Rethinking Archival Practices for Records Documenting Jeju 4.3 (Jeju April Third)

by

Eunjung Park

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Department of History (Archival Studies)
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University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg
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Abstract

This thesis explores how archives, which manage records that document state-perpetrated violence, can play a role in holding governments accountable for past atrocities and fostering truth and reconciliation. I argue for the importance of adopting a survivor-centered approach as a framework to fulfill this role. The victims, survivors and their families of Jeju 4.3 (Jeju April Third, [*Jeju sasam*]) have endured the effects of state violence that have persisted for decades, but state-led truth and reconciliation processes, influenced by anti-communism in South Korea, have failed to adequately address the sufferings of all those affected. Despite the potential for archives to become dynamic agents in revealing the truth and making the government accountable for past injustices, current archival practices regarding the records of Jeju 4.3 have taken an administrative-centered approach. These practices sideline the perspectives of those subjected to state violence in Jeju, consequently impeding the archives' role in holding the state accountable. Considering these shortcomings, the thesis argues that archives need to rethink their current practices and adopt a survivor-centered approach. Through this shift of framework, archives can provide a meaningful platform for marginalized voices, facilitate the truth and reconciliation process, and help to reduce the harms of anti-communism that are deeply rooted in South Korea. Shifting to a survivor-centered approach for the records of Jeju 4.3 involves four avenues of engagement: recognizing a broader spectrum of victims and survivors, engaging them as stakeholders in the archival process, adopting survivor-centered arrangement and descriptive practices, and valuing physical objects as meaningful records.

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Introduction

Jeju Island, located on the southern coast of South Korea, is always beautiful. When I listen to the happy, excited voices of travelers, I share their joyfulness for a while. However, my feeling of joy soon gives way to thoughts of the painful reality of Jeju. Each beautiful landscape my eyes rest upon is intertwined with memories of Jeju 4.3 (Jeju April Third, [*Jeju sasam*])[1], state violence perpetrated by South Korean government. Jeju 4.3 not only stands as one historical event, but also represents the sedimented histories of state-sponsored violences and its long lasting impacts in Jeju. Jeju 4.3 began on April 3, 1948 and lasted for seven years, resulting in the massacre of nearly 30,000 residents of the island, which amounted to 10% of the population in Jeju.[2] It was omitted from official histories of South Korea, and the victims, survivors, and their families were forced to remain silent for half a century until 1999. Some survivors and following generations of victims and survivors were unjustly accused of participating in North Korean espionage in the 1970s and 1980s and imprisoned for over ten years.

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[1] Sungman Koh, "Trans-Border Rituals for the Dead: Experiential Knowledge of Paternal Relatives after Jeju 4.3," *Journal of Korean Religions* 9, no. 1 (2018): 98-99. In South Korea, Jeju 4.3 is described variously as as "the April Third Struggle," "the Jeju Uprising," "the Jeju Riot," "the Rebellion," "the Jeju Tragedy," and "the Jeju Massacre." Each represents a different perspective on what aspects of the event should be highlighted and how this traumatic historical event should be understood. Sungman Koh explores different meanings regarding these terms. For example, the term "riot" implies that this historical event was orchestrated by North Korea or South Korean Labor Party leadership, while "struggle" and "uprising" emphasize Jeju Islanders' resistance and autonomy against the oppression of the US military and the Syngman Rhee regime. The official term as defined by the Special Act for Investigation of Jeju 4.3 and Restoring Victims' Honor is "the Jeju April Third Incident." I will use the terms, Jeju 4.3 (Jeju April third) or 4.3 (April Third) to refer to this tragic history, as they are widely used by Jeju residents. I also intend this term, Jeju 4.3 to explain the enduring history of state violence in Jeju. This term refers not only the original violence during seven years 1948-1954, but also the enforced silence imposed upon those suffered and subsequent state violences that persisted for decades.

[2] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ* [*The Jeju* 4.3 *Incident Investigation Report*] (Seoul: Seonin, 2003), 366-367.

When I was writing my thesis by the sea in Jeju, my body ached, and I could not sleep well. I still don't know how to describe the experiences of the people of Jeju, who have lived their whole lives on this island where they lost family, friends, and communities while forced to remain silent despite their suffering, anger, and sorrow for last decades. I still don't know how to convey their ongoing suffering due to the influence of anti-communism which has justified the continuing social and political exclusion of those subjected to state violence in Jeju. I also still don't know how to convey the voices of the people in Jeju into another language.

In memory of the innumerable souls who perished in Jeju 4.3, unable to share their stories and thus remaining "nameless," photographer Hyun-Joo Ko placed lanterns wrapped in red *bottari* (a sheet of cloth used to store or move things) at the sites of massacres and spiritual places in Jeju as part of her art project, Voice of Memory III.[3] As representations of their untold stories, she placed the lanterns on *pongnang* (guardian trees that protect villages), along the beach, and on the stone walls of villages wiped out in the mass killings. In the same way, in this thesis, I try to imagine archives as sites in which to place lanterns of memory, illuminating the stories of victims and survivors, including the nameless, the underrepresented, and the marginalized, for all to remember. I also try to imagine that these lanterns of memory can shed light on our understanding of how the suffering of victims, survivors, and their families persists as an ongoing consequence of violence, stigma, and biased representation of a violent past.

This thesis delves into how archives can play in holding governments accountable for past atrocities as well as fostering truth and reconciliation, through archival practices. Recent

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[3] Hyun-Joo Ko, *Kiŏgŭi moksori III: arŭmdaun cheŭi* [*Voice of Memories III: A Beautiful Ritual*] (Jeju: D-works, 2022), 1–153.

archival studies discuss role of archives in social justice, revealing state-sponsored violences.[4] They illustrate how archives have provided crucial evidence in truth-seeking process and tribunals to reveal past atrocities of the state, thereby holding the state responsible for its actions. Additionally, archival thinkers examine how archives themselves act as sites of historical accountability, where broader systems of power and privilege contributing to past atrocities are recognized.[5] This underscores that archives are not just neutral repositories but dynamic sites "where social power is negotiated, contested, and confirmed" with archivists playing a key role in shaping knowledge and memory through their archival processes.[6]

In light of these discussions, the thesis explores the necessity for archivists to acknowledge and address the biases inherent in archival works, moving beyond the confines of traditional professionalism, modernist perspectives, and Western ontologies. This rethinking seeks to challenge the prevailing power dynamics and biases within the archival profession, ultimately realizing the potential of archives in holding states accountable for their past injustices. As an alternative framework to make these ideas practical, within the context of

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[4] Anne Gilliland, "Moving Past: Probing the Agency and Affect of Recordkeeping in Individual and Community Lives in Post-Conflict Croatia," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (2014): 249–274; Hariz Halilovich, "Reclaiming Erased Lives: Archives, Records and Memories in Post-War Bosnia and the Bosnian Diaspora," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (2014): 231–347; Susan Opotow and Kimberly Belmonte, "Archives and Social Justice Research," in *Handbook of Social Justice Theory and Research*, ed. Clara Sabbagh and Manfred Schmitt (New York: Springer, 2016): 445-457; Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

[5] Kristen Weld, *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Joel A. Blanco-Rivera, "Social Justice and Historical Accountability in Latin America: Access to the Records of the Truth Commissions in Chile," in *Archives, Recordkeeping, and Social Justice*, ed. David Wallace, Wendy M. Duff, Renée Saucier, and Andrew Flinn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 149–168; Michelle Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives: Accountability, Truth, and Memory in Cambodia," *Archival Science* 10 (2010): 25-44.

[6] Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 1.

managing archival records documenting human rights abuses, this thesis proposes a survivor-centered archival framework. To elaborate these arguments, the thesis examines archival practices of records documenting Jeju 4.3. It critically reviews current archival practices of institutional archives in South Korea, aiming to show how archives can help transform and address the limits of state-led truth and reconciliation processes in South Korea, ensuring that marginalized communities' experiences are included in redressing past atrocities.

Chapter One begins with an overview of Jeju 4.3, a historical event of state-inflicted structural violence within the context of global Cold War conflict. The South Korean government has maintained anti-communist politics following Jeju 4.3, silencing those affected and persistently perpetrating violence against victims, survivors, and their families. I next focus on the state's refusal to officially acknowledge the status of certain groups of victims and survivors in state-led truth and reconciliation. The last section of Chapter One explores the role of archives in challenging state-based violence and its injustice by holding the state accountable. This final section also underscores the need to rethink the power dynamics present in archives and the accountability of archivists.

In Chapter Two, I explore digitization projects undertaken by memory institutions in South Korea, including National Archives of Korea(NAK), which intended to make archival records held in the United States of America's National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) more accessible to the public.[7] This chapter also examines the decisions made by

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[7] Helena Robinson. "Remembering things differently: Museums, libraries and archives as memory institutions and the implications for convergence," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 27, no. 4 (2012): 413-416. The terminology, memory institutions are broadely used to describe the institutions such as museum, library and archive, which have engaged in shaping historical narrative and collective memory. Helena explores the

archivists at NAK regarding their descriptions of Jeju 4.3 records. Through these accounts, Chapter Two explores the limitations and biases present in these institutions and their archival practices, which have resulted in a one-sided and biased understanding of Jeju 4.3. I especially focus on how these memory institutions fail to engage victims, survivors, and their families as stakeholders and to value their perspectives.

In Chapter Three, I articulate a survivor-centered approach to records of human rights abuses and how archival practices could apply it. Based on the specific context of archiving Jeju 4.3, I explore the possibility of a survivor-centered approach through four aspects: the necessity of rethinking the status of victims and survivors; reclaiming their rights to control their records; implementing survivor-oriented arrangement and description practices; and recognizing the multiple formats of records, including the fact that common objects may also function as records. Richard J. Cox writes:

> the notion of truth has more to do with victims being able to tell their stories in a manner that brings healing to them, their families, and their communities than it does with some verifiable, pure idea of being able to reconstruct past events in an absolute way.[8]

In light of this, archival practices around the Jeju 4.3 records—which have influenced the shaping of memory, understandings of the past, and the ability to hold the state accountable for its injustices—should be primarily focused on meeting the needs and addressing the concerns of

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intersection between the use of the term memory instituions and the influence of digital technologies. The digital environment, she argues, facilitates the convergence of knowledge and enhances shared access to information among libraries, archives, and museum. In this thesis, *memory institutions* collectively refer to institutions that maintain digital and databases and provide public access to historical records related to the Jeju 4.3. In this context, Chapter Two specifically examines the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, the National Archives of Korea (NAK), National Library of Korea(NLK), and the National Institute of Korean History (NIKH).

[8] Richard J. Cox, "Conclusion: Archivist and Community," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, eds. Jeannette Allis Bastian and Alexander Ben (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), 255.

individuals who have suffered from state-inflicted violence. These shifts in archival practices would challenge the prevailing state-led narratives of Jeju 4.3 and provide a new site for voices that have long been excluded and marginalized. Consequently, they would contribute to ongoing processes of truth and reconciliation.

Chapter 1: Exploring the Archive's Role through Jeju 4.3Jeju 4.3 (Jeju April Third)

Introduction

This chapter provides a brief history of Jeju 4.3 and examines the problems of the state-led truth and reconciliation process in South Korea. The chapter then explores the potential role for archives in addressing these issues. The chapter begins with a brief overview of Jeju 4.3. I explore the argument that Jeju 4.3 was part of wide-scale structural violence perpetrated by the South Korean state during the Cold War era, under the US-centric world order that arose following World War II. The subsequent section illustrates how the South Korean government continued to commit human rights violations against victims, survivors and their families of survivors and victims of Jeju 4.3. It also highlight that even in the process of truth and reconciliation for Jeju 4.3, the harms of anti-communist politics have not been fully addressed. I specifically examine the state's refusal to acknowledge certain groups of victims and survivors, denying their official status as such. The final section delves into how archival practices can play a role in holding the state accountable as well as overcoming certain limitations of the truth and reconciliation process. I will also discuss the new role of archives that has challenged the conventional archive model. Specifically, this part will narrate the importance of closely examining the power dynamics inherent in archives and the accountability of the archivists themselves.

1.1. Jeju 4.3

Background

Jeju Island is the largest and most populous volcanic island situated off the southern coast of the Korean Peninsula. Historically, indigenous Jeju residents have maintained a distinct language, culture, and customs from those on the mainland. Jeju 4.3 began with an uprising on April 3, 1948, and led to the mass killing of nearly 30,000 residents, which amounted to about a tenth of the island's population at the time.[9] This state-sponsored violence unfolded within the historical context of the establishment of the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea, backed by the US government, amid the geopolitical tensions of the Cold War between the US and the USSR.

Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule on August 15, 1945. However, subsequent military occupation by USA and USSR introduced new political and social conflicts. In US-occupied South Korea, left-wing political groups were perceived as a threat to American foreign policy in the Third World.[10] After liberation, South Koreans established grassroots government bodies collectively called the People's Committee throughout the country to build a new state. Instead of supporting this movement, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) supported extreme right-wing and pro-Japanese groups to maintain its geopolitical control in the Asia-Pacific region and counter the political influence of left-wing

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[9] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ,* 366-367.

[10] Bruce Cumings, "38 Degrees of Separation: a forgotten occupation," In *the Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 106–112.

groups.[11] These circumstances were no different in Jeju. Jeju residents also supported grassroots political and economic reform policies initiated by the People's Committee, but USAMGIK resisted these efforts by implementing the new province system and imposing new taxes to expand US military control.[12] USAMGIK's food policies to control rice prices also exacerbated the economic difficulties of Jeju residents, fueling their hostility toward the US.[13] Tensions escalated during the celebration of Independence Movement Day on March 1, 1947, when mainland police violence resulted in fatalities and injuries, triggering a general strike in Jeju during March.

After the general strike, USAMGIK and the South Korean police labeled Jeju Island "the island of reds."[14] The governor, bureaucracy, and police force were replaced with mainlander officials and mainland anti-communist organizations such as the Daedong Young Men's Association and the Seobuk Young Men's Association.[15] These groups held a strong hostility toward left-wing groups and perceived Jeju as a communist stronghold, also referring to it as

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[11] Cumings, "38 Degrees of Separation", 108.

[12] Jeong-sim Yang, *Cheju sasam hangjaengr chŏhanggwa ap'ŭmŭi yŏksa* [*Jeju* 4.3 *Uprising: history of resistance and suffering]* (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2008), 102–108.

[13] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 98-99.

[14] Man-yeol Lee, "'Cheju sasam': haebanggongganŭi hŭisaengyang ['Jeju 4.3': The Scapegoat of the Post-Liberation Period]," *Sasamgwa yŏksa 18* (2018): 16–17. Regarding the increasing suppression by the US military, Man-yeol Lee argues that the catalyst for this change in US foreign policy was the 1947 Truman Doctrine, which initiated the Cold War framework in US geopolitics. In this doctrine, President Truman declared that the US would provide military and economic support for all democratic nations under threat by communism. This change led to strong measures to counter communist political influence and maintain control over areas deemed strategically significant. Consequently, USAMGIK took action to suppress left-wing and communist groups in South Korea.

[15] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 177-178. The Seobuk Young Men's Association was established by a pro-Japanese group of individuals who were land owners or Christians from the North Korean region. As they had fled North Korean communism, they were antagonistic toward communism elsewhere. Supported by Syngman Rhee, they energetically engaged in a "Red-hunt" in South Korea.

"Moscow in Korea."[16] They continued to commit violent acts against leftists and communists on the island, motivating left-wing political groups and communists to flee to Japan or take refuge in the island's Mount Hallasan region.[17] Antagonism toward the US and right-wing groups also strengthened among many Jeju residents.[18]

The Massacre in Jeju

Under these circumstances, a local insurrection in Jeju took place on April 3, 1948. About 350 insurgents attacked police stations, offices, and the houses of right-wing groups.[19] They opposed the upcoming general election that that would have confirmed the establishment of a divided government in Korea. They insisted that their insurrection was against US imperialism and in favor of the unification of the Korean Peninsula. They also demanded an end to the oppression of Jeju islanders by police and right-wing groups. The insurgency resulted in casualties among the police, civilians, and insurgents.[20] To suppress insurgent forces, USAMGIK and the director of the South Korean police dispatched additional mainland police

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[16] Yang, *Cheju sasam*, 52–53.

[17] Yang, *Cheju sasam*, 53–55.

[18] Gi-Don Hong, " Cheju kongdongch'e munhwawa sasam hangjaengŭi palbal chogŏn [Jeju`s Culture of Community and the 4.3 Resistance`s Conditions of Outbreak]," *T'amna munhwa* 49(2015): 124. Jeju has long experienced discrimination and exploitation by mainlanders. In 1629, the Joseon Dynasty banned Jeju Islanders from leaving the island. For two hundred years, residents had to stay on the island, separated from the mainland. Their geographical location and historical separation formed a biased mainland perception of the islanders and vice versa. Islanders regarded mainland officers as representatives of exploitation and domination. Given this history, the killing of Jeju residents by the mainland police has caused even deeper anger among islanders.

[19] Yang, *Cheju sasam*, 66–67.

[20] Hun-joon Kim, *The Massacres at Mt. Halla: Sixty Years of Truth Seeking in South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 30.

and members of the Seobuk Young Men's Association, a right-wing extremist paramilitary group.[21]

There were subsequent attacks from left-wing groups in Jeju to hinder the Korean National Assembly Election scheduled for May 10, which would be a central step toward establishing a separate government in South Korea. As a result, the island became the only region in South Korea where the election was cancelled. The US military, which supported a pro-US government in South Korea, considered the cancellation of the election in Jeju a serious threat to the US government's aim of building an Americentric world order. In this context, the US military decided to support a hardline operation to suppress all leftists on the island. In June and July of 1948, military counterinsurgency operations began, resulting in the arrest of many mountain villagers, communists, and leftists.[22] The establishment of a separate South Korean government in August 1948 further escalated violence against Jeju residents. The island became a ideological impediment, and the failure to suppress the insurgency was perceived as threat to the political hegemony of the US and the new South Korean government under Syngman Rhee (1875–1965, in office 1948–1960).

On October 17, 1948, the military issued a decree that allowed for the execution of anyone found more than five kilometers away from the coast, forcing inland residents to leave their villages.[23] The decree's stated aim was to relocate mountainside residents into coastal villages to undermine insurgency forces. However, in practice, the decree resulted in brutal

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[21] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 188-189.

[22] Kim, *The Massacres at Mt. Halla*, 33.

[23] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 242.

violence against Jeju islanders, as it provided a justification for indiscriminate mass killings of mountain-side residents and the complete destruction of mountainside villages by counter-insurgency forces including the military, the police, and right-wing paramilitary groups. One month later, martial law was declared, granting the military authority to use its own discretion to handle any issues. Subsequently, during the four months from November 1948 to March 1949, the massacres reached their peak. At least 67.2% of all victims who could be identified were killed or injured during this period, and at least 134 mountainside villages were burned to the ground.[24] *The Jeju April Incident Follow-up Investigations Report* notes that numerous mountainside villages were set on fire, and their residents were shot before the evacuation order reached them.[25] Even those individuals from mountainside villages who followed the decree and relocated to coastal villages were not exempt from violence, as military forces shot and killed them on the pretext that their family members had gone missing. The military justified these executions by claiming the victims were the families of fugitives. Even elderly parents, spouses, and young children were often shot and killed if they were suspected of being in contact with insurgents.

Additionally, when insurgents attacked the police or their right-wing supporters, the police and military retaliated by attacking and killing the entire village in which they had lived. On January 17, 1949, for example, two soldiers were killed by insurgents near the village of Bukchon-ri. Anti-insurgent forces set fire to the village and killed its 300 residents. Most of the victims were children and youths under the age of 20. The first official investigation estimated

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[24] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation*, Cheju sasam ch'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ [Jeju April Incident Follow-up Investigations Report]*, (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2021), 88-89.

[25] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Ch'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 373.

the number of victims of Jeju 4.3 to be around 30,000.[26] The casualties included a significant number of children, youths below the age of fifteen, and elderly people over sixty, accounting for 14.5% of Jeju's total casualties.[27]

Jeju 4.3 and Anti-communism

In South Korea, anti-communism is not characterized as a uniform ideology nor confined to a specific historical period. Rather, it represents a set of ever-evolving political, institutional, social, and cultural norms, deeply intertwined with Korea's national division before and after the Korean War.[28] The long trajectory of Jeju 4.3 can be understood as a product of the influence of global Cold War politics and ever-changing anticommunism in South Korea. The original violence of Jeju 4.3, including mass killings of Jeju residents, occurred during the early years of Cold War, amidst the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the state-building efforts by Syngman Rhee regime. Eun-Shil Kim articulates that the original violence of Jeju 4.3 was a result of the convergence between Cold War politics of US government that aimed to diminish communist influence in the Korea Peninsula and the

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[26] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, C*h'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 70.

[27] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Ch'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 88.

[28] Dong-Choon, Kim. "The Long Road Toward Truth and Reconciliation: Unwavering Attempts to Achieve Justice in South Korea." Critical Asian Studies 42, no. 4 (2010): 525-552.; Suh, Jae-Jung. "Truth and reconciliation in South Korea: Confronting war, colonialism, and intervention in the Asia Pacific." Critical Asian Studies 42, no. 4 (2010): 503-524. ; Kwang-Yeong Shin, "The trajectory of anti-communism in South Korea," *Asian Journal of German and European Studies 2*, no. 1 (2017): 1-10

Syngman Rhee government's pursuit of political legitimacy based on anti-communism.[29] Kim examines that those wounded and killed in Jeju symbolized physical and social deaths for those who opposed “new state’s order” and that the state’s newly established power structures were imprinted onto the very bodies of victims and survivors in Jeju.[30] In a similar vein, Myoeng-gi Cho and Seiyong Jang argue that Jeju 4.3 served as important means for state establishment under the global Cold-War conflict; ideological control over Jeju played a key role in establishing the legitimacy and political hegemony of the South Korean government in national building process.[31]

In addition, mainlanders’ prejudice against Jeju islanders combined with this Cold War politics and anti-communism created a worse situation in Jeju. Jeong-sim Yang, a historian who studies Jeju 4.3, argues that the severe violence was due to mainlanders’ anti-communism combined with biased perceptions of the Jeju community’s interdependence.[32] The island’s isolation from the mainland has historically maintained Jeju Islanders’ autonomous and independent culture. They have unique, distinctive cultural traditions, and in every village, residents were strongly interdependent on each other and collaborated by sharing resources, including their labor and land. To Korean mainlanders and the US, the strong cohesion of these village communities was regarded as a factor that threatened their control over Jeju. Bruce Cumings argues that this trait was one of the factors that contributed to the extreme level of

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[29] Eun-Shil Kim, “Kukka p'ongnyŏkkwa yŏsŏng: chukŭm chŏngch'iŭi changŭrosŏŭi sasam [National Violence and Women: Necropolitics in Jeju April Third],” *Sasamgwa yŏksa* 18 (2018): 190.

[30] Kim, “Kukka p'ongnyŏkkwa yŏsŏng”, 200.

[31] Myoeng-gi Cho and Seiyong Jang, “Cheju sasam sagŏn'gwa kukkaŭi rok'ŏlgiŏng p'osŏm kwajŏng [The Jeju 4.3 and the Process of Acquiring the Local Memory by the State],” *Yŏksawa segye* 43 (2013): 208.

