



# A Study on the Relationship between People and Government in the Era of American Military Rule

## - The Case of Jeju-do under Provincial Government of the United States Military in Korea -<sup>1)</sup>

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### Abstract

The purpose of this article is to observe some particular characteristics of relationships between Jeju-islanders and government in the era of American Military Rule (1945–1948).

More specially, I am concerned with understanding of some aspects of special relationships of conflicts between people and government in Jeju island. In order to examine some characteristics of Jeju islanders' attitude against the American Military Government, I try to concentrate more on the contexts of policy of American Military Government, examination of contents of policy making at local government level, types of policy-implementation through qualitative content analysis of articles of THE JEJU SHINBO ( only one newspaper in Jeju-do of that period). In using survey method, I am also explaining about why Jeju islanders support dissident groups rather than American Military Government : phenomena of Jeju islanders' anti-government political orientation.

I can learn about some aspects of relationships between people and American Military Government through my research of content analysis on articles of newspaper (the period of analysis : January 1, 1947– April 20, 1948). In the concrete, I have some propositions about relationships between people and government.

1. I can find some experiences common to Jeju islanders' discontents against policy implementation of American Military Government among painful events which occurred under bad administration. For example, American military government prohibited people from participating

1) This Korean article was published at journal of Jeju National University Journal (Vol. 38, 1994, p. 159–188). Mr. Dae-jun Kim tries to translate all parts of Korean article into English. Author correct and revise small parts of it for understanding of contents of article as a whole by readers.

in anniversary meeting of March 1st Independence Movement Day without reason. At day, it was terrific that innocent 6 people had died by pistol shooting of military police force in March of 1947. From my analysis I confirm that hard-liner policy of American military government developed into bad administration that had restructured to support bureaucracy-centered society rather people-oriented one.

2. I can find that hard-liner policy forming and unreasonable policy implementation had made Jeju islanders' political orientation worse from pro-attitudes toward American Military Rule to anti-government mode. I think that it is meaningful task to the extent how to explain anti-government movement of Jeju islanders' by means of some aspects of conflict relationships between people and government in the policy forming and implementation processes. I concluded that policy direction of American had supported for the framework of anti-communism politics and military-oriented pattern of organization culture in Jeju island. I think that it is meaningful for me to explain failure and dilemma of policy making in the era of American government that oppressed a peaceful higher expectation of autonomy and desire of Jeju islanders' toward good administration for democratic nation building.

Key words : Relationship, People, Government, the Era of peacetime American Military Rule, Ordinary Islander, Jejushinbo

## 1. Raising the Problem

The purpose of this article is to explore some administrative implication through observing some particular characteristics of relationships between Jeju-islanders and government in the era of American Military Rule by Jeju Provincial Government of the United States Military in Korea (USMIK : August 1945– August 1948). The year of 1947 was hard times to Korean people because they face bad situation not to establish an independent nation on their way. It is more difficult situation in the South of Korean peninsular because of conflicts among political powers in the process of national building under American Military Rule of USMIK rather than the North, in which it was in the process of building North Korea smoothly under auspices of Russia. In Jeju Island, it has developed into resistant struggles such as Jeju April 3 Uprising in April of 1948 and Boycott Movement of May 10 Separate Election in the South in May of 1948 against policy of American Military Rule of USMIK because of persistent influences of tensions and conflicts of hard political situations.

In this article, I raise three questions about Jeju situation under American Military Rule of USMIK (1945–1948); what kinds of life Jeju islanders have kept under American Military Rule (1945–1948)? How they recognize main policy of American Military Rule (1945–1948)? and What kinds of policy they protest against ? So, those kinds of questions result as focusing on some exploration or illuminations of relationships between people and government in Jeju Island. I try to analyze some concrete cases of conflicts and confrontations between people and government at the level of policy formation and implementation under American Military Rule. In a word, main points of this article is to find some administrative implication through observing some particular characteristics and implications of relationships of conflicts and confrontations relating to three important events such as March 1st Independence Movement Day Demonstration and General Strike in March of 1947, Jeju April 3rd Uprising in April of 1948, and Boycott Movement of May 10 Separate Election in the South in May of 1948 the between Jeju-islanders and government in the era of American

Military Rule (1945–1948).

