

Toward Justice in History: Achievements and Challenges on the Seventieth Anniversary of Jeju 4.3

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Abstract

This year, as Jeju 4.3 met its seventieth anniversary, a wide array of events and activities are designed to inform the general public of Jeju 4.3 on a national scale, finally transforming Jeju 4.3 into a historical narrative that must be remembered by all Korean people. Furthermore, empathy for amendments of the Special Act aimed at a just settlement and healing including damage compensation spread, and the US responsibilities for the massacres of Jeju residents entered the sphere of public opinion. Along with such advances, various attempts to liberate the 4.3 discourse were forwarded, in the form of re-situating the Jeju residents at the time of 4.3 from victims to sovereign subjects in their community as well as in history. Now, the movement for truth and justice of 4.3 must move forward, with the seventieth anniversary as its foundation, by meeting the following challenges: search for specific methods for just settlement and healing; continuation of the success of nationalization; establishment and propulsion of mid-to-long-term plans for addressing US responsibilities; establishment of a system and activities that will continue the 4.3 movement through the coming generations; and locating the relevance of the spirit of 4.3 vis-à-vis liaison between this spirit and key issues at the current historical juncture.

Key Words: Jeju 4.3, History of Truth-Seeking of Jeju 4.3, Seventieth Anniversary of Jeju 4.3, Settlement of the Past, Transitional Justice, Nationalization of Jeju 4.3, 4.3 and the US, Rectification of the Name of 4.3

1. Prologue

Celebrating its seventieth anniversary this year, Jeju 4.3 is taking another big step toward truth and justice in history. The period of forty years following 4.3 was a dark age of forced silence and cruel oppression. For the decade following the late 1980s when the democratization movement brought about an end to the silence, Jeju 4.3 came to be discussed as a social issue at the regional level in Jeju. On the basis of such advancement, the national and political agenda was formulated on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary, and in December 1999, the Special Act for Finding the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and Restoring the Honor of the Victims was passed. The bill served to create a period, for the next twenty years, of truth finding, restoration of the honor of the victims, and installment of various forms of official memorials and education. Similar to the characteristics of democratization of Korea being compressed into the terminology “87 System” after 1987, the components and features of the aforementioned period in the 4.3 movement can be termed the “Fiftieth Anniversary System.”

If the discrepancy between the seventieth anniversary and the sixtieth anniversary lies largely in that the sixtieth anniversary served as the process of filling the contents of the Fiftieth Anniversary System, then the seventieth anniversary needs to move beyond the limitations of said system. Is the movement for truth and justice in Jeju 4.3 in its seventieth anniversary in fact moving beyond the limitations of the Fiftieth Anniversary System toward creating a new history? This article first looks back at the history of seeking truth and justice for Jeju 4.3 and examines the characteristics, achievements, and limitations of the Fiftieth Anniversary System. In addition, this article delineates how and to which extent the major tasks of the seventieth anniversary are progressing in terms of overcoming the limitations of the fiftieth anniversary and proposes future direction.

2. History of the Movement for Truth and Justice of Jeju 4.3 toward the Establishment of the Special Act

a) A Time of Challenging the Forced Silence and Hardship

Jeju 4.3 left not only tremendous sacrifices, damage, and deep wounds to the residents of Jeju Island, but also trauma that was virtually impossible to be overcome by society. Jeju 4.3 became a taboo in public as well as private confines. It was only after the April 1960 Revolution that the voices to uncover the truth of Jeju 4.3 broke through the silence. In May of that year, the students of Jeju National University formed the “4.3 Fact-Finding Fellowship.” The students published in a Jeju newspaper (*Jeju Sinpo*) a proposal that declared as follows: “We should clarify the truth of the 4.3 incident as soon as possible. We demand that the those who massacred the good people and committed arson at the time be punished according to law and that the souls of those who were massacred be comforted.” The students also created and distributed flyers that contained the same proposal (4.3 Peace Foundation 2017, 88).

Subsequently, they surveyed more than fifty villages and conducted their own truth-finding investigation. In the midst of such activities, on May 27, sixty-some people from the families of the victims in Mosŭlp'o, South Jeju County, held a rally to appeal for truths behind the “Special Forces Massacre (January 10, 1949)” and the “Preventive Custody Incident (August 20, 1950).”¹⁾ In addition, as the teams for the investigation of the massacres in places such as Kōch'ang and Hamyang were established at the National Assembly, the representatives of Jeju at the Assembly requested that Jeju 4.3 be investigated as well, leading to the *Jeju Sinpo* and the local assembly to conduct their own investigations. However, the National Assembly 's inquiry ended with merely a one-day on-site investigation on June 6, 1960, and the discussion ended accordingly. In response, students from Jeju attending university in Seoul produced a statement and staged a protest.