[32] Yang, *Cheju sasam*, 153.

brutality that occurred.[33] He notes that the police insisted on deploying military forces from the mainland because the authorities believed that the islanders were "all interrelated" and that local police would therefore refuse to cooperate.[34] Due to the interdependence within villages and the islanders' strong cultural ties to one another, the US military and South Korean government declared the entire island an enemy zone.[35]

This combination of anti-communism and biased perceptions about the cultural differences of Jeju Islanders thus led the mainlanders to consider Jeju residents subhuman. The dehumanization of the islanders provided further justification for mainlanders to commit violence against them. Jieun Chang cites witness reports that, before being killed, many victims were tortured, sexually abused, and assaulted by counterinsurgency forces in front of their fellow villagers.[36] Additionally, these forces utilized villagers as collaborators, even forcing some to identify those who supported the insurgency through torture. Unable to withstand the pain, some residents selected neighbors at random. The severe violence and the recruiting of village residents as collaborators shattered communities and severed the bonds among villagers.

Anti-communism in South Korea that has dehumanized islanders and justified the massacres on Jeju has persisted as a tool of the power groups and state. Within Korea's political situation of national division after Korean War as well as the influence of US, anti-communism in South Korea had been used to justify authoritarian regimes that limit civil rights or suppress

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[33] Cumings, "38 Degrees of Separation", 122–131.

[34] Cumings, "38 Degrees of Separation", 126–127.

[35] Cumings, "38 Degrees of Separation", 126–127.

[36] Jieun Chang, "National Narrative, Traumatic Memory and Testimony: Reading Traces of the Cheju April Third Incident, South Korea, 1948," PhD diss., New York University, 2009, 89.

their political opponents.[37] From the 1950s to the 1980s, the rhetoric of communist threat from North Korea was used to suppress political opponents, legitimize military dictatorship and maintain its political power, and justify human rights abuse perpetrated by the state. The survivors and families of victims and survivors suffered from insurmountable damage from the Jeju 4.3: the loss of family, relatives, their hometowns, their possessions, and their means of survival. Moreover, for many years following this, the state forced islanders to deny the truth and assimilate themselves into the state order. Under such political conditions, survivors and victims' families have been unable to mourn the loss of their loved ones or share their memories due to fear of being labeled communists.

Along with this enforced silence, in the 1970s and 1980s, the South Korean government committed further human rights abuses toward Jeju residents as a means of controlling its population through anti-communist actions. Some victims' families, relatives, and survivors were accused of espionage by the anti-communist government. As Jeju is geographically close to Japan, many residents had fled there alone or with their families to protect them from the massacres. Some parents had even sent their children alone to relatives already in Japan, hoping to save their lives. Since then, their descendants have grown up in Japan and some returned to Jeju as adults. Many Jeju residents also maintained relationships with relatives or friends in Japan and frequently traveled back and forth for work or to visit family. The South Korean government was suspicious of these visits to and from Japan and unjustly accused many of participating in North Korean espionage. Those accused were subjected to torture and coerced into making false confessions. As a result, many were sentenced to over 10 years of

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[37] Dong-Choon, Kim. "The Long Road Toward Truth and Reconciliation", 525-528.

imprisonment. These post-4.3 generations have thus become additional victims.[38]

The anti-communism, that has been persisted into South Korean social and political structures, defined Jeju Islanders as enemies deserving of death and continued to force silence onto those who affected by the Incident. Subsequent regimes committed additional human rights abuses against their descendants to reinforce anti-communism and maintain it as a key part of the state's political order. In light of this history of suffering, the truth and reconciliation process of Jeju 4.3 must include addressing past state-led atrocities, dismantling systemic anti-communism, and recognizing the experience of all the Jeju residents who have suffered under it. However, state-led truth and reconciliation processes have failed to fundamentally challenge anti-communism, which is still portrayed as a national identity. They have excluded certain groups from their proper status as victims and fostered a singular, state-sanctioned narrative.

1.2. Problems in State-Led Truth and Reconciliation

Truth and reconciliation of Jeju 4.3 and the enduring legacy of anti-communism

Following Jeju 4.3, the South Korean government stigmatized and misrepresented it as a communist riot for decades. The massacre was downplayed and justified as a defense against communism. The fact that, as described by Yang, survivors and victims remained quiet until the 1987 democratization movement in South Korea illustrates the long period of living in silence.[39]

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[38] Tae-jong Kim, "Jeju Court Clears Man of Spy Charges at Retrial," *The Korea Times*, June 23, 2008, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2022/06/113_26354.html?RD.

[39] Yang, *Cheju sasam*, 180.

For decades, the survivors, their families, the Jeju people, and activists have struggled for the truth, demanding official acknowledgment of the massacres. Their efforts have led to the establishment of an official truth and reconciliation process, which has yielded meaningful outcomes such as uncovering new facts, the restoration of victims and survivors' honor, and official reparations. The government has since acknowledged its responsibility, and in 1999, the Special Act on Discovering the Truth of Jeju 4.3 and the Restoration of Honor of Victims (the Special Act) was legislated. Based on this Act, the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about Jeju 4.3 Incident (or 4.3 Committee) was established, and an official government investigation began. The 4.3 Committee has yielded meaningful outcomes such as truth-finding, the restoration of victims and survivors' honor, and official reparations. In 2003, President Roh Moo-hyun made an official apology to the Jeju victims, survivors, and their families.

In South Korea, the notion of truth and reconciliation is connected to the historical context of redressing past wrongdoings by the government. Dong-Choon Kim argues the democratization movement of the 1980s marked a new era for addressing state atrocities.[40] He argued that the democratization movement heralded increased social awareness about the demand for the truth of past injustices. Consequently, this led to significant outcomes such as "the Special Committee for Recovering the Dignity of the Geochang Incident (1996), the Jeju April 3 Commission (2000), and the Presidential Truth Commission on Suspicious Deaths in Korea (2000–2004)." These efforts, he argues, paved to way for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Republic of Korea (TRCK). The TRCK was tasked with a broad mandate to investigate past injustice committed by the state in contemporary history. This

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[40] Dong-Choon, Kim. "The Long Road Toward Truth and Reconciliation", 525-552

includes “illegal massacres that occurred before and after the Korean War”, “human rights violations resulting from unlawful or seriously unjust exercise of governmental power”, and “suspicious deaths committed by governmental authorities”.[41] In line with the TRCK's extensive measures, the term of truth and reconciliation has been widely adopted within South Korean society. In detail, truth and reconciliation in South Korea encompasses uncovering truth, restoring the honor of victims and survivors, and providing official reparations.

Despite this history, official state-led truth and reconciliation efforts of Jeju 4.3 reveal significant limitations. Kwang-Yeong Shin argues that the State’s direct and broad control over the public, justified through anti-communism, has been weakened by the democratic struggles of civil society since 1987 and ideological shifts in the 1990s.[42] However, under the name of security threats by North Korea, he argues, anti-communism in South Korea still deeply affects political discourse, controls historical narratives to benefit governmental interests, and influences legislation and government policies. Anti-communist political interests also have influenced the implementation of the truth and reconciliation processes of Jeju 4.3. As a result, the state has not responded to all victims, survivors, and families.

[41] “Framework Act On Settling The Past For Truth And Reconciliation”, Act No. 19271, March 21, 2023 Korea Legislation Research Institute, accessed December 23, 2023, https://elaw.klri.re.kr/kor_service/lawView.do?hseq=62436&lang=ENG.

[42] Kwang-Yeong Shin "The trajectory of anti-communism in South Korea", 1-10.

Determining Eligible Victims

The state's criteria regarding who could be defined as "victims" were limited to specific groups. The Special Act defines a victim as

> A person who died or disappeared, a person who remains disabled or a person who was convicted and sentenced in prison due to the Jeju April Third Incident. All of these are the persons who are determined as a victim of the Jeju April Third Incident in accordance with Article 5 (2) 2.[43]

The 4.3 Committee used this definition to determine victim status. In 2002, the committee also designated an "exception of those who carried out activities against the free democratic order" from the category of victimhood.[44] These criteria exclude individuals who were part of the insurgent forces, even if they were wounded or killed during the Jeju 4.3. A truth and reconciliation process should be based on advocating human rights for all victims and finding out the truth about past abuses. However, in reality, this resulted in the exclusion of former insurgents. In addition, there is another group intentionally excluded from the victim categorization. Gyeong-su Moon estimates that the number of Jeju refugees reached at least 10,000, with many of them fleeing to Japan as mentioned above.[45] Since then, many of these refugees have been connected with the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (or

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[43] "Special Act on Discovering the Truth on the Jeju April Third Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims," Act No. 14189, May 29, 2016, Korea Legislation Research Institute, accessed August 23, 2023, https://elaw.klri.re.kr/eng_service/lawView.do?hseq=42501&lang=ENG.

[44] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Ch'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 67–68.

[45] Kyungsoo Moon, "Sasamgwa chaeil chejuin chaeron: pundan'gwa paejeŭi nollirŭl nŏmŏ [Jeju April Third and Jeju Zainichi, a Reconsideration: Beyond the Logic of Division and Exclusion]," *Sasamgwa yŏksa* 19 (2019): 96.

Chongryon), a Zainichi Korean organization in Japan with links to North Korea.[46] The South Korean government therefore refuses to acknowledge them as victims, perceiving them as threats to the national identity of South Korea.

Even in the process of truth and reconciliation, the South Korean government has established criteria for defining victim status and determining who was eligible for reparations in a manner that maintain its own interests related to anti-communism. This has resulted in many difficulties for those excluded. The current criteria limit the states' liability for the suffering of those excluded, their families, and future generations. Within these criteria, the excluded have further faced challenges in expressing their grievances and demanding the state acknowledge its responsibility for what they had endured. Since the official acknowledgment of the state's responsibility for Jeju 4.3 and the reparations made for many of the other victims and survivors, those still denied official recognition feel even more deprived than before.[47] The state's *recognized victims* receive official funds and professional assistance in investigating their cases. However, as the state does not acknowledge victims and survivors with ties to the insurgency, they are not eligible for these reparations or compensations. Consequently, they struggle with limited financial and social resources for verifying what they experienced. Furthermore, many of them are also afraid of additional social stigma due to the fact that the state discredits their status, instead choosing to remain silent.[48]

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[46] Kyungsoo Moon, "Sasamgwa chaeil chejuin chaeron", 96–100. In this context, Zainichi (在日) refers to ethnically Korean residents or citizens of Japan.

[47] Sungman Koh, "Sasam gwageocheongsangwa huisaengja - jaeguseongdoeneun jugeume daehan jaego [Liquidation of the Past History of April 3 and the Concept of 'the Victim': Reconsideration of the Reorganized Death by the Social Agreement]," *Tamnamunhwa* 38 (2011): 268–269.

[48] Sungman Koh, "Trans-Border Rituals for the Dead: Experiential Knowledge of Paternal Relatives after the Jeju 4.3," *Journal of Korean Religions* 9, no. 1 (2018): 95.

The state's criteria for identifying victims have also deprived those excluded of the right to mourn. One case demonstrating the marginalization of unrecognized victims by the state was the removal of memorial tablets of individuals from the insurgent forces. Tablets inscribed with each victim's name were installed in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park to commemorate their deaths. However, several tablets were suddenly removed because those individuals are considered as being associated with the insurgency.[49] This deliberate exclusion symbolized the boundaries the state set on who it considered official victims worthy of mourning.[50] The state, having been the perpetrator, now has the power to decide who can be remembered and commemorated as victims according to its own standards.[51] This further excludes these victims' families from the grieving process.

Individuals with the legal status of victims have several entitlements over those without it—they can be entitled to the commemoration process, participate in the decision-making process of reconciliation and other processes for restoring honor. However, those who are not officially recognized are not eligible to join in this commemorative process. Insurgents' families have suffered for a long time amid the social stigma of being related to a communist. To them, public mourning and official recognition of the insurgent victims are thus an important means to restore their honor. However, their sufferings are unresolved and have become more severe due to this lack of truth and reconciliation work.

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[49] Sung Dong Park, "Inyŏm ttŏna sasam hŭisaengja injŏnghaeya [Apart from Ideology, We must Acknowledge the April Third Victims]," Oct 11, 2019, Jeju MBC, accessed August 23, 2023, https://jejumbc.com/article/FknIf9ui9XJ0.

[50] Sungman Koh, "Sasam wiwŏnhoeŭi kinyŏmsaŏbesŏ sŏnt'aektoego cheoedoenŭn kŏttŭl [What is Included and Excluded in the April Third Committee's Memorial Project]," *Yŏksabip'yŏng* 82 (2008): 160–161.

[51] Cho and Jang, "Cheju sasam sagŏn'gwa kukkaŭi rok'ŏlgiŏng p'osŏm kwajŏng", 222.

The Buried Memories of Jeju's "Lost Village"

Another problem with the state-led truth and reconciliation process is that the state intends to shape public memory in a certain way to maintain its own interests. Jeong-yeon Lee notes that the official commemoration regarding its past violence raises new questions about what and how to remember.[52] In this case, the government's approach to what and how to remember Jeju 4.3 is still closely tied to anti-communism. Instead of fully acknowledging the past, the government seeks to avoid shaping memory and narratives that may threaten the ideological basis of the state even during its truth and reconciliation process.

Figure 1. A memorial stone at the "lost village" of Goneul [Photograph by author].

[52] Jeong-yeon Lee, "Sahoe munhwajŏng sanghojakyongŭi shigongganŭrosŏ kyŏnggwan ak'aibŭ yŏn'gu oilp'al minjuhwaundong kirokkwanŭl chungshimŭro [Studies on Landscape Archives as Social and Cultural Interactions: Focusing on the 5.18 Archives]" PhD diss., Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2017, 88.

The case of the "lost village" illustrates the issue of how the state shapes public memory of Jeju 4.3. As previously mentioned, at least 134 villages were burned by counterinsurgency forces. As most of the villagers were killed, the villages have been left in ruins ever since. As part of its truth and reconciliation process, the 4.3 Committee has officially called these destroyed villages "lost village" and erected stone markers to commemorate them. Sungman Koh explains that the plaques on the stones provide biased information of the massacre, omitting crucial details.[53] For instance, the memorial stone which was established at Goneul village [Figure 1], one of lost villages, states the location and history of the village, the number of villagers before the destruction, and the number of those killed. However, it does not include crucial details about why and how the villages were destroyed, or who was responsible. By omitting such important details, the state distances itself from responsibility and accountability for the atrocities committed at the "lost village." As the official means of remembrance, these markers shape public memory in a selective way; they control the narrative of the Jeju 4.3 and obscure who was responsible for the atrocities.

Moreover, the narratives conveyed through these stone markers also fail to capture the experience of those villagers who have not been officially recognized as victims by the state. The 134 lost villages suffered extensive damage. Survivors could not return or restore the villages, and they were completely abandoned. Historical communities of villagers ultimately disappeared. Former villagers thus lost all the economic, social, and emotional relationships they had built over many generations. Considering the history of Jeju, in which economic and social relationships have been historically centered on village communities, the destruction of a village

[53] Koh, "Sasam wiwŏnhoeŭi kinyŏmsaŏbesŏ", 176.

therefore creates immeasurable suffering for villagers. Furthermore, many atrocities by the police and military were committed within village, in front of residents. All individuals suffered enormously but some of them are still not considered *recognized victims* because their experiences exist outside the state's definition of victimhood. The Special Act's categorization is mainly concerned with the concept of physical harm: death, disability, disappearance, or imprisonment. The traumas of losing one's property, home, and community are not included in these criteria. In these circumstances, for these individuals who remain outside of state's criteria of victims, these markers built at their own village might hold important meaning as the only official means to remember past injustices inflicted upon them. Since these markers will become a lasting part of the landscape, they might play a crucial role in ensuring that the sufferings they experienced are not forgotten. The stone markers may serve as significant means to invite traumatized villagers into official remembrance. However, by not providing detailed accounts of "the lost village" on these markers, the state also erases the memories of the villagers and prevents the further social inquiry that a truth and reconciliation process should include.

Anti-communism was used as a pretext for the brutal suppression of the Jeju Islanders and persisted in the political and social structures of the country long after Jeju 4.3. It has even led to further human rights violations against subsequent generations of islanders. Therefore, the truth and reconciliation process must address the past atrocities committed by the government and challenge continued systemic anti-communism. However, the state-led process has excluded certain groups from the status of victim and perpetuated a singular, state-sanctioned narrative. The official criteria for determining the qualifications of a victim have restricted the scope of the reconciliation process, perpetuated social stigma and political division, and deprived certain victims and survivors of their rights to be acknowledged and to grieve. The truth and

reconciliation process has also shaped public memory and impacts not only the memory formation of those affected by Jeju 4.3 but also those who did not experience this. Within the state-led process in South Korea, the government defines whose experiences can be represented, which experiences are worth being commemorated, and which values have more weight than the voices of survivors and victims. This process isolates victims and survivors from the memory-making process.

In order to move forward the truth and reconciliation process in the future, it is important to uncover issues with the state-led processes, ensure all victims and survivors' right to demand revision of those processes, and include the experiences and voices of marginalized victims and survivors. In particular, future processes for truth and reconciliation should also include illustrating the historical links between state violence and anti-communism that have reproduced and fortified one another. In South Korea, this would be an ongoing process that will not be completed easily or quickly. I argue that archives can play a role in reducing the current limitations of state-led processes and implementing advanced practices for the truth and reconciliation process. The next section will demonstrate how archives can affect society through their practices as well as play a role in holding the state accountable for the traumatic events it has perpetrated.

1.3. Role of Archives in Fostering Truth and Reconciliation

Archives, Justice, and Accountability

How have archives contributed to uncovering the truth and fostering reconciliation related to state-inflicted violence? With regards to the challenges faced in the state-led truth and reconciliation process, what are archives' potential roles in addressing these challenges? In the first half of the 20th century, the archive was regarded as a place of neutral and objective repositories, where original records were stored, aimed at maintaining the intrinsic value of these records as evidence of specific events. Conventional archival theorists in the 20th century, such as Hilary Jenkinson and T. R. Schellenberg, argued that to maintain objectivity and records' value as evidence, the central mission of the archive is to preservet records without any intervention.[54] In this view, archives are places for keeping objective evidence whereby the repository is a means to protect records themselves. Following conventional ideas of archive, many mainstream archives implemented archival functions based on so-called scientific methods

[54] Terry Cook, "Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms," Archival science 13, no. 2 (2013): 95-120; T. R. Schellenberg, (Theodore R.). *Modern Archives : Principles and Techniques.* Chicago, Ill: Society of American Archivists, 1996.; Hilary Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration*, A reissue of the rev. 2d ed, London: P. Lund, Humphries, 1965. Hilary Jenkinson, who articulates the archival theory built on the bureaucratic system of administrative organization, argues that the context of record creation and order is perpetual and unchangeable and as naturally originating from the working process; therefore, to maintain objectivity and value of record as evidence, the central mission of the archive is to protect the administrative and legal evidence of records without any intervention. Thus, the role of the archivist should be to keep the records in the archives and to remove the subjectivity of the archivist within their work or practice as the guardians of "the Sanctity of Evidence" and as "the Conservation of every scrap of Evidence." In the middle of the 20th century, T. R. Schellenberg emphasized the need for an appraisal process for the management of records that had increased dramatically since World War II. He emphasizes the archivist's expertise to appraise the value of records whose abilities are derived from objective judgment and the duties of their profession. Even if Schellenberg and Jenkinson define the archivist's role differently, these two authors' definitions of archivist's role remain within the empirical definition that an archivist should have an objective, neutral and impartial position.

and a value-neutral approach.

However, influenced by postmodern thought, new approaches in archival studies have challenged this traditional understanding of archival functions.[55] These perspectives suggest that archival functions are not value-neutral processes; rather, they are processes through which archival powers shape public memory and knowledge. Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook question the notion of archival neutrality, asserting that archives are dynamic places where specific knowledge and memories are actively constructed.[56] In the archival processes, certain memories and voices within the record are prioritized whereas others are marginalized. The central archival functions of "appraisal and acquisition, arrangement and description, preservation and migration, and reference and public programming" are a series of decision-making processes by the archivist.[57] Only a small fraction of the available documents are selected and kept by the archivist through the process of acquisition and appraisal. An archivist's decision, such as how archival records are described or arranged, can strengthen or weaken certain values generated from the records. The archivist's access policy can allow certain users—usually those with authority or power—to have easier access to records compared to others.[58]

In a similar vein, scholars have long critiqued archives for perpetuating dominant social

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[55] Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 171–85; Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community", 95–120; Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 2 (2011): 520; Tom Nesmith, "Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the 'Ghosts' of Archival Theory," *Archivaria* 1, no. 47 (1999): 136–50; Tom Nesmith, "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 24–41; Verne Harris, "The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 63–86, ; Rodney G. S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence," *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 215–33.

[56] Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 1–19.

[57] Cook, "Archive(s) is a Foreign Country," 520.

[58] Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 14.

norms related to gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity, and they have urged archives to establish new practices for fostering social justice.[59] When rethinking archival functions and the role of the archivist as "a social construct," an archive could be not only a "tool of hegemony", but also a "tool of resistance."[60] The redefined role of archives as a "tool of resistance" allows for socially marginalized groups to be visible within archival practice. This perspective seeks to preserve marginalized voices, collect the memories of minorities, and create a space for social justice. Moreover, contemporary archival perspectives on social justice suggest that archives can create, reproduce, and re-interpret knowledge about the past, thus becoming a driving force for social justice in the present and future.

One approach to the archival role in promoting social justice involves unveiling the unjust acts perpetrated by the state.[61] Archives often hold records that were initially created or preserved by the very regimes responsible for these unjust acts. In the process of unveiling state injustices, these records can be reinterpreted as vital sources of evidence holding the government

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[59] Howard Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest," *Boston University Journal* 19, no. 3 (1971): 37–44; Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," *Archivaria* 24 (1987): 69–70; Harris, "Power, Memory, and Archives," 63–86; Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007); Wendy M. Duff, Andrew Flinn, Karen Suurtamm, and David Wallace, "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation," *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 317–348; Randall Jimerson, "Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice," *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 252–281; Randall Jimerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009); Randall Jimerson, "Archivists and Social Responsibility: A Response to Mark Greene," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 335–345. Monica Kim,. "The Intelligence of Fools: Reading the US Military Archive of the Korean War." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 23, no. 4 (2015): 695-728.

[60] Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 13.

[61] Anne Gilliland, "Moving Past: Probing the Agency and Affect of Recordkeeping in Individual and Community Lives in Post-Conflict Croatia," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (2014): 249–274; Hariz Halilovich, "Reclaiming Erased Lives: Archives, Records and Memories in Post-War Bosnia and the Bosnian Diaspora," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (2014): 231–347; Kristen Weld, *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

accountable for their atrocities. For example, documents in the archives of perpetrators such as the Nazi Party in Germany, the security forces in apartheid South Africa, or the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia were created to effectively control the people. Archivists, social activists, survivors, and scholars fighting against such injustices actively recognized the social and political implications of these regimes' records within archives. These archival records were then reinterpreted and became evidence to support claims against the state's abuse. In the case of Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), Michelle Caswell notes that "when the evidence is not destroyed, perpetrators cannot easily escape legal accountability."[62] With the efforts of archivists at DC-Cam and the international involvement of the UN and US, the documents that had been created to control the Cambodian people were preserved and consequently played an central role in proving the Khmer Rouge regime's atrocities.[63]

Similar to this case, in the process of uncovering the truth about Jeju 4.3, archived governmental records from South Korea and the US have become critical evidence in proving the state's involvement in the atrocities. As noted above, Jeju 4.3 occurred during two regimes: the US military occupation and the early Syngman Rhee government, both of which were responsible for the violence and atrocities that took place in Jeju. During this period, military and governmental documents were created to direct military operations and monitor the political situation on the island. 4.3 Committee members, archivists, researchers, journalists, survivors, and victims' families worked together to uncover the truth about what happened in Jeju. They utilized the government records kept in the US National Archives and Records Administration

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[62] Michelle Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives: Accountability, Truth, and Memory in Cambodia," *Archival Science* 10 (2010): 31.