I try to read articles of 16 months articles of THE JEJU SHINBO, only one newspaper in Jeju—do at that period from January 1, 1947 to April 20, 1948.<sup>2)</sup>

In using survey method, I am also analyzing some conflict aspects of policy at policy forming and implantation processes at grass roots level. I try to classify three periods of American Military Rule. I think articles of the Jejushinbo as only newspaper of Jeju society at that time represents opinions to the public neutrally. This article is composed of exploration about (1) level of recognition about policy between people and government at policy forming, (2) nature and characteristics of policy implementation processes, and (3) administrative implications of relationships between people and government.

### 1. Level of Recognition about Policy of American Military Rule and Conflicts between People and Government

#### A. Level of Recognition about Policy of American Military Rule ( January – August, 1947)

##### 1) Level of Recognition and Discontent of Jeju Residents toward Policy of American Military Rule

##### A). Policy Objective and Plan of American Military Rule

It seems that Jeju residents are satisfied with Policy of American Military Rule until 1946 relatively. As especially they evaluate education and public problems concerning welfare policies of 1946 highly they have a higher expectation of policy objectives for year of 1947. Jeju governor announce their two main policy objectives of keeping comfortable society without disorder and right practicing public problems concerning welfare policies in New Year' address;

[ ... I think it is so happy that, in Jeju Island, as Jeju residents recognize political situation of Korea righteously, we had no unfortunate uproar as same as other regions in Korea... We discuss all issues of Korea situations impartially and announce to establish the Korean National Assembly members to pass acts for interests of Korean people. The purpose of American Military Rule is to establish an idealistic, united and independent Korean nation...<sup>3)</sup>

...It's regrettable that we didn't do best for setting up means of communication at the levels of all administrative units at the first stage of establishing Jeju Provincial Government amicably. Of course, we are sorry that I couldn't achieve our policy objective as much as we expected at many public sectors... I appreciate all Jeju residents that you are cooperative with policy implementation for practice of obligatory education system, enlargement of middle school facilities, treatment of vicious cholera, securing system of food resources... ]<sup>4)</sup>

Jeju Provincial Government of USMIK announced those policy objectives to the public officially after some discussions about concrete plans of those policy in the processes at all levels of province—county—municipality and provincial police bureau. It announce those policy to stabilize livelihoods of the public with permit of USMIK are follows; Reshuffle of Jeju Provincial Government composing of 1 special department (personnel), three bureaus, and 10 departments,<sup>5)</sup> designation

2) Jeju April 3 Institute find 5 articles from January 1, 1947 to April 20, 1948 of The Jeju Shinbo of only in 1991. So, I can limite my content analysis to articles available from January 1, 1947 to April 20, 1948 of it.

3) New Year address from Captain Kerry, Jeju Provincial Government of the United States Military in Korea (USMIK).

4) A New Year address from Jeju Governor, Mr. Kyung-hoon Park.

5) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : January 4, 1947.

issue of Jeju port as official trade port, collection and allocation of fall grain harvest, supply of electric power to the public and construction issue of power plant, food and basic supply of food to the public, supply of fertilizer, resolution of enemy properties and measure of taking in properties into Jeju island from outer world, a plan of election to select Korean national assembly members by voting, a plan of practicing welfare policy agenda (prevention of rabies, prevention of cholera, supply and spraying of D.D.T.), a plan of surveying social statistics, a measure to enlarge educational facilities, encouraging children to attend school were supposed to be announce to the public case by case concretely.<sup>6)</sup>