1) Jeju 4.3 Sakōn Chinsang Kyumyōng Mit Hūsaengja Myōngye Hoebok Wiwōnhoe, *Peace and Co-Existence: White Papers of the National Committee for Jeju 4.3* (Jeju-si: National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, 2008), 86-92.

However, as the May 16 military coup led by Major General Park Chung-hee erupted, the 4.3 truth-seeking movement met severe oppression. The very next day, the members of Jeju National University's "4.3 Fact-Finding Fellowship" were accused of violating a decree, and Shin Tu-pang of *Jeju Sinpo*, who had led the fact-finding investigation, and the families of the victims from Mosŭlp'o were also arrested. On June 15, the police destroyed and buried the "Tomb of the Single Descent of One Hundred Ancestors," a resting place for two-hundred and fifty-some who were killed in preventive custody in 1950. With such events, the truth of 4.3 had to be buried yet again and to endure a period of silence longer and more oppressive than the first.

What brought a break to this long silence was the novelist Hyŏn Ki-yŏng's opus "Aunt Suni" published in 1978, which marked the thirtieth anniversary of 4.3. Based on the massacre in Pukch'on village in January 1949, "Aunt Suni" revealed the tragic truths and gaping wounds of 4.3, garnering the interest of numerous intellectuals and young students not only in Jeju but also throughout Korea. Because of this novel, Hyŏn was taken to and tortured twice by a public security organ, and his novel was banned at bookstores. However, the people from Jeju living in Seoul secretly carried out an ancestral rite on April 3, translated the books and articles related to 4.3 published in the United States and Japan, and tried to investigate the facts during their involvement in activities in farming communities, thereby continuing the effort to grow the seeds of finding truth and justice for 4.3. At the same time, the Jeju region began demanding investigation into the truth of 4.3 as part of the democratization movement, with the university students at the center of such demand. Coupled with the democratization movement, the mobilization for the truth of 4.3 became the driving force behind rendering public the search for the truth of 4.3 after the June Democracy Movement.

b) Timing of Democratization and the Publicization of 4.3 at the Local Level

As the June Democracy Movement propelled democratization, the movement for truth and justice of 4.3 expanded explosively. Leading this process were

university students, who were also the central forces of the democratization movement at the time. On April 3, 1987, a ceremony for the victims was held on the thirty-ninth anniversary of 4.3, and on university bulletins was posted refusal to take exams in protest against oppression. Physical demonstrations were also held. In 1988, the fortieth anniversary of 4.3, the Jeju National University Students' Association held a variety of commemorative events including a public commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the 4.3 (4.3 Peace Foundation 2017, 119-126).

Beyond the university milieu, the public figures and university students from Jeju residing in Seoul led the charge to render 4.3 a public issue. Immediately following the June Democracy Movement, the Council on Social Issues in Jeju, formed by the figures from Jeju who were involved in the struggle for democracy, held an academic seminar on April 3, 1988, commemorating the fortieth anniversary of 4.3 in Seoul. Subsequently, the Jeju students from six universities in the Seoul area returned to Jeju in July to hold a public forum. With seven hundred attendees, the forum sparked a public debate regarding 4.3. Propelled by such advances, civic organizations in Jeju formed a joint preparations committee for the April ancestral rite and held various public events beginning in 1989. In particular, the power of culture and art loomed large in opening the public debate and overcoming oppression after the June Democracy Movement. Various genres of art such as poetry, novels, plays, and visual arts, as well as the shaman rituals derived from Jeju's unique shamanistic faith symbolized the truth of 4.3 and elicited public interest and participation. Predictably, this process proved rough at times. Lee Sang-ha, who wrote the long poem "Mt. Halla," and the poet Kim Myōng-sik, who had published a compilation of 4.3-related studies, were arrested and sent to prison in 1989 and 1990, respectively. After 1989, the April ancestral rite held by the civic organizations were often oppressed by the police and hindered by right-wing groups.

In turning 4.3 into a sociopolitical agenda, the investigative activities of the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute and the in-depth media coverage played a significant role. The Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, which was established in 1989, systematically compiled survivor testimonies and examined the relevant data, making comprehensive

what had remained fragmentary stories of 4.3. In particular, in the course of the investigation, eleven remains were uncovered in the Tarangswi Cave in 1992, the discovery of which was made public through the press, intensifying the interest in 4.3 and highlighting the justification for the search for truth. Furthermore, the local *Jeju Newspaper* formed a special investigative report team in 1988, and after a year of compiling testimonies and analyzing documents, began to serialize them on April 3, 1989, to reveal to the public the truth of 4.3.²⁾ Local broadcasters also participated in making known the facts of 4.3 through documentaries and news programs.