[63] Susan Opotow and Kimberly Belmonte, "Archives and Social Justice Research," in *Handbook of Social Justice Theory and Research*, ed. Clara Sabbagh and Manfred Schmitt (New York: Springer, 2016), 446.

and the National Archives of Korea as critical evidence to demonstrate the responsibility of the US and Syngman Rhee government for the massacres and violence in Jeju. By using the perpetrators' own archived material as the evidence in Jeju, as in Cambodia, it became possible to challenge state narratives that had obscured or denied the truth, hold those in power accountable for past injustices, and begin an official truth and reconciliation process.

The Role of Archives in Ensuring Historical Accountability

Archival theorists Richard Cox and David Wallace define accountability as a force that "[binds] individuals with each other and with governments, organizations, and society across time and space."[64] This assumes the need for individuals and institutions to be held responsible for their actions and for negative consequences that result from those actions. It also assumes that the issue of accountability should be raised in a broader social, political, and economic context across time and space. Applying this definition of accountability, the broader and long-term implications of unjust actions can be examined. regarding the role of archives in revealing truth about past injustices, Caswell describes two aspects of accountability. First, Caswell notes that archival records within DC-Cam served as primary legal evidence in a tribunal and were used to prove the Cambodian state's legal responsibility.[65] In Cambodia and Jeju, archival records have been used to verify the occurrence of atrocities through official procedures such as tribunals and

[64] Richard J. Cox and David Wallace, eds., *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society* (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2002), 4.

[65] Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives", 29–31.

official investigations within the truth and reconciliation process and have proved the state's legal accountability for their injustices.[66]

Caswell highlights another aspect of the archive in relation to accountability: while the tribunals determined legal accountability, DC-Cam has promoted historical accountability by collecting, preserving, and making archival records available to Cambodians and international scholars. This means that, independent of the tribunal's decision, the archives themselves can create and uphold historical accountability. Legal accountability is concerned with a narrow form of accountability such as imposing penalties on specific officials or providing reparation to officially recognized victims and survivors by relying on the evidential value of records. However, as archives hold information on many perpetrators, Caswell asserts that historical accountability extends beyond legal accountability, and the archive can "present a verdict all its own."[67] This means that archives themselves have the power to reveal historical truths and suggests a mode of accountability that is distinct from the legal accountability determined by tribunal. Caswell's idea of historical accountability demonstrates that archives can hold the state responsible for its past atrocities by uncovering, preserving, and utilizing preserved records. It can continue even after the official truth and reconciliation process has concluded. When an archive serves as a site for producing and upholding historical accountability, it can recognize the accountability of broader systems of power and privilege in contributing to past atrocities.

As such, Cox and Wallace's definition of accountability and Caswell's articulation on legal and historical accountability provide insightful perspectives on how archives might play a

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[66] Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives", 29–31.

[67] Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives", 31.

role in addressing the shortcomings of the official truth and reconciliation process for the Jeju 4.3. Their argument also presents possibilities for carefully examining archives' potential in reducing the harm caused by limited truth and reconciliation processes. By doing this as part of a broader effort, archives can also help challenge the prevailing anti-communism that deeply permeates social, political, and economic structures in South Korea. In particular, archives can play a crucial role in holding the state accountable for those marginalized by the official truth and reconciliation process and for subsequent generations who have been impacted by anti-communism since Jeju 4.3. As noted above, victims and survivors of Jeju 4.3 who were associated with insurgent forces in the past or with the Chongryon have been excluded from the process. Consequently, they face a dual burden: not only do they have to challenge the truth and reconciliation framework established by the government, but they also have to independently prove their experiences without any support from an authorized committee. If archives actively recognize their role as sources of accountability, they can become an inclusive site for these marginalized communities. By using and preserving archival records, it is possible to counter the state's attempts to deny accountability and to instead hold it responsible for the violence and oppression perpetrated against these groups. By collecting, preserving, and making the documents and testimonies of victims and survivors who have been subjected to systemic injustice and discrimination accessible, the archive can also support their needs for truth and reconciliation. Furthermore, by preserving and making available the stories and experiences of marginalized groups, archives can contribute to ensuring that their voices are heard, and their histories are not forgotten by society.

In addition, although Caswell does not explicitly describe the relationship between legal and historical accountability, in the case of Jeju 4.3, the two concepts are certainly closely

intertwined and impact one another. When archives take on the broad role of maintaining historical accountability, they in turn can shed light on the need for change in the current legal accountability framework. Maintaining historical accountability includes the ongoing involvement of archives in acknowledging the state's responsibility for perpetrating violence and its impacts on the affected people and communities. In this process, archives can raise a series of ongoing questions about how state-perpetrated violence in Jeju has been interpreted in the past and how it should be interpreted going forward. As such, the process of maintaining historical accountability can reveal the systemic limitations of legal accountability in the current state-led process. This can pave the way for new legal approaches for addressing past atrocities. In this light, when an archive "[presents] a verdict all its own" as a site for historical responsibility, it can reveal the state's past atrocities and its subsequent responsibility in excluding victims.[68]

Archival Power and Archivist Accountability

Exploring archives' role in holding the state responsible for its atrocities leads to questions about the positionality of archives and archivists: how can archives and archivists hold themselves accountable for their own practices? Many archival theorists, including Terry Cook, Joan M. Schwartz, Tom Nesmith, and Jarrett M. Drake, argue that archives are not only neutral repositories but also "active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed."[69]

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[68] Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives", 31.

[69] Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 1; Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community", *Archival science* 13 (2013) 95–120; Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 2 (2011):600-632; Tom Nesmith,

They emphasize that archives themselves shape knowledge and memory in society, driven by the decisions of archivists. The archive does not remain a site "that accumulated organically, without interference or mediation by the archivist," but constitutes multiple active archival decisions.[70] While collecting, reproducing, managing, and intervening in a particular order for arrangement, archivists play a role in shaping and reshaping "the meaning of the record", through which archivists' identity, collective memory, and thoughts are embedded into the processes.[71] Regarding state violence, the appraisal and preservation policies of archives may influence the availability of records that prove the injustices. If certain records document a state's violence but are not thought to have enduring value by the archivist, critical evidence may be lost. The arrangement and description of records can also impact how easily accessible the records are, making it easier or more difficult for victims and survivors to find the information they need. If the records are not described with sufficient context, it can pose a challenge for those who are affected by state atrocities when accessing these records. Access policies in archives can ultimately affect whether victims and survivors can access archival records and under what conditions; victims may not be able to get the records they need to back their claims if these policies are restrictive. Considering this influence, we need to continually question archivists' positionality, such as how they identify themselves and where they stand in every archival

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"Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the 'Ghosts' of Archival Theory," *Archivaria* 1, no. 47 (1999): 136–50; Tom Nesmith, "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 24–41; Jarret M. Drake, "RadTech Meets RadArch: Towards A New Principle for Archives and Archival Description," *On Archivy*, April 6, 2016, https://medium.com/on-archivy/radtech-meets-radarch-towards-a-new-principle-for-archives-and-archival-description-568f133e4325

[70] Cook, "Archive(s) is a Foreign Country", 610.

[71] Cook, "Archive(s) is a Foreign Country", 610.

process. We need to be aware of archivists' social, cultural, and political perspectives that have shaped their decisions and interpretations regarding archival documents.

James O'Toole argues that it is important to establish and share a moral theology for archivists and archives in order to examine the role of records in its historical accountability.[72] To maintain the long term accountability of the documents, O'Toole emphasizes the qualities that archivists need to embody. He emphasizes the need for a broader moral vision that archivists should embody in all aspects of the archival process in order to maintain this accountability of records under their custody. To address these issues, O'Toole suggests that archivists must actively engage in discussions about the ethical and moral vision to reflect, share, and follow beyond the professional *code of ethics*. Although his suggestion highlights the role of archivists and their significance in the archives' accountability, there are some limitations. O'Toole does not deeply reflect upon the inherent bias present within the archival profession as a result of knowledge structures that support those in power. Therefore, his solution does not challenge the archival profession itself.

Randall Jimerson further demonstrates the archive's role in promoting social justice as extending beyond the traditional norm of archival work. Jimerson argues that archivists have the responsibility to remember past injustices and actively challenge any attempts to erase them. He suggests that archivists need to maintain their role as a "social conscience" and build relationships with other societal actors such as human rights organizations.[73] The case of archivists in Chile, as explored by Joel Blanco-Rivera, demonstrates how Jimerson's idea of

[72] James O'Toole, "Archives and Historical Accountability: Toward a Moral Theology of Archives," *Archivaria* 58 (2004): 3–19.

[73] Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 485–501.

archivists as a “social conscience” is applicable in practice. Rivera illustrates the activism of archives in Chile, in which archivists struggled to make records regarding human rights abuses accessible to survivors and victims’ families.[74] Chile’s post-dictatorship government did not allow survivors, who wanted to prove the atrocities perpetrated by the previous regime, to access archival records. These victims and survivors were thus excluded from the government-driven truth and reconciliation process. With survivors, their families, and human rights advocacy groups, the archives in Chile joined the struggle for attaining record accessibility for the victims and survivors of the Pinochet regime. Beyond the mainstream archival model, which assumes that the users should be historians, lawyers, bureaucrats, or other experts, these justice-oriented approaches invite survivors, their families, and the wider community into the archives and to join in on expanding access rights for survivors and victims. Jimerson’s idea and the case of Chile shows how the archive plays an active role in maintaining accountability as well as supporting victims and survivors.

In addition to considering archivists’ responsibilities in promoting social justice, Jimerson argues that archivists need to recognize their own “power of interpretation.”[75] He states that archivists, while interacting with historical documents in archival repositories, unintentionally or consciously shape the past. Nesmith likewise argues that the postmodern view of communication provides insights into the role of archivists as key mediators in knowledge creation and archive

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[74] Joel A. Blanco-Rivera, “Social Justice and Historical Accountability in Latin America: Access to the Records of the Truth Commissions in Chile,” in *Archives, Recordkeeping, and Social Justice*, ed. David Wallace, Wendy M. Duff, Renée Saucier, and Andrew Flinn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 149–168.

[75] Jimerson, “Archives for All”, 277–278.

construction.[76] He posits that archival records are not only fixed physical things created by the initial author or authors, but also products of "meaningful communication" involving an ongoing understanding or representation of the object.[77] Archivists become "co-creators" because they influence the context of interpretation surrounding records; by providing background information and guiding researchers in their use of the documents, archivists construct and inscribe their knowledge, creating a "new(blended) version" of them.[78]

When preserving and managing records related to state atrocities, it is therefore crucial to deeply examine the impact of current archival practices on state accountability and understanding how this can apply to Jeju 4.3. Additionally, there needs to be an examination of how archivists employ the powers generated in the archival process to "achieve positive outcomes" for social justice.[79] In Chapter 2, I will explore the efforts of institutional archives in South Korea to uncover the truth and preserve the memory of Jeju 4.3. However, I will also argue that these efforts have had limitations and ultimately produced a biased representation of Jeju 4.3. This highlights the need for a deeper examination of the archival process and its potential to shape our knowledge of historical events, especially in cases of state atrocities.

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[76] Nesmith, Tom. "Seeing archives: postmodernism and the changing intellectual place of archives," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 24-41.

[77] Nesmith, "Seeing archives", 32.

[78] Nesmith, "Seeing archives", 37.

[79] Jimerson, "Archives for All", 278.

Conclusion

When it comes to Jeju 4.3 and the following decades of violence undertaken by the state, the South Korean government has a duty to the victims, survivors, their families, and the communities of Jeju Island. While the truth and reconciliation process for Jeju 4.3 began in the 2000s and resulted in the state taking some responsibility, they have not adequately addressed past atrocities and taken complete accountability, resulting in the further marginalization of some victims and survivors. Instead of dismantling systemic anti-communism and honoring those suffered by the government, the state-led truth and reconciliation processes have perpetuated political interests rooted in anti-communism and adhere to the status quo. To reduce the current limitations of these state-led processes and implement steps toward truth and reconciliation, archives can become active sites for change. By embracing a broader perspective on accountability, archival records and practices can serve as meaningful means to demand the state's continuous responsibility for past abuses, thereby contributing to break the cycle of Cold War antagonism still deeply rooted in South Korea. When identifying the contributions that archives and records can make to social changes, one of essential steps would involve examining the power dynamics inherent in archives and the accountability of archivists themselves.

Chapter 2: Archival Shortcomings in Documenting Jeju 4.3

Introduction

State violence has often been intentionally enacted to protect the unjust interests of the state, such as white supremacy, anti-communism, capitalism, or the protection of the ultra-wealthy. This state violence has been systematically and structurally carried out. The government's power has also allowed it to systematically conceal or downplay its responsibilities as perpetrator. In this process, official documents have served as a tool for effectively controlling the people, thereby containing crucial accounts of state violence and its underlying motives. As repositories of these records, as mentioned in the previous chapter, contemporary archives have taken significant steps to unveil the truth and hold their governments accountable for past injustices. Likewise, archive and memory institutions that hold records of Jeju 4.3 have also made ongoing efforts to uncover the truth and commemorate this tragic event. These institutions have undertaken diverse projects and implemented archival policies related to South Korean and the US governments' records documenting Jeju 4.3. For instance, in 2018, the National Archives of Korea (NAK), in collaboration with the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, organized a special exhibition of materials of Jeju 4.3. Additionally, digitization projects from memory institutions, such as the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, the NAK, and the National Institute of Korean History (NIKH), were initiated to make archival records held in America's National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) more accessible to the public.

In this chapter, I will critically explore these efforts of archival and memory institutions to preserve the truth and memory of Jeju 4.3. While there are many Jeju-based social movement

and civic groups that have long struggled to gain the government's acknowledgement of its past atrocities, I will primarily focus on the practices of governmental archives and memory institutions.[80] These institutions are the official and largest repositories of records related to Jeju 4.3, especially those from the US and South Korean governments. Consequently, their archival practices deeply impact how the state's wrongdoings are addressed and how official narratives of Jeju 4.3 are constituted. In this context, I will demonstrate that these efforts have exposed certain limitations in archives and archival practices. Consequently, the outcomes of these efforts have often yielded a one-sided and biased representation of Jeju 4.3. I specifically focus on their failure to consider the victims, survivors, and their families as stakeholders in archival process and present their perspectives of Jeju 4.3 and its memory.

The first two sections of this chapter will analyze three projects undertaken by memory institutions in South Korea that aim to improve user accessibility through the digitization of NARA records. I will then argue that without addressing the limitations of such projects, institutional archives may fail in their role of holding the South Korean and US governments accountable for the injustices in Jeju. The final section will examine the decisions made by archivists at NAK regarding the description of the Jeju 4.3 records. This section will also highlight NAK's shortcomings in preserving the memories and voices of the victims and

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[80] It is important to recognize that Jeju-based social movement and civic groups have been actively involved in creating counter-narratives for marginalized voices while archiving them. Since the 1987 democratization movement in South Korea, there has been collective efforts by survivors, their families, the people of Jeju, and activists to uncover the truth of Jeju 4.3. Through this redress movement, non-governmental organizations like the 4.3 Research Institute as well as many artists, including Ki-yong Hyun, Sok-pom Kim, and Kyong-hoon Park, have made significant contributions to archiving records of Jeju 4.3. These efforts have included collecting testimonies from survivors, documenting the heritage and history of Jeju 4.3, and creating artworks which provide a powerful means for expressing experiences of those affected by Jeju 4.3. Such efforts are crucial aspects of changing archival practices related to Jeju 4.3, but I will put my focus on examining archival practices of institutional archives and memory institutions in this chapter.

survivors, as well as addressing their needs.

2.1. NARA Digitization Projects

In the 20th century, the US influenced the world through cultural, economic, and military interventions. During these interventions, the US government produced numerous intelligence reports, military reports, and official documents regarding its activities and captured or collected many documents from occupied areas. These have been kept and managed at NARA in Washington, DC, which has become a central collection of records documenting American involvement (direct and indirect) in important historical events. In this context, NARA has been an important repository of evidence proving the atrocities that occurred during Jeju 4.3.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Jeju 4.3 occurred across two different regimes: the US military occupation and the early Rhee presidency, during which the US still had control over South Korean military decisions. Even after the establishment of the South Korean government in August 1948, decision-making power regarding the suppression of Jeju residents largely remained under the control of the US military. The orders to occupy and oppress the island were executed by the 9th Regiment of Korea with the support of the Provisional Military Advisory Group (PMAG), which had been established by the US military for the purpose of training and advising the South Korean military. PMAG provided weapons, equipment, and reconnaissance aircraft to the 9th Regiment to enable these operations.[81] This demonstrates the direct

[81] Jo-hoon Yang, "The Truth of the April third Incident and the Role and Responsibility of the US]," In *The Jeju 4.3 Mass Killing in East Asia*, ed. Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation (Seoul: Yonsei University, 2018): 111.

involvement and responsibility of the US in the atrocities and brutal violence perpetrated on Jeju.[82] In this context, records from the US government and military provide valuable information about of Jeju 4.3. NARA, a repository that includes US military records from the time, thus holds important documents for revealing the entire process of Jeju 4.3, including military reports, special investigation reports, command records, memorandums, photos, and film. Documents stored in NARA have since played a key role in demonstrating the United States' responsibility for the massacres.

The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Events (4.3 Committee) has heavily relied on these records, using them as evidence and background information for the atrocities that took place. In 2001, the Committee's survey team visited NARA for six months in search of documents. They photocopied 10,000 pages related to Jeju 4.3 and published five volumes as a sourcebook.[83] The Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, which was established in 2008 to implement ongoing truth-finding investigation and restore the honor of the victims and survivors, conducted additional surveys at NARA from 2019 to 2021. The purpose of this effort was to find new records as well as gather information about provenance and the archival arrangement of previously photocopied records. The Foundation notes that the 2001 survey team had not collected this information, which consequently had negative effects on the historical value and authenticity of the documents they collected. In addition, the Foundation explains that the 2019–2021 survey was imperative because NARA had rearranged many military records, thus necessitating an update. During this second survey, not only did they

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[82] Yang, "The Truth of the April third Incident", 73–77.

[83] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Events, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ,* 48-51.

collect information regarding the provenance of the records, but they also collected information about the arrangement of reallocated records.[84]

This procedure reflects some important points. The 2001 team did not fully comprehend the significance of provenance and the crucial role of archival arrangement activities in collecting these archival records. Identifying the provenance of records and understanding how archival materials are arranged and related to each other is important for comprehending them. This practice not only reveals historical and contextual information regarding record creation and management but also establishes relationships between the records in an archive. The provenance of records has been considered important for preserving the evidential value of records. Provenance reveals what government, organization, or individuals engaged in record creation as well as who performed the specific documented activities.[85]

The 2019–2021 survey team understood the importance of context in record creation and therefore tried to understand the structure of arrangement and classification in NARA through which its materials are kept and managed. However, during their research, they did not further question how the process of record management has worked in NARA. NARA explains that the reason for the reallocation of military records was due to re-organizing these records around the military command system.[86] The process of reallocating military records within NARA has significant implications: it not only involved the physical and logical relocation of records but

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[84] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, C*heju sasamsagŏn ch'uga chinsang chosa charyojip: miguk charyo 3* [*Jeju 4.3 Incident Follow-up Investigations Sourcebook 3: Records in the US]* (Jeju: Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, 2021): 7–9.

[85] Shelley Sweeney, “Provenance of Archival Materials,” in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences*, ed. John D. McDonald and Michael Levine-Clark (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2018), 3746.

[86] National Archives and Record Administration (NARA), “Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations (World War II and Thereafter),” *Guide to Federal Records*, accessed August 24, 2023, https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/338.html.

also altered and created new relationships between those documents. The archivists' decisions about which group or series the materials belonged to resulted in the creation of different hierarchies and networks for record aggregation. In this context, the reallocation ultimately affects user accessibility, the ability to identify specific records, and the meanings of those records. When the Foundation survey teams collected NARA documents and published sourcebooks to improve accessibility and shed light on the truth, they failed to fully consider the implications of NARA's new policies and how their efforts could be affected as a result. The process of reallocation demonstrates that an archive is not "accumulated organically, without interference or mediation by the archivist."[87] Rather, NARA archivists and their allocation decisions play a role in shaping and reshaping the meaning of the materials.[88]

Database projects by the National Institute of Korean History and the National Library of Korea have faced similar issues. These projects received financial support from the South Korean government to send historians and librarians to survey and photocopy NARA records regarding contemporary Korean history. Currently, these documents have been digitized and are being made available to the public through two online databases that adhere to NARA's classification and arrangement system. These digitization efforts have greatly enhanced the accessibility of material pertaining to contemporary Korean history, including Jeju 4.3. However, without further examining the management of records within NARA, the pitfalls of the NARA system may have been unwittingly reproduced by these new databases. Managing records on the violation of human rights requires particular sensitivity, as creating a database may affect the

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[87] Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, archivists, and the changing archival landscape," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 2 (2011): 610.

[88] Cook, "Archive(s) is a Foreign Country," 610.

truth and collective memory of events such as Jeju 4.3. Collecting and presenting records of Jeju 4.3 therefore carries a significant level of historical responsibility, as the creation of a database can either reinforce pre-existing prejudices regarding historical human rights abuses or provide an opportunity to take one step closer to the truth.

While these efforts to create databases and publish sourcebooks improve accountability by making records more widely accessible, it is important to question their uncritical acceptance of the archival process in NARA. For example, how do archival practices at NARA fortify the biases embedded in their records' creation and management? How does current archival practice in NARA obscure state responsibility and render the experiences of survivors and victims of Jeju 4.3 invisible? The next section explores the arrangement and description process in NARA and explores how the power of institutional archives has impacted the memory of Jeju 4.3.

2.2. Military-Centered Arrangement and State-Centered Archival Mission at NARA

Order of Records at NARA

The US administrative bureaucracy and military offices, which created the US records of Jeju 4.3, are typical government agencies. The arrangement of these records at NARA follows a narrow reading of provenance and the original order approach. It exhibits how the US military's organizational structure is applied into the archival process. In addition, this way of arrangement shows that preserving relationships between the administration and the military's organizational structures have become the primary consideration during archival work. For instance, one record group, RG 554 *Records of General Headquarters, Far East Command, Supreme Commander*

Allied Powers, and United Nations Command, has been identified by the 4.3 Committee and other researchers as important evidence surrounding Jeju 4.3.[89] This record group includes the US army's documents regarding its military activities in the Asia-Pacific region from 1941 to 1957.[90] It consists of 680 series of documents, including some on the US army's activities in Korea. The series are arranged by department, division, and function (including intelligence reports, operation reports, and finances). The level of files in each series are classified by more specific functions and activities such as periodic reports, trial documents, and command orders. The creators and provenance of the documents therein are predominantly attributed to specific military forces or departments.

