

A Guide to the History of the Jeju 4·3 Incident

JEJU4.3PEACE FOUNDATION

Foreword

A concise publication for the proper understanding of the 4·3 incident.

In the year of 2014, April 3 was designated as a national memorial day. The designation of a memorial day by the national government has become a milestone for our nation to raise its status globally as a country that respects peace and human rights. It also represents a pledge never to repeat such misuse of government power, coming closer to the realization of a major calling of our time, which is the ultimate unity of our people.

Moreover, it will not only help soothe the bitterness of bereaved families who have endured such *han*-stricken life, but they will pass down to future generations the invaluable principle of forgiveness and peaceful co-existence.

The 4·3 incident should change from a history of darkness to a history of illumination.

Due to the conflict associated with 4·3, the Jeju community has lost its growth engine and missed opportunities to leap forward.

Differing perspectives on and short-sighted interpretation of the incident has caused exhaustive arguments. Insufficient relevant materials and records are among other reasons for the arguments.

This booklet is an abridged version of “The Investigation Report on Jeju 4·3 Incident” (The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4·3 Incident and Honoring Victims, 2003) and other related materials from after the report was published.

Many individuals and organizations have released various publications with various perspectives and understanding. To dispel possible concerns that subjective author opinions may have an influence on this booklet,

we do not cite any publications by various other individuals. This is the reason we consulted and drew from the reliable and objective report by the government.

Annually, the 4·3 Peace Park receives more than 200,000 visitors. I hope that this book will provide sufficient and trustworthy information about the 4·3 incident for those who visit the altar for a memorial service.

Bearing in mind an old dictum related to clearing up the past incidents, “Forgive, but never forget” I dream for a country of justice.

April 3, 2016

Lee Mun-gyo

Chairman
Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation

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Chapter 1

Background on the 4·3 Incident

1. Situation of Jeju After Independence from the Japanese Colonial Rule

In August 1945, the Korean people regained their national rights from Japanese oppression. However, military troops from the U.S. and Soviet Union were stationed on either side of the 38th parallel, forcing the country to be divided into two Koreas. All Koreans hoped to establish their own independent and unified country but political leaders confronted each other with right and left ideologies, and tensions between the United States and Soviet Union rose during the Cold War. This led to the establishment of the Republic of Korea in South Korea three years after liberation and then the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in North Korea, which further solidified the division of the peninsula.

After the Pacific War, some 70,000 Japanese troops stationed in Jeju were all withdrawn and their military bases were destroyed. With the Japanese troops gone, the island came under the jurisdiction of the U.S. military government. More than 60,000 people living in Japan returned home and looked forward to creating a new world.

Right after the liberation from Japan, the Preparatory Committee for Establishing a Country (PCEC) was organized across the nation to create a sovereign independent state, and the first committee in Jeju was organized in Daejeong-myeon village. Then the Jeju PCEC was set up on September 10, 1945. Later, the PCEC was reorganized into the People's Committee. The Jeju People's Committee was launched in Jeju Agriculture School, with representatives from each village attending on September 23. After that, various civic groups were formed including the

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youth associations, women's associations, farmers' committee, consumers' cooperatives until the end of 1945.

The Jeju People's Committee put its top priority on maintaining public order. Its duties were to prevent violent conduct by remaining Japanese soldiers and to monitor whether Japanese properties in Korea such as purchased land and industrial facilities or military supplies were disposed of properly. The committee built elementary and middle schools in each village, and led the administration of villages and towns. Although the U.S. military government did administrative work, committee chairmen acted as village chiefs and the committee used the community shrines as its offices.

Along with the self-governing practices of the Jeju People's Committee, Jeju was under the U.S. military government. U.S. military personnel did arrive in Jeju on September 28, 1945, but the 59th Military Government Company landed on November 9 to take actual control over military responsibilities. However, a shortage of personnel and insufficient information made it impossible for them to control the island and they had no choice but to seek support from the influential People's Committee.

Nevertheless the U.S. military did not recognize the People's Committee as an official governing or administrative body. They filled almost all the higher positions in the provincial office and police organizations with officials who had worked under the Japanese during the colonial era, while forming and nurturing right-wing activists in order to counter the influence of the People's Committee.

The US military said that Jeju People's Committee was "the only political party in the island, which plays a role equivalent to that of a government in every aspect."

(Jayu Shinmun, December 19, 1946)

Dong-a Ilbo, Inspection Report on the repository island of Jeju (December 21, 1946)

"Rumor has it that Jeju is a left-wing-dominant and lies under the control of the People's Committee. However, the Committee's leadership consists of the conscientious people who have spear-headed the anti-Japanese movement since the PCEC. The Committee has independently managed the island quite well without any violent conflict with the right-wing bodies recently formed, such as *Handok* (or Korean Independence Party), and *Dokchok Gukminhoe* (or People's Assembly in Pursuit of Independence)."

On August 1, 1946, the promotion of Jeju island to the status of a province became a critical moment for the right-wing camp to strengthen its influence. It seemed that the US military government decided to side with the right-wing camp who had insisted on the promotion of Jeju to a province. After that, the government authority was further strengthened; police force was built up according to the status of a province and the 9th Regiment of Korean Constabulary was founded. Accordingly, from the end of the 1946 the US military government implemented a policy of controlling Jeju rather than leaving administration to the People's Committee.

Enforcement of U.S military policies met with strong opposition from Jeju people, and coupled with worsening economic hardship they became increasingly frustrated. Economic policies that the US military government focused on were to supply bare necessities and stabilize prices in order to maintain the status quo. Right after liberation, however, prices skyrocketed amid a shortage of grains due to declining food production. Around 60,000 returnees after the liberation exacerbated food shortage and the failure of the grain collection policy that had been put forward as a solution only infuriated Jeju people.

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2. 3·1 Incident and Private-Public General Strike

On March 1, 1947, at around 2:45 in the afternoon, there were noisy sounds of gun shots fired in front of the Gwandeokjeong square. Several citizens were shot and writhed around on the ground covered with blood. Six were shot dead. This incident put the Jeju community into turmoil and became the starting point of the Jeju 4·3 Incident the next year.

Since March 1, 1947 would mark the second opportunity to celebrate the 3·1 Independence Movement after liberation, the left-wing camp prepared to hold a ceremony on a grand scale across the province. Beforehand, on February 17, the Jeju Preparation Committee for the Ceremony of the 3·1 Protest was formed, encompassing public offices, civil organizations, education communities, Confucian circles and schools. On February 23, the Jeju National Front for Democracy was established and led the preparation of the ceremony.

On the other hand, on February 23, the US military government promptly dispatched reserves consisting of 100 policemen from Chungnam and Chungbuk Provinces to Jeju and put them on the high alert. The military government issued guidelines with regard to the 3·1 ceremony, strictly prohibiting demonstrations and requiring every rally to be authorized in advance. Representatives from the National Front and the military government met for discussion on several occasions but failed to reach an agreement. The 3·1 ceremony was pushed forward as scheduled.

The ceremony was held in each *eup* district and *myeon* village and about 30,000 residents from Jeju-eup, Aewol-myeon, Jocheon-myeon gathered at Jeju Buk Elementary School.

In Jeju-eup, right after the ceremony at Jeju Buk Elementary School ended at 2 p.m., the participants took to the street. When the crowd passed through *Gwandeokjeong* and the *Seomuntong* district, a child was hit and injured by the horseshoe of a mounted police officer stationed

in the square. As the policeman acted as if nothing had happened and moved on leaving the injured child behind, the angry crowd shouted and hurled stones at him. In response, armed police standing guard near Gwandeokjeong fired into the crowd. Six civilians who had only been watching were shot to death in the blink of an eye. Among those killed were a 15-year-old student and a woman with infant in arms.

The shooting incident made things worse, inflaming those who were already angry. However, the military government and the police focused more on arresting rally leaders than on trying to settle the incident. The left-wing camp established an emergency response committee and carried out the fund-raising campaigns for the victims while publicizing the atrocity. On March 10, a general strike of private and public sectors started at the initiative of the Jeju provincial government. People from 156 public and private organizations joined the strike including banks, companies, schools, transportation companies, communication agencies as well as the Provincial Office and other government offices, and even some policemen in active duty were part of the strike.

The military government sent the joint investigation team to Jeju on March 8 to investigate the shooting incident and left Jeju on March 13 without any official announcement. On March 14, Jo Byeong-ok, the chief of the National Police Agency under the U.S military government, arrived on the island and began to disrupt the strike. On March 15, 222 policemen from Jeonnam and Jeonbuk provinces and on 18 March, 99 policemen from Kyonggi province were deployed to Jeju and conducted a crackdown. NPA Chief Jo made a public statement on March 19, arguing that the shooting incident took place in a context of self-defense and that pro-North Korea sympathizers were involved in the incident. He accused Jeju of being an “island of *palgaeng-i*” (pro-communists). A report produced by the U.S. military after the shooting incident said, "Jeju is the base of the left-wing party to the extent that 70 percent of

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Jeju people sympathized with or have joined the leftists."

Furthermore, the military government began arresting senior executives of the National Front for Democracy from March 15 on charges of organizing and leading the strike, rounding up 500 people by April 10. Among them 328 were brought to trial and 52 were sentenced to jail terms at Mokpo Penitentiary. The number of people arrested over one year between the 3·1 incident in 1947 and the outbreak of the 4·3 incident in 1948 was 2,500.

