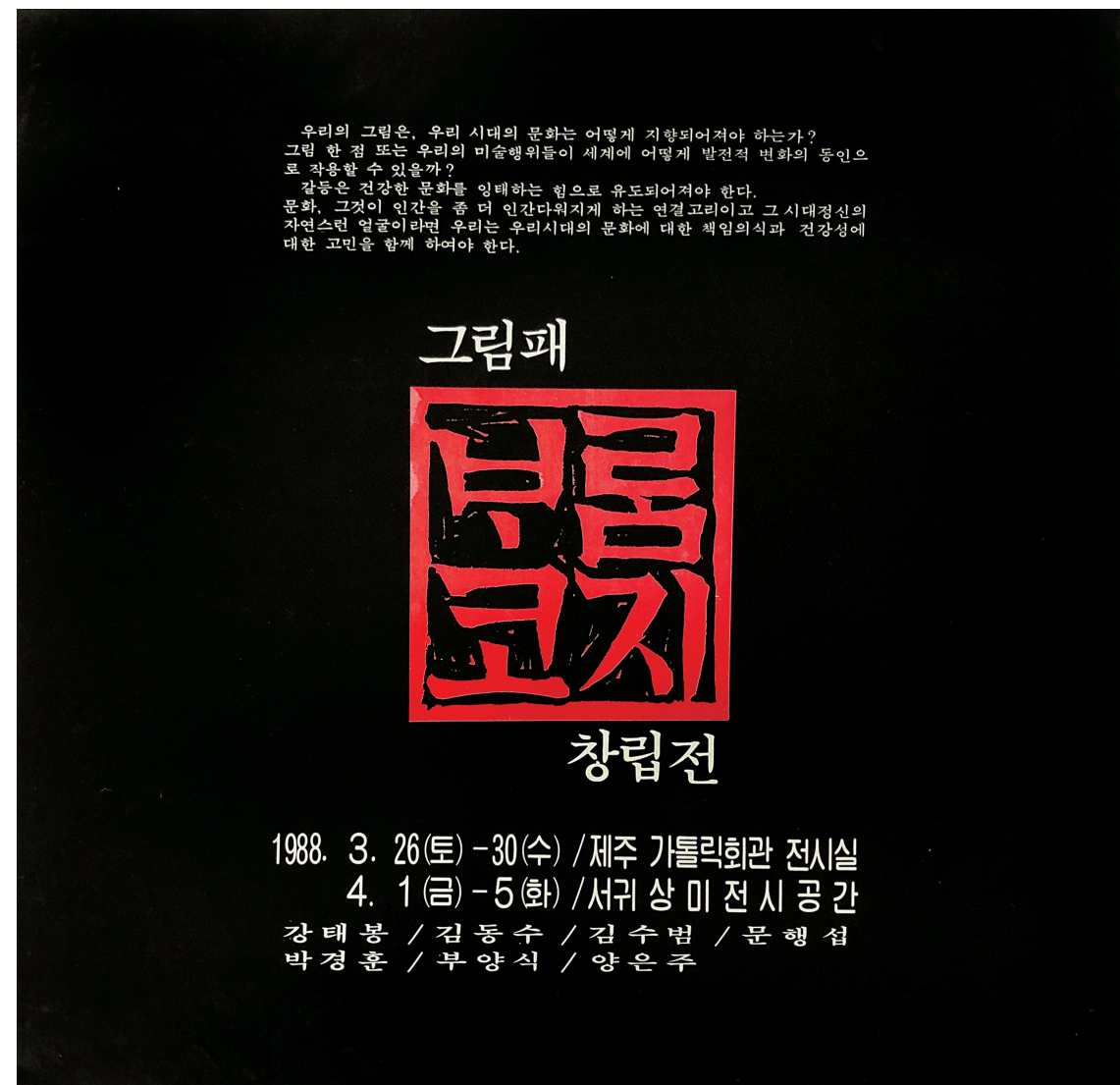
Seoul, Busan and Japan, the group has contributed to disseminating the truth of Jeju 4·3. As an accolade, Noripae Hallasan became the 2017 winner of the 4·3 Special Contribution Award in the culture and art section granted by the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation.



Members of Noripae Hallasan recreate scenes of the massacre on stage.  
Photos courtesy Park Kyoung-hoon



## Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



A poster for the opening exhibition of the Baramkoji art group in 1988. Photo courtesy Park Kyong-hoon



Installation artwork by Baramkoji member Park Kyong-hoon. Photo courtesy Park Kyong-hoon

### ‘Baramkoji’

A local arts group and the 4·3 Art Festival stay true to the spirit of the people’s art movement

In the late 1980s, a group of fine artists described the then-taboo Jeju 4·3 in their paintings. Their efforts resulted in the launch of the fine arts group, Baramkoji, and its inaugural exhibition in 1988. In 1993, Baramkoji was reorganized as the Tamna Artist Association, ushering in a historical and realism-based perspective with regard to the portraits of Jeju 4·3. Later, it was restructured into the Fine Arts Subcommittee of the Jeju branch of the Korean People’s Artist Federation, and since then it has led the

people’s art movement on Jeju.

The legacy of Baramkoji was inherited and advanced by the annual 4·3 Art Festival, a major fine arts event representing the Tamna Artist Association, which is regularly held under the theme of Jeju 4·3. Many renowned artists who are members of the association have led the festival, including Kang Yo-bae, Kang Tae-bong, Koh Gil-chun, Ko Min-seok, Ko Hyuk-jin, Kim Dong-su, Kim Su-beom, Park Kyong-hoon, Park So-yeon, Bu Yang-sik, Song Maeng-seok, Yang Mi-gyeong, Oh Yoon-seon, Oh Seok-hoon, Yi Won-woo, Jeong Yong-seong, Jeong Yoon-gwang, Heo Soon-bo, Kang Moon-seok, Ko Won-jong, Kim Yeong-hoon, Kim Hyeon-don, Song Joon-woo, Yang Gi-hoon, Yang Cheon-woo and Hyun Gyeong-hwa.





# Chapter 4

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## Chapter 4

### Introduction: Art & Culture

## Healing through art and culture

Communities have always responded to trauma through culture. Whether through subversive theater, dissident poetry or the healing function of traditional shamanic rituals, the fight for justice finds fertile ground in the realm of arts and culture. This stands true for those who were victimized during the Jeju Uprising and Massacre, and this chapter explores the influence of the tragedy in local art, literature, poetry, film and more. Readers are introduced to key figures who have helped direct the cultural response to the massacre as covered by English-language media and chiefly The Jeju Weekly, which has been critical in introducing the world of Jeju culture to an international audience.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the influence of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre on the Jeju artworld by Anne Hilty of The Jeju Weekly. Hilty outlines some of the central figures in “4·3 art” from authors Hyun Ki Young and Han Rimwha to the theater group, Noripae Hallasan. Following this wide-ranging piece, the chapter focuses on specific individuals beginning with an interview with Hyun Ki Young by Darryl Coote. Hyun wrote the groundbreaking 1978 novella, “Sun-i Samch’on,” which led to his persecution by the Park Chung Hee regime. This is followed by a review of another landmark novel on the massacre, “The Curious Tale of Mandogi’s Ghost” by Kim Sokpom. The review is written by historian Robert Neff who highlights the theme of sacrifice that runs through Kim’s work.

Although Hyun’s “Sun-i Samch’on” was the first major literary work to cover the massacre, O Muel’s 2012 film “Jiseul” brought the massacre to the attention of a global audience for the first time. The film was awarded the World Cinema Dramatic Grand Jury Prize at the 2013 Sundance Film Festival and his interview with Song Ho Jin of the Hankyoreh is also included. This is complemented by an interview with artist Keum Suk Gendry-Kim who published the graphic novel of “Jiseul” in both Korean and French. She tells Darren Southcott of The Jeju Weekly about her duty as an artist to cover such injustices from

The final two articles cover poetry and art beginning with an interview with local poet Moon Choong-sung whose work “The Whole Island” was read at the 65<sup>th</sup> Jeju 4·3 Memorial Ceremony in 2013. In an interview with The Jeju Weekly, Moon reflects with melancholy on Jeju’s hardships and the dark cloud of massacre that hangs over him as a poet and as an Islander.





This work entitled “Released after 60 years,” by Jeju artist Koh Gill-chun is a charcoal rubbing of clothes excavated from a mass grave.  
Photo courtesy Koh Gil-chun

## ‘Sasam Art’: The artists’ way

Jeju artists lead way to truth, justice and healing

By Anne Hilty

Art has a unique ability to move people, to change minds and heal hearts. The use of art to reveal truth, make political statements and initiate revolutions is known throughout the world.

Jeju artists - visual, performance, literary - have been especially influential in the “Sasam” Movement

(local term for the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century period of mass killings), the urge of Jeju people to reveal the truth about the military brutality and deep tragedy of that time.

Art has also helped Jeju people to heal.

In 1979, writer Hyun Ki Young published “Sun-i Samch’on,” a work of fiction depicting events of that era. The first of its kind, this groundbreaking

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*Art can be used as a sword to kill or threaten the enemy  
or it can be healing.*

”

book brought both recognition and persecution to its author. An English translation was published in 2008.

Han Rimwha, a novelist, poet and independent researcher, published a three-volume novel on related themes in 1991 entitled “The Sunset on Mount Halla.” Today the president of the Jeju Writers’ Association, Han describes frequent interrogations as she researched material for her literary work.

The performing arts have also focused on events of this tragic historical period. A theatre company, Noripae Hallasan, was formed in 1987 as part of the democracy movement and continues to this day. Though investigated, the troupe avoided outright persecution by using symbolism and imagery rather than a more direct portrayal of its themes.

With performances related to the turmoil and

massacres of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and other political controversies, this unique group travels from village to village to perform in a traditional style of theatre-in-the-round which includes audience participation.

Yoon Miran, a performance artist who has been involved with the troupe since 1989, identifies the group’s performances as consciousness-raising.

“Art can be used as a sword,” Yoon expressed, “to kill or threaten the enemy - or it can be healing.”

Participatory in nature, the group’s work encourages their audience to express otherwise dangerous or difficult emotions like anger and mourning. The company remains wildly popular to this day and also performs in Japan to the Jeju diaspora.

“Jeju has its own indigenous ways to heal,” said Yoon.





Jeju artist Kang Yo Bae has greatly contributed to the wall murals inside the Jeju April 3 Peace Museum. Photo courtesy Kim Yu Jeong



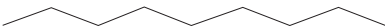
“Women carrying soy sauce and salt to the mountain” (1991) by Kang Yo-bae

Kang Yo-bae is perhaps the most well known of ‘Sasam Artists’ and a co-founder of the Tamna Artists Association. While he also creates art seemingly unrelated to this theme, he admits that all of his work is in some way influenced by the events of that terrible time.

He identifies “emotional ups and downs,” citing this artwork work as “mentally difficult” while also acknowledging that doing such work helps to “heal” him. However he admits that he cannot sustain such a focus for long periods of time.

In 1992, Kang’s “Sasam Art” was shown in Jeju, Seoul and Daegu; the exhibition was entitled, “The Camellia Has Fallen.” According to Kim, it was considered a monumentally influential event. When the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park opened on Jeju in 2008, 50 of

Kang’s works were displayed in a special exhibition bearing the same title.



One of the most influential activist-artists today is the aforementioned Koh Gill Chun.

Koh’s work is prolific, and one of his most striking may be that permanently housed in the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park Memorial. Entitled “Death Island,” it is a grouping of 23 alto-relievo sculptures in white plaster and clay, which depict the variety of victims’ tortures and deaths.

Following the discovery of a mass grave on the grounds of Jeju International Airport, Koh created

another grouping of sculptures, this one of tragic life-sized figures in clay emerging from earth. It was included in the 2009 Tamna Artists Association exhibit and was entitled, “From the ashes of the earth, we stand.”