County and municipality of Jeju also prepared for concrete programs with bilateral cooperation between upper and lower agencies ; as for collecting works of fall harvest grain food in the areas of municipality, county decides its allotment ( residual allotment except 3 Hop and 5 Jak (Korean unit to measure grain food), deadline of decision ( until 15th of June) period ), and amount of compensation ( cotton cloth 1 Pil, oil 1 box) after chair of those institutes discuss with village foreman about those programs.<sup>7)</sup>

Jeju government also announce a couple of regulations to do collecting works of fall harvest grain food and effective supply of those food to the public ; it focuses on a kinds of solution to stabilize the livelihoods of the public mainly such as (1) a rich farm family should cooperate with collecting works of fall harvest grain food, (2) To save money to keep amount of consumption for grain food, (3) to prevent home-brewed wine, (4) to cooperate for finding a person relating to corruption of grain supply wanted by the police, (5) to cooperate preventing importing a quantity of potatoes to mainland from island illegally.<sup>8)</sup>

County also concentrate on problem solving of issues of the livelihoods of the public and education tasks are presented such as follows ; (1) items of preventing transfer of jobs to other one, (2) items of practicing adult education project, (3) items of opening elementary schools, (4) items of repairing local roads at spring season, (5) items of working attitudes of officials, (6) items of establishing branches of nationwide relief organization at municipality and village – in cases of fall harvest grain food, (7) items of selling dried potatoes at common market, (8) items of surveying poor farm families and households, (9) a item of guiding using method of ammonium acetate to farm families, (10) items of management of supplying a fund for barley species production to farm families, (11) items of instigating areas of seeding a green manure crop, (12) items of encourage production of raw cotton in 1947, (13) items of encourage production of pyrethrum flowers, (14) items of submitting reports relating to industrial relationships to Jeju government and allotment of collecting summer harvest grain food from municipalities and villages.<sup>9)</sup>

At meetings of heads of township, main topics are to discuss on how to cover livelihoods of the public concerning social welfare policy in Jeju island. The topics and contents of their conferences are included as follows of other issues : 1) issues of establishing administrative structures at municipality and village, 2) issues of revenue and expenditure of budget 1947 from taxes of municipality and village, 3) issues of enforcing administrative function of municipality and village, 4) issues of opening adult education programs to the public, 5) issues of children attending at elementary school on time, 6) issues of inspecting and monitoring sanitation business, 7) issues of surveying amount of barley production, 8) issues of hosting conference for prevention of epidemics and cholera, 9) issues of organizing relief institute on families from war damage at

6) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : January 6, 1947, January 16, 1947, January 18, 1947, January 26, 1947.

7) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : January 6, 1947 and so on.

8) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : February 8, 1947 and February 20, 1947.

9) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : March 10, 1947.

municipality and village level, 10) issues of doing cleaning works, 11) issues of presiding memorial ritual for victims died during war ( the Second World War).<sup>10)</sup>

Jeju Provincial Police Office had also so often announced concrete regulations to the public. Its contents are focused on to set up people-oriented systems of police service to the public. It also emphasize to punish all corrupt police officers for right public police.<sup>11)</sup> Even though Jeju residents doesn't have a communication channel to speak to the USA administrative and police power directly, they welcome to their policy objective with higher expectation of its policy implementation as it says, which is compose of education works and issues of livelihood of the public welfare mainly. They confirmed ideas about regional critical issues that Economic Development Committee (private NGO) raised to USA Provincial Government. At that time it played a linking role of sending opinions of Jeju residents to government. The contents are included as policy with consent of both public and private sectors as follows ; (1) Economic Development Policy, (2) Issues of providing electric power to the public, construction issues of village port and trade port, (3) issues of maintenance or practicing of production system, (4) issues of preparing for prevention measure of profiteer and its activities such as running a system of supply exporting products to the public through administrative bureau ( a department of commerce and industry) or organizing group composing of citizens and members of social organization to inspect or find profiteers and their corrupted profiteering business, (5) issues to restraint activities of price rising ( illegal price of hair cut) and prohibit entrance activities into unlicensed clandestine restaurants, (6) issues of education for the public to save electric power such as using a consumptive electric power and asking construction of facilities of electric power plant at both Seogwipo and Jeju city to the central government.<sup>12)</sup>

We can confirm that Jeju residents have a higher expectation to policies of Jeju Provincial Government, even though they don't have a communication channel to speak to the USA administrative and police power directly from above mentioned data. It's a time to check recognition level of Jeju residents to understand the processes of policy implementation at grass roots level.