Participation in the ceremony of the 3·1 Independence Movement and the 3·10 general strike misled the U.S. military government to believe Jeju was pro-Communist, which eventually led Jeju to become wrongfully subjected to the crackdown. On the path toward the 4·3 incident, people of Jeju on an isolated island were forced to make sacrifices due to the Cold War.

3. Path Leading up to 4·3

In the process of dealing with the 3·1 incident, the high-ranking officials, including Jeju military governor, were replaced with extreme rightists by the U.S. military government. On March 31, 1947, Kim Young-bae was appointed to a chief of Jeju Police Inspection Agency and on April 2, the military governor, Major Starwood, was replaced with Lieutenant Colonel Russel D. Barros, but on April 10 the far-rightist Yu Hae-jin was appointed as replacement for the outgoing governor Park Kyung-hun.

The military government undertook a purge of public offices and the education community to find strike sympathizers. As a result, 66 policemen were dismissed for joining the strikes. At the same time 245 railroad policemen were newly deployed to Jeju, bringing the number of police force to as many as 500 by the end of April. After that the Seobuk Young Men's Association (SYMA) flooded into Jeju and committed a brutal

atrocities.

From August the military government carried out sweeping crackdown. Park Kyung-hun, the newly selected chief of Jeju National Front for Democracy after his resignation as a governor, and about 30 senior leaders of the National Front were apprehended. Many young people fled from the island or to Japan, and some had to take shelters inside the caves on Mt. Hallasan. Residents became increasingly more and more dissatisfied. It was August 1947 when a food-collecting public worker was assaulted in Donggwang-ri, Andeok-myeon.

In January 1948, as it became evident that the general election would be held only in South Korea, many political parties and organizations strongly protested against it, making public statement of their objections, because it would perpetuate the division of the Korean peninsula. Among those who opposed it were some conservatives and even centrists as well as the left parties. The conservatives were divided into two groups over the South-only election: one group was led by Kim Gu and Kim Gyu-sik who argued against the South-only national government and pushed for negotiations with the North, calling for the unification of the divided country; the other was led by Rhee Syngman and the Hanmin Party who opted for the South-only government with the support of the US military government.

In the meantime, the South Korean Labor Party, or *Namrodang*, had an ambitious plan to fight for deterring the South-only election, which triggered the 2·7 incident of the general strike across the nation on February 7, 1948.

Early in 1948, the left-wing group in Jeju became almost disintegrated because most of the key leaders were arrested. In the wake of the 2·7 incident, the sweeping round-up took place across the island, followed by harsh interrogation to those young people in custody.

In Jocheon, Jeju on March 6, Kim Young-cheol, a Jocheon Middle

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School student, was killed of severe torture, and on March 14, Yang Eun-ha from Yeongrak-ri, Daejeong-myeon was taken to the police office in Moseulpo and beaten to death. Late March, in Geumneung-ri, Hallim-myeon, a young villager named Park Haeng-gu was caught by some members of Seobuk Young Men's Association (SYMA), brutally beaten and shot to death.

The left-wing group was backed into a corner but determined to stand up and fight until death. After several rounds of secrete meetings, they decided to stage an attack against the police and the SYMA. In addition to that, the upcoming 5/10 election of the South was presented as their main cause for uprising.

Chapter 2

4.3 Uprising and Armed Clashes

1. Armed Uprising on April 3, 1948

It was 2 in the morning on April 3, 1948. An armed uprising led by the Jeju Branch of the South Korea Labor Party began with signal fires blazing at every *oreum* (parasitic volcano) around the slopes of Mt. Hallasan. At dawn that day, a group of 350 armed men simultaneously attacked 12 of 24 provincial police stations. The police, Seobuk Young Men's Association's quarters, and houses of key figures affiliated with right-wing organizations including the People's Association for Promoting Independence and the Daedong Youth Corps were also targeted for attack. For the day of April 3, the casualties were as follows: four policemen were killed and six injured, two unaccounted for; among civilians including rightists eight were killed, nineteen injured; two of the armed rebels were killed, one captured.

Two types of letters of plea were distributed by the armed rebels while launching the attack on April 3. One was a warning sent to the police, public officials, and members of Daedong Youth Corps targeted by the armed rebels:

Dear police officers! We resist oppression. The Jejudo guerrilla unit defends the people, standing with them. Conscientious police officers! If you do not want resistance, stand on the people's side. Conscientious public officials! Decide what course you will take as soon as possible, carry out your tasks, protect your jobs and fight to the end against vicious colleagues. Conscientious police officers and youngsters from Daedong Corps, who are you fight-

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ing for? Koreans would have to defeat foreign enemies who trample on our territory. Koreans should beat down traitors who betray their own country and people and even slaughter the patriotic. Police officers! Point a gun at our enemy. Do not point a gun at your parents and siblings. Conscientious police officers, young people, and proponents of democracy! Stand on the people's side immediately. Respond to and rise up against the anti-American, save-the-nation movement.

Below is the other letter of plea, sent by the armed rebels to the people of Jeju:

Fellow citizens! Dear parents and siblings! Today, on April 3, your sons, daughters and younger brothers and sisters rose up in arms, against a South-only election and government and for the reunification and independence of our homeland, and for the complete liberation of the people! We rose up in arms against the atrocious slaughter done by American cannibals and their cat's-paws that force you into hardship and unhappiness! To relieve your deep-rooted resentment! You should defend us who fight for the victory of our country and rise up along with us, responding to the call of the country and its people.

The armed resistance group was under the military unit of the Jeju branch of the South Korean Labor Party, consisting of the most skilled guerilla forces and their subordinate defense forces and special forces. It is estimated that around 350 were mobilized on April 3. Throughout the 4·3 incident, the armed resistance group numbered about 500. The armed rebels possessed only 30 rifles at the onset of the uprising on April 3, but were reinforced with more firearms after they attacked the police

stations and some members of the Korea Constabulary became part of the armed resistance going up to the mountain areas.

2. Responses of U.S. Military Government and Peace Talks

The US Military Government promptly dispatched some 100 policemen from South Jeolla Province to Jeju on April 5 after the armed uprising and established the Jeju Emergency Guard Headquarters under the Jeju Police Inspection Agency. Members of Seobuk Young Men's Association were also called in.



▲ "A War Memoir" of Kim Ik-ryeol, Commander of the 9th Regiment of Korea Constabulary (*Kukje Shinmun*, August 6, 1948). A photograph of armed rebels whom he ran into during the peace negotiation

On April 17, the military government ordered the 9th Regiment of the Korea Constabulary stationed at Moseulpo, which had only been monitoring developments of the incident, to suppress the incident. However, the 9th Regiment which was more nationalistic than the police sought

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peaceful solutions with the rebels based on the principle of "placation first punitive action later," considering that the incident was triggered by the brutality of far-right policemen and Seobuk members.

As a result, in late April 1948, Lieutenant Colonel Kim Ik-ryeol, the 9th Regiment Commander, Second Lieutenant Lee Yun-rak, an assistant chief of staff for intelligence and Kim Dal-sam, the military chief of the armed rebels met and came to an agreement from this peace negotiation that if battles should completely cease and rebels disarm and descend from the mountain within 72 hours, no one would be held accountable. The peace deal broke down with the decision of armed crackdown by General Hodge, Commander of the US 24th Corps and USFK. On April 27, General Hodge dispatched Lieutenant Colonel M. W. Schewe to Jeju to review two methods: "open arms" operations and an armed crackdown to settle the incident. Lieutenant Colonel Schewe returned to Seoul after his operation in Jeju and presented a report on April 29, saying "If the commander of the 59th US Military Government Company brings the troops in Jeju under his full control, the existing troops will be enough to settle the situation. As communists and guerillas are in Oreum, a prompt and active operation is necessary to suppress them."

This report on the capacity of the existing troops to suppress rebels enabled General Hodge to make up his mind to launch an armed crackdown. Eventually, the leadership of the US Military Government ignored the peace negotiation between Kim Ik-ryeol and Kim Dal-sam.

On May 1 right after the peace negotiation, an arson occurred in Ora-ri village and had a decisive effect on the annulment of the agreement. Although rightist young men committed the arson attack, the US military and the police accused "the armed rebels" of the arson. The US military even filmed the village on fire and documented it as *May Day on Cheju-Do*.

On May 5, 1948, an emergency meeting was held in Jeju with the leadership of the US military present. At the meeting, a physical scuffle took place between a hardliner for an armed oppression National Police Agency Chief, Jo Byeong-ok and Regimental Commander Kim Ik-ryeol who argued for an open-arm operation. Consequently, Kim Ik-ryeol was dismissed and replaced the next day by Lieutenant Colonel Park Jinyeong as Commander of the 9th Regiment. It seemed that only an armed suppression was about to happen.



▲ Ora-ri village on fire, shot from the air by the US reconnaissance plane, (May 1, 1948), a scene from the documentary film <Documentary film *May Day on Cheju-Do*>

3. Boycott of the May 10th Election

The armed resistance group actively opposed the unilateral 5/10 election and tried to boycott it. Between May 7 and May 10, they attacked election offices, kidnapped and killed public officials in charge of the election affairs, and seized the list of voters. On the election day of May 10,

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the rebels attacked the voting places located in Jungmun, Pyoseon, Jocheon and other areas. Many villagers agreed with rebels, refusing to vote and going up the mountain.