As a result of such activities in various fields, Jeju 4.3 became a hot-button issue in Jeju society. At the provincial assembly, which was revived in 1991 after more than three decades, 4.3 became the main agenda, leading to the formation of the Special 4.3 Committee of the Jeju Provincial Assembly. The Special 4.3 Committee compiled complaints from the victims and issued a report. Listing approximately 14,000 complainants, including 10,581 victims, the report was the first of its kind published by a public organization. Based on this report, the Jeju Provincial Assembly urged the National Assembly and the government to identify the truth of 4.3 and establish special laws.

c) National and Political Publicization of 4.3 and the Establishment of the Special Act

The 4.3 movement, which had continued to accumulate organizational competence and relevant data for more than a decade from 1987, began preparations for the fiftieth anniversary, viewing the anniversary as a significant turning point for the truth and justice of 4.3. The goal was to push the National Assembly or the government to formally establish a legal and institutional basis for examining the truth of 4.3 and healing the wounds. To do so, the movement had to transcend the Jeju region, informing the general Korean public of the truth of 4.3 and garnering nationwide

2) After *Jeju Newspaper* fired the journalists and shut down in the process of democratization of the press, the series by the special investigative report team continued to be published in *Jemin Ilbo*, a newspaper established by the journalists who had been fired by *Jeju Newspaper*.

empathy for the movement. As a starting point, the Citizens' Forum on Jeju 4.3 was hosted in Seoul in November 1996 by the Council on Social Issues in Jeju, during which a special bill for the identification of 4.3 facts and institutional solutions was proposed for the first time.

In addition, a consensus was reached to carry out truth-finding campaigns for 4.3 nationwide by the public figures who participated in the forum (4.3 Peace Foundation 2017, 165). Ultimately, on April 1, 1997, the National Committee for the Progression of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 was established, with leaders from the sectors as diverse as religion, academe, law, labor, and culture participating. The committee published the *4.3 History Newspaper*, which reconstructed the truth of 4.3 and *4.3: Half a Century*, which informed the public of the news on 4.3 truth-seeking activities. The committee also installed and managed a web page to inform the public about 4.3.

Amidst the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of 4.3, a presidential election was held in December of that year. Before the presidential election, the National Committee invited the leading policy makers of the four major parties for a policy forum. With the election of Kim Dae-jung, who had expressed the most favorable position on the investigation of 4.3 facts, political milieu favorable to the 4.3 truth investigation was created. Following, the National Committee proclaimed the year 1998, which marked the fiftieth anniversary of 4.3, as the year of "Restoration of Honor for Jeju 4.3," conducting a year-long series of commemorative and other events. These included a one-million signature campaign, 4.3 history trips, academic symposia, shaman rituals, street rallies, and commemorative activities held by different religious sectors. Through such actions undertaken, the Committee urged the resolution of 4.3.

Despite the publicization of 4.3, the anticipated formation of the 4.3 special committee at the National Assembly stalled. In response, the National Committee for the Progression of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 and the civil society organizations of Jeju decided to focus on the establishment of a special law that would propel the government to directly investigate the truth of 4.3. On April 3, 1999, on the fifty-first anniversary of 4.3, a large-scale rally and a street march were held in Seoul. Furthermore, the Association of the Families

of the Victims of 4.3, members of the Jeju Provincial Assembly, and the members of civic organizations held a rally to call for the establishment of a special law in front of Myōngdong Cathedral, continuing until April 8. In conjunction, a draft of a special bill for the investigation of facts and damage compensation was prepared, and a forum was held, leading to lobbying activities to persuade each party and members of the National Assembly. In Jeju, even more solidarity organizations, including those for the families of the victims, were formed, leading to several civic resolution conferences to demonstrate the Jeju residents' passion and will for the establishment of a special 4.3 law. As a result of the continuous and fierce struggles in both Seoul and Jeju, the National Assembly finally enacted the "Special Act for Finding the Truth of the Jeju 4.3 Incident and Restoring the Honor of the Victims" on December 16, 1999.

3. Achievements and Limitations of the "Jeju 4.3 Fiftieth Anniversary System"

a) Composition of the Fiftieth Anniversary System

With the establishment of the Special Act, the movement for truth and justice of Jeju 4.3 entered a new stage—the phase of the institutionalization of the movement wherein the civic organization-centered movement transformed into one centered on public debate and government measures. Such advances were of course the results of the struggle intensified on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary at the civilian level, including the bereaved families and local civic organizations. As in all other such cases, however, the institutionalization of 4.3 was confined to proceeding within the provisions of the political and ideological milieu of the time.

The social and political publicization of 4.3 that led to the establishment of the Special Act was accompanied by the process of transition from military dictatorship to democracy. After the June Democracy Movement, the first presidential election held in sixteen years saw elected Roh Tae-woo, who caused the military coup in June 1980 with Chun Doo-hwan, due to the division of the

opposition party. Kim Young-sam who succeeded Roh Tae-woo was one of the key public figures who had resisted military dictatorship, but took power through an alliance with the Cold War authoritarian forces. Although the 1997 election finally saw the first wholly democratic administration under Kim Dae-jung, the conservative forces of the Cold War remained robust. Nevertheless, the emergence of the Kim Dae-jung government signified that the history of the democratization forces would be rewritten as they acquired historical legitimacy in contemporary Korean history, which unfolded amidst confrontation between authoritarian and democratization forces.