For the practical purposes of managing a high volume of records such as military records, and with limited space and staff, it was likely more efficient to arrange materials in their original order rather than sorting them by subject or in chronological order. This approach is particularly meaningful for archival materials as it effectively preserves the contextual information of their creation.[91] To establish the accountability for Jeju 4.3, it is therefore crucial to understand how specific records were documented within certain administrative structures and functions of the US government. By arranging the documents in a manner that reflects the hierarchy and structure of governmental agencies, the roles and responsibilities of specific government agents as record creators can be effectively represented. Therefore, this archival practice can effectively reveal which US government agencies and officials were responsible for the decisions related to Jeju

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[89] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Miguk charyo 3*, 1–9.

[90] NARA, "Records of General Headquarters, Far East Command, Supreme Commander Allied Powers, and United Nations Command," *Guide to Federal Records*, accessed August 24, 2023, https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/554.html.

[91] Moon-Won Seol, "Kirok pullyue kwanhan kungnae yŏn'gu tonghyanggwa kwaje [Research Trends and Issues of Records and Archives Classification in Korea]," *Han'guk kirokkwalli hak'oeji* [*Journal of Korean Society of Archives and Records Management]* 12, no. 3 (2012): 205.

4.3. According to Caswell, the records created by oppressive regimes need to keep their provenance to prove the atrocities these regimes committed.[92] In a similar vein, identifying the government agencies in archival arrangements can provide clear evidence of the US's structural responsibility for the atrocities of Jeju 4.3. As these records include information that identifies the chain of command under which military operations were carried out as well as the departments that produced the intelligent reports, records arrangement based on governmental organization and function reveals the very structures of violence and the US responsibility behind the massacres.

However, it should be noted that this form of arrangement is not a neutral, objective, or unbiased process. Traditionally, the principle of preserving documents' original order has been regarded as an effort to minimize the influence of archivists in the process of organizing and classifying archival materials and to protect the original information of the creator. Its premise is that the record is created naturally based on the needs and activities of the institution. In this light, records are regarded as unintentionally and organically reflecting the function of an organization. This understanding views the management of archival records as a neutral process for preserving the meaning of the records intended by the creator within a single provenance.

Departing from this traditional perspective, in which archivists were assumed to be neutral or unbiased mediators, it is inevitable that archivists apply a certain set of values at every stage of their recordkeeping decisions. First, at the time of document creation, the creators rarely had in mind a completely systematic and well-structured order; often, there is no *real* original order. In other words, it is impossible for archivists to follow the original order in an accurate

[92] Michelle Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3 (2014): 309.

way, and the concept of an original order is, in essence, a product that is "constituted" by later custodians or authorities, including archives.[93] In addition, order and disorder may co-exist within the same record aggregation. According to the traditional understanding of the original order, an archivist must follow only one form of original order. Therefore, when the original order cannot be found, archivists must—out of necessity—predict and create it themselves. The reallocation of the aforementioned Record Group 338 is a good example of this phenomenon. After arranging certain military records into Record Group 338, the archivists identified additional creators, specifically the major army commands. As a result, they had to create a new record group to reflect this finding and rearrange the materials related to these creators.

Second, a failure to acknowledge that archivists serve as non-neutral mediators between record creators, archives, and users, and maintaining that archival arrangement is organic process, can fortify the biases embedded within the materials and the archival system. The arrangement of records related to Jeju 4.3 in NARA, based on governmental organization and military functions, has an inherently US-centered perspective, which is designed in alignment with US interests. These structures of organization were designed to efficiently fulfill the US military's goal of maintaining control over the Asia–Pacific region, a pivotal area for spreading a capitalist world system.[94] As a result, archivists must remember that uncritically maintaining the structure of the US military and government in the archive has reproduced and perpetuated a particular perspective and power dynamic that benefits the US.

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[93] Heather MacNeil, "Archivalterity: Rethinking Original Order," *Archivaria* 66 (2008): 17.

[94] Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 26.

The Results of a Military-Centered Arrangement

Within the huge number of records that are the products of an original order centering the military's organizational structure, and a narrow understanding of provenance, materials on Jeju 4.3 are rendered invisible. With arrangement centered around the military and governmental authority, records from the same agencies are grouped together first by record group and then by series, which are organized according to specific military functions. This subsumes the evidence and memories of Jeju 4.3 under a large volume of other materials, making it challenging to access and identify them. For example, "May Day in Korea, Cheju-do," the only video material in NARA about Jeju 4.3, can be found in the series "Moving Images Relating to Military Activities 1947–1964" in record group 111SC. This series was filmed by Signal Corps, a communications division of the US Army that produced videos and images of US military activities from 1947 to 1964. As the Signal Corps was involved in various military activities worldwide, this series contains over 10,000 items with numerous films created by the Corps. Among these records, this single film about Jeju 4.3 is present among the vast number of unrelated materials. NARA's records arrangement centered on military agencies such as Signal Corps, causes the crucial evidence of Jeju 4.3 to be submerged among numerous other records, thereby making it invisible.

The records in NARA are organized based on military organizational structures, which means that the records related to Jeju 4.3 are classified according to the US military units or other departments responsible for military tasks. They are not classified according to events, subjects, or specific cases related to Jeju 4.3. Documents about Jeju 4.3 can therefore be found across RG 59 (General Department of State), RG 218 (the US Joint Chiefs of Staff), RG 263

(Central Intelligence Agency), RG 554 (US Army Command), RG 319 (Army Staff), and many others. Records documenting the same events during Jeju 4.3 are therefore arranged and preserved in different groups. For example, in a field east of Dodu-ri village in Jeju, counterinsurgents killed 76 residents on February 20, 1949. The investigation report details the testimonies from the victims' families and other locals, concluding that counterinsurgents labeled Dodu-ri residents as "raiders" who attacked Dodu-ri, and killed them.[95] The victims' families were only able to recover the bodies several months later, and even today, more than 20 victims remain unidentified. The US Army Forces in Korea (USAFIK) periodic report from March 3, 1949, documents Jeju 4.3 and this report is found under RG 338. Three other records that reported the same massacre are grouped in RG 554 and preserved in different series. As these four records were documented by different agencies, they are therefore classified separately. This makes the records appear scattered in separate aggregations. Moreover, when considering that the record groups in NARA consist of a high volume of documents with thousands of series and files each, records kept within each specific record group or series become practically inaccessible to users. Although the army-centered order of archival arrangement in NARA, which considers the military forces and federal governmental agencies as the singular creator of records, may be useful for government agents, military, or certain researchers, this type of arrangement becomes an obstacle for survivors and their families. Many of them are not familiar with the structure of the American military or federal government, and even if they are, finding the truth in NARA is hindered by the scattered arrangement of the materials.

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[95] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ, 266–267.*

The State-Centered Archival Mission of NARA

Despite this army-centered arrangement, archivists at NARA can enhance accessibility to the Jeju 4.3 records by establishing interconnections among related records through their descriptions. The primary purpose of document description is to effectively identify records and make them easily accessible to users. Archival description is thus essential for finding and understanding material. Furthermore, through this descriptive process, archivists can narrate the relationships between records and their creators.[96] For example, archivists could create file- or item-level descriptions that would make Jeju 4.3 more visible. Traditionally, archivists have described materials by moving from the general to the specific; after the description of a series, archivists move on to descriptions for lower levels such as subseries or files, followed by that of individual items. However, contemporary archivists are not necessarily bound by this approach. Currently, the digital archive of NARA allows for descriptions of specific items such as digitized photos, videos, and other documents without adhering to the traditional conventions of archival description. Archivists now have the flexibility to describe specific materials at the item level even while the rest of records remain undescribed. Through the form of this uneven description, archivists can intervene to make certain documents more visible. Even with an adherence to original order and narrow provenance, archivists can adopt archival practices that support the marginalized, thereby challenging existing power relationships. To further elaborate, if archivists at NARA were to actively describe archival materials that prove the human rights abuses that

[96] Greg Bak, Danielle Allard, and Shawna Ferris, "Knowledge Organization as Knowledge Creation: Surfacing Community Participation in Archival Arrangement and Description," *Knowledge Organization* 46, no. 7 (2020): 504.

happened in Jeju, survivors could more easily access the records and get closer to the truth. However, archivists who remain silent contribute to the continued inaccessibility and invisibility of the Jeju 4.3 records.

As a result, the decisions made by archivists regarding what records have the priority to be described reveals a part of power relationships ingrained within archival practices. These decisions not only protect the image of the US but also allow the US state to maintain its silence, avoiding their responsibility for the violence it committed. On the NARA website, users can see detailed information about specific item-level records on the history of the American Civil War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. These records are described at item level, ensuring that they are readily accessible to users. It reflects how the archivists interpret their mission at NARA and pay closer attention to describing documents related to the significant events of US history. In this regard, archival practices at NARA reveal archivists' positionality within the nation-state mission of the United States.

Likewise, NARA's mission statement shows full support for interests of the US and its citizens:

> Our mission is to provide public access to Federal Government records in our custody and control. Public access to government records strengthens democracy by allowing Americans to claim their rights of citizenship, hold their government accountable, and understand their history so they can participate more effectively in their government.[97]

By prioritizing Americans, non-American users who want to use records and find the truth of human rights abuse perpetrated by US at NARA are impeded from accessing its records because they face a huge number of materials without item-level description. Within the

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[97] NARA, "Mission, Vision and Values," *About the National Archives*, December 14, 2022, accessed August 24, 2023, https://www.archives.gov/about/info/mission.

military- and state-centered arrangement, records that could reveal human rights violations by the US are mixed among large quantities of routine, uncontroversial documents in the same aggregation, thereby submerging the evidence.

May Day in Korea

In addition to exploring NARA's archival practices and the implications surrounding the creation of databases and digital archives, there are other important issues to consider. The South Korean memory institutions that have collected and digitized records from NARA might take a different approach by creating new relationships and meanings among the collected materials. This could serve as a counter-narrative to the dominant perspective established by NARA. However, these projects have so far failed to do so. As a result, under the current approach of adhering to the arrangement and descriptions established by NARA, most users (except for a handful of experts or historians) are not able to fully understand the meaning of these records. This still leads users, particularly, the survivors and victims, to experience the same frustration over the scattered and submerged records related to Jeju 4.3, similar to what they might feel within the NARA repository.

Even after the attempts of these meaningful projects, users' understanding of the material in South Korea still relies on the knowledge structures that support US interests because archival descriptions in NARA reflect a certain perspective in favor of the US military and the US government. The film record "May Day in Korea, Cheju-do" is one example of the few Jeju 4.3

records that users can easily find in NARA because NARA provides an item-level description.[98] However, this description articulates completely different perspectives compared to survivors' narratives. The film itself depicts the arson that happened at the village of Ora-ri. Colonel Kim Ik-ryeol, commander of the 9th Regiment in Jeju, and insurgency leader Kim Dal-sam made peace negotiations and came to an accord on April 28, 1948. However, three days later, the Arson of Ora-ri occurred. The US military forces concluded that insurgents were the ones who had set Ora-ri on fire and declared that the peace accord was void, instead changing their tactics to strongly suppress the insurgent forces. The Arson of Ora-ri became an important turning point that catalyzed further brutality against islanders, ultimately resulting in multiple massacres.

The film includes several scenes: Korean police searching for insurgents in Ora-ri, the village's burning houses and farmland, the villagers explaining the situation to the police, a dead person and their family, and arrested insurgents re-enacting their alleged crime. These scenes reflect the perspective that the arson was committed by the insurgent forces. However, the investigation report by the Jeju 4.3 Committee reached a different conclusion. On the day of a funeral held for two wives of right-wing extremists killed by the insurgents, right-wing groups set fire to 12 houses in Ora-ri that belonged to residents known to be leftists. After the arson, the police killed some of the insurgents and villagers without any confirmation of the suspected crimes. The investigation report notes that the film was created to present the American justification for revoking the peace accord and implementing strong suppression tactics. In other words, the US military forces created false information regarding the arson that occurred in Ora-

[98] The Office of the Chief Signal Officer, "May Day in Korea, Cheju-Do", 30 April, 1948, Identifier 20887, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, NARA, New York, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/20887.

ri.[99] The film thus supported US goals and manipulated the narrative of what really occurred. The villagers' testimonies also supported the arguments of the investigation report. They reported that the arson was set up by a right-wing group and added that a woman depicted as the dead person's family member in the film was not actually part of their village and that they had never seen her before.[100]

In the item-level description, the film is titled as "May Day in Korea, Cheju-do." This description contains information pertaining to the type of material (a moving image), the title ("May Day in Korea, Cheju-do"), the creator (the Department of Defense, Department of the Army, Office of the Chief Signal Officer), and the date of creation (April 30, 1948). It delivers only army-centered information to users without the other context that could reveal different perspectives of the event. In the title, "Mayday in Korea", the word, mayday, refers to a distress signal used to call for help during a life-threatening emergency. The title therefore represents the urgency of the situation in Jeju due to the attacks from insurgent forces, but only from the perspective of the US armed forces. Despite testimonies from Ora-ri villagers and the official investigation result in the Jeju 4.3 Committee report, the description provided by NARA does not include newly interpreted information. The narratives of Jeju residents and victims outside the institutional archival approach thus cannot be conceived in this descriptive work. Within a single and narrow understanding of provenance, Seokjun Ko, Dugyeong Huh, Byeongil Kang, Yunhui

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[99] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Events, *Cheju sasamsagŏn chinsang chosa pogosŏ,* 198–200.

[100] *Chemin Ilbo* 4.3 Special Reporter Team, *Sasamŭn malhanda, 2* [*4.3 Speaks, 2*] (Seoul: Ch'unyewŏn, 1994), 5.

Kang, and other unidentified villagers, whose houses were burned, lost families and friends, could not be identified as the film's co-creators.[101]

Within contemporary archival theory, many argue for the possibility of new approaches beyond the narrow concept of provenance seen in NARA. For instance, Chris Hurley's broaden concept of provenance opens the possibilities of provenance that is useful for revealing the multiple stakeholders involved in record creation.[102] Hurley divides provenance into multiple provenance, simultaneous multiple provenance, and parallel provenance.[103] According to him, "multiple provenance arises when two or more agents of creation generate a record … over time—one succeeding another."[104] Multiple provenance represents to make its trace sequentially as time goes by. Simultaneous multiple provenance, meanwhile, is the "coterminous generation of the same thing in different ways at the same time" by different creators.[105] Simultaneous multiple provenance means that multiple subjects are involved in the record creation at the same time and with the same frame, but these subjects don't have successive relationship. For example, Hurley uses the case of the Danny Archives in Essex. Generating provenance from family and estate ownership, it represents simultaneous multiple provenance as different creators contributed to it. Hurley further notes that other narratives beyond the frames of family and estate cannot be fully formulated within this understanding of provenance. On the Danny family's land, there were other stories from traditionally voiceless people including workers or

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[101] A historical information board at Ora-ri village displays imagery of a house that was burned during the Ora-ri arson. In addition to images of the house before the fire, the board features the names of each owner. I use these names to identify the house owner as well as co-creator of the film.

[102] Chris Hurley, "Parallel Provenance (If These Are Your Records, Where Are Your Stories?)," *Archives and Manuscripts* 33, nos. 1–2 (2005): 1–43.

[103] Hurley, "Parallel Provenance," 9–10.

[104] Hurley, "In Pursuit of Provenance: When Societal Met Parallel with a View to Relationships" (paper presented at the Australian Society of Archivists' symposium, Adelaide, June 21, 2013), 1.

[105] Hurley, "Parallel Provenance," 10.

peasants. To reveal this narrative, description should be extended toward in "different frame" as well as in "same time period". Allowing for other provenances through the concept of simultaneous multiple provenance—the "simultaneous generation of the record when the agents of creation cannot be (or have not been) brought together within a common contextual framework"—opens the possibility for writing descriptions from alternative frames that highlight the perspectives of the marginalized beyond "official" frame.[106]

By not adhering to NARA's description, but by suggesting a broadened view of provenance and creating new descriptions, databases and sourcebook projects implemented by memory institution in South Korea can generate further meaningful steps forward. When archivists understand the structure and power relationships that are inherent within provenance, they can challenge this order and intervene through their archival description.[107] This approach would then reveal the marginalized perspectives in the archival process and move toward practices that support social justice.

The Societal Dimension: Captured Items

In addition to the issues explored above, the institutional archival approach to provenance fails to explore various aspects of materials created by agents whose position as creators has been obscured. For example, in NARA, there are daily reports that the American advisor to the 9th Regiment wrote to the 6th Infantry Division of USAFIK. These reports include detailed

[106] Hurley, "In Pursuit of Provenance," 1.
[107] Stacy Wood, Kathy Carbone, Marika Cifor, Gilliland, and Ricardo Punzalan, "Mobilizing Records: Re-Framing Archival Description to Support Human Rights," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3 (2014): 407.

information about the number of people killed, the insurgents captured, and the items seized during military operations. The reports state that on November 28, the 9th killed 64 and seized 2 Japanese Type 99 rifles, 180 bullets, 9 Japanese helmets, 1 US helmet, 80 boxes of rice, 7 tents, 2 drums of gasoline, and medicine. The report also states that on December 9, 1948, the 9th killed 36 and captured 30, and seized items including 2 sabers, 12 blankets, 6 cooking bowls, 1 soup bowl, and various pieces of clothing.[108]

From the traditional perspective, these records are a regular report containing brief information on the number of casualties and items captured, classifying them within the singular provenance of the 9th Regiment. However, when thinking beyond a US military-centric provenance, the report also contains traces of the people who were labeled part of *the communist riot*. This societal dimension of record creation cannot be fully encapsulated within the single provenance of the US military. Caswell criticizes this kind of narrow reading of provenance in archival tradition. She argues that this approach places records of atrocities into "the settled, finished, and finite functions of a single bureaucracy."[109] In a similar vein, Tom Nesmith suggests the need for a societal dimension of provenance in records related to Indigenous people.[110] He argues that without a deeper examination of provenance, description of records remains at the surface level. This results in the removal of any societal dimensions from the records. Although Indigenous people are one of the agents who were (unwillingly and willingly)

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[108] The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Events, C*heju sasam sagŏn charyojip 8: miguk charyo 2* [*Jeju 4.3 Incident Sourcebook 8: Records in the US 2]* (Jeju: The National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Events, 2001): 296-299.

[109] Michelle Caswell, "Rethinking Inalienability: Trusting Nongovernmental Archives in Transitional Societies," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 1 (2013): 128–129.

[110] Tom Nesmith, "The Concept of Societal Provenance and Records of Nineteenth-Century Aboriginal–European Relations in Western Canada: Implications for Archival Theory and Practice," *Archival Science* 6, no. 3 (2006): 351–360.

involved in the creation of the information in these documents, they are not regarded as creators compared to the dominant power institutions such as governments and churches.[111] This limited understanding of provenance, he argues, hinders our full comprehension of the material.

This narrow understanding of provenance in NARA records fails to add victims' voices and their stories into the contextual information. The regular report of the US army narrates the military's activities following their specific function. Within a bureaucratic and functional understanding, archival descriptions of these reports treat each piece of information about them as part of an activity that only the military performed. However, the report also includes traces of the victims and survivors' voices. Keeping the perspectives of these voices in mind, this information not only serves as a valuable source of evidence regarding the massacres, but also provides new perspectives of the events to users. For instance, when considering the seized items as materials created by insurgent forces, they can further illuminate the stories of the group of people labeled as the communist riot by the US military. The reports about these items include information about how the number of captured weapons was very small compared to the number of insurgents killed. Furthermore, the seized weapons were outdated guns from the Japanese colonial period, and were ineffective weapons compared to those used by counterinsurgent forces supported by the US military. These captured items tell us that the insurgent forces did not have the ability to truly threaten the military and demonstrate that there was no reason for counterinsurgent forces to immediately kill all insurgents rather than capturing them alive and giving them a fair trial. When compared to the obvious vulnerability of the insurgent forces, these reports can show that the US and South Korean militaries used unnecessary levels of

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[111] Nesmith, "Concept of Societal Provenance", 353.

violence against a much weaker opponent.

Nesmith notes that provenance needs to be viewed not merely as information "at its surface level," because records in archives are the product of multiple and ever-changing societal interactions from their creation until when they are archived and used.[112] Therefore, he suggests that archivists need to incorporate an analysis of these societal dimensions to understand the multicultural and socio-economic condition on record creation and archiving. For instance, the description of "May Day in Korea, Cheju-do" could be differently represented by considering these societal dimensions. The current description in NARA provides only army-centered information and follows the US military's narrative, which aimed to show the urgency of the situation in Jeju and justify their use of strong suppression tactics in response. However, it does not include the societal context or different perspectives on Jeju 4.3. In a societal provenance approach, the archival description could incorporate different narratives about the function of the US Army Signal Service (Signal Corps), which was a military organization responsible for communications research and development and for providing army motion picture and photographic services. The process would examine the historical context of the Signal Corps' material, which was mostly created and used for propaganda and justifying US military operations.

Going beyond the official narrative, the archival description could also include the historical background and impact of this specific film, which became the catalyst of the multiple massacres of Jeju residents. Information from survivors' testimonies about the Ora-ri village arson could additionally be incorporated into the description. This information could reflect the

[112] Nesmith, "Concept of Societal Provenance", 352.

truth that the arson was set up by a right-wing group, and that the film inaccurately portrayed a stranger as a member of the victim's family. Finally, other records related to this event housed within NARA could be mentioned in the descriptive information.

Building upon Nesmith's idea of that archivists need to consider the societal aspects of record creation, the aforementioned records regarding seized items—blankets, shoes, backpacks, fur hats, rice, potatoes, coats—can be also understood as the last traces of those killed by military violence. They were the traces of their lives as well as the realities of the battleground. They are, in a sense, these victims' last words. When based on a military-centered provenance, archival practices cannot incorporate victims and survivors' narratives as another record creator's voice into their narrow practices of description and arrangement. However, victims' stories could be told again through archival practices adopting alternative approaches of provenance. Beyond a narrow understanding of provenance, archives could provide diverse access points for users to understand broader social contexts of record creation and management. Archivists could provide information about how these insurgent forces were agents who also co-created the military's records. As a result, users could hear the suppressed version of stories as told by the insurgent forces.

The work of memory institutions to collect the massive number of documents on Jeju 4.3 from NARA, digitize them, and create databases and sourcebooks has been a significant contribution to the truth and reconciliation efforts. They have provided easy access to these records to users in South Korea, who may have otherwise never been able to access the originals in the United States. In addition, understanding how these records have been shaped by the administrative structures and functions of US military and governmental organization is crucial to prove the state's responsibility. However, the arrangement and descriptions used by NARA,

which are based on American interests and centered on its governmental agencies, need to be rethought and redefined. By turning a blind eye to these issues, the three database projects may instead perpetuate the US perspective and fail to consider the experience of victims and survivors as pivotal context in which the records of this atrocity must be understood.

2.3. Jeju 4.3 Records at the National Archives of Korea

The NAK's New Policies

Jeju 4.3 occurred just before the establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK). The government had neither a record management system nor a well-structured record creation system. In comparison to NARA's records regarding Jeju 4.3, there are only a small number of known records in the NAK. Nevertheless, these are still important, as they document the government's policy regarding Jeju Island before and after Jeju 4.3. An official apology for Jeju 4.3 was issued by the South Korean government in 2003, requiring its national archive to re-evaluate its management and policies regarding the records of Jeju 4.3 as part of the truth and reconciliation process.