At the end, out of 200 electoral districts in South Korea, two districts in Jeju were declared invalid because the voter turnout failed to reach a majority. Jeju had three electoral districts, of which two in Buk-Jeju county became invalid and only the other district of Nam-Jeju county which saw the winner as independent Oh Yong-guk.



- ▲ Leading members of the US Military Government in Korea arriving at Jeju Airport. From the second on the left, Military Governor Major General Dean, Jeju Military Governor Mansfield, Civil Administrator Ahn Jae-hong, Commander-in-chief Song Ho-chang, Commissioner of the National Police Agency Jo Byeong-ok, Commander of the 9th Regiment Kim Ik-ryeol, May 5, 1948)

<Source: US National Archive and Records Administration>

The US Military Governor made public that the election of two voting districts in Jeju was invalidated and a re-election would be held on June 23. However, the scheduled re-election was indefinitely postponed because things were not ready for the election.

The boycott of the 5/10 election was regarded as grave challenge to the US military, a prelude to brutal suppression on Jeju people. The US military government appointed Colonel Rothwell H. Brown as the US commander of Jeju and

intended to stage repressive operations for holding a reelection on June 23, only to fail.

The combined constabulary forces comprised three battalions; one battalion of the 9th Regiment, one transferred from the 5th Regiment in Busan and one dispatched from the 11th Regiment. Park Jinyeong was named as the 11th Regiment Commander and started punitive actions in earnest.

Commissioner Jo Byeong-ok made a public statement, reiterating his willingness to carry out the repressive opera-



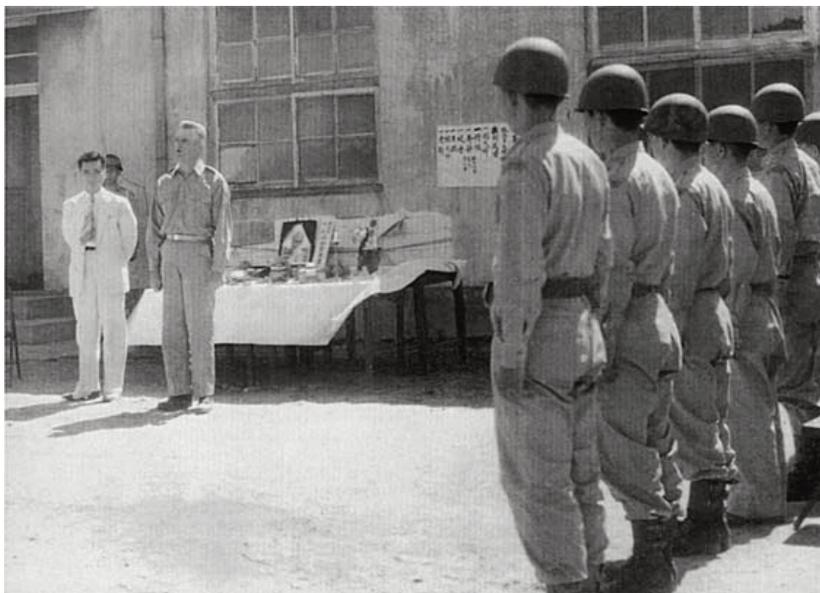
▲ People who fled to the middle areas of the mountain, including children and women (May, 1948)

<Source: US National Archive and Records Administration>

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tion, and sent Police Special Forces and more Seobuk members. As of May 27, the number of people who fled to the mountain and were arrested was 3,126, reaching 6,000 in the middle of June.

As the suppression became more severe, public sentiment ran high against the atrocities on the part of the constabulary forces. At night on May 20, from the 9th Regiment forty-one soldiers deserted their units in Moseulpo with firearms and 5,600 rounds of ammunition, attacking the Daejeong Police Station and fled into the mountain. It was frequent occasions that a group of soldiers, usually ten or fewer, deserted their units.



▲ Military Governor Dean is delivering his eulogy at the funeral of Regiment Commander Park Jin-gyeong at Jeju Agriculture School where the headquarters of the 11th Regiment was located. (June 18, 1948)

<Source: Major General Wesolowsky, a military advisor stationed in Jeju>

On June 18, Colonel Park Jin-gyeong was assassinated by his subordinates. First Lieutenant Moon Sang-gil, Son Seon-ho, Bae Gyeong-yong, and Shin Sang-u were arrested and brought to the military court for the

assassination and then the First Lieutenant Moon and Staff Sergeant Son Seon-ho were executed.

4. Establishment of the Government of Republic of Korea

A General Election was held for the South-only government in May 1948 amid opposing voices of political powers aspiring to a unified government. Since those who had argued for talks with the North, including Kim Gu and Kim Gyu-sik and many of the centrist figures chose not to run in the election, Rhee Syng-man, the Korean Democratic Party and only a few moderates ran.

Rhee Syng-man won a majority of seats in the National Assembly with other independent conservative representatives elected with the most votes. The National Assembly wrote the Constitution, stipulating the division of three government branches, a presidential system and the election of the president through an indirect election process. Then Rhee Syng-man was elected president and the Government of the Republic of Korea was officially founded on August 15, 1948.

On the other hand, from around the middle of July, 1948, the so-called "underground election" was held across South Korea to establish a North Korean government. Amid the tumult of the 4·3 incident, Jeju people attended the process usually by writing a name down in a blank paper or collecting thumbprint seals. Many villagers reluctantly wrote false names and stamped their thumbprint because the armed rebels forced them to do so. Later it became an excuse for killing thousands of people in Jeju. People were shot to death on charges of stamping a thumbprint on a blank paper.

Representatives elected through the underground election across South Korea met and held the Representative Meeting of South Korean People in Haeju on August 21, 1948, to establish a North Korean government. Among 1,002 representatives attending the meeting were six represen-

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tatives from Jeju including Kim Dal-sam.

Kim Dal-sam delivered a speech about the legitimacy and achievements of the Jeju 4·3 incident at the debate. As the leadership of the armed rebels including Kim Dal-sam from Jeju supported the North Korean government, Jeju suffered more hard-line measures from the South Korean Government.

After Kim Dal-sam left Jeju, the armed resistance group was reshuffled under the leadership of Commander Lee Deok-gu as Kim's successor.

Chapter 3

Civilian Massacres and Ending the Incident

1. Execution of the Scorched Earth Strategy

The Rhee Administration founded the Jeju Defense Headquarters on October 11 and sent more troops to the island. However, things became out of control because on October 19 the 14th Regiment in Yeosu, South Jeolla Province refused to follow the order of going to Jeju.

On November 17, martial law was declared on Jeju. Before that, Song Yo-chan, the Commander of the 9th Regiment, issued a statement that anyone who entered the mid-mountain areas more than 5 km from the coastline would be regarded as a rebel and be shot to death. This was when the suppressive operation which would annihilate villages in the mid-mountain areas started to unfold.

With regard to this, an intelligence report from the US Army said that based on the assumption that all the villagers in the mid-mountain areas have provided aid and support for the armed guerillas, the 9th Regiment has adopted a program of mass slaughter on those residents. Kim Jeongmu, Intelligence Officer in October 1948, testified that inside the Army the operation of setting fire to villages was called scorched earth strategy. President Rhee thought that support from the US, fully aware of the importance of South Korea, could be highly likely only if the whole 4·3 incident came to an end, and he ordered the military to carry out merciless crackdown on Jeju. This implied that the scorched earth strategy was conducted sharing the same logic with the US. It was a reflection, with the Cold War deepening, of the willingness of the US to build a protective wall in Asia against Communism.

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Originally, the "scorched earth, ground zero strategy" was derived from war tactics of ancient China, called *Gyeonbyeokcheongya* (meaning to block all provisions to enemy forces by bringing in all grains in the field while fortifying a rampart). In the 20th century in East Asia, the Japanese Army adopted and applied this strategy, especially during the full-scale attack on Korean paramilitary in 1909. Then they also used this strategy to kill Korean resistance troops and independence activists in the Gando Massacre in 1920, and Chinese in Nanjing Massacre in 1937. This strategy was also known as tactics of setting fire to houses, killing residents and looting houses (three atrocious acts) and tactics of burning houses to the ground, killing and starving residents to death (three acts of eliminating everything) in military base areas where enemy forces were stationed. This atrocity was resurrected by officers of the Korean Constabulary who had served the Japanese Imperial Army during the Japanese colonial rule. The 4·3 incident was the epitome of the scorch earth strategy.

It is also used in the same way as the Three All Strategy or Annihilation Strategy in military strategy and other military principles.