Koh describes his “shocking” discovery of US political progressive and scholar Noam Chomsky’s inclusion of this tragedy [“...the suppression of a peasant revolt in...Cheju Island”] in Chomsky’s 1992 book, “What Uncle Sam Really Wants.” He describes this as the initial motivation behind his own “Sasam Art” and political activism.

Koh received a letter of acknowledgment from Chomsky earlier this month.

Numerous writers, artists and performers now

focus their creative endeavors on the events of this tragic period with themes of truth, justice and healing. There seems to be a consensus that the truth of the historical events has not been adequately revealed and that while some measure of resolution and recompense has been achieved, neither justice nor healing have been fully realized.

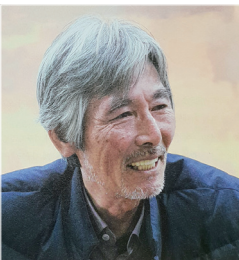
There are many viewpoints in Korea and elsewhere on the events of this period. The details may never be fully known. There is no question that it represents a psychological wounding of the deepest sort in Jeju’s culture.

The artists of Jeju have led the way in understanding and healing from this tragedy.





“Rape” (1992) by Kang Yo-bae from the photobook “Camellia Has Fallen.”



## Kang Yo-bae’s paintings revive the painful memories of 4·3

A review of a 2018 exhibition of Kang’s work on the Jeju Uprising and Massacre held at Seoul’s Hakgojae Gallery

By Yi Hwa-soon

The work of painter and Jeju native Kang Yo-bae suggests that art and life are inseparable, and that art should breathe the epoch of history.

And there is probably no better illustration of this than his two-part solo exhibition at the Hakgojae Gallery, Seoul, that was on display for the 70th anniversary of Jeju 4·3 that presented some 60 of his historical paintings on the Jeju Uprising and Massacre.

The first part of the exhibition, “Just, Image,” on display from June 22, exhibited Kang’s impressionist paintings; while part two, “Memento, Camellia,” which opened July 15, was itself divided into two sections: “The Camellia Has Fallen” and “After the Camellia Has Fallen,” and dealt with Jeju’s tragic history.

Despite having steeled myself before visiting the gallery, my determination





“The cause” (1989) by Kang Yo-bae from the photobook “Camellia Has Fallen.”



“Signaller in the Snow” (1992)  
by Kang Yo-bae from the  
photobook  
“Camellia Has Fallen.”

faltered as soon as I saw “One’s Respect for the Photograph of Bert Hardy” (2016). Totalling 455 cm in length (which could cover an entire large wall), the huge painting depicts two scenes: people, heads bowed, tied together like fish drying on a line; and the foaming dark blue sea, their assumed watery graves.

Kang’s inspiration for this painting was a photograph by Bert Hardy, a Korean War correspondent for Picture Post, of Busan prison in September 1950 the moment before a group of prisoners were massacred.

“When I first saw the photograph of the victims in

the corner of a newspaper,” Kang said, “I was utterly shocked. I could not separate it from Jeju 4·3. As an artist, I tried to think of how to testify the mass drowning of the innocent people and how to pay due respect to the victims.”

Even before recovering from that shock, I encountered “Infant” (2007), a painting that depicts a mother shot to death on the ground and her baby trying to drink milk from her uncovered breast. Kang painted the image, inspired by a story he had heard from a survivor of the massacre that took place in Bukchon, a northeastern village in Jocheon, Jeju City.

In “Empty Breast” (1992) and “The Remains in the Cave” (1992), Kang has created a diptych where in the former a mother and her baby daughter hide in Billemot Cave to evade Jeju 4·3. But in the latter the viewer is confronted with their corpses as discovered by an academic research team long after their deaths.

Kang also honored the victims through “The Song of the Soil” (1995) by portraying yellow pumpkin flowers blossoming among the people buried in the soil. “A Crow and the Old Tree” (1996) paints wind, an old hackberry tree, a crow and Mt. Hallasan, the things that Kang encountered while wander-

ing through the nature of Jeju for over a decade. In “Song of the Bones” (1998), a skull shouts in the dark, expressing its pent-up anger and sorrow that could not be appeased even by death.

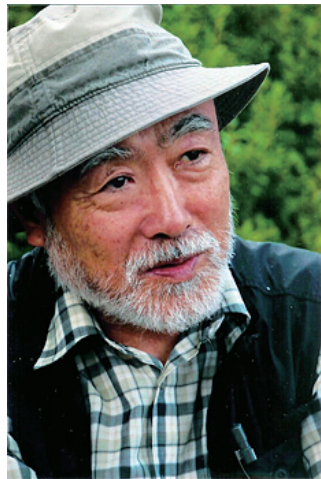
Nevertheless, the exhibition also reveals hope. “Greenness” (2013) is an abstract painting fully painted in red, a color that reminds viewers of the victims and their pain, while showing the green of hope and life blooming from the bottom of the canvas.

“On Jeju, the public suffered from unspeakable pain in silence for too long,” Kang said. “Although the situation has improved, the pain remains deep in their hearts.”



## My dinner with Hyun Ki-young

Jeju writer talks literature, the massacre and his physical and mental torture



Writer Hyun Ki-young.  
Photo by Darryl Coote

By Darryl Coote

I first learned of writer Hyun Ki-young a few years back while researching for The Jeju Weekly's Jeju Massacre series. Hyun, a Jeju native, is credited with having written the first public mention of The Jeju Massacre with the 1978 short story "Sun-i Samch'on."

I used the recent publication of an English translation of his story as an excuse to interview the scribe. We met at a small fish restaurant in Shin

Jeju for beer.

"Becoming a novelist means to acquire freedom. Literature is freedom," Hyun said. "But I have a complex in my mind... Why am I so complicated? Because of the 4·3 accident, which I experienced [when I was] six or seven years old. That trauma insists on my mind. I want to be free. In order to be free, I have to write about 4·3 to cure me of trauma."

Fifty percent of his work, he said, is about the massacre. But even still, it's not enough to silence his guilt.

"If I die and go to heaven I will meet 4·3 victims. I think they will torture me. Because at my age I neglected them. I didn't write about them," Hyun said. "I am afraid of it. I want to write about 4·3 more, more beautifully."

This is a challenge he claims he has no choice but to accept.

The story that he is best known for is historical fiction, combining the slaughter of 400 people in Bukchon-ri village with Hyun's experiences during the massacre in the Nohyeong-dong area, his birthplace and the location of the fish restaurant in which we were sitting.

"Because it is history, it wasn't so difficult to write," Hyun said.

“

*I was tortured because I was writing about this, but if you think of my death I will be tortured by the victims because I didn't write about it enough.*

”

What was difficult, he said, was describing the behaviours of those who would have been much older than him during the massacre.

In many ways the book contains archetypal characters from the massacre, none more vivid than the narrator's uncle, a former member of the North West Youth Association (NWYA).

"At that time young women have to get married to NWYA people in order to protect their family," said Hyun. To this day, former NWYA members live on the island and have families and property acquired through these marriages during the massacre.

This has been one of the more troubling aspects of the massacre; having neighbors who've murdered neighbors. Some committed these crimes for their own survival but some, Hyun said, were committed from the evil that occasionally arrests men in positions of uncensored power.

His NWYA character is more the former than the latter, and for a very specific reason: he hoped having done so would have absolved him in front of the Park Chung Hee dictatorship.

This would not be the case.

"I was tortured for three days," said Hyun.

There were two men from the NIS (Korean CIA), one holding Hyun from behind while the other beat

him, threatening him to not write about the massacre again. In the booth of the restaurant Hyun mimed how he was restrained and mimicked taking blows to the ribs.

They made sure not to break his bones, he said.

He wasn't officially arrested, for if he was there would have to be a trial, which would expose to the rest of Korea the truth of the Jeju Massacre.

"My muscles swelled. The color was ink color, ink color all over my body. Bruise, you know? Ink color, ink."

The government, almost 30 years after the massacre, was trying to silence any mention of the massacre.

"They didn't want people to know about 4·3 ... 4·3 is trouble and they wanted to keep 4·3 [quiet] forever."

He is still writing about the Jeju Massacre, and the torture he experienced was reproduced in a book he is currently working on. Though the topic is consumerism, and not the massacre, it is difficult to picture anything he writes to stray far from his "mission," ordered by those long passed.

"I was tortured because I was writing about this, but if you think of my death I will be tortured by the victims because I didn't write about it enough."



# ‘The Curious Tale of Mandogi’s Ghost’: a review

Kim Sok-pom’s fiction shines a light on Jeju’s troubled past

By Robert Neff

Ghosts are often said to haunt places where great suffering and loss of life has occurred. Thus it is no wonder that Jeju is rumored to be haunted.

The April 3, 1948 uprising on Jeju and its subsequent brutal suppression by the South Korean government is still a sensitive issue amongst Koreans – especially those on Jeju. This short story, although done in a light folktale style, explores some of the darkness of the turbulent era of the 1930s and ‘40s.

The protagonist is Mandogi, a young priest, who as a boy was abandoned by his mother at a temple on Jeju Island in the late 1920s or early 1930s. It is through Mandogi’s innocent eyes that we witness society’s horrors and the sacrifices that desperate people are forced to make. We follow Mandogi’s life from the morning he is abandoned at the temple, to his days spent working in the mines of Japan, to his return to Jeju and role as an reluctant participant of the Four Three Incident, a role which causes his execution and subsequent return as a ghost.

The author, Kim Sok-pom, was born in Japan in 1925 to parents who had recently emigrated from

Jeju Island. He spent much of his early childhood on the island. According to Cindi Textor, the translator, Kim has not been able to return to Korea after World War II but identifies Jeju as his “ancestral homeland.”

As Textor notes, despite Kim’s claim that Jeju is his “ancestral homeland,” he is “perhaps ideologically aligned more closely with the North.” This becomes quite apparent upon reading this book.

Although he portrays the islanders as hapless victims of the political struggle between communism and democracy, he also highlights their selfishness and willingness to sacrifice others. When a policeman takes an interest in a young married woman whose husband is away, the father-in-law willingly sacrifices her virtue for the good of the family.

He explains it away with: “Since ancient times, in our Korea, which values virtue above all else, it must be said that the commands of your husband’s parents, especially his father, are higher than those of your husband. And filial piety is the highest virtue.”

The girl, unwilling to dishonor her husband, hangs herself from the family’s persimmon tree. Instead of earning respect, her ghost is scorned for

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*This short story, although done in a light folktale style, explores some of the darkness of the turbulent era of the 1930s and ‘40s.*

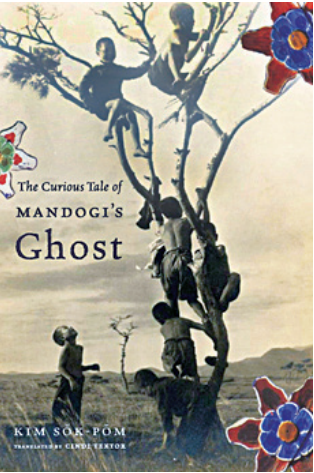
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endangering the entire village and not proving her filial piety.

The policemen, all members or friends of the Northwest Youth Association — an anti-terrorism organization established by President Rhee Syngman — are portrayed as ignorant tyrants who abuse the islanders for their own gain. This is emphasized by the police captain’s inability to write and the station chief’s boast: “In our Republic of Korea, as long as you don’t agree with commie ideas, you’re allowed to rape, steal, and murder.”

To these simple police, a mere display of the color red casts suspicion on one’s political views. Even hanging cayenne peppers from the roofs so that they could ripen in the sun to a bright red is taboo.

Even the sanctity of the temple is not spared from the author’s cynicisms. Mandogi’s illegitimate birth is the result of a brief encounter in a Korean temple in Osaka, and one Jeju priest abandons the Jeju temple to visit his many mistresses. However, it is the temple manager, Mother Seoul, whom the author develops into a symbol of the decadence of the South Korean capital.