At a 2018 exhibition commemorating the 70th anniversary of Jeju 4.3, the NAK released nine related documents to the public, including the declaration of martial law on Jeju. As previously discussed, this declaration was promulgated on November 17, 1948 and lasted until December 31. It was signed by then-President Rhee and all members of the State Council. It is now regarded as the most important decision related to the massacres that occurred during Jeju 4.3, as it served to justify the brutal military operations that followed, during which the majority

of the victims were killed. During their participation in the 2018 exhibition, the NAK defined itself as a transparent place for preserving and managing evidence regarding state violence and maintained its promises to actively disclose the evidence of such violence for the public and survivors.[113] This announcement focused on the active role of the archive in advocating for human rights, for those who suffered from state violence, and maintaining accountability for historical records that defy the distortion and denial of state responsibility.

However, the NAK's archival practices, especially in descriptive work, reveal limitations in representing the memory of Jeju 4.3. While some archivists attempt to describe records in "seemingly unbiased, neutral, or objective ways," archival practices—as discussed above—most certainly prioritize the worldview of record creators, the US and South Korean governments, and can therefore uncritically reproduce and reinforce their perspectives.[114] Although the NAK has declared its intent to give special attention to Jeju 4.3 records, without critical reflection on their descriptive work, the NAK fails to represent the perspectives of victims and survivors.

Descriptive Language by the NAK

As mentioned above, the record descriptions in the NAK are examples of how the archive privileges state narratives of Jeju 4.3 and reproduces other biases. Archivists create descriptions, and based on these, users can search for and access the records. In this process, archivists intervene in how a record is perceived. Therefore, archivists need to be sensitive to how their

[113] Social Media Reporters, "Cheju sasamgwa majuhada. taehanmin'guk yŏksabangmulgwan cheju sasam t'ŭkpyŏl chŏnshi [Face to Face with Jeju 4.3: Jeju 4.3 Special Exhibition at the National Museum of Korean History]," *Ministry of the Interior and Safety*, April 2, 2018, https://blog.naver.com/mopaspr/221243063171.

[114] Wendy M. Duff and Verne Harris, "Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3 (2002): 276.

own power, privilege, and biases regarding reshaping knowledge and memory are reproduced in their work.[115]

In 1952, for example, President Rhee visited Jeju. During this visit, the Ministry of Information and Propaganda created photos and films to advertise the government's activities. NAK's item- and file-level descriptions regarding his visit include titles and notes such as "President Syngman Rhee's welcome ceremony in Jeju Island" and "President Syngman Rhee receives welcome flowers from provincial residents during his military inspection."[116] These were produced based on the views of the creator, the Ministry of Information and Propaganda. Without adding further consideration to the historical context or implications of this, NAK describes records within the perspective of the state at the time of record creation. When these photos were taken in 1952, state violence toward Jeju residents was still being committed. During 1948 to 1949, 2,530 people were sentenced to death or were detained in mainland prisons because they were seen as violating the defense security laws and engaging in insurgency. During the Korean War (1950-1953), many were branded as subversive elements and were executed or went missing. This painful reality was therefore ongoing at the time these photos were taken. Without adding further historical explanations to these images, using the word "welcome" in the description is problematic. Despite Rhee's direct responsibility for the massacre, NAK does not mention this in the descriptions. Descriptions containing positive words

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[115] Duff and Harris, "Stories and Names," 277.

[116] National Archive of Korea(NAK), " isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng naeoebunŭi chejudobangmun hwanyŏngshik [President Syngman Rhee's welcome ceremony in Jeju Island]", 3 July 1952, accessed August 31, 2023, http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bsid=200200025527&dsid=000000000004&gubun=search; NAK, "Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng chejudo kunbudae shich'al chung tominŭrobut'ŏ hwanyŏngŭi kkoch'ŭl pannŭn mosŭp [President Syngman Rhee Receives Welcome Flowers from Provincial Residents During His Military Inspection]", 1952, accessed August 31, 2023. http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bsid=200200025527&dsid=000000000009&gubun=search

during events of suffering should require archivists to deeply reconsider their descriptive practices. An uncritical use of the original language can hinder users from knowing the truth and may even traumatize survivors and families of victims and survivors again. While maintaining a narrative of praising the president's achievements and focusing on presidential activities, the descriptions of these photos exclude the experience and emotions of the survivors, families of victims and survivors, and their post generations which ought to have been considered in the process.

Same Places but Different Memory Narrated

Several other photos in NAK show Rhee's 1957 commemorative speech at Gwandeokjeong Pavilion in Jeju City, Jeju (Figure 2). This pavilion is where a police shooting occurred on March 1, 1947, a major causal event in Jeju 4.3. As described in the previous chapter, Jeju residents had been celebrating Independence Movement Day, and six were killed and six others injured by the police. If Gwandeokjeong is merely given in the description as the place of Rhee's commemorative speech, this erases the significance of it within the historical context of Jeju 4.3.

Figure 2. Syngman Rhee at Gwandeokjeong, Jeju. May 1957.[117]

[117] NAK, “Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng chejudo pangmun kwandŏkchŏng yŏnsŏl [President Rhee’s commemorative speech in Gwandeokjeong]”, 22 May 1957, identifier no. CET0020692, File ‘Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng chejudo shich'al [President Rhee, visitation in Jeju]’, Collection ‘Kongboch'ŏ [The Ministry of Information and Propaganda]’, NAK, SeongNam.http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bsid=200200025737&dsid=000000000008&gubun=search

Figure 3. Syngman Rhee at Jeongbang Waterfall, Jeju, May 1956.[118]

Figure 3, taken in 1956, shows a commemorative photo of Rhee and a US general alongside other military and police officers at Jeongbang Waterfall, Jeju. Without a deeper understanding of provenance, this photo appears to depict a peaceful group within a pleasant

[118] NAK, "Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng chejudo minjŏngshich'al chung kinyŏm ch'waryŏng [President Syngman Rhee's commemorative photography during an official inspection of civil affairs on Jeju Island]", 26, *May, 1956,* identifier no: CET0020657, File "[Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng, migun changgyodŭlgwa chejudo minjŏngshich'al kyŏm kŏri yuse [President Syngman Rhee Conducting an Inspection of Civil Affairs on Jeju Island and Engaging in Street Campaigning Alongside U.S. Military Officers]", Collection "*Kongboch'ŏ* [The Ministry of Information and Propaganda]', NAK, SeongNam,

http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bsid=200200025636&dsid=000000000009&gubun=search

landscape. However, in 1948 and 1949, 45 Jeju residents had been killed at this waterfall by the police, military, and right-wing groups. If the archive were to include this context in the description, the photo could become an important part of understanding the memory of Jeju 4.3. However, as I have already mentioned, NAK's written description is based solely on the narrative by the Ministry of Information and Propaganda under Rhee's regime.

NAK descriptions fail to fully reflect the potential of these records as evidence and memory of Jeju 4.3. The evidence of the massacres and the memories of the perpetrators are still etched in places Jeongbang Waterfall and Gwandeokjeong Pavilion. The outcome of NAK archivists' decision is that the photographs become completely separated from the historical context of Jeju 4.3. If NAK wants to advocate for victims and survivors of state violence, archivists need to rethink the power and meaning of their descriptive work.

Conclusion

This chapter has delved into the archival practices relating to Jeju 4.3 employed by two different institutions, the United States' NARA and South Korea's NAK, as well as the efforts of memory institutions to create online databases of NARA records for public use. Although these institutions have strived to improve the accessibility of their records and contribute to preserving the memory of Jeju 4.3, their efforts continue to come from an administrative-centered approach, neglecting the perspectives of victims and survivors. Archivist decisions by NARA and NAK in relation to how they describe and arrange material have reinforced certain values (the administrative interests of the state and military) generated from the records, while marginalizing others (the victims and survivors' memories and voices within the records). Consequently, these

limitations impede the archives' role in holding the state accountable. In light of these challenges, Chapter 3 will therefore explore how a victim- and survivor-oriented archival practices can provide a meaningful way to hold governments accountable for the violence they perpetuate.

Chapter 3: Exploring a Survivor-Centered Framework

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I highlighted how digitization of NARA's records regarding Jeju 4.3 and the current archival practices of institutions such as NAK have followed an administrative-centered approach, sidelining the needs and perspectives of victims and survivors. This biased approach, influenced by decisions made by archivists, hinders victims and survivors' voices to be included in archival processes. To address this issue, this chapter advocates for a victim- and survivor-oriented approach and delves into the possibility of adopting such an approach within archival practices. By prioritizing the memories and voices of victims, survivors, and their families in archival processes, archivists can counterbalance perspectives of the dominant state and military perspectives with those of the marginalized. In the context of archiving Jeju 4.3, I explore the possibility of a survivor-centered approach in four aspects: the necessity of rethinking the status of victims and survivors; reclaiming their rights to control their records; implementing survivor-oriented arrangement and description practices; recognizing the multiple formats of records.

3.1. Historical Accountability, Victims, and Survivors

As mentioned in Chapter 1, archivists like O'Toole and Jimmerson have sought to develop an ethics for archives and archivists to become sensitive against the biases present within archival practices that favor those in power. O'Toole introduces the idea of an enhanced

moral vision based on archivists' professionalism, and Jimmerson proposes diverse strategies such as fostering archivists' social consciousness, building relationships with other social organizations, and ensuring the transparency of their actions. Their suggestions regarding archives and archivists' positionalities help challenge the power dynamics that permeate the archival process. However, both scholars' ideas remain grounded in the bounds of archival professionalism, which was itself created and developed within the norms of professionalism framed by those in power. Archivists—as professionals, elites, and the privileged within the modern knowledge system—cannot fully understand and represent the memories and experiences of victims, survivors, and their families who have endured the suffering of loss, a long history of forced silence, and despair due to their exclusion by the state. In this context, archival scholars have made further steps by adopting diverse approaches to rethink archival practices beyond traditional archival professionalism, modernist views, and Western ontologies. For instance, Jarrett M. Drake argues that new principles of the archive should "recognize the inequality, violence, and injustice of modernity and ensure that the communities most directly impacted by them have equal access to archival processes."[119] In the same vein, Greg Bak suggests the conceptualization of archive to acknowledge the values of the specific communities who are stakeholders in their records, specifically those communities who have endured violence and violations of human rights and Indigenous rights.[120] Regarding new archival principles for managing documents about state violence, Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor demonstrate that

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[119] Jarret M. Drake, "RadTech Meets RadArch: Towards A New Principle for Archives and Archival Description," *On Archivy*, April 6, 2016, https://medium.com/on-archivy/radtech-meets-radarch-towards-a-new-principle-for-archives-and-archival-description-568f133e4325.

[120] Greg Bak, "Counterweight: Helen Samuels, Archival Decolonization, and Social License," *The American Archivist* 84, no. 2 (2021):435–36.

feminist perspectives can be applied to archiving as an alternative to the traditional framework of human rights.[121] They illustrate that viewing state-perpetrated violence as violations of inherent basic and universal rights fails to explain how these violations and oppressions are often manifested as "more subtle, intangible, and shifting forms" of reality.[122] Departing from the concept of individuals as having inviolable rights, the authors argue that the feminist approach considers an ethic of caretaking as a more appropriate framework for managing archival records of human rights abuses. This approach places the relationships between people and their interrelatedness with the broader community at the forefront. The authors argue that an archivist should play the role of a "caregiver" to advocate human rights through building relationships between record creators and users.

A Victim- and Survivor-Oriented Approach

As another method to address social justice when managing records of state-perpetrated violence, Caswell proposes a survivor-centered perspective. This approach is defined as placing survivors, victims, and their families at the center of the archival process of documenting human right abuses, including state-perpetrated violence.[123] In "Rethinking Inalienability: Trusting Nongovernmental Archives in Transitional Societies," Caswell also explores the rights of

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[121] Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor, "From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives," *Archivaria* 81, no. 1 (2016): 23–43.

[122] Caswell and Cifor, "From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics", 27.

[123] Michelle Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives." *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 307–22.

survivors as co-creators of the documentation of human rights abuses.[124] This approach recognizes survivors' role in provenance and affirms their right to control their own stories and narratives. This perspective questions the idea of ownership of records and custody rights, which, in effect, criticizes the dominant, traditional view of record creation. In addition, it fosters the involvement of victims and survivors in the archival process of revealing injustices perpetrated by the state.

Drawing on Caswell's theoretical framework, I argue that the establishment of an approach grounded in victims' and survivors' experiences of Jeju 4.3 is imperative in the archival process. Embracing this perspective can enhance archives' ethical role of holding the state accountable and fostering a platform for those marginalized from the government-led truth and reconciliation process. Through "keeping the act of records creation central to victims' and survivors' actions" and promoting their active participation in every facet of the process, victims and survivors become central agents within archival processes.[125] The adoption of victim- and survivor-oriented principles will help overcome the current limitations in archival practices, wherein archives have—whether intentionally or unintentionally—represented those in power. In addition, this would, I believe, foster the archive's role in addressing the state's accountability for its atrocities.

Archival scholars such as Michelle Caswell and Kyong Rae Lee demonstrate the meaningfulness of survivor-centered approaches in archiving records of state-perpetrated

[124] Michelle Caswell, "Rethinking Inalienability: Trusting Nongovernmental Archives in Transitional Societies." *The American Archivist* 76, no. 1 (2013): 113–34.

[125] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 310.

violence.[126] First, a survivor-centered approach redefines victims and survivors as stakeholders in the record creation, not just as documented objects within the records of the state perpetrator. Through centering survivors in archival practice, “records as evidence of activity” could be further linked to “the context of their creation.”[127] Records from prisons, the military, and bureaucratic authorities were created within multiple historical and societal contexts in which victims and survivors also existed and within which their experiences and lives were intrinsically embedded. When the archive explores a deeper context regarding the creation of official records, victims and survivors have the opportunity to see their voices and experiences inscribed within records originating from the perpetrator. In addition, as the survivor-centered approach explores a deeper context that includes victims’ and survivors’ lives and memory, this approach provides opportunities for users to further explore the deeper meanings of records beyond the perpetrator’s intentions.

Second, privileging victim and survivor perspectives can become the primary norm for archivist and archives’ ethics in holding the state responsible for injustices. Caswell argues that the public, activists, journalists, and researchers could all be important stakeholders in documenting and managing records of human rights abuse, but that ethical considerations should first and foremost be centered on survivors and victims.[128] This can be also applied to rethinking

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[126] Michelle Caswell, “Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives.” *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 307–22.; Kyong-Rae Lee, “Kwagŏsa chiptan kiŏkkwa ak'aibŭ chŏngŭi chinshil hwahae wiwŏnhoe ak'aibŭŭi tongshidaejŏk chaegusŏng [Past Affairs-Related Collective Memories and the Archival Justice: The Contemporary Rebuilding of the Archive on the Truth and Reconciliation Committee],” *Kirok'akyŏn'gu* 46, (2015): 5-44.

[127] Caswell, “Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach”, 309.

[128] Caswell, “Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach”, 307–309.

the positionality of archivists as active shapers of knowledge. Archival records of past atrocities, written by those responsible for the abuse with the intention of facilitating it, were created against the will of victims and survivors. Even though professional archivists try to understand, reinterpret, and carefully manage such records based on their own ethical standpoint, they may not be able to fully capture the suffering and needs of those affected. Archival ethics centering the needs and values of victims and survivors would address the limitations of an ethical framework based on traditional, professionally established ethical guidelines, thereby providing a more meaningful way to maintain an archive's role in holding the state responsible. Caswell suggests that survivors should hold a distinct and central position in archival efforts and that archivists should honor survivors' agency by giving them priority in making decisions regarding the management of these records in the present and the future.[129] She explains that this is the least that archivists can do to respect survivors' experiences and their needs.

Furthermore, a victim- and survivor-centered perspective could also be a useful means to overcome the political vulnerabilities and instability that archives may face, and which can result in the unjust control and the mismanagement or abuse of material. When archives are solely governmental institutions and managed only by state-employed professionals, they are vulnerable to regime changes or shifting political landscapes even within post-conflict societies. Victims' and survivors' participation and involvement can therefore actively confront the issues related to the unjust control of archives by the state or other dominant groups. This engagement also helps maintain the stability of preserved records and challenge the distortion of public memories that harms the dignity of survivors, victims, and their families. Kyong Rae Lee notes

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[129] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 320.

that when the victims and survivors actively participate in public discussions about how their experiences are remembered and represented through archival practices, archives in the truth and reconciliation process become a place for the continuous reinterpretation of state-perpetrated violence.[130] Through the engagement of victims, survivors, their families, and their communities in the archival process, and as long as they continuously question how society in the present and future remembers the state's violence and atrocity, Lee notes that the archive could uphold its role as a place where the cases of state-perpetrated violence are continuously reinterpreted and restructured.

3.2. Rethinking the Status of Victims and Survivors

Expanding Victimhood

In February of 2016, Prime Minister Kyo-Ahn Hwang responded to an inquiry raised by a member of the National Assembly concerning the government's decision to re-evaluate fifty-three memorial tablets in the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park:

> If there is even one or two among Jeju April Third Incident's victims who have damaged the identity of the Republic of Korea or undermined the fundamental principles of freedom and democracy enshrined in the Constitution, it would be appropriate to exclude them from the list of victims. Doing so would aid in restoring the honor of the majority of the Jeju April Third Incident victims and their families, paving the way for true reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.[131]

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[130] Kyong-Rae Lee, "Kwagŏsa chiptan kiŏkkwa", 34–35.

[131] Myeong-seon Kim, "'Gamegi moleun sigge', ap'ŭmŭl nŏmŏsŏn sasam munhwa ['Gamegi moleun sigge': 4.3 Culture beyond Suffering]", *Jeju Domin Ilbo*, Feb 2, 2016, http://www.jejudomin.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=68111.

Earlier in 2016, the South Korean government had announced that some memorial tablets bore the names of individual victims who had been found to be associated with the insurgent forces, thereby requiring re-verification of their political affiliations. This is just one example of how the government has persistently excluded specific groups from being recognized as victims of Jeju 4.3, thereby perpetuating a singular narrative of victimhood that serves the state's interests. As outlined in the first chapter, the state has adhered to an anti-communist ideology when determining who qualifies as a victim and refuses to acknowledge the fundamental reasons behind their historical violence. This state-driven approach has not only perpetuated social stigma and deepened political divisions but has also deprived certain victims and survivors of their right to be acknowledged for their status, experiences, and suffering. Therefore, to implement a survivor-centered approach in archiving Jeju 4.3, the first and foremost consideration should be rethinking this state-led definition of victims and survivors.

To encourage the role of archives in social justice, Punzalan and Caswell suggest that archives must shift away from oversimplifying victims' experiences, and focus on uncovering the complex, intangible, and ever-changing forms of oppression.[132] Caswell also further articulates her view over who constitutes *survivors* in the survivor-centered archive. She suggests that the term, *survivor* can allow for a more nuanced understanding of human rights abuse cases by acknowledging "the complex and shifting social, historical, and cultural contexts of widespread violence."[133] Jesse Boiteau, who explores the topic of Indigenous residential school survivor-oriented decolonization practices of Canada's National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation

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[132] Ricardo L. Punzalan and Michelle Caswell, "Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice," *The Library Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2016): 32.

[133] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 308.

(NCTR), presents a similar viewpoint.[134] He states that a survivor-centered approach does not mean "[advocating] for complete survivor control over such a large body of records, as it is dangerous to lump all survivors into a singular defined community." Rather, "survivors from various communities should have more of a say in how RS [Residential School] records are being described, arranged, and disseminated by the NCTR."[135]

Punzalan, Caswell, and Boiteau advocate for a pluralistic, open-ended idea of victims and survivors that embraces diverse experiences and narratives, leading to a more contextually rich understanding of past injustices. In the context of Jeju 4.3, their suggestions underscore the need for archives to embrace diversity and multiplicity in survivor-oriented archival practices. Instead of adopting the state's singular and biased narrative of victimhood, archives should aim to incorporate the myriad stories and experiences of the diverse groups affected by Jeju 4.3. By acknowledging the multiplicity of victims and survivors within the specific circumstances of Jeju 4.3, archives can thus create a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of its history. Specifically, archives managing Jeju 4.3 records need to expand the categories of victims, survivors, and their families toward all those who were impacted during and after Jeju 4.3.

In-geun Kim's story illustrates the necessity of rethinking the concept of victims and survivors while acknowledging the depth and breadth of Jeju 4.3's impact.[136] As a survivor, she lost her father, sister, and brother to execution by policemen and soldiers in January 1949; Of their family, only she and her mother were left alive. In 1971, her husband was tortured and was

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[134] Jesse Boiteau, "The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation and the Pursuit of Archival Decolonization," Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2017.

[135] Boiteau, "National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation," 38–39.

[136] Sang-cheol Byeon, *Susanghan ch'aek* [*Suspicious Book]*, (Seoul: Memory Plant, 2019), vol. 3, 1–35.

put on trial for suspicion of espionage for North Korea. The reason authorities gave for this was that her husband contacted his cousin, who resided in Japan but had recently visited North Korea. As her family members were killed due to alleged ties with the insurgent forces during Jeju 4.3, this led authorities to believe that she and her husband may have created a political relationship with North Korea. Not only did Kim and her family experience state violence during Jeju 4.3 but they also continued to be affected by its aftermath, enduring social stigma until her husband was finally acquitted in 2014. Kim has experienced a difficult past marked by decades of ongoing state violence: losing family members during Jeju 4.3 due to suspicion of involvement with the insurgent forces, being wrongfully accused of espionage due to this history of murdered family members, and being suspected and persecuted for her family's connections with relatives (also survivors of Jeju 4.3) who had fled to Japan to escape the massacres.

For many survivors like Kim, the experiences of Jeju 4.3 and the subsequent state violence driven by anti-communist ideology are not separate but continuous: transcending time, space, and the magnitude of damage. This represents the necessity of redefining victims and survivors in the archival process, taking into account a broadened understanding of Jeju 4.3 and its subsequent effects created by history of anti-communism in South Korea. Therefore, if archival practices are to implement a survivor-centered approach in managing Jeju 4.3 records, this will require acknowledging the diverse and ongoing experiences of victims and survivors, as well as broadening the scope to encompass all individuals who have been physically and emotionally affected by Jeju 4.3. Figure 4 describes the categories of victims and survivors that encompass time (during and after Jeju 4.3), space (South Korea and Japan), and wide range of individuals from victims and survivors who have been verified by written documents or testimony to those who have not yet been identified, and those who excluded. It would also

encompass those who have suffered psychological trauma, material damage, physical harm, and all forms of loss.