The situation in which the forces that coerced silence and defined Jeju 4.3 as an anti-national riot lost their historical legitimacy and rushed to the defensive created a favorable environment for the truth-clarification of Jeju 4.3. In this way, Jeju 4.3 special law could be enacted in and dictated by the dynamics and flow created by the progress of democratization while the Cold War conservative power still remained strong. The ensemble of institutions and dynamics that established and maintained a consistently stable framework around the Special Act special can be called the “Fiftieth Anniversary System” of Jeju 4.3.

The foundation of the Fiftieth Anniversary System, the 4.3 Special Act approaches 4.3 from the point of view of human rights violation wreaked upon by the nation, excluding initially the historical evaluation of 4.3 as “riot” or “uprising.” It defines the sacrifice of countless Koreans at the abuse of governmental powers in the process of establishing a nation divided, and from such a perspective seeks to describe the truth of Jeju 4.3 and restore the honor of the victims and their bereaved families.

In accordance with the Special Act, the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident was established. The committee collects and analyzes domestic and overseas data, identifies the victims and the bereaved families, restores the honor of the victims and their families, composes reports and documents, and erects commemorative tombs and other structures. The committee consists of twenty members including the prime minister as the committee head, ministers of various related government ministries, representatives of the families of the victims, and civilians who are knowledgeable and experienced.

Such composition differs from that of the Truth Reconciliation Committee, which was created to investigate the civilian massacres after the Korean War, as it consists solely of civilians recommended by the president and the National Assembly. This arrangement, in which the Prime Minister and various ministers directly participate in the final decision-making process, was meaningful in raising the official authority regarding major decisions such as approving the results of the truth-finding investigation.

However, such a characteristic led to the committee's functional cease after the prime minister—the head of the committee—refused to gather committee together after the conservative administration took power. The Committee for the Preparation of Reports on the Truth of Jeju 4.3, which is a sub-committee of the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, was responsible for the collection and analysis of domestic and overseas data for the truth investigation and the truth investigation report. Similar to the committee, the sub-committee also consisted of ministers from the various related government ministries and civilian members. On the other hand, the matters related to the reports of the victims and the bereaved family members as well as deciphering the truth of the reports and commemorative projects were run by a working committee with the governor of Jeju Island as the chairperson.

The working committee also consisted of the heads of the Jeju-related departments civilian members including their bereaved family members of the victims of 4.3. In this way, the National Committee, the sub-committee, and the working committee all consist of senior government officials and civilian members. Among the civilian members, there were advocates who took the lead in the 4.3 truth-finding campaign as well as those who represented the positions of military, police, and conservative groups.

b) Achievements of the Fiftieth Anniversary System

The greatest accomplishment of the Fiftieth Anniversary System was the conversion of the official recognition of Jeju 4.3 through the publication of the *Jeju 4.3 Case Study Report*. This report was the first case in which the government

investigated the truth and published the report in relation to a controversial past. As such, there were countless twists and turns experienced before the report could be published. From the drafting of the report, there were fierce debates about the nature of the case, the issue of responsibility for the cause of 4.3, the scope of the involvement of the South Korean Labor Party and the US military, the reality of the suppression operation, the illegal nature of the martial law and court-martial, and the responsibility for the collective sacrifice.³⁾

Unlike the individual, fragmented truths uncovered by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee formed subsequently, the truths clarified in the *Jeju 4.3 Incident Investigation Report* reveals a “comprehensive and historical truth” about the background, context, development process, and damages of 4.3 (Kim 2011, 24). In the conclusion of the report, Jeju 4.3 is defined as follows: “On March 1, 1947, the police gunfire launched a protest against the oppression of the police and the Northwest Korean Youth Association, and opposition to the division, which led to the armed uprising of the armed forces of South Korean Labor Party’s Jeju branch on April 3, 1947. Jeju 4.3 refers to the confrontations between the armed forces and the punitive expedition as well as the countless sacrifices suffered by the Jeju residents at the hands of the punitive expedition in its effort the quell the uprising that took place until September 21, 1954, when the detention center at Mt. Halla was shut down.”⁴⁾ Such a definition is based on the Special Act but clarifies more specifically the background and context leading to the April 3, 1948 uprising, and the responsibility of the punitive expedition for large-scale sacrifices.