‘The Curious Tale of Mandogi’s Ghost’ by Kim Sok-pom  
(Columbia University Press, 2010)

Described as a “hysterical old widow,” she had operated an inn in a red light district of Seoul before coming to Jeju Island, where she is regarded with some respect, if not fear. Her relationship with Mandogi is complicated. Despite the sadistic beatings she administers to him on a regular basis, he regards her, perhaps somewhat pathetically, as a surrogate mother. At times she shows a rough compassion but is not above using him, even sexually, or sacrificing him for her own well-being.

Sacrifice seems to be the theme of this book, and on more than one occasion I felt as if I were sacrificing my time in reading it. It is not an easy read. It won’t do for purely selfish entertainment, but that being said, it is a book that I would recommend to anyone with an interest in Korean history or society during the years just before the Korean War. I especially enjoyed the ending, but I won’t elaborate because I don’t want to spoil it for you, the readers.





A soldier aims his rifle at a woman and child in a colorized still from O Muel's "Jiseul." Photo courtesy Japari Film

## Jeju 4·3 film wins prestigious prize at Sundance Film Festival

‘Jiseul’ by director O Muel is the first Korean film to win the award

By Song Ho-jin

“What led me to make this film were the souls of the Jeju islanders who were massacred,” the director said, “and I also think that their souls helped us during the filming. I’d like to share the award with them.”

O Muel, the 42-year-old director of “Jiseul,” responded to news of the film’s Grand Jury Prize not with pride in his accomplishment, but with respect for the victims of the Jeju 4·3 Massacre. “I think maybe the sorrow of those souls reached the heavens,” he declared as tribute to them.

Beginning on April 3, 1948, between 14,000 and 60,000 people<sup>1)</sup> on Jeju Island were killed in an uprising that ensued after the South Korean military fired on a demonstration commemorating the end of Japan’s colonial occupation of Korea. The South Korean army’s and rightist group’s brutal suppression of this uprising caused the destruction of many villages on the island, and sparked demonstrations on the Korean mainland.



1) Although there are over 14,200 official victims, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation estimates that up to 30,000 could have lost their lives in Jeju 4·3. Nevertheless, the death toll has been estimated as high as 60,000 by some historians.



A colorized still from O Muel's "Jiseul" shows villagers hiding from the military in a cave.

Photo courtesy Japari Film

The suppression lasted until May 1949, while isolated fighting continued into 1953. Many residents of Jeju escaped from the massacre to Japan.

The film, which dramatizes the events of the massacre, earned top honors in the world cinema category at the 29th Sundance Film Festival, the most prestigious independent film festival in the world. The organizers announced the jury’s unanimous decision at a Jan. 26 award ceremony in Park City, Utah.

Sundance awards Jury Prizes for the best entries in US and world documentary and film, for a total of four categories. This marks the first time a South Korean film has won one of these top prizes at Sundance. In 2004, Kim Dong-won’s documentary “Repatriation” received a special Freedom of Expression Award at the festival.

Speaking to the Hankyoreh by telephone on Jan. 26, O said he was contacted by the festival organizers about the result the previous day while changing planes in Tokyo on his way home.

The award for “Jiseul” adds to the list of honors received by South Korean films at major festivals over the past couple of years. In 2011, Yi Seung-jun’s “Planet of Snail” won in the feature category at the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam, one of the world’s top documentary festivals. Last year, Kim Ki-duk’s “Pieta” won the Golden Lion at the Venice International Film Festival, one of the world’s top three film festivals.

Film industry insiders said the awards are an especially

major coup for documentary and art features that have failed to find their way to screens back home.

Set during the events of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre in winter 1948, “Jiseul” is based on the true story of Jeju Islanders who hid in the caves of Seogwipo after an order from the US military designating all residents within 5 k.m. of the coast as “rioters” and ordering their execution. Shot in black and white for 250 million won (about US\$231,500), it adopts the format of an ancestral rite as it pays respects to the tens of thousands of people who lost their lives at the time.

In scene after heartbreaking scene, it uses intensely powerful images to capture the islanders, whose amusingly fumbling response to their dire situation only underscores the tragedy of what follows. The title is a word in the local dialect for “potato,” which symbolizes the hope of survival in the film.

O, himself from Jeju Island, commented on the significance of the film’s reception.

“4·3 needs to be viewed in terms of world history as a Cold War-era massacre of civilians in which the US military administration was complicit,” he said. “It is significant that a story like this was screened in the US and acknowledged by artists there.”

The director recalled a tearful US audience member at the festival, apparently in her 50s, who thanked him for making the film.

“Different countries have different languages and ways of making films, but I think all of us share the same pain that comes through when innocent people are dying,” he said.

*Originally published in the Hankyoreh on Jan. 28, 2013.*





The cover of the French language version of the “Jiseul” graphic novel. **Image courtesy** Seohaemunjip

## Artist’s ‘duty’ to make ‘Jiseul’ graphic novel

Gendry-Kim recreates award-winning 4·3 movie in French and Korean manhwa

By Darren Southcott

Keum Suk Gendry-Kim had been told it was a film she must see, and all it took was a look at the poster to convince her to take on the job.

“The woman wears traditional clothing, holding a bag. The young soldier looks directly at her but can not pull the trigger, feeling she is a younger sister or relative. Within the image you have the whole of Korea’s contemporary history.”

The unmistakable scene of a rifle-toting soldier aiming at the head of a young woman, framed by Jeju’s oreum, is taken from O Mue’s “Jiseul,” winner

of the prestigious World Cinema Dramatic Grand Jury Prize at the 2013 Sundance Film Festival.

Gendry-Kim’s task was to recreate the film in French and Korean for a graphic novel, or “manhwa.”

“Even before seeing ‘Jiseul,’ I knew I wanted to do it. Then when I saw the film, the cinematography itself was already like a work of art,” the native of Jeolla said.

She was moved by “Jiseul”’s touching representation of the Jeju Massacre (Jeju 4·3) which left up to 30,000 dead between 1947 and 1954.

Despite director O having studied traditional Korean art himself, he did not work alongside



The French version aims to bring the story of the Jeju Massacre to a wider international audience. **Image courtesy** Seohaemunjip



Gendry-Kim speaking at Gandeurak Theater, Jeju City. **Photo by** Darren Southcott

Gendry-Kim in making the book, although she was influenced by his work’s essence.

“Normally, movies or graphic novels portray massacres brutally, but ‘Jiseul’ is warm and beautiful. Rather than showing massacre, it even brings a smile to our faces by showing the innocence of farmers who only care about their potato crops or children,” she said.

Her traditional ink drawings are also powerful for their bleak beauty, sometimes without dialogue for page after page. Gendry-Kim had to make some changes, however, such as when choosing standard Korean over Jeju dialect.

“At first I tried to use only some words such as ‘oemeong’ [mother] and ‘abang’ [father] or some verb endings, but the ‘Jiseul’ people suggested using either the original Jejeuo, or choosing standard Korean. I decided to go with the latter as it is important for people to understand,” she said.

### Tackling tough subject matter

Gendry-Kim majored in Western painting and studied sculpture at L’École Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs de Strasbourg, but after exhibiting her work across Europe she eventually moved into graphic novel drawing.

It was not long before she was disillusioned with the formulaic manhwa storylines sent to her, which were dismissed in France as Japanese mimicry and lowbrow. She thus began to draw and write her own, following the “artist’s duty” to speak up on historical and social issues.

Her work has since covered dictatorship in 20th-century Korea, Japanese sexual enslavement of Korean “comfort women,” and she is currently working on a book on Jeju’s haenyeo, or women divers.

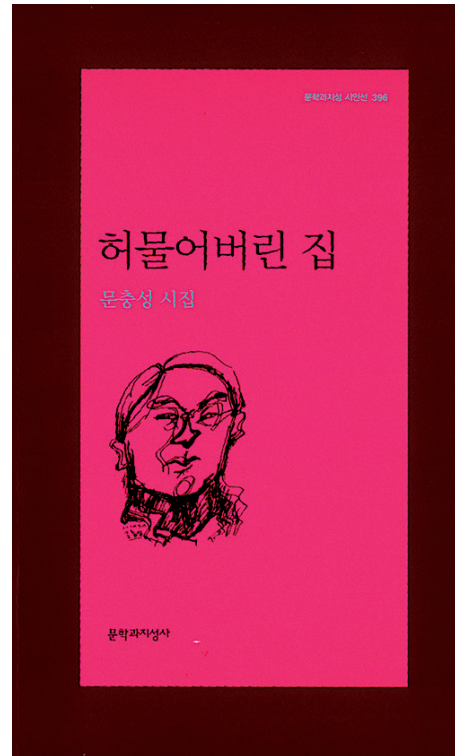
“I have always had something to say, and it is not the image but the message that is important,” she said.

She hopes this current work can help bring some solace to Jeju’s massacre victims and — also being published in French — bring more international awareness to the tragedy.

“What was most moving was that [the people] had to hide the truth for so long as if they were criminals ... Even though it is only a little, I want to let the long-suffering families know that they are not alone and have not been forgotten,” she said.

*Originally published in The Jeju Weekly, April 20, 2015.*





“Heomuleobeolin Jip”  
by Moon Choong-sung  
(Moonji Publishing, 2011)

## One man’s search for poetic justice

Moon talks about the lingering scars of Jeju 4·3  
and his mission to heal the wounds through poetry

By Darren Southcott

It was at the 4·3 Massacre 65<sup>th</sup> Memorial Ceremony that I first heard the work of Jeju poet Moon Choongsung. At the end of the ceremony, before wreaths were laid, his poem “The Whole Island” was read. The last verse ran:

“What is it?  
Where was the freedom?  
The whole island was death.  
The whole island.”

The poem provided a moment of introspection, the reflection that Moon regards as essential for reconciliation as Jeju’s history disappears. “I dream of that final voyage, setting out for the unknown of that nostalgia, the nostalgia of that unknown,” he pens with melancholy in his anthology, “Heomuleobeolin Jip.”



Moon Choong-sung.  
Photo by Darren Southcott

Now 74 years old, Moon

“

*The red of pain, hatred and hurt, has become empty and shallow — not a whiteness of purity, but of vacancy*

”

was a journalist for 15 years at Jeju Ilbo and spent 20 years as a professor at Jeju National University. His voyage began back in middle school, however, as he was visited by tragedy like so many Jeju residents of the time.

“I was in the fourth grade of middle school when 4·3 happened and then the Korean War followed that — my whole childhood was war,” he said.



While for some the conflict is long over, for Moon and other survivors the communal and familial divisions linger to this day. Ceremonial acts of reconciliation are no substitute for the real thing, he pointedly writes in “4·3 Song:”

“Even yet it’s not over.  
It will never be over.  
Just once a year you go, up that hill.

All you people who gather, you just sing of forgiveness, reconciliation, togetherness and peace.  
Your tears have just turned from red to white.”

The red of pain, hatred and hurt, has become empty and shallow — not a whiteness of purity, but of vacancy.

Moon included “4·3 Song” in his anthology to complement “The Whole Island,” both of which cover Jeju 4·3: “The first deals with the legacy of 4·3 in the present and the latter reflects on the past. I wanted to do this because we are still living 4·3 now — it is not finished,” said Moon.

Moon wrote “4·3 Song” as a sonnet with the first two stanzas of four lines followed by two stanzas of three, representing 4·3 in its very structure. In despera-

tion he writes, “What are you doing? Stop fighting like enemies,” a lament that was sadly prescient.

“It is even evident in the reaction to ‘The Whole Island’ that was read at the 4·3 ceremony. I use the term ‘san-pok-do-deul’ (mountain rebels), a term that was naturally used at the time, but people were angered by it, saying it was offensive. I was writing poetry, not making a political statement.”