□ Statement of Commander of the 9th Regiment Song Yo-chan

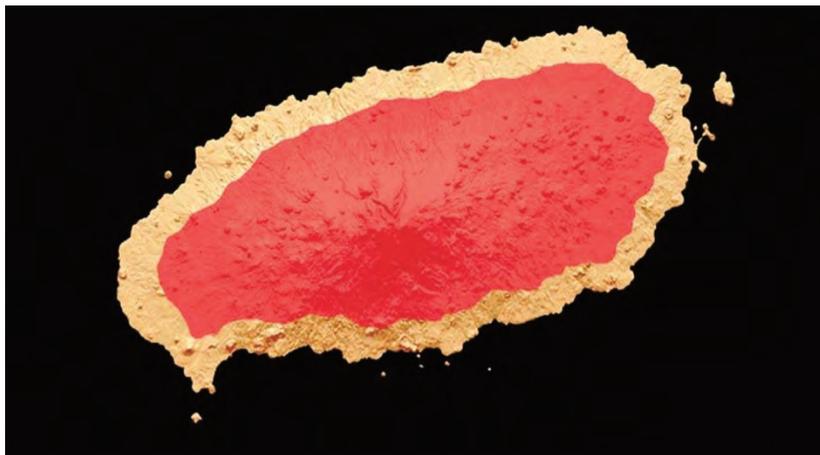
Statement of Commander of the 9th Regiment Major Song Yo-chan on October 17, 1948

For the purpose of maintaining peace on the island and bringing prosperity and safety for people, we the military ask Jeju citizens to fully cooperate with us, because in accordance with the supreme order of the government we are going to purge dissidents

who try to put the national sovereignty in jeopardy by breaking the island's peace and threatening the safety of residents. We order no entrance to areas further into Mt. Hallasan than 5km from the coastline of Jeju and in other mountainous areas, without permission, from October 20 to the end of military operation to sweep unpatriotic extremists who committed unpardonable atrocities hiding in Mt. Hallasan.

Anyone who violates this order, whatever the reason may be, will be regarded as a rebel and shot to death. If you need to pass mountainous areas for specific reason, you can obtain a special pass issued by the military upon request and be assured of safety.

- *Joseon Ilbo*, October 20, 1948



▲ Hostile areas marked as in the statement issued by Song Yo-chan, Commander of the 9th Regiment

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□ Martial Law issued by the government

Declaration of Martial Law on Jeju Island District

Martial law is declared on Jeju Island district enacted upon the approval voting of the cabinet meeting.

President Rhee Syng-man

November 17, *Dangi* 4281 (or A.D. 1948)

Presidential Decree No. 31

Regarding Declaration of Martial Law on Jeju Island District

In order to quickly suppress the rebellion on Jeju Island, Jeju Island is designated as a martial law district and Martial Law is imposed from the date of this declaration. The Martial Law commander shall be Commander of the 9th Regiment stationed on Jeju.

Official Gazette No. 14, November 17, 1948.

□ Administrative Policy Message of President Rhee Syng-man

Remarks of President Rhee Syng-man at the Cabinet Meeting on January 21, 1948

Administrative policy message (by President)

Even though the United States recognizes the significance of South Korea and shows a great deal of sympathy, they will dramatically increase support and aid only if we completely get rid of aftermath of incidents in Jeju and Jeollanamdo Province. It is essential that we express our respect to the dignity of law by brutally oppressing extorters and thieves.

The Cabinet Meeting Minutes, January 21, 1949



▲ Military Chief of Staff and his company of the 9th Regiment stationed in Jeju. From the fifth on the right in the back row, Regiment Commander Song Yo-chan, Chief of Staff Chae Byeong-deok, Assistant Chief of Staff for Logistics Kim Jeong-mu, and the fourth on the left, Vice Commander Seo Jong-cheol (October, 1948)

<Source: Major General Kim Jeong-mu, Assistant Chief of Staff for Logistics for the 9th Regiment>

2. Mass Murders and an "Island of Death"

The Scorched Earth Strategy triggered horrible massive killings mostly during the five months from the end of October 1948 until March 1949. A total death toll during the entire 4·3 incident is estimated to be between 25,000 and 30,000. The number of casualties through the end of September 1948 before the scorched earth strategy began was known to be less than 1,000.

The punitive troops forcefully moved the residents living in the mid-mountain areas to villages in the coastal areas to prevent them from con-

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necting with the rebel group and set fire to some 100 villages. There still were so many cases where some residents, including the sick, senior citizens and children refused to leave and chose to stay despite the eviction order.

However, indiscriminate shootings to those people happened anyway for no reason and setting fire to villages and mass murder took place in many places without even delivering an eviction order. For those who moved to coastal areas following the order, if a member of their family disappeared, they also were called a fugitive's family and shot to death. The eviction order itself was one that caused residents to flee to the mountain, extending it over a longer period of time with a huge number of victims.

On the other hand, the rebels continued to retaliate against the repression forces. After the indiscriminate punitive operation of November 1948, the rebel group accused some villages of being cooperative not to them but to the punitive troops and killed them indiscriminately. Sehwa-ri, Guzwa-myeon, Seongeup-ri, Pyoseon-myeon, Namwon-ri and Ouimiri, Namwon-myeon villages were classified as a stronghold of the punitive forces and hit hardest by the rebel group.

These villages were often bases for the military and the police, and saw killings of fugitives' families, so the rebels wanted to retaliate for them. After the rebel group was disintegrated, remaining hungry rebels would go to a village to plunder food, and then killed residents who stood guard there.

A report on April 1, 1949 from the Intelligence unit of the U.S Army reported 15,000 people killed, 80% of them murdered by the punitive forces. Between August 1948 when the Republic of Korea was founded and spring of 1949, tens of thousands of human beings were killed due to the crackdown of the combined forces of the military and the police and the armed rebels' retaliation. The eviction order made some 130 vil-

lages abandoned, devastating the entire Jeju community.

Late December 1948, although the troops in charge of oppression was changed from the 9th Regiment to the 2nd Regiment, Ham Byeong-seon, the Commander of the 2nd Regiment continued the harsh repressive operation. The leadership of the military tried to strengthen the capability of the 2nd Regiment to carry out the harsh crackdown. To begin, the radical anti-communist Seobuk Young Men's Association members were sent into the military and the police. The 3rd Battalion among three battalions of the 2nd Regiment consisted mostly of the Seobuk members. The punitive forces mass murdered villagers without even trials. The 3rd Battalion of the 2nd Regiment was behind the most tragic incident with the most casualties in Bukchon-ri, called Bukchon Incident¹ on January 17.

3. Return of Refugees from Mt. Hallasan and Disintegration of the Armed Rebels

With the open-arms operation of the Jeju District Battle Headquarter in March 1949, refugees who fled to the mountain came down to their villages. Then these refugees were detained in temporary shelters in Jeju-eup and Seogwipo regardless of young or old, men or women. This placation operation lasted until April, leaving many dead or injured and turning many into war prisoners. The number of civilian casualties and prisoners who turned themselves in continued to increase, reaching as many as 10,000.

1. On January 17 1949, the 3rd Battalion troops of the 2nd Regiment shot 350 villagers of Bukchon-ri to death at Bukchon Elementary School playground as a retaliatory measures after their two soldiers were raided and killed by the armed rebels near the village.

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▲ Inmates waiting to be interrogated. (November 1948)
<Source: US National Archive and Records Administration>

Under the placation operation saying that if you come down, you will be saved, residents came down with a white flag but kept in custody in an alcohol distillery factory in Jeju-eup. Some were released but many of them were brought to a court martial. Contrary to the principle of the placation operation, the military remained punitive to them. Without any knowledge of charges or the duration of their imprisonment, some 1,650 were transferred to prisons on the mainland after perfunctory sessions at the court martial.

On June 7, 1949, Lee Deok-gu, head of the armed rebels, was killed. Even though the armed resistance group was already disintegrated, Lee Deok-gu, as the head of the group after Kim Dal-sam, was a symbolic figure of the armed rebels and therefore his death had a huge impact. The Department of National Defense was very excited about this and announced that the 2nd Regiment played a pivotal role in killing the head of the armed rebel group.



▲ Alcohol distillery factory near the Jeju harbor where refugees were accommodated en masse.

<Source: US National Archive and Reports Administration>

The truth was that a police operation killed Lee Deok-gu. The police tied Lee's body to a wooden cross and displayed it before the main gate of the Jeju Police Station for a day and then cremated it.

4. Those Unaccounted For

Another tragedy happened to the island as the Korean War broke out in 1950. Members of *Bodo* League, or National Guidance of Alliance, and individuals on the blacklist and families of those who fled to the mountain were in preventive custody and then were executed. All inmates related to the 4·3 incident across the nation were subjected to summary convictions and killed. The total death toll from preventive custody and summary convictions is estimated to reach 3,000. The bereaved families have even yet not found their bodies.

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The preventive custody was conducted in Jeju as well. According to the police document, as of August 17, 1950, the total number of people who were in preventive custody in the four police stations was recorded at 1,120. Most of them were either thrown into the sea off the Jeju harbor or shot to death and buried secretly in Seogwipo, at the airfield in Jeju-eup and in Seotal-oreum near Songaksan Mountain on July 29 and August 4 and 20.

Some 250 residents who were detained at a grain storage house in Moseulpo were dragged out of the warehouse in the middle of the night on August 20, executed and buried at an ammunition supply site near Seotal-oreum. Then, in March 1956, families of victims who were in preventive custody at the police station in Hallim found 61 bodies and buried them in the *Manbengdui* community cemetery in Geumak-ri, Hallim-eup.



▲ *Baekjoilsonjiji* Memorial Gravestone (Sagye-ri, Andeok-myeon)

Two months later, bereaved families found 132 body remains and built a cemetery in Sagye-ri, Andeok-myeon. In 1960, the families placed a gravestone by raising funds and inscribed on it *Baekjoilsonjiji* (meaning that people from more than 100 different ancestors were killed at the same place on the same day and their bodies became one.)