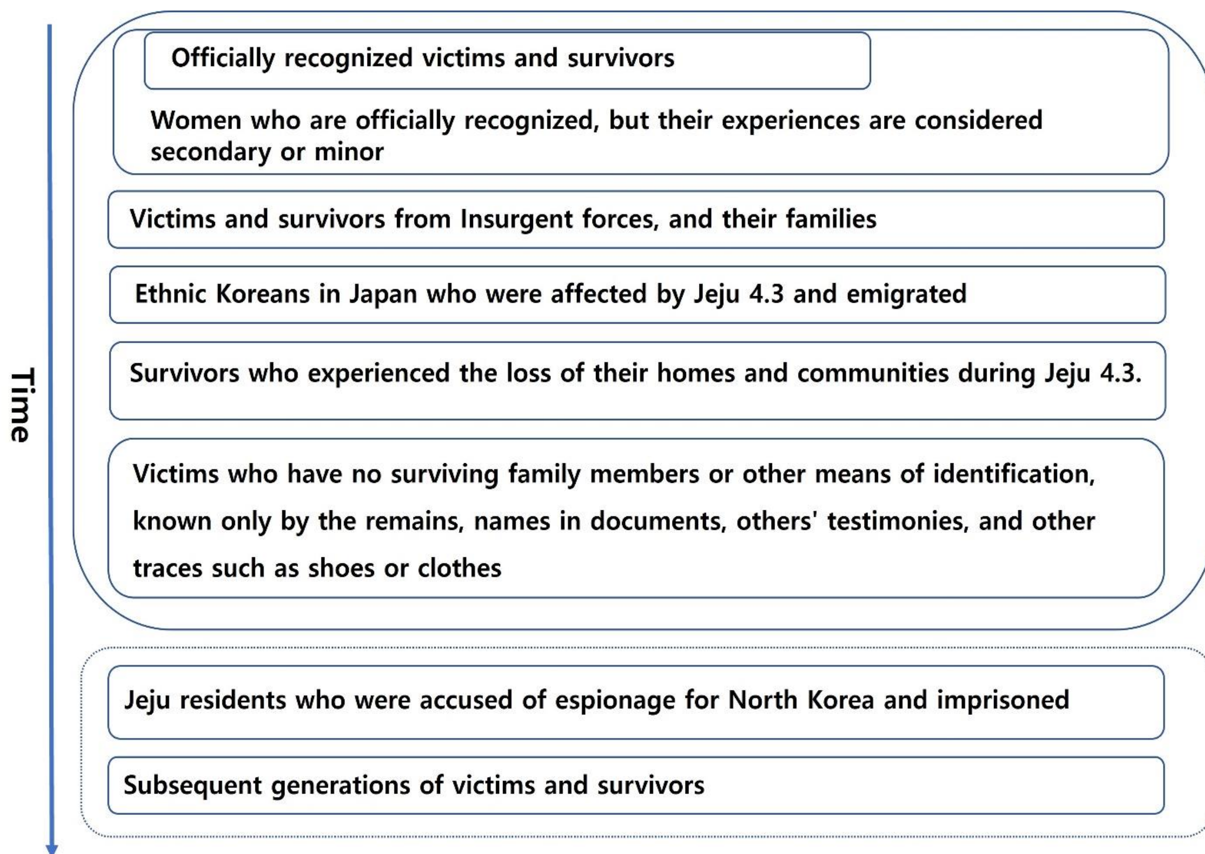

Figure 4. The spectrum of survivors and victims

As these definitions of victims and survivors become more flexible and ever-evolving, archives can serve as ongoing spaces for representing the diverse memories of violence related to Jeju 4.3, fostering a deeper understanding of what occurred. Against the state's dominant discourse, which distinguishes between "victims" and "non-victims" and limits the interpretation of Jeju 4.3, archives should strive to encompass the experiences and memories of all those affected. These efforts by archives could facilitate new steps toward reconciliation beyond state-led paths.

Furthermore, broadening our comprehension of victims and survivors in archival practice would also address the enduring and devastating impacts of an anti-communist ideology that fueled Jeju 4.3 and its aftermath. By embracing this expanded and evolving view, society would be better equipped to reflect upon the fundamental causes of Jeju 4.3 (that is, anti-communist ideology) and understand the widespread violence as having been continuously inflicted upon Jeju residents across multiple decades into the present day.

Revealing the Excluded

Along with broadening the concept of victimhood beyond a singular narrative, it is crucial to carefully consider the voices and experiences of those who have long been denied access to victimhood at all, such as those connected to insurgent forces. Mario H. Ramirez articulates the importance of giving prioritized consideration to "otherness" in archival practice when discussing human rights abuses. According to him, the concepts of humanity and inhumanity are categorized within the rhetoric of human rights abuse.[137] The binary categorization of human/inhuman within the human rights framework fails to consider the historical, social, and economic contexts that show how the violence occurred, and thus ultimately fails to examine the underlying categories of human/inhuman that were created by the perpetrator to justify that violence. Furthermore, grouping all victims into a singular category may silence other victims and survivors who exist outside that category, such as those who

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[137] Mario H. Ramirez, "Whither the Human in Human Rights? On Misrecognition, Ontology, and Archives," *Archivaria* 90, no. 1 (2020): 44–69.

possess different experiences and stories.[138]

Instead of universalizing the concept of human rights, Ramirez suggests that archives should reveal agents existing outside the boundaries of "humanity."[139] The efforts of contemporary archival thinkers who depart from traditional approaches provide alternative archival principles. Much contemporary archival literature reveals the experiences and voices of victims and survivors and moves them from objects to agents within the archival process. However, these efforts still have some limitations that are not completely free from the idea of stable and unified categories of human beings. Many arguments surrounding human rights archiving, Ramirez argues, fail to deeply examine how the concept of *human* in the human rights framework has structurally been created. Consequently, contemporary archival literature fails to demonstrate how the silenced and excluded groups who are categorized as inhuman cannot be explained within a contemporary human rights framework. When overlooking "the critical question of what or who constitutes the human in human rights", contemporary archives' attempts to establish new archival principles for the human rights of the marginalized may be hindered.[140] Therefore, he states,

> By inviting the other to mark difference alongside and within a historically exclusionary realm, archives can significantly shift their content and subjective representation by reconstituting the agentic core of their activities and align themselves with an anti-foundational ethos that challenges the circumscription of such practices as collection development, appraisal, community engagement, and advancements in descriptive practices.[141]

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[138] Ramirez, "Whither the Human", 49.

[139] Ramirez, "Whither the Human", 50.

[140] Ramirez, "Whither the Human", 48.

[141] Ramirez, "Whither the Human", 55.

Those considered inhuman can therefore serve as catalysts in changing the universal concepts of human rights and human beings presupposed by the archive. When archives actively invite those who have been historically excluded and marginalized in their practices, archives can transform their practices and the way they represent subjects. This approach can re-establish core considerations of traditional archival practices and foster new ones.

Within the context of Jeju 4.3, the state-led discourse about victims and survivors in the truth and reconciliation process has treated the insurgent forces as existing outside humanity. During Jeju 4.3, due to the insurgents' association with communists, they were labeled as inhuman and thereby treated as lacking in rights. Consequently, they were indiscriminately killed without any trial or adherence to lawful procedures. Families of insurgents and Jeju residents who were deemed to have a relationship with the insurgency were also subjected to this treatment. As the state continues to intentionally exclude individuals with ties to insurgent forces during official truth and reconciliation process, these victims, survivors, and their families have not been able to claim any rights. Sungman Koh describes one victim's family who filed a report with the 4.3 Committee in an effort to obtain official recognition as victims.[142] The Committee rejected the request because the victim was deemed to be associated with the insurgent forces. Over the course of a decade, the family resubmitted the report three times, but it was rejected each time. Finally, the family was discouraged and decided not to pursue their case. As long as the state continues to be reluctant to confront the fundamental problem of anti-communist ideology, its decision to adhere to the state-led standard of victim not only excludes many victims' and survivors' experiences but also produces new type of violence toward them. These

[142] Sungman Koh, "Trans-Border Rituals for the Dead: Experiential Knowledge of Paternal Relatives after the Jeju 4.3." *Journal of Korean Religions* 9, no. 1 (2018):88–89.

individuals continue to suffer as a result of the perpetrator—the state—basing its categorization of victimhood on the prevailing anti-communist ideology.

To challenge this situation, following Ramirez's argument about the importance of revealing "the other" in the human rights framework, archives managing the Jeju 4.3 records should actively consider its practices for the previously excluded agents who have been denied victimhood. By revealing those categorized as "the other" and tracing the historical process that led to their categorization as such, the archivists responsible for managing the records of the Jeju 4.3 can enhance the sensitivity of their practice. This will enable them to maintain ongoing awareness of the ways in which archives shape memory and knowledge. This process also prompts archivists to continually re-evaluate and reflect upon their own positionality on controversial issues that wider society and the state may be reluctant to confront.

Furthermore, this sensitivity toward excluded agents could serve as the foundation for archives' role as a site of historical accountability. Archives have an obligation to remember the excluded and overlooked through their practice. The dominant viewpoint in South Korea, which blames victims and survivors due to their presupposed associations with insurgent forces, makes it difficult for survivors and their families to openly discuss and share their experiences publicly. Consequently, the experiences and memories of the marginalized risk being forgotten unless focused efforts are made to preserve their stories. Therefore, it would be one crucial role of archives to maintain historical accountability of those responsible until present limitations of truth and reconciliation are addressed. By further identifying and focusing on "the other," archives can become spaces to reveal the narratives of silenced victims and survivors. Such an

approach would enable the establishment of "more transformative human rights archives."[143]

By focusing on archival practices that commemorate the memory and experience of the excluded in the official truth and reconciliation process, archives can also address crucial questions such as, "Does the communist deserve to be slaughtered?"[144] The belief that communists deserve to die for being communists has been accepted as a justifiable explanation in South Korea for decades. It was used to justify the Jeju 4.3 massacre and has been a primary reason why Jeju 4.3 has been neglected for decades. Additionally, this idea has allowed the state to perpetuate violence against Jeju people without being held accountable. Breaking this cycle of violence is a fundamental and imperative step toward state accountability and ensuring its responsibility for all the harms inflicted upon victims and survivors.

3.3. Reclaiming Victims' and Survivors' Rights to Their Records

Encouraging archives to include victims, survivors, and their families in their work is a vital first step toward acknowledging their importance and recognizing them as active agents. Simultaneously, their participation would allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the records and their contextual meaning. Katie Shilton and Ramesh Srinivasan argue for a participatory archive model, which encourages the inclusion of marginalized individuals in archival processes. Despite being stakeholders in record creation, these individuals have often been historically overlooked. However, by actively involving them in archival practices and

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[143] Ramirez, "Whither the Human", 60.

[144] Won-ok Jeong, "Kkŭnnaji anŭn aedo : sasam sagŏn p'ihaeyŏsŏngŭn marhal su innŭn'ga [Unfinished Mourning: Can Women Victims of the 4.3 Incident Speak?]", *Sasamgwa yŏksa* 16 (2016):236.

decision-making processes, we can not only rectify past neglect but also facilitate a profound understanding of documents and their contexts through the voices of marginalized communities.[145] In this inclusive strategy, the community—previously only considered the object of records—is invited to join in the archival process and adopt a role as co-creators, thereby moving away from the approach that is centered on one dominant creator. For instance, participatory arrangement and description practices incorporate the contexts of historically marginalized communities and reflect the knowledge and opinions of these communities within the archival process by involving community members in the process. This approach allows users to understand the material from the community's perspective and fosters the preservation of community customs, beliefs, and knowledges by further arranging and describing the relationships that each record has with other records.[146]

A participatory archive model especially enables the consideration of multiple and diverse statuses within victim and survivor communities, as well as redefining marginalized victims and survivors as key agents. According to Anne J. Gilliand and Sue McKemmish, the participatory archive can provide a framework for diverse rights and relationships, recognizing multiple stakeholders involved in record creation.[147] Within a participatory archive, multiple communities, including victims, survivors, and their families, can recognize and share their rights, obligations, needs, and perspectives. Each community can embed their values, beliefs, and practices into archives while expressing their opinions and being involved in archival decisions.

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[145] Katie Shilton and Ramesh Srinivasan, "Participatory Appraisal and Arrangement for Multicultural Archival Collections," *Archivaria* 63 (2007): 87–101.

[146] Shilton and Srinivasan, "Participatory Appraisal," 87–101.

[147] Anne J. Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, "The Role of Participatory Archives in Furthering Human Rights, Reconciliation and Recovery," *Atlanti* 24 (2014):1–13.

Therefore, the participatory archive becomes a place based on an agreement among multiple communities.[148] In the same vein, Lee argues that the participation of diverse survivors and families as stakeholders in the archival process can foster a system that acknowledges the differences in memories and experiences, going beyond the notion of conventional evidential truth.[149] Consequently, such active involvement would lead to a deeper contextualization of the records themselves.

As outlined in previous section, archives can play a vital role in holding the state accountable for the marginalized victims and survivors of Jeju 4.3 who have been excluded from the official truth and reconciliation process. Archival practice needs to deeply consider that the voices of these marginalized groups are heard, their histories remembered, and the injustices against them publicly acknowledged. The participation of survivors and victims' families could become useful way to acknowledge the plurality and diversity within communities, forming a suitable platform for memories of those affected by Jeju 4.3.

The deeply-rooted anti-communist ideology in South Korean society, which has largely contributed to the exclusion and marginalization of some victims and survivors, continues to shape how Jeju 4.3 is remembered and commemorated. In this context, even when survivors and victims are considered common stakeholders in record creation, their needs, perspectives, and struggles may differ significantly. Acknowledging the differences among victims, survivors, families, and their descendants could therefore prove challenging on a practical level. Nevertheless, the very process of acknowledging these differences, discussing the impacts of

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[148] Gilliland and McKemmish, "Role of Participatory Archives," 6.

[149] Lee, "Kwagŏsa chiptan kiŏkkwa," 28–30.

Jeju 4.3, and deciding how to manage materials can become a crucial step toward truth and reconciliation, ultimately contributing to creating a multifaceted memory of Jeju 4.3 that goes beyond anti-communism. As Gilliand and McKemmish argue, participatory archives function as "a negotiated space built around critical reflection in which these different communities share stewardship and expertise."[150] Through the participation of diverse victims and survivors, the archive could thus serve as "a negotiated space" that fosters sharing and understanding of the different values, needs, and perspectives among the survivors and victims of Jeju 4.3.

In addition, the engagement and participation of those affected raises the ongoing question of where archivists should position themselves beyond the traditional professional status. As Lee argues, when families of survivors or victims cannot reach an agreement or show significant differences of opinion, the archivist could serve as a mediator. A participatory archiving model positions archivists as active agents in mediating the interests of the archives and the community, moving away from the perspective of a passive keeper of archival material.

In practical terms, archival theorists and many institutional archives have implemented inclusive strategies to promote active engagement, such as initiatives in employing and training survivors, and survivors and victims' family members in archival positions, establishing advisory groups to participate in decision-making processes, and utilizing digital platforms that offer community members an opportunity to fully participate in understanding and governing records.[151] In the context of Jeju 4.3, survivors, victim's families, and their descendants could form such advisory groups. They could make decisions regarding which records are collected,

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[150] Gilliand and McKemmish, "Role of Participatory Archives," 4.

[151] Lee, "Kwagŏsa chiptan kiŏkkwa," 28–35; Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 315–316; "Shilton and Srinivasan, Participatory Appraisal", 98–100.

and how and by whom they are utilized and disseminated. In particular, when establishing policies regarding highly sensitive records that may raise ethical concerns surrounding those affected, their management must be closely examined and determined with the engagement of the community. For instance, among the photographs from international archives that have been collected and digitized by the NAK, one includes the execution of Deok-gu Lee, a key figure in the insurgency. This photo, which shows Deok-gu Lee's lifeless body, is currently accessible to the public without any restrictions. Currently, the photo has been widely disseminated across many websites, blogs, and historical publications. It has also been misused on far-right web platforms, wherein it is employed to assign blame to the victims of Jeju 4.3 and propagate their biased assertion of a close relationship between the insurgency and communism.

Decisions regarding the disclosure of and access to such photos are made by NAK's general policy on open access. NAK has not implemented special measures to manage this sensitive record, nor has it considered the potential trauma that the access and utilization of such graphic imagery may have on other survivors, families of victims and survivors, and their communities. This oversight undermines the dignity of specific individuals, including Deok-gu Lee himself. One possible solution for such problems would be the establishment of the aforementioned advisory board. They could help to closely review NAK's policies, reducing the risk of misinterpretation and misuse, and preventing any further emotional distress for the victims and their families.

In addition, it would be necessary to establish online platforms and opportunities for those affected, including the survivors, families of victims and survivors, and descendants living in Japan, to comment on and engage in the decision-making process. The participation of all parties affected by Jeju 4.3 could be fostered digitally, and protocols for participation among all

stakeholders involved could also be made based on a broadened pool of opinion. Additionally, archives could provide education and training programs for those affected, including the development of curricula that adopt a survivor-centered perspective and challenge conventional archival perspectives.

3.4. Survivor-Oriented Arrangement and Description

As discussed in Chapter 2, the arrangement and description practices in institutional archives such as NARA and NAK reveal several shortcomings. The arrangement of the Jeju 4.3 records at NARA, which adheres to governmental and military organizational structures, represents and reinforces perspectives that are influenced by US interests. Additionally, as archival descriptions of Jeju 4.3 in NARA and NAK only acknowledge a single form of provenance and creation, they inherently portray the biased views of document creators. These dominant perspectives subsequently affect society and public memory, further perpetuating the silencing of the victims and survivors within the record. These shortcomings have also impacted three projects by the 4.3 Peace Foundation, the National Institute of Korean History, and the National Library of Korea. Although the project to digitize documents in NARA has contributed meaningfully to uncovering the truth about Jeju 4.3 and to offer access to records of Jeju 4.3 for users in South Korean, their uncritical acceptance of NARA practices continues to perpetuate biases inherent in record creation and management. Possible means of overcoming these shortcomings and implementing proper description and arrangement can be found in cases of digital archives that address the diverse relationships of records beyond traditional hierarchical structures of arrangement and description.

Creating Enriched Relationships Between Records

By exploring and elucidating the diverse relationships between records beyond a hierarchical framework based on a single creator such as military or state entities, archivists have the opportunity to challenge existing power dynamics surrounding archival practices. By enhancing arrangement structures and descriptive components, archivists can provide improved access for those impacted by Jeju 4.3 and other users. Furthermore, archives can better incorporate the experiences of those affected into archival practice and generate a wider range of in-depth narratives about Jeju 4.3, ultimately contributing to efforts holding the state accountable for its injustices.

The South Korean digital archivist group *Archive Lab* presents an alternative model for enhanced organization and description of archival materials. They show how archives can create multifaceted relationships among item-level records through visualization tools.[152] Their 2022 project, *the Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung Archive*, not only provides item-level descriptions, but also generates a dynamic "relations map" (Figure 5) that visually connects items to one another, effectively illustrating the intricate associations between records based on places, individuals, and related events.[153] Users are able to view even more detailed map (Figure 6) that visualizes every individual record within, and when they click an image, they can access the individual record items they want to read. These visualized maps enable users to view all related item-level

[152] Archive Lab, "Hoesasogae" [About Us], accessed August 24, 2023, https://archivelab.co.kr/3199a6fc947a4201ae7b395eaa2e0b9d. The Archive Lab is a group of three archivists building and developing a digital archive platform that can be easily managed by small NGOs for social minorities. Their focus includes women's rights and labor, gender issues, queer issues, animal rights, environmental issues, and diaspora populations.

[153] *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung Archive*, accessed August 24, 2023, https://mongyang-archives.org.

records simultaneously and understand the connections extending beyond individual items, helping them understand the multifaceted contexts surrounding Lyuh's life and work.

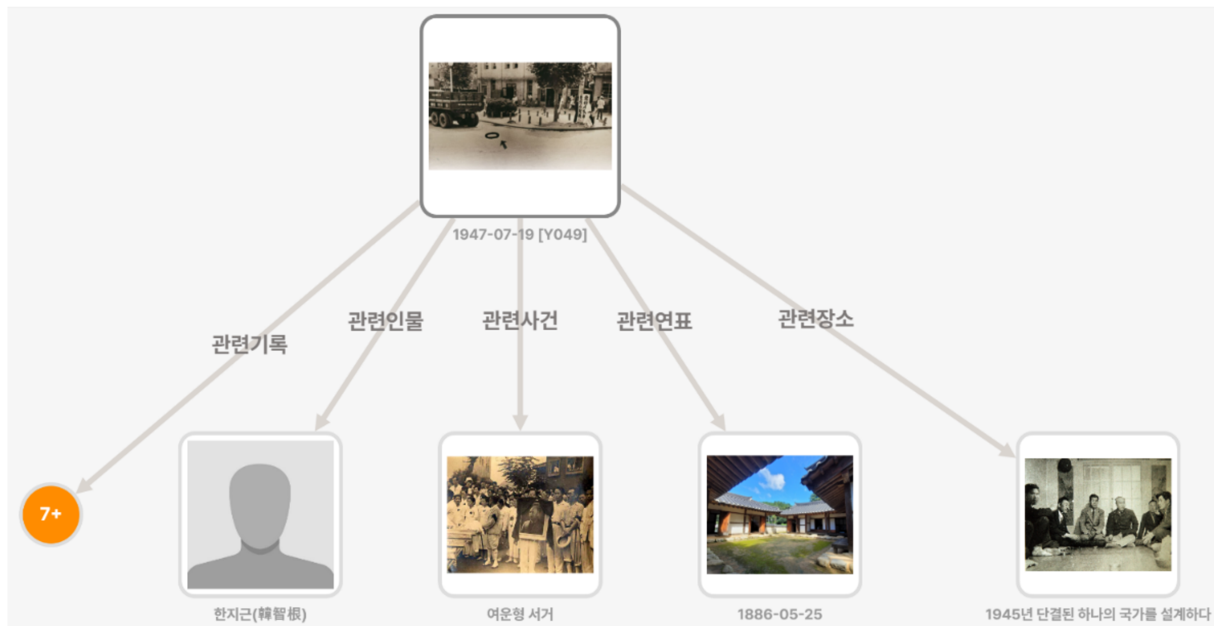

Figure 5. Relations map of "1947-07-19(webpage)."From https://mongyang-archives.org/items/show/59.

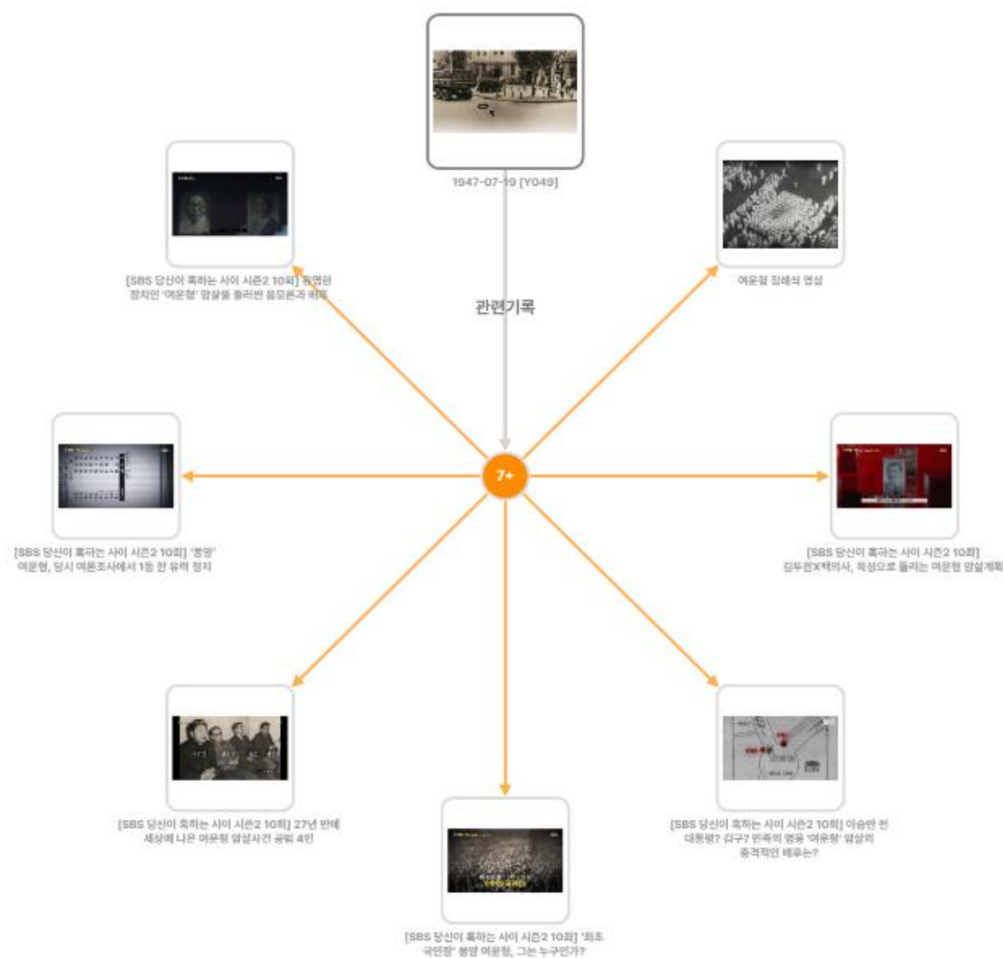

Figure 6. Expanded relations' map in webpage, "1947-07-19." From https://mongyang-archives.org/items/show/59.