The reason that the fact-finding report is important is that it serves as the basis of the official state narrative of and follow-up measures on Jeju 4.3. According to the conversion of public understanding regarding Jeju 4.3, the deceased, the wounded, and other victims at the time were able to cast aside the defaming label of the “mob” and recover their honor as “victims” of state violence. On October

3) Jeju 4.3 Sakŏn Chinsang Kyumyŏng Mit Hŭisaengja Myŏngye Hoebok Wiwŏnhoe, *Peace and Co-Existence: White Papers of the National Committee for Jeju 4.3* (Jeju-si: National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, 2008), 94.

4) Jeju 4.3 Sakŏn Chinsang Kyumyŏng Mit Hŭisaengja Myŏngye Hoebok Wiwŏnhoe, *The Jeju April 3 Incident Investigation Report* (Jeju-si: National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident, 2003), 536.

31, 2003, fifteen days after the finalization of the report, President Roh Moo-hyun forwarded his apologies and sympathy for the family members of the victims and the residents of Jeju Island for the past misdeeds of the state. On the sixtieth anniversary in 2008, a commemorative museum and a memorial park opened in memory of the 4.3 victims to enable a clear understanding of the truth of 4.3, based on the fact-finding report. Moreover, the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation also established, an organization responsible for the management of memorial parks and memorials, additional fact-finding, and various commemorative projects. Financial support for the medical treatment of surviving victims and families of victims survivors was provided, and excavation was carried out partially on mass gravesites such as Jeju Airport. From 2014, April 3 was designated as a National Day of Commemoration, with government holding a national ceremony.

Such achievements of the Fiftieth Anniversary System—restoration of honor for the victims and their families based on the perspective that they are victims of the misdeeds of governmental power—did not falter significantly even amidst the various attacks by the Cold War conservative forces that continued for nine years after 2008. The Cold War conservative forces, especially during the Lee Myung-bak and the Park Geun-hye administrations, attempted to dismantle the National Committee and render it ineffective, in addition to oppressing the efforts to identify the victims, the Special Act, and the fact-finding report through various legal apparatuses such as constitutional suits and administrative complaints (Kim 2008, 24-25). However, most of these attempts ultimately failed due to the power of the truth as accumulated through research by the 4.3 Research Institute and the special coverage by the press, the truth that was confirmed by the fact-finding report, as well as consolidated resistance of the Jeju community that included not only the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4.3 Victims and civic organizations, but also the conservative elements of Jeju.

c) Limitations of the Fiftieth Anniversary

Reflecting the political and ideological terrain of the time and the progress of the 4.3 movement, the Fiftieth Anniversary System poses two limitations. First,

from the perspective of transitional justice, which was to clear past misdeeds, both the punishment for the perpetrator and the relief for the victims remained at an extremely limited level of justice. No one was held responsible, for example, for the human rights abuses that precipitated the massive sacrifice of the people. In addition, there was no real progress on the question of holding the US responsible for its involvement in the massacres. Most importantly, no relief was provided for the victims, including those who were killed. The damage compensation clause contained in the bill submitted by the civilians at the time of enactment of the 1999 Special Act was excluded for the reason that the facts of the damage had not yet been clarified. However, despite the fact that the state must provide compensation for unjust deaths, injuries, and imprisonment due to illegal trials related to 4.3 insofar as 4.3 was clarified to have been a case of severe human rights violations caused by the abuse of state power, no progress has been made in the fifteen years since the publication of the report in 2003.

Second, the Fiftieth Anniversary System limited the debate on how to assess 4.3 as a historical event that spanned a period of seven years and seven months from March 1, 1947 to September 21, 1954. 4.3 was defined only as an unjust sacrifice of people at the mechanisms of state violence, and such understanding defined all formal and informal descriptions, including those in textbooks, laws, and reports. There was, of course, a huge sacrifice caused by state violence, and this truth is an overwhelming reality. However, the people of Jeju at the time were not merely the victims of sacrifice. On March 1, 1947, 40,000 of the 260,000 Jeju residents poured out into the streets, calling for the settlement of the problem of the pro-Japanese Koreans and independence for a unified Korea.

Subsequently, virtually the entirety of the Island participated in a general strike in protesting for the deaths of six people by police gunfire on the participants of the rallies. In the general election on May 10, 1948, to form the separate government, Jeju Island was the only district in Korea to nullify the outcomes of two electoral districts. Despite such facts, the history of Jeju residents has been distorted by erasing the history of the community and its residents acting as the sovereign subjects of the nation and remembering it only as a history of sacrifice at state violence.

4. Achievements of the Seventieth Anniversary

The argument that the seventieth anniversary should be another turning point in the movement for truth and justice for Jeju 4.3 began relatively early. At the Fifth Peace Forum hosted by the 4.3 Peace Foundation in November 2015, a session titled “Preparations and Tasks for the Seventieth Anniversary of Jeju 4.3” was held, and the Jeju 4.3 Research Institute also discussed how to prepare for the seventieth anniversary at its annual conference in October 2016. However, specific discussions to mobilize the power of local civil society began in November of 2016. In addition to recognizing the differences between the fourteen 4.3 movement organizations, including the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4.3 Victims, civic organizations agreed to accept the discrepancies among themselves and to form a large-scale coalition in order to make the seventieth anniversary a new turning point of 4.3. Regarding the title of 4.3, one of the most sensitive issues, the disparate organizations agreed to allow the continuation of the title as had been employed by each of the organizations and to continue to hold discussions on the rectification of the title.