Many accounts of eyewitnesses have been heard about the burial of hundreds of people who were in preventive custody at Jeju Police Station and then thrown into the sea off the Sanji harbor or taken to Jeongtre airfield, shot to death and buried. At Seogwipo Police Station, 250 detainees at a warehouse near Soldongsan hill were transported by military trucks to somewhere and killed.

4·3 incident-related mass murders were a nationwide phenomenon right after the Korean War. Thousands of inmates from Jeju who had survived the incident were detained in prisons on the mainland after trials either in a court or at a court martial, but they were eventually executed. When the Korean War broke out, 20,229 out of 37,335 inmates across the nation were detained at prisons south from Pyeongtaek.

The 4·3 incident related inmates from Jeju were about 200, and except those who served the full prison terms, 2,350 were still behind bars right after the Korean War, most of whom came up missing and never to return to Jeju.

Jeju-born inmates in Daejeon penitentiary were about 300 and all of them were executed at Sannae-myeon, Daedeok-gun, Chungnam Province in early July. Their body remains have not been collected yet, still buried at Golyeonggol, Nangwol-dong, Dong-gu, Daejeon-si.

Other Jeju-born inmates at the Daegu penitentiary were 142, and transferred to the military and the police, and then shot to death following the order of the highest ranking officials of the government. Shooting to death inmates, not prisoners on death row, was another illegal massacre.

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After the 3·1 Independence Movement and the following general strike in 1947, most Jeju citizens were charged or became fugitives. On an island surrounded by the sea, the only feasible option was to flee to Japan. Even after the 4·3 incident broke out in 1948, a large number of Jeju people chose to smuggle into the neighboring country on small boats. After the 4·3 uprising, in accordance with the provincial order, every coastline was completely sealed by US Navy vessels, blocking all sea transportation.

As a result, it was almost impossible to leave Jeju by vessel, considering all the circumstances such as closed maritime transport, aerial surveillance, night curfew, prior reporting of travel, martial law, and buildup of law enforcement including the police, Korean Constabulary and the young right-wing groups. However, according to many testimonies, there were still many people who made it to Japan without being noticed. Some of them had moved to Japan during the Japanese colonial rule in order to make a living, and then returned to their hometown after the liberation, full of hope. However, the tumultuous situation in Jeju made them go back to Japan and live there, mostly in Osaka. Some went to North Korea during the period from 1959 to 1984. Even if they wanted to come back to Jeju, a division of their country and conflicting ideologies have kept them from crossing the sea. It was a 4·3-induced Diaspora.

With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the whole country was under emergency martial law on July 8. In Jeju, Shin Hyun-jun, Commander of Marine Corps which was stationed in Jeju for the final crackdown on rebels, was appointed to the Martial Law Commander of Jeju. On July 16, the government set up the 5th Recruit Training Center at a Jeju alcohol distillery factory to train new recruits. On August 3, a student storm troop unit was created mostly from middle and high school students and some 3,000 young men of Jeju voluntarily enlisted in the

ROK Marine Corps' third and fourth recruitment. They participated in the Incheon Landing Operation and fought to reclaim Seoul, and finally raised the national flag at the Capitol Building on September 27.

On March 21, 1951, the existing 1st Recruit Training Center in Daegu, the 3rd Recruit Training Center in Busan, and the 5th Recruit Center in Jeju became incorporated into the 1st Recruit Training Center of the Army in Sangmo-ri, Daejeong-eup, with the Military Advisory Group of the 5th US Air Force. The Jeju Garrison Headquarters was also established to make sure that the island was securely protected, to maintain the order and discipline of the army, and to protect any buildings and facilities that belonged to the army.



▲ Married women are standing guard holding a bamboo spear (March 1949).

<Source: Photo album "Story of the 2nd Regiment Stationed in Jeju Island">

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As a part of the guard duty on the island was to stand guard and protect military facilities, the troops of the Garrison were also partially involved in the crackdown operation on remaining rebels. The number of military forces trained at the 1st Recruit Training Center in Moseulpo reached 500,000. A large number of youths from Jeju also enrolled the 1st Recruit Training Center. The number of youths from Jeju who participated in combat with either the army or the marines during the Korean War amounted to about 10,000. Once stigmatized as an island of *palgaengi*, by the government, Jeju people played a critical role in fending off aggression from North Korea.

In 1952, the Jeju Police Bureau set up the 100 Combat Police Headquarter and attempted to get rid of remaining armed rebels on the slopes of Mt. Hallasan. In January 1953, Rainbow Unit, a special combat unit, (Commander Major Park Chang-am) was sent to the operation area in Mt. Hallasan. At that time, there were only a few rebels remaining in the mountain. On April 2, 1957, the last rebel Oh Won-gwon was captured in Gujwa-myeon, Songdang-ri, ending the whole 4·3 incident.

On September 21, 1954, Shin Sang-muk, Commissioner of Jeju Police Force, lifted the off-limits areas in Mt. Hallasan and opened them up. Jeju people would no longer have to stand guard around villages. Efforts were made to reconstruct abandoned mid-mountain villages and move villagers back to those areas.

Chapter 4

Damages and Shackles of the 4·3 Incident

The Jeju 4·3 Incident lasted for seven years from the period of the US Military Government until after the foundation of the government of South Korea, causing the second largest number of casualties next to the Korean War in the modern history of Korea. Initiated by the 3·1 Independence Movement day shooting incident in 1947 and the 4·3 armed uprising in 1948, the 4·3 incident claimed 25,000 to 30,000 lives during armed clashes between rebels and repression forces and over the course of the entire quelling operation. Approximately 40,000 houses were destroyed and a majority of villages in mid-mountain areas were abandoned. Public buildings including schools and town centers were burned and industrial facilities were destroyed. As the 4·3 incident came to an end in 1954, efforts were made to restore devastated villages and relocate the homeless. But the after-effects of the 4·3 incident were hard to get rid of. Families of victims were tormented by the guilty-by-association system and the National Security Law. Mental scars from torture, such as post-traumatic stress disorder and the "Red complex" were not healed. Those escaping to Japan were never to return and those who returned after serving the prison terms were haunted by surveillance from the public security authorities.

1. Casualties

The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju 4·3 Incident and Honoring Victims (4·3 Committee) undertook reviews and screening on victims for the first time in 2002, and identified 14,231 victims and 59,225 families of victims until May 23, 2014. <Refer to Table 1-1, Table 1-2, and Table 1-3>

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<Table 1-1> Number of 4·3 Victims and Victims' Families

(Unit: No. of people)

		Victims					Families
		Total	Dead	Missing	Disabled	Imprisoned	
Result of Review	Sub-Total	14,311	10,249	3,583	233	246	59,599
	Qualified	14,231	10,245	3,578	163	245	59,225
	Disqualified	78	4	3	70	1	371
	Withdrawn	2		2			3

<Table 1-2> Number of Victims by Gender

(Unit: No. of people)

	Total	Dead	Missing	Disabled	Imprisoned
Total	14,231	10,245	3,578	163	245
Male	11,241	7,704	3,217	97	223
Female	2,990	2,541	361	66	22

<Table 1-3> Number of Victims by Age

(Unit: No. of people)

	Total	Dead	Missing	Disabled	Imprisoned
Total	14,231	10,245	3,578	163	245
Under 10	770	679	73	18	
11-20	2,464	1,684	601	90	91
21-30	5,461	3,277	2,027	46	109
31-40	2,291	1,652	601	9	29
41-50	1,383	1,190	181	-	12
51-60	959	886	69	-	4
61-70	557	541	16	-	
Over 71	344	334	10	-	
Age Unidentified	2	2	-	-	

Considering a number of sources and demographic data, it is estimated that casualties from the 4·3 incident are 25,000 to 30,000.

According to the statistics confirmed by the 4·3 Committee, the total casualties by the quelling forces and the rebel group accounts for 84.3 percent, or 12,000 people and 12.3 percent, or 1,756, respectively. In particular, children aged under 10 and senior citizens aged over 61 take up 11.7 percent of the total victims. The proportion of female victims is high (21.2 percent, or 2,990), which implies that the indiscriminate, excessive quelling operation was carried out.



▲ Gravestones for missing people from the 4·3 incident (Jeju 4·3 Peace Park)

2. Material Damage and "Lost Villages"

The Scorch Earth Operation led by the 9th Regiment from November 1948 burned to the ground more than 95 percent of mountainous villages

and took so many lives.

The material damage from the 4·3 incident can be classified as destruction and loss of villages and communities, incineration of public facilities, and damages to industrial sectors. As for damages to villages, some 300 villages were lost, and 40,000 houses and around 20,000 households were destroyed. These figures correspond with those in an official announcement by the Jeju provincial government in 1953, in which 19,934 households were afflicted by the incident and 39,285 houses were lost. As the 4·3 incident developed, frequent armed clashes between rebels and the quelling forces of the army and the police incinerated and destroyed public facilities, including schools, public offices, and police stations. Because the public offices at Andeok-myeon, Gujwa-myeon, Jungmun-myeon, and Jocheon-myeon were burned down, family registries were lost.