Returning again to Jeju’s dark past, Moon sees Jeju’s victimhood as a recurrent theme in the face of hegemonic forces from near and far. “When I was young, Jeju was known as ‘the island of tears and sighs’ due to its history of invasion and conquest, from an independent Tamna, to Mongol colonization, to its use as an exile island in the Joseon era, to Japanese occupation and then 4·3,” he said.

Moon is cheerful and softly spoken, whose quietness belies his reflective nature which is amply indulged by the island’s predicament. The glossy images of a holiday-maker’s paradise provoke a wry smile from the artist.

“It is interesting for me that people come here and see Seongsan Ilchulbong or haenyeo and see beauty and something wonderful. Actually these things represent the hardship and pain of Jeju,” he said. “When I see haenyeo I see the fight for life and when I hear their songs I recall not romance but hardship,” he said.

For Moon, the beauty of the landscape, now famed globally, is something that hides this tragic story of Jeju’s past.

“Jeju has another name that has come down to us: the island of divine punishment.”



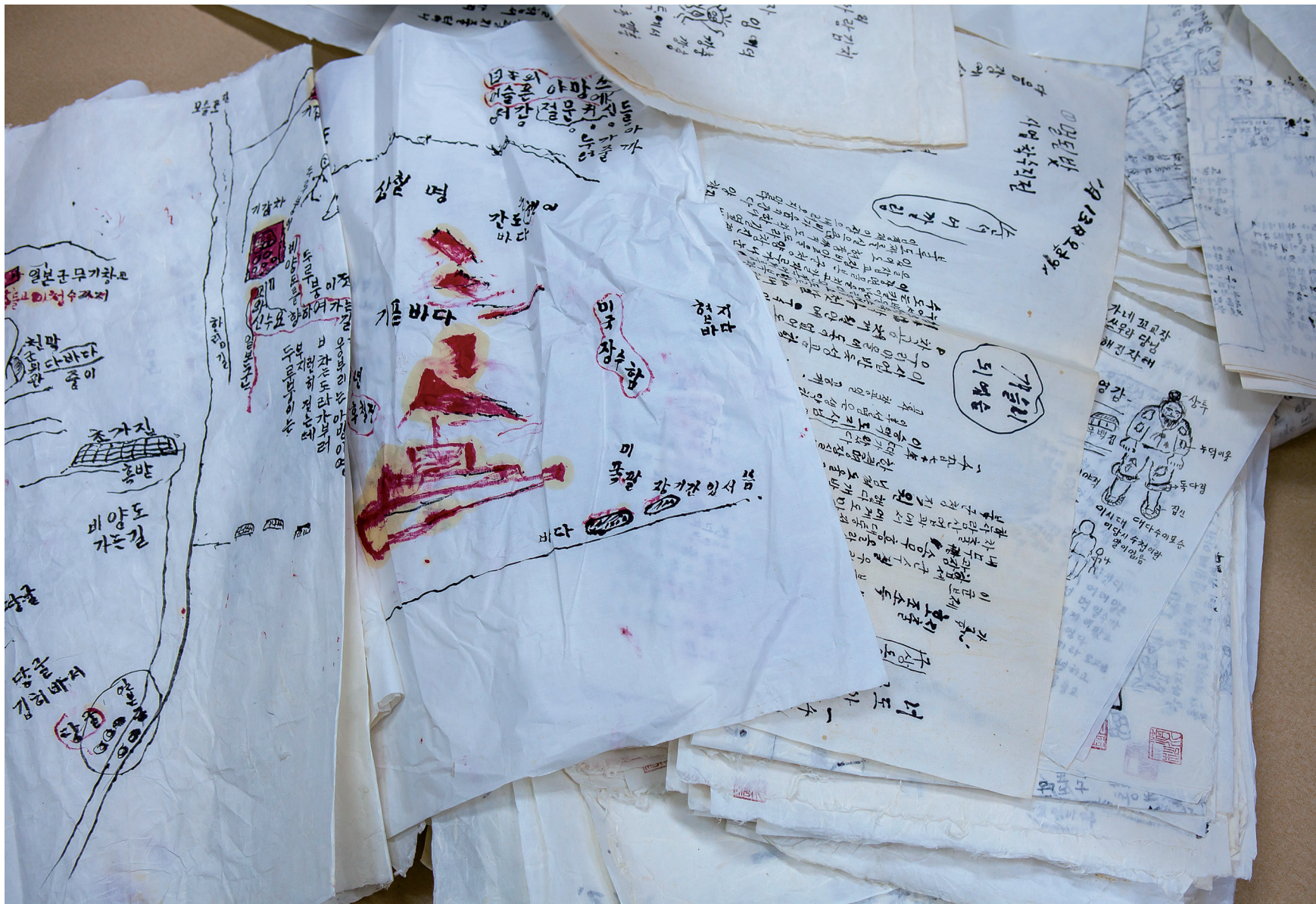


# Living Memories

Interviews & photographs Ko Hyun-joo  
Written by Huh Eun-sil



## Living Memories: The sketches of Im Gyeong-jae



“

*My father is now losing  
his speech and deleting his memories.*

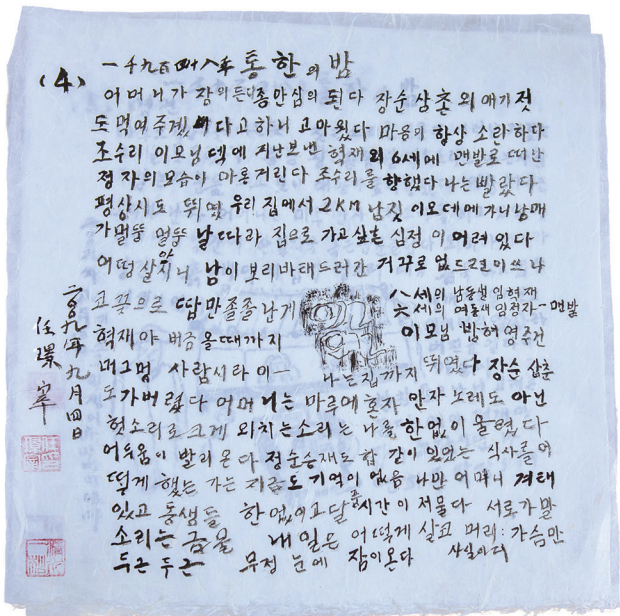
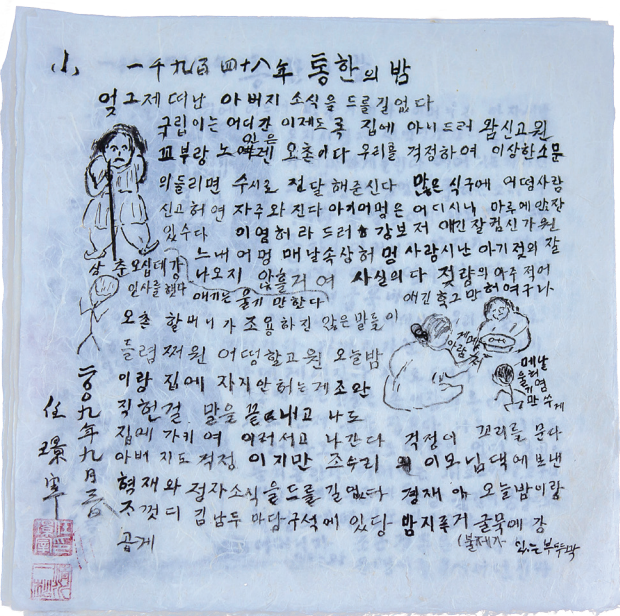
”

*The untold stories swarm,  
and the pent-up feelings inside,  
how did you deal with them for those long years?*

*See, the drawings you began exhaling one day  
depict the nights of bitter grief: the past century of this nation.  
As if wishing to forget this life, forget the wear and tear of time,  
father is now losing his speech and deleting his memories.*



Living Memories: The sketches of Im Gyeong-jae



Im Gyeong-jae

Sketches titled 'Nights of Bitter Grief'

Im Gyeong-jae testifies through his sketch series titled “Nights of Bitter Grief.” The trauma experienced during the massacre is expressed in drawings with annotations such as: “I haven’t heard about my father since he was taken away two nights ago.” Im’s 60-year-old untold story of the massacre is intensely moving.

Sketches by Im Gyeong-jae

“Ten years ago when my father visited me at my work, I asked him to draw something while he waited for me. When I returned to him, I was very surprised. He drew some sketches with a pen in only one stroke. In order not to ruin something I thought could be important, I encouraged him to keep drawing. He was 75, and he started pouring out sketches for the following six years. In 2014, he became bedridden. Now, he can’t draw any longer.

This sketch describes the so-called red-hunting after the scorched earth operations. Nominally, the counterinsurgency forces were supposed to be hunting roe deer. But the truth is that they were searching for communists. It looks like my father, being a teenager, was immensely shocked at 4-3. While painting his memories, he had different expressions on his face and was totally immersed in the process. He cried a lot, too. I believe that painting them helped heal many of the hidden wounds in his mind.”

A tale of 4-3 from Im Gyeong-jae’s sketchbook

This passage from the sketchbook is an interview with Im Gyeong-jae conducted by his daughter, Im Ae-deok. It describes the time when his siblings took refuge at his aunt’s after Im Gyeong-jae’s father went missing and his mother had a breakdown.

“I haven’t heard about my father since he was taken away two nights ago. (...) I am worried, on and on. It’s not only about my father. I sent my younger brother, Hyuk-jae, and my younger sister, Jeong-ja, to my aunt’s in the village of Josu, but there is no way I can hear news from them. (...) My mother started talking nonsense, sitting on the wooden porch. When I stood up and took one step toward the stairway, I was stunned. My grandfather was weeping bitterly, lying flat on the ground under the stairway. His daughter went insane and couldn’t even recognize him. I can’t even imagine how heartbreaking it could be.”



Living Memories: The hanbok of Cho In-sook



“

*In order to live, we have no choice  
but to do what we are told.*

”

*The sunlight glimmering over the beautiful hanbok  
seems to whisper,  
“May you be blessed and happy, my dear.”  
The bride’s clothes were embroidered with flowers  
and with blessed characters.  
But through the heartless times,  
the blessed and happy days withered like petals.*



## Living Memories: The hanbok of Cho In-sook



Cho received the satin jacket and silk skirt from her mother-in-law prior to her wedding day.

“

*In order to live, we had no choice  
but to do as we were told.*

”

“It was my fifth year in elementary school, so I was 13. I knew nothing about what was going on. But during 4-3, six members of my family died. My father’s older brother, my grandfather’s older brother and younger brothers, and their sons.

One day, I went to school and heard my teacher singing a song titled ‘Liberty or Death.’ But anyone who sang that song was eventually killed. No one was allowed to sing freely. In the lunar equivalent of October that year, all the villagers were told to convene on the school playground. I had never skipped going to school and even received the perfect attendance award. But that day, I had a bad feeling and didn’t go. Feeling somewhat troubled, I was hanging about at home when I heard the familiar sounds: Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! The sound of gunshots, after midnight! I said to myself, ‘Oh, no! What was that about!’ After a while, people returned, weeping, and said that seven of the villagers had been killed. The police forces told them to step forward, and just shot them. It was on the lunar equivalent of Oct. 21. And on the 26<sup>th</sup>, my uncle and grandfather were also killed like that.



Cho In-sook

They were respected by the villagers and were considered to be elites. The police arrested them, and my family, to help gain their release, borrowed money that would equate to 1 million won today. My father carried the money pouch under his traditional coat, and my mother carried a jar of nearly 18 liters of honey. My uncle’s wife carried a meal for my uncle, and my youngest uncle followed with a meal for my grandfather. The four people, carrying money, food and honey, got to the police substation only to find out that my grandfather and my uncle had already been killed the night before. The police officers said, ‘There is this group called the Northwest Youth Association, and they supervise us. In order to live, we have no choice but to do what we are told. So, please do not think of us as being evil.’ On our way back home, we saw seven bodies hanging from the pine trees of an open field. The bodies of the deceased were not allowed inside the house. So, we had to leave them in the field as they were.”



# Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



## ‘Jiseul’ by O Muel

Prominent indie film drew public attention to Jeju 4·3

“Jiseul” (2012) by director O Muel is an award-winning film that drew worldwide public attention to Jeju 4·3. Despite the limits often imposed on indie films, “Jiseul” attracted 144,700 viewers from across the country and is highly acclaimed for having marked a new era in the history of arts related to Jeju 4·3. On Jan. 26, 2013, it won the prestigious World Cinema Dramatic Grand Jury Prize at the 29<sup>th</sup> Sundance Film Festival, and the festival organizers said that the jury’s decision was unanimous. On February 12<sup>th</sup> the same year, its artistic value was globally recognized once again with the winning of the Cyclo d’Or, the top prize at the 19<sup>th</sup> Vesoul International Film Festival of Asian Cinema held in France.

“Jiseul” means “potato” in Jeju dialect and in the film it symbolizes survival and hope. In his film, O tells the story of a group of villagers from Donggwang in the Andeok area, who took refuge in the nearby Keunneolgwe (Big Wide Cave) of Doneori Oreum (small volcanic cone) to evade counterinsurgency operations. The film boasts a technically controlled visual beauty in describing an estimated 100 locals who had to stay inside the cave for nearly two months hoping to escape the massacre.



Colorized stills from “Jiseul” (2012) by O Muel which brought the world’s attention to the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre.  
Photo courtesy Japari Film





The songs of April that commemorate the Jeju Uprising and Massacre

‘An Elegy for Little Camellias’ and ‘The Sleepless Southern Island’ are local favorites

Among the songs that commemorate the tragedy of the Jeju Uprising and Massacre, “An Elegy for Little Camellias” and “The Sleepless Southern Island” are the most popular.

“An Elegy for Little Camellias” and “The Sleepless Southern Island” are the representative songs that people love to sing in memoriam of Jeju 4·3. “An Elegy for Little Camellias” begins with the line “When snow falls white and white over the mountain, the fields turn red and red with the blossoms.” It was first released in April 2001 as part of the musical score of a play on Jeju 4·3. Local singer-songwriter Choi Sang-don wrote and composed the song. In February 2006, he set out on a journey in search of inspiration for his songs on Jeju 4·3. He has so far composed over 100 songs from his travels around many different sites on the island that have traces of the massacre.

“The Sleepless Southern Island” is a people’s song written and composed by Korean people’s music artist An Chi-hwan. The song describes the painful memory of Jeju 4·3 that dates back to the mid and late 1940s. Ending with the line “Oh — the years of treason / Oh — the years of wailing / Oh — the sleepless southern island and Mt. Hallasan,” the song was previously banned from being performed in public. The 2018 memorial service marking the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jeju 4·3 presented the chorale version of the long-prohibited song, striking a touching chord with the audience.

By Song Jung-hee

Performers sing in memoriam of Jeju 4·3 to mark the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragedy (above). The lyrics to ‘An Elegy for Little Camellias’ (bottom left) and ‘The Sleepless Southern Island’ (bottom right). **Photo courtesy** Memorial Committee for the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre (4370 Newspaper No. 4)





# Chapter 5

## Peace and the Future

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	• Kim Sok-pom



## Chapter 5

### Introduction: Peace and the Future

## Neverending massacre: Unresolved issues

This chapter covers three of the main themes in international coverage and scholarship on the massacre in recent years: US responsibility (section one); truth and reconciliation (section two); and official apology (section three). The first work by George Katsiaficas is a work of scholarship, “Asia’s Unknown Uprisings Volume 1: South Korean Social Movements in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” which includes a chapter focusing on the Jeju Uprising and Massacre. Katsiaficas helps to place the events within the context of wider grassroots mobilization against authoritarianism and US involvement across the region. Then, in a piece for *Foreign Policy in Focus*, George Fattig again emphasizes the US role and makes the pragmatic case for an official apology from the White House. Finally, on US responsibility, Tim Shorrock again raises question marks about similarities between US conduct in Gwangju 5.18 and Jeju 4·3 in a presentation given at the 2018 Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity.

Looking further into the truth and reconciliation process, a key excerpt from “The Massacres at Mt. Halla” by Hun Joon Kim is included. Kim’s seminal work published by Cornell University Press provides an extensive analysis of the truth and reconciliation process with attention on the role of local activists in finally breaking through the wall of silence. This is followed by an opinion piece by Michael Breen in *The Korea Times*, which calls for Koreans to build on the shared values of democracy and rights enshrined in the process of transitional justice. Complementing this is an interview in *The Jeju Weekly* newspaper with Lee Mungyo, former chairman of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation. Lee says that Jeju can serve as a model for peace movements around the world even while the full truth of the massacre remains unknown.

The chapter closes with a letter of condolence from Pope Francis and two of the most important materials produced in English on the massacre — the official apologies from President Roh Moo-hyun in 2003 and President Moon Jae-in in 2018. The late President Roh’s statement was on Jeju Oct. 31, 2003, following the government’s acceptance of the official investigation report and it was the first presidential apology for the state’s role in the massacre. Although first given in 2003 in Korean, a translation was also included in the English version of the “Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report” published in 2013. This is followed by the 2018 remarks by President Moon Jae-in given at the memorial service to mark the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the massacre. President Moon outlines in more detail the state’s responsibility and calls for political moderation on all sides to ensure lasting peace and reconciliation.



Asia’s Unknown Uprisings

Volume 1: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century

George Katsiaficas

By George Katsiaficas

PM Press, 2012

Excerpts p94 + p117

The American response was swift and draconian: another U.S.-armed regiment was imported from Busan, and an additional 1,700 police were sent in. Between late March and mid-May, ten thousand people were detained. The government continually reinforced its garrison, as attacks and counterattacks mounted in intensity. Insurgents retreated to their bases in villages, caves, and the forests on Mount Halla, the extinct volcano whose mammoth presence looms over the island. On April 29, the provincial governor and a majority of the local constabulary in Daejong-myun went over to the side of the guerrillas, leading to a bloody battle.

The United States ordered the commanding officer of the Ninth Regiment of the Korean Constabulary, Kim Ik-ruhl, to conduct a “scorched earth” policy, but instead, Kim hammered out a three-point peace agreement with guerrilla leader Kim Dal-sam. Although U.S. officials ostensibly arrived on April 29 to help implement the agree-



Members of the USAMGIK are greeted at Jeju Airport on May 5, 1948, including the military governor, General William F. Dean (second from the left).

ment, the treaty was scuttled by the massacre of partisans who had surrendered and returned to their homes in Orari. The police perpetrated these killings, but through a fabricated report the United States blamed them on insurgents. U.S. Colonel Mansfield had originally approved the peace treaty, but hope for a negotiated settlement faded when the U.S. military provincial governor, General W. Dean, vetoed it. Since the governor of the island had joined the guerrillas, Dean needed to find new administrative personnel willing to collaborate with the American occupation government. First, the United States sought to purge SKLP<sup>1)</sup> sympathizers from the ranks of their assistants. Lt. Moon Sang-gil

1) The South Korean Labor Party (also known as the Workers’ Party of South Korea).

“

*To be sure, American allies in South Korea continue to assert their own autonomous role*

”

was summarily executed in Seoul, as were three sergeants on Jeju. After he had arrested four thousand civilians in two weeks, Colonel Rothwell Brown was asked about his feelings. He replied simply that his “mission was to suppress the uprising.”

In 2008, the South Korean Truth and Reconciliation Commission found 1,222 instances of mass killings from 1950 to 1953, with at least 215 of these involving U.S. troops or airplanes massacring unarmed civilians. At Cheongwon in central Korea, up to seven thousand people were slaughtered. In the first weeks of the war, as North Korean troops rapidly moved south, thousands of prisoners held by the Rhee regime were executed. Tens of thousands of registered members of the “National Guidance Alliance” were killed in cold blood during the first weeks of the war. In Daejon, some 1,800 prisoners, many of them captured during the suppression of the Yeosun and Jeju uprisings, were executed in a massacre that lasted three days as truckloads full of captured “enemy” were brought to Yangwul, on the outskirts of the city. According to witnesses, at least two Jeeps with American army officers watched the killings. Only in 2008 did news of the Daejon massacre get covered in the New York Times—more than half a century after it occurred. In 2002, I visited Daejon and was shown a very familiar photo by the surviving son of one of the



Protestors outside the U.S. Embassy in Seoul call on the U.S. to acknowledge its role in the Jeju 4-3 Uprising and Massacre on its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2018.

executed prisoners. I recognized the photo except for one major difference: his photo, wrinkled and aged, had a U.S. officer watching the prisoners about to be executed. In all the versions of the famous photo carried in U.S. media, the American had been cropped out of the frame.

To be sure, American allies in South Korea continue to assert their own autonomous role. In 2008, after the conservative Lee Myung-bak government took office in Seoul, it immediately began to dismantle the country’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission and closed the official investigation of the massacres in Jeju. Under the Lee administration, breakthroughs in accurately reporting history are being reversed. Yet, like Pandora’s box, once the truth of past atrocities became known, it will be impossible to pretend they never happened.





The Military Governor of Korea, Archer L. Lerch (center) of the USAMGIK analyzes a map and discusses counterinsurgency operations with a military officer on May 15, 1948.

## The Korean Massacre the US Needs to Apologize For

To help make peace in Korea, the US should follow South Korea's lead and apologize for its role in the devastating Jeju massacre

By Geoffrey Fattig

Of course, the Korean Peninsula is still trapped in an ideological framework, the seeds of which were sown in part due to the tragic events on Jeju. One clear manifestation of this conflict is the standoff over the North Korean nuclear program and the long-standing hostility between that country and the United States. At the heart of this animosity is the blame which the North Korean regime assigns the American government for its role in dividing the Peninsula in 1945.

When the leaders of these two sides sit down in Singapore next month<sup>1)</sup>, Trump and Kim will be burdened not just with the complex issue of North Korean denuclearization, but also with historical grievances that go back decades. Establishing a sense of trust and goodwill should thus be the first issue on the agenda.

Apologies can go a long way toward fostering these qualities, and perhaps nowhere does this hold truer than in Korea. After all, this is a country where hundreds still gather every Wednesday outside of the Japanese embassy to demand an apology over the issue of Korean comfort women forced to serve in brothels for the Japanese military during World War II.

By following the lead of President Moon and offering an apology for the United States' role in facilitating the bloodshed on Jeju and the worn-out ideological framework on the Korean Peninsula, Trump would be signaling his acknowledgement of a problem that goes far beyond the nuclear issue. Such a gesture would be warmly welcomed by Koreans on both sides of the DMZ.

Most importantly, it would provide a highly effective means of putting his summit with Kim Jong-un on the path to success.

*Originally published in Foreign Policy in Focus, May 14, 2018.*

1) On June 12, 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump met North Korean Leader Kim Jong-un during the historic North Korea-United States Summit in Singapore. It was the first time leaders of the two countries had ever met.



# Jeju 4·3: U.S. Intervention

Presented at the ‘4·3 from the Perspective of Foreign Journalists’ session held at the 2018 Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity

By Tim Shorrock

In 2016, when I visited Jeju for the first time, I was lucky enough to get a guided tour of the 4·3 Museum and Memorial from a Korean friend. I was struck very strongly by the museum’s thorough-profile display of U.S. colonels and generals from the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) on the scene in 1947 and 1948 and the depiction of their deep role in the military suppression of the revolt.

This reflects in part the conclusions of many Jeju historians of 4·3, who place blame for the violence clearly on the U.S. forces under USAMGIK. Their analyses appear in the “Jeju 4·3 Grand Tragedy” book, JEJU HISTORY:

“It was on hauntingly beautiful island of Jeju that the postwar world witnessed the American capacity for unrestrained violence against indigenous people fighting for self-determination and social justice,” writes Hun Joon Kim, professor at Korea University,

placing the revolt in the context of U.S. Cold War policy that followed World War II.