A similar approach could be applied to the arrangement and description of the Jeju 4.3 records. As discussed in Chapter 2, records concerning the Dodu-ri massacre are dispersed across various record groups in NARA, including RG 59, RG 218, RG 263, RG 554, and RG 319, according to hierarchical structures and functions of military organization. Although this army-centered arrangement may be beneficial for government agents, military personnel, and some researchers, it poses a significant obstacle for survivors and their families who are not familiar

with the US military's structure. Furthermore, the archive's order, which only reveals hierarchical relationships, hinders the possibility of connecting to other records such as oral testimony and people's experiences about what happened in Dodu-ri. However, institutional archives like NARA and NAK and the aforementioned three digitization projects have the possibility of implementing new strategies for a survivor-oriented digital approach alongside the existing traditional arrangement. For example, as Bak suggests, item-level management would help archives to reveal multiple perspectives within official records by "[maintaining] multiple set orderings of the records while maintaining particular 'default' metadata."[154] Similarly, archives managing Jeju 4.3 records could provide multiple access points for victims and survivors while simultaneously maintaining the army-centered arrangements as the default metadata to prove the state's responsibility.

When adopting a survivor-oriented approach in a digital environment, archives need to consider new relationships that do not only maintain the hierarchical arrangements generated from the military's organizational structure, but also addresses a deeper understanding of Jeju 4.3 and provides easy access for users and survivors. Like Figures 5 and 6 in the Lyuh Woon-hyung Digital Archive, Jeju 4.3 records in different record aggregations could be placed into diverse item-level relation maps in their own digital archives, making it easier to access materials regarding specific events such as the Dodu-ri massacre. By establishing these multiple relationships, users could more easily understand the interconnectedness inherent in these historical records as well as easily access the evidence necessary to uncover the truth. By developing multiple relationships at the item level, archivists can thereby maintain the

[154] Greg Bak, "Continuous Classification: Capturing Dynamic Relationships among Information Resources," *Archival Science* 12, no. 3 (2012): 312.

hierarchical arrangements generated from the structure of military organizations while also providing a deeper contextualization of Jeju 4.3 and facilitating easier access for users and survivors.

Establishing relationships between records at the item level also contributes to the web of connections among materials held in different collections. Along with the digitized collection of the NARA records, the Jeju 4.3 Archive, which is run by the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, currently holds digital records related to the Dodu-ri massacre across different collections.[155] For instance, within the various collections of 4.3 Archive, there are records related to the massacre, which comprise a diverse range of materials such as testimonies from Dodu-ri villagers who survived the massacre, news articles published at the time of the event, and family photographs of the victims donated by a survivor named Chun-Ja Kim, who lost his father and other relatives. Establishing multiple relationships between items creates connections between entire sets of records about the Dodu-ri massacre, including those at NARA (Figure 7). Displaying these relationships would thus provide a more comprehensive understanding of the Dodu-ri massacre by linking related items across various collections.

[155] *Jeju 4.3 Archive*, accessed August 31, 2023, http://43archives.or.kr/main.do

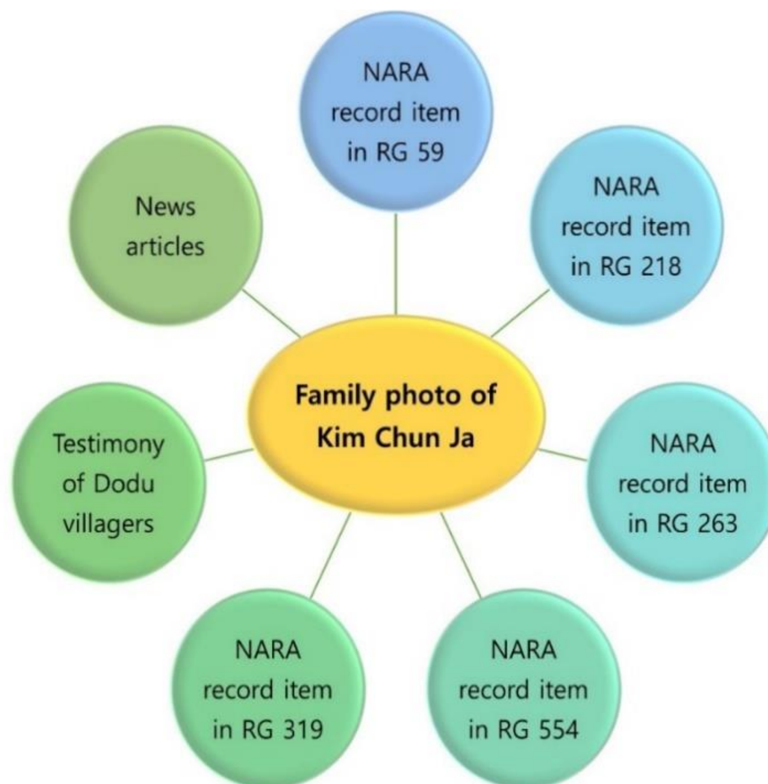

Figure 7. Multiple relationships between collections holding items related to Chun-Ja Kim

Furthermore, the strategies used to create diverse relationships between records can link related materials held across not just different collections, but various institutions and physical repositories. In addition, in a digital environment, archives can expand on the relationships among records about Jeju 4.3 and those documenting subsequent events of state violence. These new relationships can be applied to Suspicious House, an exhibit run by Gwang-Bo Kang, a victim of state violence who was falsely accused of espionage for years.[156] Kang's suffering stemmed from his visits to Japan in the 1960s and 1970s to meet his relatives who had fled there during Jeju 4.3. He was falsely charged with espionage, subjected to threats and torture, and

[156] Byeon, *Susanghan ch'aek*, 1–35.

ultimately sentenced to prison for seven years. Finally, in 2017, Kang was declared innocent and received reparations from the government. Utilizing this fund, he founded Suspicious House as a memory institution to preserve the history of state violence experienced by those accused of espionage in Jeju. Not only does Suspicious House exhibit and preserve materials related to Kang's personal history, such as his diary, drawings, books he read in prison, newspaper articles, and court records, but it also preserves the photos, articles, and testimonies of many other Jeju residents who were wrongfully convicted. As such, Suspicious House serves as a site of public memory of state violence.

Kang's personal history illustrates how two different forms of state violence occurring in distinct periods can be linked to the same event, Jeju 4.3. Kang's parents and relatives were survivors from Goneul, one of Jeju's " lost village." Like many villagers whose homes were destroyed, and communities massacred, Kang's relatives sought refuge in Japan. The ongoing impacts of Jeju 4.3 led Kang, a descendant of those survivors, to face another form of state violence, being falsely accused of espionage because he kept in touch with and visited his relatives in Japan. Suspicious House not only serves as a repository of records of state violence, but also as a significant archive where the memory of Jeju 4.3 contained within. This place provides crucial context in understanding how victims, survivors, and families have been deeply impacted from Jeju 4.3 during their lifespan. However, because it is a private exhibit owned and run by a small team, it is not well-known and not easily accessible.

Digital environments enable archives to address limitations of physical repositories and separated record collections, allowing archives to build diverse relationships between individual items from multiple memorial institutions. When exploring these relationships, archives can serve as powerful bridges that connect the records of individuals impacted by Jeju 4.3 with

records about the lives of Jeju descendants affected by further state violence. As discussed in Chapter 1, the inscriptions on the stone markers erected by the government to commemorate the "the lost village" provide limited and partial information while excluding details about the perpetrators and context of the Jeju 4.3. This approach leaves many villagers unrecognized as survivors and victims, depriving them of opportunities for representation and remembrance of their experiences. The experiences of Gwang-Bo Kang, his parents and his relatives from the Goneul village(" the lost village") and their subsequent history of suffering cannot be remembered within this state-led truth and reconciliation process. Establishing relationships between records at the item level using digital technologies can be meaningful means to keep diverse narratives of Goneul villagers against state-led memory-making of Jeju 4.3. This approach enables the remembrance of varied voices from those of each Goneul community member who suffered immense losses in economic, social, and emotional aspects. Additionally, it builds counter-narratives challenging the government's denial of responsibility for the Jeju 4.3 atrocities. Furthermore, it prompts users to think the impact of anti-communism as a persistent structure of violence in Jeju, which underlies the original violence, long history of enforced silence, and other human rights abuses toward survivors and following generations. By employing archival strategies that establish diverse relationships between Jeju 4.3 and records of other state-perpetuated violence—such as that against Gwang-Bo Kang and his family—digital databases can foster a deeper understanding of such atrocities. Archives can thus allow for the development of multiple narratives told by diverse victims and survivors of Jeju 4.3 beyond the confines of anti-communism.

Above all, engagement of those affected is vital for implementing strategies to establish such relationships across collections and repositories. The communities and individuals who

experienced Jeju 4.3 may have their own understandings about and perspectives of the information and contexts represented within each record, beyond those of professional archivists. They also may have different interpretations of the aspects of Jeju 4.3 that carry the most significance to them. Identifying relationships among records inevitably involves deciding what aspects are prioritized and given importance. Therefore, the process of articulating and creating multifaceted relationships among records should be developed with collaboration with these stakeholders.

Survivor-Oriented Descriptions

The three digitization projects for Jeju 4.3 documents that were examined in Chapter 2 reveal the shortcomings of retaining biased original descriptions. Despite the potential for a more widespread dissemination, these digitization projects continue to adhere to conventional archival principles such as maintaining the original order and a narrow interpretation of provenance. This has led to the perpetuation of a military-centric, anti-communist perspective. This could marginalize the voices of those affected by Jeju 4.3, fortify biased interpretations, and retraumatize survivors. Instead, archives must adopt more contextualized descriptions for records in NARA, NAK, and the digitization projects that include the experiences and voices of victims and survivors. This should be done alongside the participation and involvement of communities and those affected by Jeju 4.3. Beyond these shortcomings, archives that manage Jeju 4.3 records must examine their descriptive practices in transformative ways.

Suggestions from scholars such as Nesmith, Hurley, and Jannette Bastian could be useful

for creating new approaches to archival descriptions for Jeju 4.3 records.[157] Nesmith's concept of societal provenance specifically allows for the inclusion of multifaceted contexts related to record creation into archival description. Societal provenance can cover aspects such as the circumstances of record creation, the historical contexts of archiving, and contemporary issues related to truth and reconciliation into the description. In particular, it would be necessary to include crucial societal interactions identifiable as societal provenance with the lives and experiences of victims, survivors, and their families of Jeju 4.3.

Bastian also argues that to reveal the reality of a society under colonialism, the official records that were created by colonists need to be preserved with expanded descriptions within the concept of the "community of record." Archivists need to approach records within "a vision of provenance and community that seeks, weighs, and accommodates all the voices of a society."[158] She points out that process of record creation is not only done by colonists, but also the people under the colonial system who lived and experienced the same events.[159] To tell a complete story, the context in descriptions needs to explain broadened relationships between events and persons.[160] As discussed previously, Hurley's ideas also expand on the notion of provenance with multiple or parallel provenances. Despite the role victims and survivors of Jeju 4.3 have played as real agents who (willingly and unwillingly) generated the information within official records, they have not been granted any real role in traditional

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[157] Tom Nesmith, "The Concept of Societal Provenance," 351-60; Jeannette A. Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation," *Archival Science* 6 (2006): 267–284; Hurley, "Parallel Provenance," 1–44.

[158] Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records", 269.

[159] Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records", 283.

[160] Bastian, "Reading Colonial Records", 284.

archival descriptions. An expanded understanding of provenance opens the possibility of redefining these agents as stakeholders in record creation. In particular, acknowledging the societal dimension and victims and survivors as one form of provenance enables them to shed light on the excluded *other*, thus integrating their perspectives into descriptions.

With expanded contexts and proper terminologies, descriptions of NARA's digitized records could be rewritten. Figure 8 contains two such items that clearly demonstrate the necessity of rewritten descriptions.[161] These are kept physically in NARA but have been disseminated and digitized by National Institute of Korean History. The first image, taken by the US Signal Corps, depicts two persons who were believed to be communists and suspected of killing villagers in Ora-ri. The second was also taken by same period and same authority.

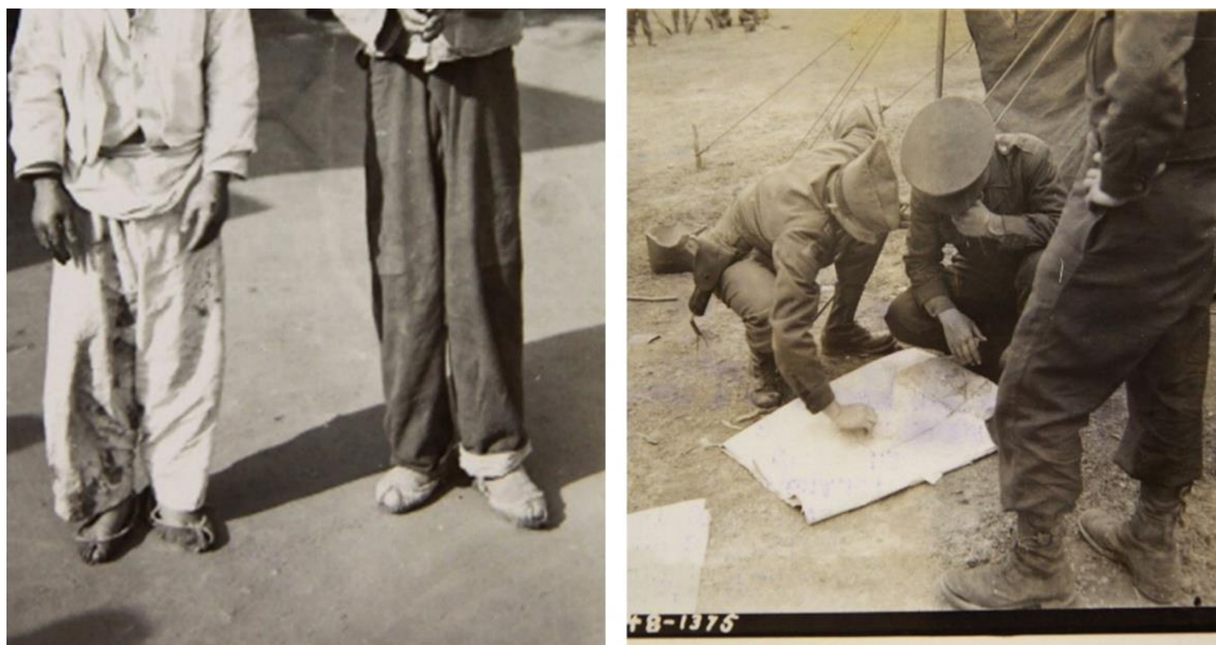

Figure 8. Two photographic records at NARA(digitized and disseminated by NIKH)[162]

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[161] I have edited the original record by erasing part of the face.

[162] The Office of the Chief Signal Officer, "Two Confessed Murderers Captured on Cheju Island During

The item-level description of the digitized records follows the catalog card typed by enlisted personnel: “Two confessed murderers captured on Cheju Island during the reign of terror currently in progress”, “Capt. Leach, American advisor to the Korean Constabulary on the Island of Cheju and Korean officer in the Constabulary plan for attack on a Communist infested village”. These are the explanations the archive provides to users about the photo. However, even in an image taken with the aim of justifying the military operations of the US and South Korean governments, social provenance can provide different information. An expanded description would deliver other crucial contexts. For example, why did the original description include the expression “reign of terror?” How do the testimonies of Ora-ri villagers explain what happened? How could the two persons in the photo(right photo), who are wearing shabby clothes and straw shoes, be insurgents capable of bringing *terror* on the well-equipped US soldiers in the photo(left photo)? How do NARA’s practices, rooted in a military-centered understanding of record creation, impact understanding about Jeju 4.3 of public users and those who affected by Jeju 4.3?

As another aspect of rethinking descriptive practice, Drake suggests the possibility of transformative description in digital age.[163] He critically examines how conventional archival

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the Reign of Terror Currently in Progress." 1 May, 1948, identifier no. 13024377, Series “Signal Corps Photographs of American Military Activity”, Record Group “Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860 – 1985”, National Institute of Korean History, http://archive.history.go.kr/image/viewer.do?catalog_id=AUS005_06_03V0000_133&gid=AU S005_06_03V0000; The Office of the Chief Signal Officer, "Capt. Leach, American advisor to the Korean Constabulary on the Island of Cheju and Korean officer in the Constabulary plan for attack on a Communist infested village." 1 May, 1948, Identifier no. 13024436, Series “Signal Corps Photographs of American Military Activity”, Record Group “Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860 – 1985”, National Institute of Korean History, http://archive.history.go.kr/image/viewer.do?catalog_id=AUS005_06_03V0000_192&gid=AUS005_06_03V0000

[163] Jarret M. Drake “RadTech Meets”.

concepts of provenance prioritize material from Western, wealthy, white, and elite backgrounds. In particular, he argues that technical and social developments have enabled the transformation of descriptive principles. Advancements in information technology like Google Drive and Dropbox facilitate shared stewardship of files and folders, thus blurring the boundaries between the fonds of different creators. This suggests that the intricate nature of custody and ownership in the digital era can no longer be explained with the concept of a singular creator. Moreover, with development of digital technologies, an unprecedented number of people worldwide now have the power to create and document their experiences, resulting in an abundance of records. Within this environment of increased agency, individuals and communities are able to name themselves and achieve autonomy without the need for an external authority. Drake concludes that a new approach to archives and archival description "would not necessarily extinguish the principle of provenance", but instead offer an alternative way to manage and describe archival holdings.[164]

The 4.16 Collection, which documents the 2014 Sewol Ferry Disaster in South Korea, serves as an example of how a transformative survivor-centered approach can be implemented in archival description.[165] The 4.16 Collection utilizes open-source software such as OMEKA and Curatescape, enabling users to find digitized records through multiple access points, a contrast from the mono-hierarchical structure of traditional archives. The descriptive structure is organized based on specific topics related to the disaster, such as "the truth-finding process" or

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[164] Jarret M. Drake "RadTech Meets".

[165] See *4.16 Moŭda* [4.16 Archive], accessed August 24, 2023, http://archive.416sewolfamily.org//. In 2014, the South Korean Sewol Ferry tragically capsized, causing the loss of more than 304 lives. The majority of the victims were high school students embarking on a school trip. For years, the government denied its responsibility in the tragedy, despite evidence that more people could have been saved if rescue efforts had been better orchestrated. The families of the victims persistently demanded a transparent and comprehensive investigation into the disaster, but the government refused to do so and instead attempted to suppress information related to the Jeju 4.3. In their pursuit of truth, families of the victims along with archivists, activists, and NGOs led the establishment of the 4.16 Archive.

"the salvaging of the ferry," instead of a single institution or owner. The records also have a parallel description structure that is organized according to national institutions or entities involved in record creation, whereby adding survivors and victims' families. The descriptions at every level based on institutions are sub-classified according to sub-topics and keywords directly connected to the Disaster. Instead of focusing on the creation history of government institutions, the description of each national institution provides detailed contexts about their roles and responsibilities regarding the disaster, along with information about public officers in charge at the time.

The strategies of the 4.16 Archive could be applied to descriptive strategies for Jeju 4.3 records. Archives could adopt re-descriptions of the entities involved in record creation with the involvement and perspectives of those affected. These entities could include government institutions, military units, political organizations, or individuals related to Jeju 4.3. The descriptions of records at each level could provide detailed narratives about the roles and responsibilities of these entities in Jeju 4.3 instead of focusing on the official functions and histories of these institutions.

Adopting Proper Descriptive Words

Another essential measure for implementing a survivor-centered approach is a re-evaluation of current practices concerning terminology, vocabulary, and language in archival descriptions. First, replacing the insensitive terminology and vocabulary used in these practices is imperative. The subject heading modification project undertaken by the Association for Manitoba Archives (AMA) shows how archives can adopt policies to change inappropriate

wording in the archival description. This project was undertaken to decolonize subject headings through active engagement with indigenous communities and individuals.[166] Christine Bone and Brett Lougheed explain the detailed process of changing inappropriate vocabularies and terminologies by which AMA implemented the Manitoba Archival Information Network (MAIN), an online database of archival materials in Manitoba. As part of this initiative, AMA imported Library of Congress subject headings (LCSH) into MAIN and mapped selected LCSH terms with existing MAIN subject headings to facilitate easier identification of records for users, enhancing access. Recognizing that LCSH contained insensitive terminology, AMA formed a working group that included Indigenous heritage experts and representatives from Manitoba's Indigenous communities to identify problematic terms and make necessary modifications. The working group also fostered engagement from Manitoba's First Nations and Métis peoples through surveys and other outreach efforts to gather data on their preferences and opinions. Based on this process, AMA modified existing subject headings and created new ones.

Another example, *Reconciliation Framework: The Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce* (Reconciliation Framework) suggests strategies for establishing a reconciliation framework for records of Canadian residential schools and their survivors.[167] Following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) 2015 Calls to Action, which urged archives to move beyond outdated and colonial practices, the TRC Taskforce (TRC-TF) was formed. The TRC-TF conducted research on current archival practices

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[166] Christine Bone and Brett Lougheed, "Library of Congress Subject Headings Related to Indigenous Peoples: Changing LCSH for Use in a Canadian Archival Context," *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2018): 83–95.

[167] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework: Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce,* (2022)

and examined how contemporary archival theories and practices have fortified colonial perspectives. Working with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities, they developed detailed actions for a new framework for archival practices. The strategies for archival description include using terminology and vocabulary that move away from colonial language and incorporating the knowledge structures, sociocultural values, and spiritual values of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples.[168] As part of these efforts, they further suggested that the terminology and annotations using colonial language should be included as supplementary notes instead of being placed within the main description fields. The intention behind this approach is to make archivists recognize their "past professional complicity in colonial policies" while encouraging further efforts to change previous issues.[169] In addition, the strategy suggests that archival descriptions should include indications for users that such records might have offensive content.