In addition, various kinds of industries also had to suffer a severe recession, such as agriculture, livestock, fishing, fishing by woman divers and trade, which made the lives of Jeju people very hard.

The lives of Jeju people were in dire situation with 28.8 percent of the total population unemployed as of May 1949.

In September 1954, after the order to prohibit entering Mt. Hall was lifted, those who had lived around mid-mountain areas went back to their villages. They tried to reconstruct their houses and cultivate farmland, but it was not easy. What's more, those living in mid-mountain villages were frequently evacuated because those villages were considered places where guerillas were spotted frequently. There were many people who did not want to go back to their villages after the incident since traces of mass murders still remained there.

Many people from mid-mountain villages were already dead and some villagers settled down in the coastal areas across the island after the eviction order, which made it all the more difficult to go back to their original villages.

Those who did not return to their home until 1962, 15 years after the 4·3 incident, were 7,704 households and 40,419 people.

Although the national government and Jeju provincial office made every effort to reconstruct destroyed villages and communities, more than half of villagers refused to move back. Instead, thanks to the recovery effort by the government, the Korean War refugees from different provinces became new villagers in mid-mountain areas filled in the hilly mountainous areas, not going back to their home town.

Still, despite the active restoration and refugees settlement program over the long period of time, mid-mountain villages remained abandoned across Jeju as many residents did not return to their old homes. And still some of them are found across the island. These villages are "lost villages" due to the 4·3 incident. Some of the hardest-hit villages during the 4·3 incident became lost villages as villages were abandoned because villagers came back but failed to restore their villages as they had been before.



▲ Lost Village of Goneul-dong (Hwabuk-dong, Jeju City)

3. Shackles of the Guilt-by-Association System

Another painful reality of the Jeju 4·3 Incident is that the sacrifices of those innocent people passed onto their families. The bereaved families were always watched and had so many limits to their social life through the guilt-by-association principle only because their families were murdered by the quelling group of the military and the police or indicted during the incident. Jeju people and families of victims were not able to lead normal lives due to this guilt-by-association without any legal ground and suffered from so-called Red Complex.

In Korea, the guilt-by-association was officially abolished during the *Gabo* Reform of 1894. However, it revived and existed in practice through the black list during the Japanese colonial rule and the background check by which the ideologically suspicious were screened out after the liberation with the South and the North in confrontation.

In the case of the 4·3 incident, in August 1950, 27,000 members of the Bodo League and around 50,000 members of families related to the incident were handled separately by the authorities.

It was in August 1980 that the Standing Committee for the National Security Emergency Action announced that the guilt-by-association would be abolished and then the Department of Internal Affairs announced its abolishment guidance as a follow-up measure in March 1981.

The Constitution of the Fifth Republic of South Korea (Clause 3 of Article 12) and that of the Sixth Republic of Korea (Clause 3 of Article 13) clearly stated the invalidation of the system.

A majority of Jeju citizens have been victims of the guilt-by-association system because of the 4·3 incident. According to a survey with 75 people of the bereaved families conducted by the Citizens' Alliance for Investigating the Truth on 4·3 and Honoring Victims in August 2000, 86 percent of the respondents said that they had suffered from this system. They were at a disadvantage and got unfavorable treatment in several

situations as follows because of the guilt-by-association system. (Respondents were allowed to check more than two.)

Cases of unfavorable treatment	Percentage (%)
Examination for public officials	26
Entrance examinations including military academy	23
Job applications to or promotion in state, public or private enterprises	18
Promotion in the military or the police	16
Traveling at home and abroad, and immigration procedure	8
Daily lives under surveillance	30
Background checks	60

This survey clearly shows that it is imperative to recover the honor of those dead victims of the 4-3 incident and to protect human rights and recover the honor of survivors as well.

Chapter 5

Long Journey to Discover the Truth on the 4·3 Incident

1. Efforts to Get to the Bottom of the 4·3 Incident and Difficulties

Public discourse on the 4·3 incident kicked off after the government of the Liberal Party collapsed due to the April 19th Revolution in 1960. Jeju National University students established the Comrades Association for Discovering the Truth on 4·3 Incident in May 1960, seven students leading the effort. Later, on May 27, a rally was held by a group of residents and victims' families gathered in Moseulpo, Namjeju-gun, calling for the investigation on the mass murder by special forces.

On May 23, 1960, as the National Assembly created a panel for looking into the mass murder on the civilians in Geochang and Hamyang, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, representatives from Jeju Island also submitted a motion to investigate the 4·3 incident. The Assembly approved it and extended the scope of the investigation that was originally intended to cover Gyeongsangnam-do Province (led by Choi Cheon) into Jeju, which carried out an investigation on the tragedy in Jeju for one day on June 6. During the public hearing held in the assembly hall of the Jeju Provincial Council the victims' families with sorrow and resentment accumulated over ten years exposed illegality of the massacre at that time and complained of injustice. For only three days as many as 1,259 cases of damages and 1,457 cases of human losses were reported to *Jeju Shinbo*.

Discussion on the 4·3 incident did not start in earnest until the April 19th Revolution, but came to a halt by the May 16th Military Coup.

The next day after the 5/16 Coup, on May 17, 1961, Lee Mun-gyo and Park Gyeong-gu from the Comrades Association were arrested and im-



▲ Members of the Comrades Association for Discovering the Truth on the 4·3 Incident. (From left in the first low, Hwang Dae-jeong, Lee Mun-gyo, Park Gyeong-gu; and from left in the second low, Ko Sun-hwa, Ko Si-hong, Chae Man-hwa, Yang Gi-hyuk)

prisoned for six months. Shin Du-bang, the executive director of *Jeju Shinbo*, who had taken the lead in encouraging the victims' families to report their cases, was also arrested. The bereaved families in Moseulpo who participated in the rally for fact-finding were arrested and suffered hardships. On June 15, the police crushed and buried the memorial gravestone Baekjoilson, which had been set up the previous year by families of preventive custody victims.

Over two decades after the 5/16 Coup, any type of discourse related to the 4·3 incident became taboo. Not a single word was allowed about the 4·3 incident under the Anti-Communist Law, National Security Law and the guilt-by-association system. The 4·3 incident was disappearing in the mists of history.

Efforts to recognize the 4·3 incident again were not made until *Suni*

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Samchon, or Aunt Suni, a novel written by Hyun Gi-young and published in 1978 described the atrocity of the incident and subsequent scars in a very realistic fashion. The writer himself was taken into custody by the intelligence agency and suffered hardships on a charge of touching on the highly sensitive subject.

After the pro-democracy movement in the late 1980s, the 4·3 incident was put back on the table for discussion. It surfaced as a critical subject among students and civilian activists after the civilian uprising in 1987. As the mood for pro-democracy movement ran high, debates on the 4·3 incident became more heated. Efforts to find truth on the incident started as a resistant social movement, which was supported by abundant knowledge and human resources coupled with the nationalistic democratic movement.



▲ A rally hosted by the Student Council of Jeju National University to call for the investigation on the 4·3 Incident (April 1989, in front of the Student Hall, Photographed by Kim Gi-sam).

On April 3, 1987, the Student Council of Jeju National University held the first memorial service for the victims of the incident. Students involved in posting propaganda poster defining the 4·3 as a civil uprising were taken to the police station. After that, in an effort to urge the investigation to be carried out, rallies and gatherings for honoring victims were held in the college campus when April 3 was near.

In 1989, a preparatory committee for the 41st 4·3 memorial service, consisting of civic groups in Jeju and the Association for Jeju Society's Issues in Seoul, held the 4·3 memorial service in the Citizen Hall, Jeju.

On May 10 in the same year, Jeju 4·3 Research Institute was launched. Since its foundation, the Institution compiled testimonies of eyewitnesses and published books, which in turn has become the basis for academic discourses. On April 3, 1989, *Jeju Shinmun* embarked on series titled "The Testimonies of 4·3". Due to the internal affairs of *Jeju Shinmun*, the series were discontinued in late 1989, but when several employees of *Jeju Shinmun* left the newspaper and founded *Jemin Ilbo*, the series were resumed as the special program for its foundation, "The 4·3 Talks", which helped document testimonies on the 4·3 in a more systematic way. Then local TV networks in Jeju, as well, began airing special programs related to the 4·3 incident.

Individuals and organizations from various circles, even including artists, joined the movement to get to the bottom of the incident. In October 1993, the Consultative Organization of Student Councils in Jeju submitted a petition for calling for a special law on the 4·3 to be enacted and a special committee to be formed. In 1995, the 4·3 Special Committee in the Jeju Provincial Council published a damage report related to the incident.

In April 1997, the People's Committee for Promoting the 50th Commemoration of the 4·3 Incident was established, and efforts to find the truth on the incident became a nationwide movement.

2. Enactment of the 4·3 Special Law

For the presidential election in December, 1997, Kim Dae-jung, the presidential candidate of the National Congress for New Politics, pledged in his campaign that he would investigate the truth on the 4·3 incident and recover the reputations of those involved in it. Accordingly, in March 1998 the Special Investigation Committee for Investigating the Truth on the 4·3 Incident (Special Committee of the National Congress) was formed. The Committee carried out public hearings on the 4·3 incident in Jeju and at the National Assembly on May 7 and on September 28, respectively.