“The Jeju events were a series of armed uprisings and counterinsurgency actions that occurred between 1947 and 1954 ... The counterinsurgency campaign was extremely brutal, involving mass arrests and detentions, forces relocations, torture, indiscriminate killings, and many large-scale massacres of civilians.”

Chang Hoon Ko, president of the World Association of Island Studies, professor of Jeju National University, traces the U.S. and USAMGIK complicity to the first day of the uprising, March 1, 1947. On that day, “The American military administration<sup>1)</sup> opened fire on people who were watching the movement [on national liberation day].” He notes that six people were killed and six wounded. “In response to the USAMGIK action, general strikes in both governmental and non-governmental levels erupted.” He cites USAMGIK’s branding of Jeju as “red island” and documents how the U.S. military

government ordered the military crackdown on the Jeju April 3 uprising.

Thus from this viewpoint, from the beginning Jeju 4·3 was a U.S.-orchestrated, U.S.-led counterinsurgency campaign.

The JEJU HISTORY relies on declassified U.S. documents to underscore its argument. After strikes and protests broke out after the March 1, 1947, incident, it notes that “the USAMGIK strategically made use of these incidents by classifying Jeju Island as a ‘Red Island’ and 70% of the locals were either branded as ‘Reds’ or “friendly to Reds.” Other documents estimated that population of Jeju was “70 percent left wing in political sympathy,” comprising “60 to 80 percent of the population.” These politics and documents set the ideological underpinning of the US-led suppression campaign.

Thus, the USAMGIK role in the suppression of the movement in Jeju was direct, and not only through

the South Korean military and constabulary. JEJU HISTORY notes, for example, that the U.S. military put hundreds of Jeju citizens on trial, with 72 trials, and 328 defendants -- 158 of whom were declared guilty. IN 1948, following the YoSu Uprising, the U.S. and the Rhee government developed “the policy of ground subjugation” in Jeju, with military operations lasting until 1954.

“These operations were practiced in turns from arrest, to dispersion, to incendiary fire, and to execution in 169 villages. Weekly periodic reports (G-2) from the U.S. Army Forces in Korea showed that the [U.S. Provisional Military Advisory Group] participated in completing a mass-slaughter program against citizens.” Altogether, around 30,000 people were massacred, with “military-police forces committing 80% of the massacres,” JEJU HISTORY concludes.

1) Although the USAMGIK was the ultimate authority below the 38th parallel, the shooting on March 1 was carried out by Korean police who had been relocated from the mainland to Jeju. The degree of USAMGIK control over the shootings is still hotly debated.

*This was originally a presentation at the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity for a session organized by the Jeju 4·3 Research Institute on June 28, 2018.*

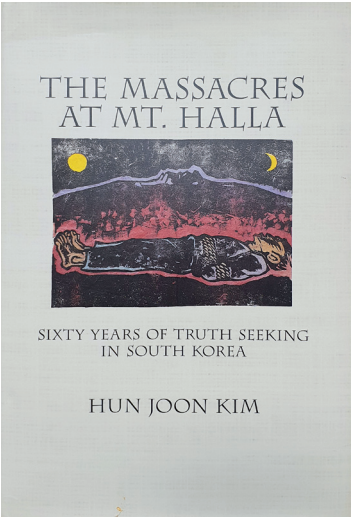


# The Massacres at Mt. Halla: Sixty Years of Truth Seeking in South Korea

By Hun Joon Kim  
Cornell University Press, 2014  
Excerpt p10-11

Although the civilian death toll from the Jeju 4·3 events was unprecedented in South Korean history, the massacres were systematically hidden from the general public, and calls for truth and justice were totally suppressed under consecutive anti-Communist military regimes until 1987. Following the transition to democracy, it took considerable time and effort to enact the Jeju Special Law of December 1999, which became the legal basis for the Jeju Commission. The path to the establishment of the Jeju Commission was long and arduous, as noted in the official report of the commission: “The transitional justice movement for the Jeju 4·3 events has proceeded in tandem with the development of democracy in South Korea.”

I have divided the transitional justice advocacy that led to the creation of the Jeju Commission and its activities into six distinct phases. The first phase covers the years from 1947 to 1987, when consecutive dictatorial and military regimes suppressed the memory of the Jeju 4·3 events and civilian massacres. Nevertheless, even during this time, a few



courageous individual victims and activists made sporadic attempts to question, remember, and seek redress for the unjustifiable state violence. The second phase spans the years from 1987, the year of democratic transition, to 1992, when the forgotten massacres slowly regained local attention through the efforts of local university students, social movement activists, and progressive journalists. These efforts reached a climax with the excavation of Darangshi cave and the discovery of the skeletal remains of eleven civilians, including women and children, which provided concrete evidence of indiscriminate civilian killings.



Campaigners pressure President Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) to enact legislation to investigate the truth of Jeju 4·3.



President Kim Dae-jung signs the Jeju 4·3 Special Law at the Blue House on Jan. 11, 2000.

The advocacy for truth and justice became more collective and public in nature during its third phase, between 1993 and 1997. During this period, the Jeju provincial council successfully mediated demands from various local groups, including students, the media, activist organizations, and associations for the victims, and focused on investigating the massacres, organizing the united memorial service and leading the petition movement. The fourth phase of the advocacy was from 1998 to 2000, when victims and activists pursued the implementation of the Special Law passed by parliament and eventually the establishment of the Jeju Commission. During this period, activism shifted from Jeju to Seoul, the center of national politics, and the transitional justice advocacy movement began to attract the support of many outside sympathizers.

The fifth phase started in 2000, when the Jeju Commission launched its investigation, and ended in 2003, with the release of the commission's official report. Although the commission had three mandates—to investigate the truth, identify civilian victims, and restore the honor of the victims—the commission, between 2000 and 2003, focused on the investigation

that laid the foundation for later accomplishments. The last phase of the movement covers from 2003 up to the present and starts with President Roh Moo-hyun's official apology in 2003, the first presidential apology for abuse of state power in South Korean history. President Roh visited Jeju in 2006, participated in a memorial service for the victims, and issued a further apology for the abuse of state power. The government has also revised history textbooks and official documents to incorporate material about the state violence and civilian massacres in Jeju. Subsequently, the commission has focused on screening victims, exhuming the mass graves, and carrying out various commemoration projects, including the establishment of the permanent Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation and the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Park and Museum in 2008. The decade-long work of the commission is generally viewed as a success, and a dozen other truth commissions have been created in South Korea in the wake of the Jeju Commission, including the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of the Republic of Korea] to investigate and reveal the truth about five major past human rights abuses, violence, and massacres that occurred in South Korea since 1910.



# Why Jeju needs more truth, reconciliation



On the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Jeju 4-3 Uprising and Massacre, a Confucian-style ritual is conducted for victims at the Jeju 4-3 Peace Park. Photo by Kim Heung-gu

By Michael Breen

The recommendations made by the Jeju Commission have now been implemented: a presidential apology, a memorial park, a memorial day, education of students and the public (the peace park is the most widely visited "dark tourism" site in the country), basic welfare for bereaved families, excavations of mass graves, further investigation and commemoration projects.

But if you examine the approach taken, two

weaknesses emerge. One concerns truth, the other concerns reconciliation.

The problem on the truth front is that the nationalistic narrative today is the same one shared by the Jeju killers and the dictators who suppressed talk of their crimes. It is that we Koreans have always been the innocent victims of greater powers.

But how can you square that belief with the stark truth that more Koreans were killed in the four years after the Japanese occupation (and before the Korean War) by their fellow Koreans than by the beastly Japanese during the previous 40 years?

You can't. You have to either distort the truth - that's what suppressing it tried to achieve. Or you



A memorial concert is held on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Jeju 4-3 Uprising and Massacre at the Culture and Art Center, Jeju City. Photo by Kim Heung-gu

do what has to be done and change the narrative.

Clearly, the digging up of truth about this horrendous past calls for a new view of Korea, one that reinforces not blood-nationalism but democracy. The narrative should be that people are people everywhere, but a democratic society is stronger, more successful and more virtuous than a non-democratic one because democracy stays the hand of the powerful and protects the weak. There was horror and abuse in every country before it became democratic. Our people were not intrinsically worse then. But their behavior was because they were unrestrained by the concept of rights that was enshrined in laws that were backed up by the authority of the state.

That brings us to the reconciliation point. Underlying the good work of the Jeju Commission is the idea that the unearthing of truth, the acceptance by government and the presidential apology assuage

the pain of the victims and rectify all wrongs. But they don't.

President Park, for example, may represent the Korean establishment. But she was not even born when the massacres happened.

A real move for reconciliation would sensitively bring together victims and actual perpetrators, or their representatives. That is, the villagers of Jeju with the old men still alive of the police, militia and anti-communist North Korean refugee youth groups.

Such an effort will allow the people of Jeju who grew up without mothers and fathers and who struggled despite themselves to love and forgive the people who took them away, as the decent folk among them counselled, to find the deep sense in that guidance and finally find peace.

*Originally published in Korea Times, April 4, 2018*



## Jeju can spread the ‘beauty’ of reconciliation

Lee Mungyo, former chairman of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, believes the peace process can serve as a global model

By Darren Southcott

Chairman Lee Mungyo<sup>1)</sup> of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation believes that if the events have meaning, and the victims are to be truly honored, it is in the noble effort of Jeju Islanders toward reconciliation.

“We still don’t know what 4·3 was in its essence. Before we know that, we cannot talk about ideology and Jeju 4·3,” he said. “However, the reconciliation process has epitomized the spirit of Jeju peace, and this we can show to others.”

The lesson for the world is reconciliation, he said, and the “beauty” of how Islanders overcame the tragic crimes against humanity.

“Therefore, as we move on what we want to do

is increase awareness of Jeju 4·3 throughout the world. We are not going to focus on the Incident itself, but how Jeju people reconciled through a spirit of forgiveness.”

The Investigation Report recommended that the government make an official apology to Jeju Islanders and victims, provide compensation and living expenses to victims and victims’ families, and investigate unresolved cases relating to the Massacre.

President Roh, in his apology issued on Oct 31, 2003, said: “The future of Jeju will be as a symbol of human rights and a cornerstone of peace.”

Lee concedes that the reconciliation process has weaknesses, however, including its treatment of victims as a group, rather than allowing individual

1) This interview was conducted in April 2016 while Lee Mungyo was still chairman of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation.

“  
*The future of Jeju will be as a symbol of human rights and a cornerstone of peace.*  
”



A prayer service is held at a memorial service to the victims of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre at the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park. **Photo by** Yang Dong-kyu

petitions for compensation.

Perpetrators of the massacre also escaped investigation, and many thousands of victims’ bodies are still undiscovered.

US complicity (the United States Army Military Government in Korea governed below the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel between September 8, 1945 and August 15, 1948) in the violence is also brushed over, fueling the ongoing

campaign for an apology from the White House.

Lee urges us to look beyond these unresolved issues and focus on the pragmatic course taken by Islanders to find a resolution, which speaks to the pacific nature of Jeju culture.

“4·3 reconciliation was able to draw from the spirit of peace embedded in our culture; that spirit did not just arise one morning,” he said.