Like the strategies implemented by the AMA and TRC-TF, archives holding Jeju 4.3 records could implement new policies aimed at rectifying biased and offensive descriptive wording. Specifically, steps need to be taken to address the issue of improper descriptions in NARA, NAK, and the databases of other memory institutions responsible for managing archival documents pertaining to Jeju 4.3. Currently, these institutions employ biased, offensive, and degrading words in the main sections of particular description such as in the titles and keywords. These institutions rely on the biased language favored by the US and South Korea, including "riot," "communist raiders," and "communist reign of terror," for their description**.** The

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[168] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework,* 19.

[169] The Steering Committee on Canada's Archives, *Reconciliation Framework*, 53.

meanings conveyed by these descriptive terms can affect user perception and lead to a biased understanding of the Jeju 4.3, as they incorrectly imply that it should be viewed as a battle against communists, which in turn could serve to justify the use of violence by the US and South Korea. In addition, NAK uses the titles created by government agencies for propaganda purposes, such as in the case of a photograph (Figure 9) depicting Rhee's 1952 visit to Jeju, which was taken when the massacre on the island was still ongoing. The title of this item is "Syngman Rhee is welcomed by Jeju residents," and includes the word, *welcome* as a keyword to access the photograph. However, a large part of the crowd in this photograph was composed of mobilized students, and there are no welcoming signs from either the wider crowd or the figures staring at the camera. If archives were to consider this photo from a survivor-centered perspective, the description would include the societal contexts reflected in the expressions and behaviors of the Jeju locals, who are also the co-creators of this document.

Figure 9. The crowd at Syngman Rhee's speech in Jeju(1952)[170]

These descriptions undermine the suffering experienced by Jeju Islanders and diminishes Syngman Rhee's central responsibility for the massacre. Consequently, they devalue the experiences of survivors and the families of victims and may traumatize them again. To address this issue, archives managing records of Jeju 4.3 could, similar to the AMA's strategy, work in

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[170] The Ministry of Information and Propaganda, "Hwanyŏng tomindŭl mosŭp [Syngman Rhee is welcomed by Jeju residents]", 03, July, 1952, identifier no. CET0020622, File 'Isŭngman taet'ongnyŏng, chejudo shich'al [President Syngman Rhee , visitation in Jeju]', Collection 'Kongboch'ŏ [The Ministry of Information and Propaganda]', NAK, SeongNam, http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bsid=200200025527&dsid=000000000007&gubun=search

collaboration with survivors and the families of victims to develop alternative terminology that avoids offensive expressions that can lead to biased interpretations. In addition, similar to the TRC-TF's policy, the vocabulary and terminology employed by the US military and South Korean government can be moved to a supplementary field. This strategy would help preserve contextual information while distancing it from main descriptive field, allowing archivists to position themselves against past archival practices. Simultaneously, it empowers archives to adopt new descriptive words through collaboration and feedback from survivors and families of victims and survivors.

Secondly, the usage of descriptive words in Japanese, the Jeju dialect, and in the terms spoken by those who experienced Jeju 4.3 need to be considered together. Many survivors, families of victims and survivors, and their descendants currently live in Japan after having fled there during Jeju 4.3. A significant number of them were part of the insurgency or had ties to it.[171] The state has systematically excluded these individuals and their subsequent generations from official recognition as victims. As a consequence, their experiences are at risk of erasure, leaving much of what they experienced during and after Jeju 4.3 unexplored. Most of the Korean-speaking survivors are elderly or deceased, and generations who were born and raised in Japan have difficulty understanding Korean. One way to provide these survivors with access could be the implementation of Japanese descriptive information.

Descriptions could also use the Jeju dialect. The Jeju dialect is significantly different from the language spoken on the mainland, and this linguistic heterogeneity has played a role in mainland military and police perceptions of Jeju Islanders. Mainland military forces thought the

[171] Kyungsoo Moon, "Sasamgwa chaeil chejuin chaperon," 97–100.

Islanders were all interrelated and thus saw them as a collective enemy, contributing to the large-scale massacres.[172] Yu-seong Kwon explores the meaning of the Jeju dialect in the context of Jeju 4.3 and perception of those who affected by Jeju 4.3.[173] Many of the memories, experiences, and stories of Jeju 4.3, long suppressed and excluded from official narratives, have been preserved and passed down in the Jeju dialect. Consequently, the dialect itself has become the voice of survivors, victims, and the community. According to Kwon's analysis, the language used by the perpetrators is concise, repressive, and violent, while that of the victims is lengthy, desperate, and powerless. Kwon argues that this linguistic dichotomy reflects the power dynamics between the perpetrators and victims.

In this context, descriptive terms adopting the wording used by the South Korean and US governments—including "communist," "evacuation order," and "riot"—represent the language of the mainland perpetrators, thereby failing to capture the survivors' perspectives. Instead of "communist" or "riot," Islanders referred to the insurgent forces as "San-Saram," which translates to "the people from the mountain." The term "San-Saram" carries a specific meaning in the context of Jeju 4.3 and therefore the perspective of the locals. Kim Eunshil's interviews with female survivors of Jeju 4.3 uncovered a common shared perception of the events.[174] They

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[172] Hojun Heo, "Perceptions of Jeju Residents by Anti-Insurgent Forces during the Jeju April Third Period and the Rationale for the Massacre," The paper presented at the international symposium commemorating the twentieth anniversary excavation in Darangshi Cave, Jeju, May 29, 2012, 40–41. Heo, a scholar of Jeju 4.3, focuses on the process through which the anti-insurgency and military forces dehumanized the people of Jeju. He found that mainland forces, who were the primary perpetrators of the massacre, could not understand the Jeju dialect at all, so they were accompanied by interpreters or communicated in Japanese. He concludes that several aspects of the cultural and linguistic gap served as mechanisms to dehumanize Jeju residents, allowing mainlanders to view them as foreigners, which ultimately triggered the massacres.

[173] Yu-seong Kwon, "Pangŏnŭro ssŭiŏ chin kyŏnggyejidaeŭi yŏksa: cheju4t'p3shi pangŏn hwaryongŭi ŭimiwa hyogwarŭl chungshimŭro [History of the Boundary Zone Written in Dialect: The Meaning and Effect of the Utilization of the Dialect in Jeju 4.3 Poems]," *Yŏngjuŏmun* 47 (2021):31–54.

[174] Eun-Shil Kim, "The Politics of the Jeju 4.3 Holeomeong Bodies: Speaking and Emotion as Embodied

saw the massacres as an incomprehensible phenomenon, something beyond explanation. Their lives in their villages, where they had control over time and space, were suddenly shattered by an uncontrollable power that originated from outside the boundaries of their world. In this context, the term "San-Saram" represents the situation they faced. Most of them witnessed sudden and unexpected massacres without fully understanding the underlying reasons behind the violence. Furthermore, the insurgent forces consisted of Jeju locals like themselves, including their neighbors, friends, and even family members. In this context, calling the insurgents "San-Saram" shows that the Islanders avoided defining these fighters as enemies. This choice reflects the confusion they experienced and their choice to reject the labels imposed by the mainland. The use of the term "San-Saram" in archival descriptions could thus reflect the way survivors and victims understood their complex experience.

To incorporate the multiple contexts of record creation and understand Jeju 4.3 from a survivor-centered perspective, the Jeju dialect and the terms used by survivors need to be employed in descriptive practices. This strategy would provide users with a deeper understanding of how the victims and survivors perceived Jeju 4.3 and what they irrecoverably lost as a result of it. It also contributes to comprehend Jeju 4.3 within the broader context of Jeju culture, identity, and language.

Language," *Korean Anthropology Review* 2 (2018): 20–21.

3.5. Recognizing Multiple Record Formats

The “Recordness” of Objects: Preserving Untold Stories

As part of implementing survivor-oriented approaches, archives can adopt specific strategies to capture the untold stories, such as those of women, from individuals affected by Jeju 4.3. This includes actively acknowledging a broader spectrum of archival records beyond textual, photographic, and oral material. Different formats could include broader narratives of Jeju 4.3, especially for those not yet represented within conventional record formats such as oral testimony and text-based documents. Gwi-Sook Gwon and Eunshil Kim have examined women’s strategies for speaking about Jeju 4.3.[175] They have found that many women who experienced Jeju 4.3 have chosen silence as a strategic response within their gendered social circumstances even during the truth and reconciliation process. The state-led process has placed emphasis on collecting testimonies related to the killings, injuries, and disappearances as a means of officially recognizing Jeju 4.3. These testimonies are expected to convey verifiable facts and political truths. Political language represented as *facts* and *truth* has thus been more commonly used and accepted, and this approach has historically favored men (who are often stereotyped as more *factual* and *logical*) and encouraged them to participate in public discourse. Consequently, men’s testimonies have often been granted greater influence and trustworthiness. Meanwhile, women’s memories of Jeju 4.3, which are often intricately interwoven with the

[175] Gwi-Sook Gwon, “Cheju sasamŭi chinsanggyumyŏnggwa chendŏyŏn'gu [Gender and Women’s History: On the Jeju 4.3 Incident],” *Tamna Munhwa* 45 (2014): 169–198; Eun-shil Kim, “Kukka p'ongnyŏkkwa yŏsŏng: chukŭm chŏngch'iŭi changŭrosŏŭi sasam [National Violence and Women: Necropolitics in Jeju April Third],” *Sasamgwa yŏksa* 18 (2018): 189–216.

private sphere encompassing families, homes, and household responsibilities, have often been marginalized or overlooked from public and political discourse. Consequently, these gendered social conditions have shaped the narratives surrounding truth and reconciliation, primarily focusing on masculine perspectives. Kim argues that under these social conditions, many women—feeling their stories will not be fully understood, heard, and given the importance they deserve—have responded by adopting a "politics of silence."[176] They choose not to officially testify about the violence they endured and Kim demonstrates that this was one strategy used against their biased society.

The issue of gender can also inform survivor-centered archival strategies. Alongside archival strategies to create multiple relationships among records, to provide deeper contexts, and to ensure the participation of those affected in archival decisions, a survivor-centered approach must also address the challenge of capturing and collecting narratives and stories inscribed within "politics of silence." Institutional archives storing 4.3 records predominantly hold written documents and oral testimonies collected from men during the truth and reconciliation process. However, when women choose to remain silent because they feel their stories will not be recognized as being worth sharing, their valuable experiences as survivors are at risk of being lost over time. Therefore, the establishment of archival strategies to hold and reveal women's stories and experiences—which are difficult to collect through conventional means such as through textual records or official testimonies—must be considered.

Hyun-Joo Ko, a photographer from Jeju, offers a remarkable means of addressing this

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[176] Kim, "Kukka p'ongnyŏkkwa yŏsŏng." 202–11.

issue through her art project, "Voice of Memories II."[177] This project explores the lives of survivors, victims, and their families during Jeju 4.3 by focusing on the objects they cherished. Ko has found that female survivors preserve their memories and experiences through keeping and caring for objects even when they choose silence within official narratives. For instance, for 70 years, Ahn Sun-sil kept a *bottari* (bundle) in a wooden chest. Inside this *bottari*, she stored cherished items: her mother's silver *binyeo* (a traditional hairpin), a photograph of her father, a photograph of a young couple who perished during Jeju 4.3, and embroidered *beoseon* (Korean traditional socks).[178] As Sun-sil Ahn untied the *bottari*, Ko mentioned that Ahn began to share her stories. Ahn recounted her memories linked to these objects, encompassing important moments from her life such as her marriage, her father's passing, her mother's hardships after his death, and her children. These stories also included her experiences during and after Jeju 4.3, including the stories of three families who lost their loved ones and the many difficulties Ahn and her mother faced after her father perished during Jeju 4.3.

Ko shows that such objects serve as conduits for preserving stories and memories, as they contain embedded narratives. Women's silences thus find a voice through everyday objects; these items function as *a language* themselves as well as mediums of documentation. They become tools of remembrance, enabling women to connect with their pasts and hold onto their memories. Moreover, the stories of women like Ahn have the power to expand the narratives surrounding Jeju 4.3, shifting the understanding of it from a specific seven-year period to an ongoing event that has shaped the personal histories of the Islanders ever since. Incorporating these stories

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[177] Hyun-Joo Ko, *Kiŏgŭi moksori II [Voice of Memories II]* (Jeju: D-works, 2020), 1–230.

[178] A *bottari* is made of a cloth sheet and is used to store or move items. Traditionally, women have kept *bottari* in wooden chests as a way to store valuable objects.

could help users and future generations think more deeply about how their grief has persisted throughout their whole lives and how their experiences of suffering have been different and diverse.

Like Ko, many archives have recognized the importance of objects as archival materials that can convey social and personal narratives and have adopted policies for collecting and managing such items. The Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives in the University of Alberta's Kule Folklore Centre holds collections related to Ukrainian culture. The Anna Drepko Collection, for example, includes seven pillowcases and a wall hanging embroidered. The item-level description of the wall hanging includes Drepko's life story as told by her daughter, Maria. The description that includes Maria's narration conveys multiple stories of what the embroidery holds: how embroidery holds meaning for her mother, Anna (who continued to embroider throughout her life), a detailed description of the room in which her mother created the hanging, and her mother's lifelong experience with embroidery. While this description may initially seem like a personal narrative, it goes beyond individual experiences to encompass the vivid story of the Ukrainian settlement in Winnipeg and Drepko's Ukrainian identity.[179] The objects in this collection thus become a powerful means of fostering understanding about the Ukrainian community and its history. The descriptive practices in this collection, as well as in Hyun-Joo Ko's art project, highlight the importance of employing archival strategies to capture the voices of women by acknowledging everyday objects as one form of important archival material. Such objects can convey experiences and memories that written documents and oral testimony may

[179] Anna Drepko, "Ukrainian Village" embroidery", 1950s, Item no. UF2016.9. a8, series "Embroideries", collection "Anna Drepko", Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives, Kule Folklore Centre, University of Alberta.

not. Preserving these materials as archival records and making extended descriptions would therefore be one possible strategy in a survivor-oriented approach.

Objects as Records of the Unspoken

Recognizing the importance of diverse record formats beyond text, photographs, or oral documents includes preserving the traces left by victims. This raises the question of how archives can remember victims who left no personal items behind as mementos as well as those who had no surviving family or witnesses to remember them. As noted previously, the Jeju 4.3 Investigations Report estimates that around 30,000 people were victims, which was about a tenth of the total Jeju population at that time. However, only 14,442 cases have been officially confirmed by the 4.3 Committee, leaving the fates of many victims unknown. This disparity reveals how numerous victims remain outside of official recognition by the state. Some reasons for this discrepancy, according to the Report, include entire families being killed during Jeju 4.3, making it impossible to identify some individuals.[180] In addition, the Report notes that some survivors might avoid reporting victims out of fear that they would not be recognized due to their association with insurgent forces. These statistical gaps demonstrate the reality that some victims' deaths are still not given equal weight.

In the face of these challenges, Caswell's suggestions provide meaningful insights. She demonstrates the importance of the archive's role in capturing a multiplicity of formats and perspectives as part of a survivor-centered approach. She also encourages archivists to undertake

[180] Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, *Ch'uga chinsang chosa pogosŏ*, 69-70.

their own projects to document multiple perspectives on human rights abuses. By doing so, these multiple formats can provide diverse stories from those who experienced human rights abuses, thereby offering more diverse, richer accounts.[181] In a similar vein, victims' objects, which exist as non-textual and non-verbal entities, can serve as crucial records through which the unspeakable can be narrated, heard, and interpreted. Various items found at massacre sites in Jeju—buttons, shoes, glass, kettles, spoons, and broken bowls—hold rich contextual information about the time and place of the massacres. These items have been mainly used to identify specific individuals. However, these items hold greater meaning. They are a medium for conveying the unspoken. Each item "[remembers] the ones who once existed."[182] Such traces do not impose a hierarchy among the deceased or judge the value of a death, as has been the case in state-led truth and reconciliation efforts. Instead, they serve as a medium to remember all victims, including unidentified individuals who have had no families, witnesses, texts, or other documents to remember these victims. These materials document deaths that have not been acknowledged in the processes of commemoration, testimony collection, or written record. They could provide a way for us, as the living, to register the existence of the deceased. They could offer an avenue for us to understand the cruel and unjust deaths and suffering that occurred during Jeju 4.3.

Si-jong Kim, a Jeju 4.3 survivor and poet, cautions against representing the experiences and pain of victims as something "sublime and pure" during the commemoration process:

> It feels strange to say "we're commemorating the victims" while remembering these individuals. The term "the victims" evokes a sense of sanctity within us. We feel no disgust. We shouldn't remember those abandoned and decomposed corpses during Jeju

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[181] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 317.

[182] Ko*,* *Kiŏgŭi moksori II*, 3.

> 4.3 in a way to commemorate something sublime and pure [….] I urge you to remember the abandoned and decayed dead itself who were forcibly killed. That is our ongoing response to those whose lives were brutally taken.[183]

His suggestion does not imply that we should remember these deaths through the detailed description of the massacre in testimonies or the number of deaths documented in official report. Instead, he encourages us to remember that these massacres happened in ordinary places like homes and villages, within daily routines, thus destroying all patterns of individual lives. This perspective enables us to realize that suffering happened in the concrete, real world. It reminds us that victims and survivors lived ordinary lives, just as we do. Through this approach, we can comprehend the suffering of survivors, victims, and their families as the true *reality* of what occurred.

In this regard, physical objects hold a special significance. We can best remember the brutal reality of Jeju 4.3 not through well-maintained monuments, memorial tablets, or peace parks, but through kitchenware left in caves that once sheltered villagers and became the sites of massacres, through a pair of shoes whose owner remains unknown, through a *binyeo* cherished by a victim's daughter. These objects bring us a closer understanding of the diverse layers of experiences encompassing Jeju 4.3 instead of confining us to a singular, fixed narrative of the past. Recognizing the value of these objects as archival material should therefore be a key aspect of a survivor-centered approach. By embracing a diverse range of records and establishing connections between texts, oral testimonies, photographs, and objects, archives can effectively

[183] Si-Jong Kim (b. 1929), "Kimshijong sŏnsaengnim meshiji [Message from Si-Jong Kim]", *Booklet from Chaeilbon cheju sasam 73chunyŏn hisaengja wiryŏngje [Victims' Memorial Ceremony for the 73rd anniversary of the Jeju 4.3] in Japan*, Osaka, April 25, 2021, 9–12. During the initial stages of the Jeju 4.3, Kim actively participated in the uprising. In 1948, he fled to Japan and has been residing there ever since as a Zainichi Korean.

represent a wide array of experiences from Jeju 4.3 while amplifying the voices of the marginalized.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how a victim- and survivor-oriented approach could provide a meaningful way to hold the South Korean and US states accountable and to foster truth and reconciliation through archival practices, specifically through four avenues of engagement. First, it entails recognizing the multifaceted experiences of those affected, transcending time and space, and understanding the continuity of state violence driven by anti-communist ideology. Archives should move beyond the state's narrow definition of victims and survivors, which limits the narratives of Jeju 4.3. Instead, they must encompass a broader spectrum of perspectives, thereby promoting a deeper, more diverse understanding of Jeju 4.3. This approach not only enables archives to preserve a wider range of the memories of those subjected to state violence, but it also facilitates reconciliation beyond official narratives. In addition, recognizing a broader spectrum of victims and survivors necessitates a greater focus on excluded "others." The limited narrative of state violence in Jeju, in which insurgency forces are not eligible to be treated as human, has continued even within the official truth and reconciliation process. Consequently, to establish survivor-oriented practices in archiving and to counter prevailing anti-communist ideology and policy in South Korea, it is imperative for archives to actively prioritize making space for the voices of these excluded individuals.

Second, archives should actively engage survivors, victims' families, and affected communities in each part of the archival process. This approach redefines the victims and survivors overlooked during record creation as stakeholders and co-creators. In addition, when considering that the engagement of victims and survivors encompasses a range of diverse perspectives, engaging a variety of survivors and their families in archival practices serves as a strategic approach for countering state-led narrative and challenging the influence of anti-communist ideology on collective memory.

Third, it is imperative that archives take a survivor-oriented approach to arrangement and descriptive practices. The possibilities of digital technology allow for establishing diverse relationships among each item-level record, thus enhancing the depth and breadth of our understanding of Jeju 4.3, including the experiences of victims and survivors. In addition, archives can adopt more contextualized descriptions that include victim and survivor experiences, as well as the history of archival involvement. The use of considerate language in archival descriptions is especially crucial when engaging with those directly affected by such traumatic events.

Finally, the significance of material culture as archival records needs to be highlighted. The physical objects of those survivors who have been silenced gives a voice to the reality of what they experienced. These objects represent the multifaceted and intricate mosaic of experiences instead of a fixed and singular narrative. By recognizing these records as an integral part of survivor-centered practices, the archive can become a site for the silenced and marginalized to share their stories.

Conclusion

This thesis explored how archives, especially those that manage records of state-perpetrated violence, can play a role in holding the government accountable for its past atrocities and fostering truth and reconciliation regarding Jeju 4.3. The first chapter examined the historical context of Jeju 4.3, illustrating how the South Korean government, backed by the US, perpetrated widespread structural violence on Jeju Island. The focus of the argument was that the far-reaching consequences of state violence persisted in Jeju under the politics of anti-communism. These consequences included numerous atrocities during Jeju 4.3 and decades of silence forced on victims, survivors, and their families regarding their suffering as well as additional violence perpetrated on some of their descendants in Jeju. These deeply ingrained issues of anti-communism in South Korea also influenced the truth and reconciliation process. Despite many fruitful outcomes, the South Korean government failed to fully acknowledge past atrocities and continued to uphold an ideology of anti-communism, resulting in the exclusion and marginalization of some victims, survivors, and their families such as those associated with insurgent forces.

Chapter 1 then explored how archives can address historical injustices, particularly in the context of state-based violence. Archives, which hold many records that were created as tools of control by oppressive regimes, have played a vital role in holding governments accountable and revealing historical injustices. Moreover, archives can contribute to establishing historical accountability for injustice by preserving records and making them accessible, thereby uncovering broader systems of power and privilege that contribute to injustice. This understanding of the archive's role can be applied to the context of Jeju 4.3. Archives can compel

the state to take ongoing and broader accountability for its atrocities committed in Jeju.

However, as explored in Chapter 2, current practices of institutional archives related to Jeju 4.3 have remained in a conventional framework, based on the political and social systems that prioritize the stories of the powerful. Efforts by memory institutions such as such as the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation, NAK, and NIKH, to digitize records at NARA and establish databases for public access, despite of enhancing the accessibility of Jeju 4.3 records, have often resulted in biased representations of Jeju 4.3. In particular, administrative-focused practices in archival arrangement and description have continued to reflect dominant state and military perspectives, sidelining the perspectives and the voices of those subjected to state violence.

Chapter 3 introduced some suggestions for change. The chapter underscored the need for a shift toward a victim- and survivor-oriented approach in archival perspectives with a focus on four key principles. Such an approach involves recognizing a broader definition of who qualifies as a victim or survivor, engaging those who were affected by Jeju 4.3 as stakeholders in the archival process, adopting survivor-centered arrangement and descriptive practices, and valuing physical materials as meaningful narratives of those subjected to state violence. These changes to archival practice would challenge the dominant narratives of state-based violence, provide a new platform for voices that have long been marginalized or silenced, and enable future steps towards reconciliation and healing. Indeed, it is "the least we can do" to take responsibility for remembering and responding to the painful past and suffering endured by survivors of Jeju 4.3.[184]

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[184] Caswell, "Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach", 320.

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