On the basis of this consensus, a Memorial Committee for the Seventieth Anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Massacre was established in February 2017, with participation by 4.3 organizations and civic organizations in the Jeju region. Based on the proposal of the committee, on March 24, the National Committee to Commemorate the Seventieth Anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Uprising and Massacre was established with participation by civic organizations and renowned public figures throughout Korea.⁵⁾ The reason that the movement for 4.3 became even more empowered in face of the seventieth anniversary of Jeju 4.3 is based on the consensus that settlement of Jeju 4.3 should be closed upon while surviving victims or the first-generation family members of the victims who directly experienced 4.3 are still alive .

The creation of a civilian-centered dimension of the 4.3 seventieth anniversary

5) Established through the participation of forty-some 4.3 organizations and progressive civic organizations, the 4.3 Commemorative Committee expanded into approximately one hundred organizations including civic groups and functional organizations. Including these, the National Committee expanded into approximately 260 organizations.

project in the region and across the country provided a powerful motor behind the systematic progression of the project. Furthermore, the civilian-led establishment of partnerships with the central government, the provincial government of Jeju Island, the Jeju Provincial Assembly, and the Jeju Provincial Office of Education also took place. This private-sector-led private-public cooperation has at once helped shape the movement for the truth and justice of 4.3 and created a greater breadth of public power. The Candlelight Revolution, which unfolded at the same time, also provided a favorable opportunity for the movement for the truth and justice of 4.3 in its seventieth anniversary.

a) Nationalization and Popularization of Jeju 4.3: “Jeju 4.3 is the History of Korea”

During the period around the seventieth anniversary of 4.3, various events and campaigns were held nationwide. At Gwanghwamun Square, the heart of the Republic of Korea and the Holy Land of the Candlelight Revolution, was opened from April 3 to 7 with a memorial space equipped with an incense altar and information booths, drawing various public figures and ordinary citizens. On April 3, 403 performers and ordinary citizens appeared in Gwanghwamun in the form of 4.3 souls and participated in a group performance that expressed liberation from the silence of seventy years, heightening the media interest in 4.3. Buddhism, Protestantism, Won Buddhism, the Religion of the Heavenly Way, Catholicism, and other major religious traditions held their own commemorative ceremonies. Popular singers wrote songs related to 4.3, produced albums, and held concerts. On April 7, artists, civic organization members, and young students from around the country including Jeju Island gathered in Gwanghwamun Square and set up over sixty booths showcasing various arts and books related to 4.3 and offered experiential learning. In the evening, a national culture festival accompanied by music, videos, and theater performance followed. The National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, located in Gwanghwamun, opened a special exhibition of 4.3 from the end of March to the beginning of July, offering the opportunity to experience the truth of 4.3 more vividly. During the week encompassing April 3,

there were incense altars established in twenty major cities as well as in Seoul, and cultural events such as exhibitions and performances were held throughout them. More than a hundred lectures were held at social organizations and schools throughout the country. In addition, large and small events such as exhibitions, talk shows, movie screenings, memorial concerts, and academic seminars related to 4.3 were held in Seoul and other major cities.

As the interest in Jeju 4.3 increased, more than 3,000 workers and other citizens participated in the Workers' Conference for the Continuation of the 4.3 Spirit, and visitors to the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park numbered 260,000 as of June 30, 2018, nearly twice the number in the same period of last year (136,149). In addition, central and other local media including the Jeju regional media treated 4.3 with historical facts, testimonies, interviews, and reporting of the events related to the seventieth anniversary.

That such a variety of events, activities, and movements that focused on the truth and justice of Jeju 4.3 took place on a national level was unprecedented. More meaningful, however, is that these events and activities were focused on one message: "Jeju 4.3 is the history of Korea." This slogan, which may sound strange because it is such an obvious statement, highlighted the fact that Jeju 4.3 had not yet been established as part of the larger historical narrative of Korea and emphasized the need for 4.3 to be embedded in the historical memory of the Korean people, not just in that of the Jeju Islanders.