When the year 1999 began, the movement for fact-finding continued to gather momentum in Jeju. In March the same year, the Jeju Citizens Alliance for Fact Finding on the 4·3 and Reputation Recovery was established. Those involved in find the truth spared no efforts to have a special law passed before the regular session of the 15th National Assembly ended in late December 1999. In October, the Joint Congress for Legislating a 4·3 Special Law was formed by 24 organizations of the victims' families and civic groups and joined the movement to have a special law enacted. Jeju citizens expressed their support by signing on the petition and donating money. In addition, the Joint Congress got to make public a declaration of 184 civic organizations and 694 activists across the nation calling for a Jeju 4·3 special law to be enacted and promoted nationally the legitimacy of a 4·3 special law.

Eventually, the Administration and Autonomy Committee of the National Assembly incorporated the bills on a 4·3 special law from the ruling and opposition parties into one and sent the finalized bill to the plenary session for approval. The Jeju 4·3 Special Law for Fact Finding and Reputation Recovery was passed on December 16, 1999.

On January 11, 2000, President Kim Dae-jung signed the bill into a law at the Blue House while 8 representatives for victims' families and civic

groups who had been leading the movement for fact finding were watching the president.



▲ President Kim Dae-jung signing on the Jeju 4·3 Special Law (Blue House, January 11, 2000)

The 4·3 Special Law has its purpose stated in Article 1, saying that it is aimed at finding the truth on the 4·3 incident and recovering reputations of victims and their families, and thereby helping promote human rights, develop democracy and unite people together. This special law was a result of determinations to reflect on and resolve the long-overdue issue of fact-finding on the 4·3 incident and reputation recovery for victims more than 50 years after the incident happened.

Under the 4·3 Special Law, the Committee for Investigating the Truth on the 4·3 Incident and Recovering Reputation for Victims (the 4·3 Com-

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mittee) was launched and initiated projects such as writing and finalizing a fact finding report, receiving claims from victims and their families and identifying them, creating a 4·3 peace park and building a 4·3 peace memorial hall and offering financial support for medical care of victims and families and for daily lives of those disabled from the after-effects. The 4·3 Special Law was first amended and promulgated in January 2007. The amendment includes the expansion of the scope of victims from the dead, the missing and the disabled from the after-effects to inmates and the expansion of the scope of the bereaved families from spouses, lineal ascendants and descendants, or siblings to cousins who hold memorial service for victims or manage a victim's grave if a victim does not have any family descendants.

Legal basis was laid for government support for and the establishment of a 4·3 peace foundation which would further investigate the truth and carry out projects such as operating and maintaining a memorial hall and a park. Cases of research on massacre and burial sites and cases of excavation and collection of human remains were added to the list of items which would be deliberated and put to vote for approval by the committee.

In August 2013, the 4·3 Special Law was amended again. The National Assembly passed the amendment and stipulated, as its incidental opinion on designating April 3 as an official memorial day, that April 3 would be designated as an official anniversary by amending the executive order of Regulations on Different Kinds of Anniversaries, opening up the possibility for the day to become a national memorial day.

In addition, it became legally possible for the nation to offer financial support for daily lives of victims and their families.

A special case was newly added to the law so that the 4·3 Peace Foundation could receive money and other valuables voluntarily donated to the Foundation to the extent suitable to purposes of the projects.

3. Finalization of a Fact Finding Report and Presidential Apologies



▲ President Roh Moo-hyun apologizing to victims of the 4·3 Incident (Ramada Hotel, Jeju City, October 31, 2003)

On October 15, 2003, the official report covering the truth on the 4·3 incident by the government of Republic of Korea was finalized. On October 31, President Roh Moo-hyun visited Jeju and based on the report he officially apologized for the wrongdoing of governmental authority in the past. That means that the government admitted the sacrifices of so many civilians by governmental authority.

On January 27, 2005, Jeju was officially designated as an Island of Peace by President Roh signing the designation declaration himself. During the signing ceremony on that day, President Roh emphasized the significance of the designation as an

island of peace, saying, "The designation of Jeju as an Island of Peace was not only the long-cherished desire of Jeju people but also the rational decision since Jeju has qualification for it. As an island of *sammu* (meaning three things that Jeju does not have, which are beggars, thieves and gates), Jeju has long history of promoting peace. Even though it went through the most tragic incident of 4·3 in its history, it becomes a model of overcoming it through the process of fact finding and reconciliation, which is the universal standard for resolving past events."

4. Designation as an Official Anniversary

Designating 4·3 Memorial Day as an official anniversary was the finishing touch given by the government to resolve the 4·3 incident following finalizing the report and then issuing apologies by the president. For the presidential election in December 2012, then-candidate Park Geun-hye promised as one of her campaign pledges that she would designate April 3 as an official anniversary. In August 2013, the National Assembly passed the amendment to the 4·3 Special Law and stipulated, as its incidental opinion on designating April 3 as an official memorial day, that April 3 would be designated as an official anniversary by amending the executive order of Regulations on Different Kinds of Anniversaries, laying the actual foundation for the day to become a national memorial day.

Finally, on March 18, 2014, the government amended the Regulations on Different Kinds of Anniversaries during the cabinet meeting and ran the result on the gazette on March 24, making public the amendment to the executive order for designating the memorial day of 4·3 victims.

With the designation of April 3 as an official memorial day, settlement of the 4·3 incident became a good example of dealing with national issues through the unity of people and reconciliation. It served as a momentum to resolve ideological debates and conflicts which had happened surrounding the 4·3 incident.

April 3 Memorial Day will be observed as a national event according to its official status, and is expected to go beyond the memorial service of Republic of Korea and become a universal event, announcing and embodying the spirit of peace into the world.

In the past, since the 4·3 incident was kept in the dark as a taboo, families had a hard time in even holding the memorial service for victims publicly. They went through so many difficulties for the day to be designated

as an official anniversary.

In 1989, the Joint Preparation Committee for the 4·3 Memorial Service, consisting of 11 civic groups in Jeju, held its first memorial service as an official event.

In June 1990, the bereaved families formed the Association of Civilian Victims' Families of the 4·3 Incident (Families Association) and also held their first memorial service in April 1991.

From that, the Families Association and civic groups held the 4·3 memorial service and 4·3 commemorative event separately, but then in 1994 the Jeju Provincial Council stepped in to mediate and reached an agreement to hold the joint memorial service by the Families Association and the Joint Preparation Committee.



▲ The 4·3 Memorial Service to commemorate the 41st anniversary in Jeju Citizen Hall, on April 3, 1989

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In 1997, in order for all residents of Jeju to sublimate the scars from the 4·3 incident, the Citizens Steering Committee for Memorial Services for Victims of the Jeju 4·3 Incident was created and held the joint memorial service every year from 1998 which marked the 50th anniversary of 4·3. Then from 2000 when the 4·3 Special Law was enacted, the service was named the "Citizens' Memorial Service for Victims of the Jeju 4·3 Incident" and held at newly purchased plot of land for the 4·3 Peace Park in Bonggae-dong, Jeju City.

President Roh participated in the memorial service and paid his respects in 2006 for the first time as a chief of state, apologizing to residents of Jeju once again.

Chapter 6

Establishment of Jeju 4·3 Peace Park and Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation

Upon enactment of the Jeju 4·3 Special Law, a series of memorial initiatives ensued after the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall, and Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation were established with the government support.

1. Creation of Jeju 4·3 Peace Park

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Park was built with the purpose of honoring victims of the Jeju 4·3 incident and consoling bereaved families, while serving as a learning place to promote peace and human rights to the next generation.

The construction of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park represented a governmental compensation for the Jeju 4·3 incident. President Kim Dae-jung, during his visit to Jeju, made a pledge to earmark 3 billion KRW of special state subsidiary toward the park construction, and was followed by enactment of the Jeju 4·3 Special Law (2000). The initiative went smoothly as planned. The land for the construction was purchased, the basic plan for building the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park and the design for the Jeju 4·3 Memorial Hall were drawn up. Construction kicked off in July 2006 and lasted until September 2007. Finally it was completed on March 28, 2008 after the monuments were installed and displayed.

The process started in March 2002 and was completed in February 2008. The education hall, which is the third phase of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park construction project, is scheduled to be finished in late 2016.

Some 200,000 visitors including historians at home and abroad and students on field trips have witnessed the truth of the Jeju 4·3 incident and its lessons.

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In the enshrinement room inside the peace park lie 14,095 tablets for the victims, except 106 survivors among a total of 14,231 casualties. Among those tablets are 95 for the policemen and 35 for the soldiers.

Headstones numbering 3,884 for those unaccounted for are placed on the memorial section for those missing. In 2011, another enshrinement room was built, where 396 pieces of excavated human remains are placed.