*Originally published in The Jeju Weekly, April 1, 2016*





No. 399.786 From the Vatican, 26 March 2018

Dear Monsignor Sprizzi,

In reply to the Nunciature’s Report No. 5.943/18 of 23 February 2018, I would ask you kindly to transmit the following:

*The Most Reverend Hyginus Kim Hee-joong  
Archbishop of Gwangju  
President  
Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Korea*

*Having learned of the commemoration to be held on 3 April 2018 in Cheju, His Holiness Pope Francis sends cordial greetings to you and to all assembled for this event. He hopes that this occasion will foster healing and reconciliation, and challenge all men and women to renew their commitment to building a world founded on fraternal solidarity and enduring peace. Entrusting the beloved Korean people to the intercession of Mary, Queen of Peace, His Holiness assures all present of his prayers, that they may persevere in hope.*

*Cardinal Pietro Parolin  
Secretary of State*

With gratitude for your valued assistance, I am

Yours sincerely in Christ,

+ *P. Parolin*  
subst.

Monsignor Marco Sprizzi  
Chargé d’Affaires, a.i.  
Apostolic Nunciature in Korea  
SEOUL



Francisco

A message on behalf of Pope Francis was sent to the Most Reverend Hyginus Kim Hee-joong to mark the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre. Cardinal Pietro Parolin, the Vatican's secretary of state, sent the message from the Vatican to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea in February 2018.  
Photo courtesy Apostolic Nunciature in Korea





Alfred Xuereb, the apostolic nuncio to South Korea, attends a memorial service at the Jeju 4-3 Peace Park alongside Bishop Kang Woo-il on July 29, 2018.

Signore mio Dio!

Tu sei Padre di tutti noi.  
Tu ami immensamente ognuno dei tuoi figli.  
Avrai certamente pianto davanti all’orrendo massacro compiuto qui a Jeju.  
Avrai certamente pianto nel vedere tanti dei tuoi figli venire uccisi e trucidati con violenza disumana.  
Avrai certamente pianto nel vedere bambini, giovani, adulti e persino donne incinte ad essere massacrati senza pietà.  
Fai scendere su di noi le tue lacrime per lenire il nostro dolore.  
Bagna con le tue lacrime i nostri cuori affinché troviamo conforto.  
Irrora con le tue lacrime la nostra mente affinché possiamo trovare la forza di perdonare.  
Infondi in noi il coraggio di amare tutti i tuoi figli.  
Versa le tue lacrime su quanti sono in cerca di perdono e concedi loro la grazia della conversione.  
Signore mio Dio perdonaci e salvaci. Amen.

POEM (Latin)

Papal Nuncio Alfred Xuereb

O Lord my God!

You are the Father of all of us.  
You love each one of your children immensely.  
You have certainly cried over the horrendous massacre committed here in Jeju.  
You have certainly cried when you saw so many of your children being killed and slaughtered with inhuman violence.  
You have certainly cried in seeing children, young people, adults and even pregnant women being massacred without mercy.  
Let Your tears fall upon us to soothe our pain.  
Let Your tears wet our hearts so that we can find solace.  
Let Your tears bedew our minds so that we can find strength to forgive.  
Instill in us the courage to love all your children.  
Pour Your tears upon those who are in search of forgiveness and grant them the grace of conversion.  
O Lord my God, forgive us and save us. Amen

POEM (English)

Papal Nuncio Alfred Xuereb



# President Roh Moo-hyun issues a state apology for the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre<sup>1)</sup>



Former President Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008) issues the state apology in front of a group of Jeju citizens at the Jeju Ramada Hotel on Oct. 31, 2003.

Respectable people of Jeju, the bereaved of the 4·3 Incident and citizens of Korea, 55 years ago, here on the peaceful island of Jeju, the 4·3 Incident occurred, a tragedy of modern Korean history. Jeju people experienced enormous loss of life and property due to the historical context of being caught between the international Cold War era and the national division of Korea.

Prior to my visit to Jeju, I received the resolved results of investigations over the past two years according to the Special Law for Investigation of the Jeju 4·3 Incident and Honoring Victims through a respectable committee formed by eminent persons in various fields. The committee suggested that the government issue apologies to those who suffered sacrifice, to restore the honor of victims and to establish memorial projects for the victims.

As president, I believe that the time has come for us to conclude this historic tragedy that occurred between our independence from the Japanese colonial regime and the establishment of the Republic of Korea.

1) This presidential statement is taken from the English translation of "The Jeju 4·3 Investigation Report." It has been edited for grammatical errors and style.

Many innocent Jeju civilians were sacrificed starting from March 1, 1947, and through the armed uprising of the Jeju chapter of the South Korean Labor Party on April 3, 1948, then to the armed conflicts and suppression operations until Sept. 21, 1954.

As president, I accept the committee's recommendation and hold the government responsible and truly extend my official apology for the wrongdoings of past national authorities. I also cherish the sacrificed spirits and pray for the repose of the innocent victims.

The government will support the construction of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park and the immediate restoration of honor to the victims.

Respectable Citizens of Korea,

The truth commission and the restoration of honor are not limited to the direct victims and the bereaved. We aim to promise a much brighter future by cherishing the enormous patriotic contributions of unnamed people during the establishment process of the sovereignty of Korea, and to self-examine past mistakes

through the truth investigation, and then achieve true reconciliation.

We can expand the human value of "peace and human rights" by sublimation of the lessons of the 4·3 Incident. We can put an end to all sorts of conflict and estrangement through our collaboration and reconciliation and bring peace to the Korean Peninsula, thus opening up the path of peace in Northeast Asia and the world.

Respectable People of Jeju,

You have reconstructed Jeju, such a beautiful island of peace, from the ruins with your bare hands, and I extend my respect to the Jeju people for your hard work. Jeju will be an island of peace and an emblem of human rights from now on. Citizens of Korea, I will give help to this effort and make it come true.

Thank you.

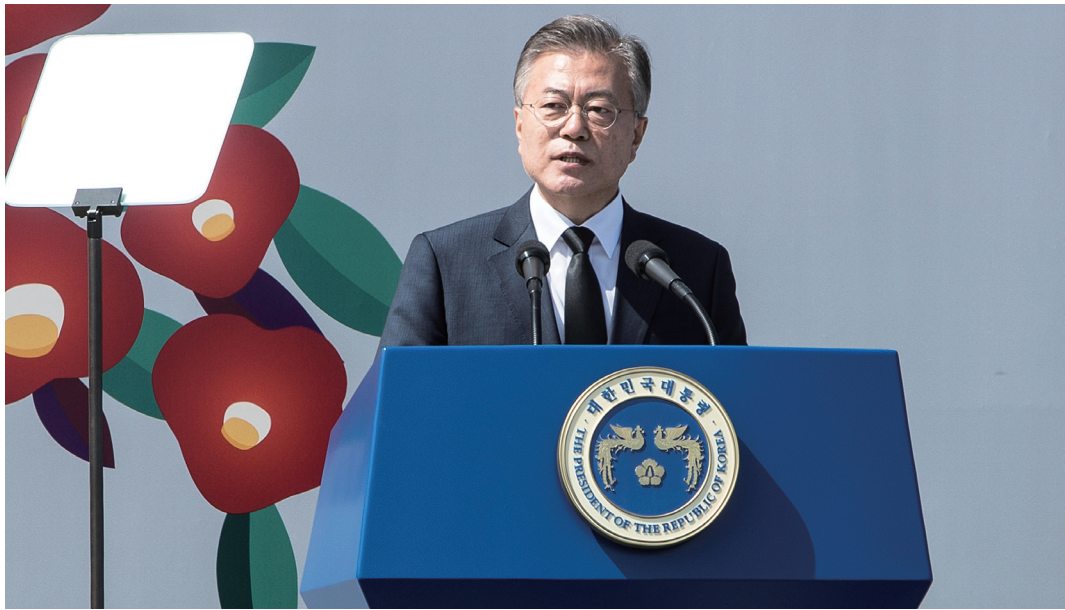
October 31, 2003.

**President Roh Moo-hyun**



# President Moon Jae-in addresses mourners at the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary memorial service for victims of Jeju 4·3

April 3, 2018



President Moon addresses mourners on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Jeju 4·3 Uprising and Massacre in 2018. Photo by Yang Dong-kyu

The surviving victims and bereaved families of the Jeju April 3 Incident; citizens of Jeju Province, You have asked over the past 70 years whether there would be spring in this land of Jeju Island that harbors stone walls, fallen camellia flowers and a history of grief. Today, I want to herald a new spring on Jeju.

Even though the tragedy was prolonged and the pain was so deep that a breeze only brought tears, the spring of Jeju will blossom. We are gathered here today emerging from years of silence because you have never forgotten what happened on Jeju 70 years ago, and because there have been people who have

“

*Their tearful efforts to set right the historic meaning of the Jeju April 3 Incident have continued unceasingly.*

”

shared the pain with you. As President, I offer my deepest sympathy and gratitude to the surviving victims, bereaved families and the citizens of Jeju Province who have revealed their sense of resentment and pain with their hearts and souls and told the truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident. Residents of Jeju Province and fellow countrymen, Innocent civilians were sacrificed here on Jeju in the name of ideology 70 years ago. Those innocents were massacred without knowing what was going on. Even without the knowledge of ideology, they had lived happily together with no thieves, beggars and no walls separating people. On November 17, 1948, martial law was declared on Jeju Island, and an operation of annihilation was launched focusing on mountainside villages. If any member of a family was unaccounted for, the whole family was killed for being the family of an escapee. More than 95 percent of mountainside villages were burned to the ground. In some villages every resident was massacred. Between 1947 and 1954, approximately 30,000 or one tenth of the then population of Jeju Island were presumed to be killed. The border between life and death determined by ideology was not confined to the sites of massacres. Even after all their family members were lost, many islanders had to keep a low profile so as not to be stigmatized as the relatives of rioters. The pain was passed down from generation to generation in the form of guilt-by-association. The aspirations of children to become soldiers and civil servants working for the country were dampened by the parents of Jeju themselves. The April 3 Incident created pain on all parts of the Island, but that memory had to be suppressed for survival. Nonetheless, the truth has not disappeared from the hearts of Jeju islanders during the years of silence. Their tearful efforts to set right the historic meaning of the Jeju April 3 Incident have continued unceasingly. On April 27, 1960, a group of young people of Jeju Island rose up in the square of Gwandeokjeong pavilion against the unjust power that compelled them to keep silent and forget. Some 1,500 middle and high school students cried out for the truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident and denounced the rigged presidential election of March 15, 1960. In a short few weeks, the spring of April that





President Moon aids an elderly woman down some steps at the All Souls' Altar, Jeju 4·3 Peace Park, in 2018.  
Photo by Yang Dong-kyu

year was dashed by the May 16 military coup, but the courage to tell everyone the truth did not dissipate. Numerous organizations related to the Jeju April 3 Incident have constantly brought out what has been lost in memory. The Jeju 4/3 Research Institute, the Jeju 4/3 Solidarity of Provincial Residents, the Jeju People’s Artist Federation and many other associations have taken care to remember the April 3 Incident.

At a time when any act of recalling the Jeju April 3 Incident was considered taboo and bringing it up itself was regarded as seditious, there were some artists who tried to keep the memory alive by

engraving the pain of April 3 in their works.

Starting in 1978 when the Yushin dictatorship of President Park Chung-hee was at its peak, a series of novels and poems were published, including Sooni’s Uncle by Hyun Ki-young and the Death of the Crow and Volcano Island by Kim Sok-pom as well as an epic entitled Hallasan by poet Lee San-ha. A series of 50 paintings on the Jeju April 3 Incident was completed over three years by Kang Yo-bae under the title “Camellia Flowers Falling.” In addition, movie directors told stories about the April 3 Incident through their films: Red-Hunt by director Cho Sung-bong, the first documentary

dealing with the issue; Jiseul by Oh Muel; Jeju Prayer by Im Heung-soon; Sad Song of Darangshi Cave by Kim Dong-man; and The Unfinished Years by the late director Kim Kyung-ryul. Singer Ahn Chi-hwan also sang a song about the Incident titled “Sleepless South Island.”

The efforts of those artists, who were sometimes arrested and imprisoned, have helped us understand that the Jeju April 3 Incident is not simply an unfortunate tragedy of the past but also a story of our own era.