Famous entertainers, prominent politicians including both progressive and conservative politicians, municipal and provincial governors, and other public figures from various fields in society relayed videos and disseminated through online and offline media, "Jeju 4.3 is the history of Korea," spreading the message throughout the country. The Campaign for Wearing Camellia Badges, begun by a local media outlet in Jeju, also contributed to the popular interest and participation in all matters regarding 4.3 nationwide. In short, it can be said that a great progress has been made in the "nationalization of 4.3," which had existed only as a motto until the seventieth anniversary of Jeju 4.3.

b) Outstanding Issues - Beyond the Fiftieth Anniversary System

The seventieth anniversary is witnessing the proposal and progression hitherto unaccomplished by the tasks of 4.3 that were not addressed in the Fiftieth Anniversary System. First, the revision of the 4.3 Special Act became publicized and garnered nationwide empathy to justify healing and settling the history of pain caused by the abuse of state power. Immediately after its formation, the 4.3 National Committee for the seventieth anniversary started preparations for the amendment of the Special Act in April 2017, reflecting the “Bill of Rights for Human Rights Victims” adopted by the United Nations in 2005 as well as the experience of the settlement of past affairs by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee among other organizations, and laws and judicial precedents since the enactment of the Special Act on April 3, 1999. The essence of the amendment was to convert the basic nature of the law from the truth investigation to victim support. As a priority, the amendment specified the state's liability in compensation for victims and survivors.

As a crucial part of compensation, two major military tribunals in December 1948 and July 1949 were annulled. A significant number of people were executed by the two military tribunals, and 2,500 people were sent to prisons all over the country. However, it was confirmed that military tribunals did not take place legally.⁶⁾ In such a way, the declaration of the invalidation of the illegal military trials at the time sought to recover the honor and compensate for damage of the victims and their families. The revision also included additional fact-finding, plans for the establishment of a trauma center, and punishment for the collective defamation of victims, survivors, and family members. The process sought to illuminate the rights of the victims and the bereaved family members as well as the self-determined decision-making rights of Jeju citizens as a collective victim.

When the proposals to amend the 4.3 Special Act were submitted, there arose more than a little skepticism. The government and the ruling party even took negative stances, using financial burden as a reason. However, an amendment was

6) Most of the imprisoned were put to death by summary conviction at the time of the Korean War, only a small minority surviving miraculously.

reached at the National Assembly in December of last year, following the process of coordination with the Association of the Bereaved Families. As nationwide interest in 4.3 expanded this year, the consensus on revision of the 4.3 Special Act in the government and political circles expanded. After President Moon Jae-in attended a commemorative ceremony, the Korean government and the ruling party have been more proactive in their attitudes toward the revision of the Special Act, increasing the likelihood of its amendment.

Second, there was a growing consensus that the United States should take responsibility for the 4.3 massacre and take appropriate action. The responsibility of the United States for the 4.3 massacre has long been a point of contention, but in the meantime, there has been no progress beyond the individual efforts of some scholars to shed light on the matter. Due to the seventieth anniversary, however, the US responsibility for the massacre in Jeju has been highlighted as a public issue through nationwide signature campaigns. The 4.3 Peace Foundation and the political community are beginning to take interest in the matter, and from next year in-depth research will be carried out to clarify the responsibility of the United States. In addition, activities targeting the United States Congress and the United Nations Human Rights Commission will be in full swing.

Third, various attempts have been made to liberate the 4.3 discourse from the framework of the Fiftieth Anniversary System. One of them is the discussion and practice of the rectifying the name of 4.3. This is to restore the history of 4.3, which refuses to be remembered only as unjust sacrifices at the mechanisms of state violence and seeks to encompass and restore the history of the people of Jeju as the sovereign subjects of the nation. As part of this, aspects such as the rally on April 3, 1947, the general strike on March 10, 1947, and the severe oppression by the police of the US Military Government in Korea as well as by anti-communist youth leagues such as the Northwest Korean Youth Association, all leading to the uprising on April 3, 1948, were highlighted. In addition, a discourse from the perspective of human rights meant to move beyond the “Red Complex” was employed. In short, it is summarized as the question, “Is it all right to kill the Reds?” Because of the “Red Complex” and the guidelines proposed by the constitutional court during the constitutional appeal of the Special Act,

among the deceased, those who participated in the armed conflict against the Jeju branch of the South Korean Labor Party and the punitive expedition are not recognized as “victims,” and hence their ancestral tablets cannot be housed at the 4.3 Peace Park.

The Cold War conservative forces demanded that what they called “illegal ancestral tablets” be removed, claiming that even those who had already been accepted as victims should be re-evaluated. Unable to withstand the pressure, some families of the victims did remove the tablets on their own. Currently, there are voices advocating for the consideration of all of the deceased, including the commanding officers of the armed forces, as victims and for their ancestral tablets to be placed at the Peace Park. Furthermore, in the wave of the “Me, Too” movement, new discussions about the sufferings of women during and after 4.3 have arisen. Sexual violence against women in particular was so horrendous that it was difficult to put it in words, but much of it was concealed due to patriarchal customs.

5. Future Challenges

In its seventieth anniversary, Jeju 4.3 moved beyond the Fiftieth Anniversary System in terms of just healing and settlement as well as liberation from the 4.3 discourse; new challenges and issues were brought forth, and popular sympathy was gained. However, some of these challenges and issues have yet to be resolved.