▲ Profile of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park

- Location: 430 Myeonglim-ro, Jeju City (237-2, Bonggae-dong)
- Area: 396,743 m² (Approx. 120,000 pyeong)
- Project Details

Phase 1: A total of 11.2 billion KRW spent, Memorial Altar, Memorial Tower, Memorial Square

Phase 2: A total of 48 billion KRW spent, Enshrinement Room, public facilities including parking lot, Memorial Hall

Phase 3: Jeju 4·3 Peace Education Center (under construction, 2014 - 2016)



▲ A birds-eye view of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park (Bonggae-dong, Jeju City)

2. Construction of Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall

As part of the phase 2 for the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park, the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall has as the legal basis for its construction under the Jeju 4·3 Special Law stipulating the building of the history archive. (The name "history archive" was later changed to the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall)

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall serves not only as a place of education for the next generations to awaken their consciousness not to repeat the tragic incident, but also as a place of "peace and human rights" to help settle peace on the Korean Peninsula and even around the world, while highlighting the importance of human rights

The design of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall was chosen through a public contest and its construction began in January 2006. During the construction, the Advisory Committee for the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall was formed to provide technical input on procedures. An exhibition and planning team was also set up to be in charge of the exhibition events. In addition, an artwork team that comprised a group of art professionals took charge of setting the tone of the center and obtaining items for presentation and display. The Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall officially opened to the public on March 28, 2008, after two years of construction.

▲ Profile of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Museum

- Area: 11,456 m² (four-story building with one basement)
- Layout
 - Basement: All-year-round exhibition room
 - 1st Floor: Auditorium, storage, Museum Cafe, Lobby, reception desks
 - 2nd Floor: Featured Exhibition Room, Open Exhibition Room
 - 3rd Floor: open-shelf reference room, Archives, back offices
 - 4th Floor: back offices, meeting rooms (3)

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- Titles of Exhibitions
 - Cave of History: Prologue
 - A Wavering Island: Liberation and Frustration
 - An Island on the Wind: Armed Uprising and Protest against the Division
 - A Burning Island: Annihilation and Mass Murder
 - A Flowing Island: Aftereffects and Journey on the Discovery of the Truth
 - New Beginning: Epilogue
 - Special Exhibition Room: Darangshigul Cave (An area for the excavation of human remains)



▲ An overview of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Memorial Hall

3. Establishment of Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation has the legal basis for its establishment in the revised Jeju 4·3 Special Law (January 24, 2007). It was formed on October 16, 2008 after the preparation process. For the promotion of

peace and enhancement of human rights, the Foundation takes charge of the management and operation of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park and the Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, additional investigation into the incident, initiatives to honor victims and support the bereaved families, cultural and academic research and education programs, and exchange projects on the theme of peace at home and abroad.

The Jeju 4·3 Special Law stipulates that the government will provide financial support necessary to run those projects.

□ Additional Investigation into the Jeju 4·3 Incident

The investigation has been focused on the damage under the sub-categories of towns, types of damages, 4·3-related records collected from abroad.

Twelve *eup* and *myeon* administrative districts and 165 villages have become the subject of the research. It began in 2012 and the report is scheduled to be published in 2017.

As for the further investigation into those unaccounted for, detailed investigation has been conducted into a total of 3,518 people who were tried by general court or a court martial and then put to jail in Jeju and on the mainland during the period of the 4·3 incident. The investigation aims to identify unreported missing people and confirm their whereabouts and discover the last place where they were seen.

The research on damage was divided into four categories: education, religion, patriots and veterans, Jeju-born expatriates living in Japan. The first investigation was completed in 2015.

The additional investigation report on the damage by village and type

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will be of great help to comprehend the severity and intensity of the atrocity that Jeju Island had to endure during the incident. It will further promote the study on the Jeju 4·3 incident in diverse areas and help discover the truth. Above all, it is expected to develop fact-based historical awareness programs and cultural contents serving as local resources to shed light on the dark memory of the past.

□ Welfare Initiatives for Bereaved Families

The 4·3 memorial ceremony for those perished is the essence of other projects honoring victims and welfare assistance for bereaved families. As the 3rd day of April was first designated as a statutory holiday in 2014, the 66th Anniversary Memorial Ceremony was held by the government. Welfare assistance programs include the maintenance of the 4·3 graveyards scattered around some 16 villages on the island and provide administrative support for memorial services on a small scale.



▲ The 66th Memorial Ceremony for Casualties of Jeju 4·3 Incident (April 3, 2014, the Memorial Altar at the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park)

As part of the welfare assistance program, bereaved families have received medical aid benefits, which cover 30 percent of their share of an outpatient bill. It amounted to 1.539 billion KRW in 2015 starting with 47 million KRW in 2009.

Since 2014, the daughters-in-law of the 4·3 victims have received health care coverage close to that of bereaved families. Some government-designated hospitals and clinics including oriental medical clinics across the island have been providing convenience to the bereaved.

Monthly financial aid of 300,000 KRW has been being paid to those who survived and 50,000 KRW to those aged over 80.

□ Culture and Academic Initiatives

Cultural and academic research and education programs for middle and high school students include The 4·3 Essay Contest, the National 4·3 Peace Camp for the youth, the Provincial 4·3 Writing Contest for the youth. College students have participated in The 4·3 Academy for College Students from Home and The 4·3 Academy for International College Students. For the citizens, The 4·3 History and Culture Academy, the Training Program for 4·3 Narrators, the Teachers' Training Camp for 4·3 History and Culture, and the Jeju 4·3 Peace Forum are held.

MOUs have been signed with Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Office of Education, Tamna Education Center, and Jeju Research Center for Women and Family in an effort to produce more substantive outcomes from those educational activities.

□ Exchange Projects on Peace at Home and Abroad

The intention is to raise the awareness of the truth of the Jeju 4·3 incident nationally and internationally by increasing the opportunities for mutual visits among history- and peace-and-human rights-related organizations at home and abroad. In particular, in order to enhance peace and human

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rights in East Asia, five human rights organizations from Korea, two from Japan and two from Taiwan signed an MOU for The East Asia Democracy, Peace and Human Rights Network in 2012, working closely. The 4·3 Incident Investigation Report was translated in English and Japanese (2003), distributed to governments, universities, and libraries around the world.

□ Key Initiatives

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation has been pushing forward the creation of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Prize, the publication of the Jeju 4·3 Reconciliation Report, a musical composition dedicated to the Jeju 4·3 incident, the building of the Jeju 4·3 Archives, academic support for research on the Jeju 4·3 incident, and designation of the Jeju 4·3 Peace Park as a Sacred Site of Peace.

The Jeju 4·3 Peace Prize is awarded to any individual or organization that has made a remarkable contribution to promoting the spirit of peace, human rights and democracy as core values that manifested in the course of reconciliation movement and the discovery of the truth of the Jeju 4·3 incident. It is awarded in April every other year. The first ceremony was held in 2015 to commemorate the 67th anniversary of the incident. To be bestowed to the awardees are 50,000 US dollars, and another \$10,000 to special award winners. Kim Seok-beom, author of the novel *Hwasando* and a Korean expatriate peace activist in Japan, won his first Peace Award, and Mohammad Imam Aziz, chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama central board (PBNU), has been honored with the Jeju 4·3 Peace Award Special Prize.

The Jeju 4·3 Reconciliation Report intends to deliver to the next generations the spirit of reconciliation and peace of Jeju citizens who over-

came past suffering through the process to investigate the Jeju 4·3 incident. The report will contain unknown episodes about how conflicts were resolved during the investigation and the attempts to enact the Special Law. It also aims to remember and preserve those testimonies and documents produced during the progress to settle the conflicting issues. It is scheduled to be published in 2016.

Memorial songs for the Jeju 4·3 incident are recorded and released to honor the dead, facilitate the spirit of reconciliation and living in harmony, and emphasize the importance of people's unity in shifting from the era of darkness to the one of light. Songs were chosen through a national contest and have been played before the opening of the ceremony since in 2015.

The titles of the songs are *Love Song of Island* (Lyrics by Ko Young-suk, Tune by Hur Geol-jae) and *May It Be a Light* (Lyrics by Lee Hwa-in, Tune by Han Su-ran, Roh Jeong-suk).

A 4·3 digital archive has been created to collect, manage, and make available the 4·3 data on request. From 2016, it allows the public to gain access to the data with the state-of-the-art data management system for effective management and research of the archive. The archive is expected to improve the accessibility of the 4·3 materials, facilitate the 4·3 studies and contribute to the development of educational contents.

For academic support, it will help focus on unresolved issues and expand research infrastructures and capacity, which lead to the theoretical grounds for the 4·3-associated policy making. It will assist to produce 4·3 research and thesis papers. A “4·3 research support fund” will be established in 2016 to carry out the systemic research and study of Jeju 4·3 incident.

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Jeju 4·3 Peace Park as Sacred Site of Peace is designed to transform the memorial space into a holy site that transcends the suffering of the past, which eventually disseminates the spirit of peace from the tragic incident to all corners of the world. The project will do the research on “4·3 righteous people” and honor them a variety of cultural activities. In addition, installing a peace bell and designating a peace forest will be good initiatives to serve the cause.

Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation will make every effort to resolve all of the issues associated with the Jeju 4·3 Incident and become an exemplary case in cleaning up the past incidents, based upon three principles to deal with the Jeju 4·3 Incident: truth, responsibility, and reconciliation.

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Publisher: Lee Mun-gyo
Editor: Park Chan-sik
Address: 4F, Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation
63313
430 Myeonglim-ro, Jeju City, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
Telephone: 82-64-723-4301
Fax: 82-64-723-4303
Website: www.jeju43peace.or.kr

<Note> This booklet is a summarized edition of the *Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report* published in 2003 by the Committee for Investigation on the Truth of Jeju 4·3 Incident and Honoring the Victims. It has also added updated materials since then. We hope it will be of great assistance to readers.