Finally, we came to realize that the remembering and laying bare of the truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident is part of the process of opening a path toward democracy, peace and human rights.

The Jeju April 3 Incident could be brought to light thanks to those who have long remembered and shared the pain of this tragic incident together with the citizens of Jeju Province. As President, I offer a profound apology for their suffering and appreciation for their endeavors once again.

The surviving victims and bereaved families, fellow Koreans,

A path has been paved along which the triumph of democracy will lead to truth.

In 2000, the Kim Dae-jung Administration legislated the Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims and established the Committee on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of the Victims.

President Roh Moo-hyun was the first president to acknowledge the responsibility of the nation for the Incident, and attended a memorial service making an apology to the victims, bereaved families and residents of Jeju Province.

Building upon that foundation, today I make a pledge to move forward unwaveringly toward the complete resolution of the April 3 Incident. The ascertainment of the truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident and the restoration of the honor of the victims will no longer be suspended or deferred.

In addition, I declare that the truth of the Jeju April 3 Incident has become established as a historic fact that cannot be denied by any group.

The truth of acts of violence committed by the power of the state has to be disclosed properly so that the injustice against the victims can be resolved and their honor can be restored.

To this end, the excavation of remains will be continued till the end so that the whole truth will be uncovered.

I will make my utmost efforts to implement Government measures to heal the wounds and pain of the victims and their bereaved families.

I will also actively consult the National Assembly on issues that require legislation, including the distribution of restitution and compensation and the establishment of a National Trauma Center.

The complete resolution of the April 3 Incident will lay a solid foundation for reconciliation and unity, peace and human rights, which the residents





A total of 15,000 people attended the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary memorial service at the Jeju 4-3 Peace Park in 2018. Photo by Hyojadong Photo Gallery

of Jeju Province and all Korean people hope for.

Residents of Jeju Province and fellow countrymen,

Jeju Island is now reviving as a land of peace and life after surmounting untold pain.

Standing here before the spirits of the April 3 Incident, we confirm again today that peace and mutually beneficial prosperity can only be obtained with truth, not ideology.

Fierce confrontation between left and right resulted in this horrible tragedy of history, but the victims of the April 3 Incident and residents of Jeju Island have prevailed over the distrust and hatred created by ideology.

The late Oh Chang-gi was wounded by gunshots fired by the military and police at the time of the April 3 Incident, but he took part in the Battle of Incheon by volunteering to join the Marine Corps after the outbreak of the Korean War. The late Kim Tae-saeng who lost his wife, parents, mother-in-law and a sister-in-law during the April 3 Incident joined the military after writing a pledge of his devotion to the country in blood.

Young people who were falsely accused of being communists during the April 3 Incident defended their country in the face of death.

Ideology was nothing more than a cause that justified the massacre. The residents of Jeju have

overcome the tragedy created by ideology through reconciliation and forgiveness.

In Hagui-ri village, Jeju Province, memorial stones for the fallen heroes who died protecting the homeland and other memorial stones for the victims of the April 3 Incident were erected to create a memorial altar. The monument was set up to convey a message that all were victims and are thus forgiven. In 2013, the Association for the Bereaved Families of April 3 Victims and the Jeju Police Veterans Association, which had had the most conflict with each other, announced their unconditional reconciliation.

The olive branch extended by residents of Jeju

now needs to develop into reconciliation among the entire public.

At this place today, I want to appeal to the Korean people.

There are still people who turn away from the truth of the April 3 Incident. There are still people who look at the April 3 Incident through the distorted lens of outdated ideology. Hatred and a language of hostility created by antiquated ideology are still overflowing in the Republic of Korea.

Now we need to be able to face up to our painful history. Squarely facing a painful history is not only necessary in the relationship between two nations. We ourselves should also be able to face





President Moon and his wife, Kim Jung-sook, pay their respects to the victims of Jeju 4-3 at the 70th anniversary memorial service.  
Photo by Hyojadong Photo Gallery

up to the April 3 Incident. We should think outside the box of obsolete ideology.

Now the Republic of Korea should become a country where righteous conservatives compete with righteous progressives over justice. It has to be an era when fair-minded conservatives and fair-minded progressives are evaluated on the degree of their fairness.

If neither righteous nor fair, conservatives, progressives, or any other camp cannot be in the interest of the people.

The shadow of hostility cast by ideology in every corner of life should be removed and joint efforts need to be made so that the dignity of humanity can blossom. This is the message told to us by the volcanic cones on Jeju Island today.

Victims of the April 3 Incident, bereaved families and fellow countrymen,

To ascertain the truth of the April 3 Incident is to reflect on an unfortunate past and reclaim the universal value of humanity, regardless of wherever we are. The restoration of honor of the victims of the April 3 Incident is a step toward a future of reconciliation and mutual prosperity, peace and human rights.

Despite deep scars, Jeju Island championed peace and the value of human rights over the past 70 years. This will lead us to peace and coexistence on the Korean Peninsula and turn into a message of peace for the whole of humanity.

The aspiration for permanent peace and human rights will never disappear. The ensuring of that is a historic duty imposed upon me as President.

I hope that the memorial ceremony today will give comfort to the souls of those who died during the April 3 Incident and other victims, and serve as a historic milestone for the people.

Everyone, a new spring is on the way to Jeju Island.

Thank you very much.





# Living Memories

Interviews & photographs Ko Hyun-joo  
Written by Huh Eun-sil



## Living Memories: Yoon Man-seok's gwe



“

*Be it left-wing or right-wing,  
every local inhabitant was victimized.*

”

*Dishes piled up high in front of the aged gwe,  
arranged for ancestral rites, shine with no cracks nor dirt on them.*

*The gwe brings back the painful memory of the massacre,  
while the wooden utensils soothe the wounded hearts.*

*Preparing food on them with the heart and soul  
is to appease the souls of the victims,  
and their hunger that is unsatisfied even after death.*





Faded portraits of Yoon's parents placed on the gwe.



Yoon Man-seok

"This area used to be called Jindongsan, a hill in front of the multong spring in the village of Donggwang. My father's elder brother and younger brother were potters, and my father made wooden containers called gwe. My house had a bead tree that was over 50 years old. One day, my father was designing a gwe box from the tree when the counterinsurgency forces suddenly raided my house. They took my father, my two uncles and many of my neighbors.

On a previous day, the forces attacked my friend's place with a giant, black German shepherd. I can still remember that scary dog bit through the neck of a pig. The armed troops took my friend's father outside and ordered all of the neighbors to gather in an open field. They convened every one of the villagers, regardless of age or gender. Then, they publicly executed my friend's father. And they started arresting people randomly. On the same day, they imprisoned my father and his two brothers, as well as my mother and my little brother. The whole village was in chaos. I was only seven years old, but I clearly remember what happened. I remember everything. My uncles went missing, and my father was taken to Mokpo prison. He served a jail term there,

accused of committing treason. We don't even know why. During the Japanese colonial era, my father was drafted and forced to work in a mine in Hokkaido. Returning home after national liberation, he suffered during 4·3 similarly as he had during the Japanese occupation when he was a forced laborer. And when the Korean War broke out, he was drafted once again. It doesn't make sense to conscript a criminal charged with committing treason. But he was drafted anyway, and returned home with a serious injury. He could not work, and I, the eldest son, had to be the breadwinner of the family. The utmost priority was to feed all of the seven siblings including me. I tried everything I could to make ends meet for my little brothers and sisters. I had no other option. It is hard to describe how we lived. This applies not just to me but also to others that experienced 4·3. Anyone who underwent 4·3 eventually saw their family completely destroyed. Be it left-wing or right-wing, every local inhabitant was victimized. We should restore their honor, no matter what. When those hiding in the mountain areas demanded rice, ordinary villagers had no choice but to give them the rice. If that's the case, how can it be a crime!"





“  
*Until she passed away in September 2004,  
she also suffered from fear that a gun-wielding  
stranger would chase after her.*

”  
*The bandage, as red as an umbilical cord,  
wrapped around the lady's chin throughout life,  
was so sturdy  
that it even connected her with the brutality of the world.*  
*The cotton cloth, as white as a glowing light,  
was rather dazzling,  
though sealing the unspoken bloodshed inside.*

Unlike the other entries for Living Memories in this book, this text is not based on an interview, but is rather Huh Eun-sil's posthumous interpretation of Jin A-yeong's life.



Living Memories: The late Jin A-yeong



**Bedding** The bedding that Jin used. On the beautiful blankets, however, she tossed and turned before falling asleep. The rosy pink design is gorgeous. But given the nightmare from its past, it rather causes great sorrow.



**Pink hanbok**  
Where would Jin want to go in that pretty powder pink dress? Apparently, she especially favored pink, as shown in this hanbok.



The late Jin A-yeong

The late Jin A-yeong, better known as ‘The Cotton Grandmother,’ was born in 1914 and raised in Panpo, a village in Hallim-eup. In January 1949, the counterinsurgency forces attacked her village. She tried to run away, but in the process she lost the lower half of her jaw due to the indiscriminate gunfire of the state-led forces. After her parents passed away, she moved to the village of Wollyeong, a neighboring village where her elder sister had settled. With only half of her jaw, she could not eat properly, suffering from malnutrition, indigestion and arthritis for the rest of her life. She even avoided drinking water in front of others as she didn’t want them to consider her unsightly. Unable to eat or speak well, she wrapped her face with a cotton bandage, surviving a lifetime through solitude, poverty and pain.

Until she passed away in September 2004, she also suffered from fear that a gun-wielding stranger would chase after her. She installed a lock on every door in her house, and locked all doors behind her wherever she went, be it to her bathroom or her front yard. Since that day, she might have locked the door to her mind against the violent world that painfully destroyed not just her jaw but also her life.

The belated official apology from the national government came in 2003, just a year before she left us. Now, her empty house and her cactuses, left without their owner, greet visitors for her daily memorial service.



Jeju 4·3 Art & Culture



Kim Sok-pom's books on Jeju 4·3 include the Death of the Crow (1957, right) and the Volcano Island series (1976-1997, left). Kim collects the 1<sup>st</sup> Jeju 4·3 Peace Prize at the KAL Hotel, Jeju City, in 2015.

Kim Sok-pom

A writer who devoted his life to Jeju 4·3 literary testimonies

Kim Sok-pom (92) is a Jeju-born Zainichi Korean novelist who published “The Death of the Crow” in 1957. It was the first story created with the theme of Jeju 4·3 and helped Japanese people understand what had happened during the Jeju Uprising and Massacre. Between 1976 and 1997, Kim wrote “Volcano Island,” a 12-volume saga inspired by the same historic period. “Volcano Island” made him the winner of the Osagi Jiro Prize (1984) and the Mainichi Art Award (1998). In 2015, he was named the winner of the 1<sup>st</sup> Jeju 4·3 Peace Prize.

For nearly 50 years, the Jeju public were forced to remain silent about 4·3. The author described this, using the term “the annihilation of memories.” To quote what he claimed in his book: “Because the power that the authorities used to annihilate the people’s memories was too frightening and dreadful, many of the local public forgot their own memories. In this sense, it was the slaughter and suicide of memory. It is unparalleled even in world history, and Jeju people have survived it.”





The late Jin A-young, better known as the “Cotton Grandmother,” wrapped her face with a cotton cloth until she passed away in 2004. **Photo by** Ko Hyun-joo



Looking back to the past, all are but victims.  
May the dead close their eyes, and the living join hands.

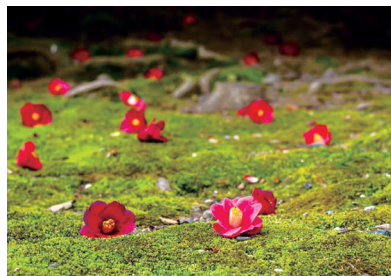


# Jeju 4·3

## From Truth To Peace

Global Perspectives on a Korean Tragedy

Vol. 01



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