First, a concrete plan must be prepared for implementing the tasks for healing and settlement of 4.3 as stipulated by the Special Act. Although the principle of national compensation is clarified in the amendment of the Special Act, social consensus should be reached regarding the details of the standards and methods of compensation for the deceased, the disabled, and survivors through discussions. Yet another challenge is how the bereaved will continue to join the movement for truth and justice of 4.3 after compensation.

The second challenge is the continuation of illuminating Jeju 4.3 on the national scale, the cause of which has advanced significantly during the seventieth

anniversary. Projects that can help the expansion of knowledge regarding 4.3, such as lectures, performances, and exhibitions, must be continued. In addition, Jeju 4.3 needs to align itself with the organizations for the bereaved families of the victims of the Yōsu Uprising as well as civilian massacres before and after the Korean War to further develop into a national movement that seeks truth and justice in history. After the dissolution of the National Committee for the Seventieth Anniversary of Jeju April 3, installation of a permanent base in Seoul such as a 4.3 education center must be examined in order to continue the movement for 4.3 on a national scale in the long term.

Third, a plan and a roadmap to address the US responsibility for the 4.3 massacre must be established. Domestically, Jeju Island, the National Assembly, and the Korean government must take the lead in providing detailed information about the responsibilities of the US in the 4.3 massacre to not only the US government and the UN commission on Human Rights, but also the general American public. In addition, specific details regarding just how the US should take responsibility should be provided as well. In so doing, the 4.3 movement can continue to make known the problems of Jeju 4.3.

Fourth, competence for leading research in and movement for 4.3 must be cultivated. This is in line with the generational succession of 4.3. For this purpose, the role of regional universities such as Jeju National University will prove crucial. For example, a number of problems can be solved if universities in the Jeju region designate 4.3 as an essential liberal arts subject. Not only will university students gain a basic understanding of 4.3, but many can also be trained to teach and study 4.3. In ensuring that the next generations remember 4.3 and continue to uphold its lessons and spirit, the role of the office of education, which is in charge of primary and secondary education, and that of cultural activities are also crucial. During the seventieth anniversary, numerous young people participated in the 4.3 Cultural Exhibition for Youth prepared by the youths themselves in Jeju. There were young people who participated in commemorative activities in Seoul as well, demonstrating the possibility of continuing the memory of 4.3 in diverse ways.

Fifth, an organization and a cooperation system for the continuation and expansion of the 4.3 movement must be solidly put in place. The seventieth

anniversary saw significant achievements in terms of the Jeju Regional Commemorative Committee and the National Committee forming the center of the civic sphere and establishing a private-public cooperation system with the provincial government of Jeju island, thereby greatly expanding 4.3 on the national stage as well as throughout the general public. However, these committees are temporary, as most were formed with the seventieth anniversary as their primary purpose, and will be dissolved after the seventieth anniversary. In the future, the 4.3 Research Institute and the 4.3 Peace Foundation, which continue to carry out 4.3-related activities, will need to play central roles. The capacity of the 4.3 Research Institute to lead research and the 4.3 movement has been reduced since the establishment of the 4.3 Peace Foundation, and the 4.3 Peace Foundation, a semi-governmental organization, has been alienated by civic organizations because of the failure to establish a cooperative relationship that would support civic organizations such as the Association for the Bereaved Families of the 4.3 Victims and the 4.3 Research Institute. In order for the movement for truth and justice of 4.3 to continue to develop following the achievements of the seventieth anniversary, it is necessary to clearly establish cooperative relationships among private organizations, and private foundations, and the government of Jeju Island.

Finally, the problem of situating 4.3 in the current historical juncture and of liaising the lessons and spirit of 4.3 to the problems of this historical moment must be addressed seriously, particularly as the just settlement and healing of 4.3 as a painful past become a reality. Beyond remembering 4.3 as part of a bygone era, or a dead history, its meaning vis-à-vis the current juncture must be addressed and questioned.

In the past, the Roh Moo-hyun administration declared Jeju Island as an island of world peace to help sublimate the pain of 4.3 into peace and coexistence, but the significance of such a designation has been greatly diminished by the construction of a naval base in Kangjŏng Village in Jeju. In recent years, as more than five hundred refugees from Yemen entered Jeju Island, which foreigners can enter without visas, the ensuing xenophobic atmosphere led to the question of what it means to remember 4.3. On the other hand, there is also the task of actively interpreting and reviving the great cause and spirit of 4.3 that opposed the division

of Korea, situated in the movement toward peace and unity amidst tensions and confrontations exemplified by the North-South Summit and the US-North Korea Summit. In short, the ultimate task is to make the lessons and spirit of 4.3 such as human rights, peace, and unification transcend mere slogans to become the source of living interpretations and practices that respond to reality.

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