

Families of Eight Wrongfully Executed South Korean Political Prisoners Awarded Record Compensation. The People's Revolutionary Party 8

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while he was inaugurated in February 1998). Few other countries with long histories of dictatorship have managed democratization with the same measure of justice and magnanimity. South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission comes to mind, and it was indeed a model for both Kim Dae Jung and his successor, Roh Moo-hyun.

Introduction

The large monetary awards to the family members of eight men executed in 1974 as members of the "People's Revolutionary Party" have no precedent and mark another milestone in South Korea's remarkable record of historical reckoning and reconciliation. The twin pillars of this are the reconciliation with North Korea ongoing since Kim Dae Jung was elected president, and the 1995 trials of former presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo for treason in carrying out their serial coup d'etat in 1979-80, which involved the bloody suppression of the Kwangju Rebellion. (Chun was sentenced to death and Roh to life in prison, but President Kim pardoned both of them so they could sit fidgeting on the podium



Families of the so-called People's Revolutionary Party weep upon hearing the Supreme Court's ruling at Seoul Central District Court on Aug.

20. Lee Jong-geun photo

Few foreigners recognize the degree to which, not even a decade ago, South Korea needed not just to be reconciled to itself, but to be unified as a country. In many ways the peninsula had three different

parts—the North, the South, and the remnants of war, and seized power in another coup in 1961. He strong left wing in the southwest and southeast made the Korean Central Intelligence Agency the most Kwangju, a major city in the southwest, had been powerful political institution in the country, but even rebellious since the Tonghak peasant masses march with the top business conglomerates, the military, the on Seoul in 1894 and helped to touch off the Sino-Japanese War. Extensive resistance to the Japanese lost the presidential election in 1971—when Kim Dae marked the region well into the 1920s, and when the Kang from the southwest won 46 percent of the vote. American occupation arrived in 1945, that was the proximate cause of Park's declaration of southwestern and southeastern provinces were under martial law in 1972 and a new constitution making heartland of the strong left that organized anti-imperialism president for life. Resistance to his dictatorship dominated much of the country until the U.S. persisted, however, with large street demonstrations reemployed Koreans in the national police and the 1974 that caused "emergency declarations" to fly military (who had long collaborated with Japanese around Seoul like bats after dusk. Decree #1 on imperialism) to suppress it. In October 1946 this January 8, 1974 promised to punish anyone who touched off a major rebellion in Taegu and the surrounding area in the southeast, which then quickly spread to the southwest. During the three years of U.S. Occupation many political parties had "peoples" or "revolution" in their titles, and it was in this context that the dictatorship arrested the commonplace, daily occurrence to see leftists with "people's revolution" banners flying, clashing with police and rightwing youth groups. People also often switched sides: Park Chung Hee had been an officer in the Japanese army, but was arrested in the 1948 leftist rebellion that started in the southwestern port of Yosu. The Korean War changed all that. It cauterized South Korean politics, making anyone on the left, or from a leftist family, a target of the regime; to be labeled a communist or a leftist was to be blacklisted and ostracized—often by one's close neighbors, who were desperate to avoid the "Red" taint. Park Chung Hee reinvented himself as an intelligence officer during the Korean War, and working with the North to build a communist

Korea.



Park Chung Hee

A handful of Americans spoke out against this husband: his name was Roh Moo-hyun, who travesty, including Protestant missionary George distinguished himself in the 1980s for his work on Ogle and Catholic missionary James Sinott (both of whom Park expelled from the country), but the general dictatorship. More than sixty years after the U.S. first response followed the Nixon and Ford administration's lead: silence. It was one thing to defend protesting students from the premier private school (Korea University), and quite another to speak themselves, binding up wounds and trying to make out on behalf of alleged communists. Furthermore, the U.S. was complicit: even before the war began in 1950, formerly secret Embassy documents show that Washington was not only willing to tolerate almost any abuse against someone deemed a Red, but also court ruled that the government pay compensation applauded the use of any means necessary to shift the amount of 63.7 billion won (US\$67.4 million)

down their activities. After the war, to be a leftist or communist meant the regime could do anything it wanted to you, knowing that little if any resistance would come from Washington.

In February 1985 I was fortunate to be one of the foreigners accompanying Kim Dae Jung back from his exile in the U.S. While our delegation was there we met with family members of the accused PRP people. Their spokesperson was a spunky, pretty woman, who happened to mention that it was very difficult for her to find a husband because of her family background. On our delegation was Bernard Aronson, later George H. W. Bush's Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. As a van took us away, Christopher Hitchens and I observed Mr. Aronson blowing kisses at the woman, and yelling out, "I'll marry you!"

It so happened that one woman from a blacklisted leftist family, Kwon Yang-suk, was able to find a husband: his name was Roh Moo-hyun, who distinguished himself in the 1980s for his work on behalf of activists dissenting from General Chun's dictatorship. More than sixty years after the U.S. first stumbled into an unknown political, social and cultural thicket named not Iraq but Korea, Koreans finally reclaiming their tortured history for themselves, binding up wounds and trying to make friends. It is an admirable effort. Bruce Cumings

to 46 members of the families of eight men who were not only tortured into confessing that they once accused of being members of the Inhyeok-dang and formed the group, the KCIA also alleged that (People's Revolutionary Party, or PRP). The group members had confessed that their eventual goal was to build a socialist government in close cooperation with North Korea, in violation of the National Security Law, which prohibits both anti-government activities and cooperation with North Korea. Communism and the recognition of the North as a political entity.

The eight were arrested on charges of treason and violating the National Security Law in 1974, when eight of the accused were sentenced to death and anti-government student protests spread across the country. Dozens of others were sentenced to 15 years to life in prison. The eight men who were handed death sentences were hastily executed less than 24 hours after the final rulings by the Supreme Court were issued. Human rights organizations, both in South Korea and abroad, have criticized the execution as barbarous, and have long called for reinvestigation of the case.

Park Chung-hee ordered cruel, nationwide crackdowns on political dissidents and student activists in order to further solidify his power. Those who were alleged to have been part of the PRP had grown up together as friends and acquaintances in the

region near Daegu, and were arrested in the round-up on false charges of having formed the PRP in order to overthrow the government. Following the court's ruling, the families of the men filed a lawsuit against the government, demanding compensation of 34 billion won for the wrongful

The People's Revolutionary Party was later found to be a fabrication of the Korean Central

Intelligence Agency, which predates today's National Intelligence Service, and the fear with which it became associated became a strong tool for Park's ruthless authoritarian rule. Those accused of being part of the PRP, their spouses and parents, 350-400 million won to

each of their children and 150 million won to each of their brothers and sisters. It is a record amount paid by the state for a case involving political dissent, said the court.

According to the ruling, each of the victims' families will receive 2.7-3.3 billion won, or 24.5 billion won altogether. The total compensation will amount to more than 63.7 billion won, with the addition of five-percent annual interest from the day of the victims' execution until now.

In its ruling, the court stated: "Although the state is obliged to protect the basic rights of the people and guarantee the dignity and value of each one of them, it took the precious lives of these eight men by using its power to label them as an impure force in society and drive them out. Their family members have suffered from society's cold treatment, social disadvantage and consequential financial difficulties for the past three decades."

Shortly after the court's ruling was announced, the families said in a press conference, "We hope that the government will not appeal the decision," adding that the Catholic Human Rights Committee and the families have both decided to spend the compensation funds to build a foundation honoring the deceased.

As to whether or not the government would appeal the decision, Hong Man-pyo, an official of the Justice Ministry, said, "The Seoul High Court and the National Intelligence Service will discuss the matter and decide what to do next, after getting approval from the minister."

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In response to the government's maintenance that the statute of limitations for seeking compensation is over, the court said, "Prior to the court's admission that the past ruling was wrong, it would have been difficult for the families to sue the government for compensation. We cannot allow the government to be exempt from its responsibility by claiming that the statute of limitations has passed."

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