## 2) Expectation of Jeju residents toward policy objective under USA Military Rule

Jeju residents are happy with positive response to USA Provincial Government at a time when it practices policy implementation in stabilizing livelihoods of the public at grass roots level. But we can just find a few cases among those ones. We can learn exceptional small cases such that (1) when it launched ship as a means of transportation between Jeju and mainland ( January 4, 1947), (2) when it cares for improving health problem of residents through supplying them some medicine to prevent contagious disease (February 8, 1947), (3) when it lessen inconveniencies of resident through repairing facilities at village ports (February 8, 1947).

### 1) Level of dissatisfying of Jeju resident toward policy implementation under USA Military Rule

Jeju people are unhappy with negative views to USA Provincial Government at a time when it practice policy implementation without justice or in the contrary to policy objective for stabilizing livelihoods of the public at grass roots level, It didn't correct its mistakes as Jeju residents

10) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : June 6, 1947.

11) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : January 4, 1947.

12) Article of THE JEJU SHINBO : February 6, 1947. "On February 5, 1947 it happened a conference on Economic Affairs by Jeju Provincial Government. It decided to organize Economic Development Committee and private NGO twice conferences in a month."

pointed out its error. Or it didn't root out corruption or irrational attitudes in circle of the Provincial Government and institutes of policy implementation. We can look at some policy cases, which make Jeju residents to feel negatively toward Jeju Government.

3) Level of dissatisfying of Jeju resident of policy implementation at the sector of livelihood of the public.

Jeju residents seems to be dissatisfy and unhappy that Jeju Provincial Government doesn't keep and stabilize price policy at the sector of livelihood of the public. For example, we can learn facts about serious situation of unstable price of livelihood of the public that price of grain food is higher up to 100% within 45 days (February 16, 1947), price of cigarette 18 % higher within one month (January 16, 1947), the hike of public utility fees (March 8, 1947), and negative impact on unstableness of price through its twice increase of oil price once. Even though situation was worse, it lacks to get grain food as it planned. It didn't supply food to the public on time and rightly. Sometimes a ghost population receives grain food (January 16, 1947, March 16, March 22 and March 26, 1947). Even though US Provincial Government had found out some errors and fallacies in the policy implementation, it didn't respond to those matters correctly. So Jeju residents have a more complain and discontents about its policies.

4) Level of dissatisfying toward security policy implementation

U.S. Provincial Government suggests 'people oriented and courteous policeman' to the public. But it happened contrary cases at the grass roots level of policy implementation as usual. Those phenomena influences increasing factors combing of negative recognition and discontents toward U.S. Provincial Governments.

It often happened policemen do misdeed on the public and are beating citizens consistently. They do their jobs lazily and are usually corrupt (January 4, 1947), ex chief of policemen beats his subordinates ( February 24, 1947) and it happened that policeman is beating or torturing villagers ( May 10, 1947). Jeju residents protest against misdeed and beating of policemen. For example it happened a case that they asked punishment of torturing policeman on villager until May 26 naturally. Because U.S. Jeju Provincial Government skips over misdeed of policemen in the policy implementation processes, it results as the main factors of protest and discontent of Jeju residents against its policy.

1) Leveling of dissatisfying of handling hot issues : A Case of a Smuggling Incident using of Ship, Bok-Si-Hwan

It seems that it happened a case of a smuggler intercepting both ship, Bok-Si-Hwan and daily necessities illegally with assistance of officials of US Provincial Government on the way to Jeju island from Japan. As Jeju islanders have a big concern about this issue, CHEJUSHINBO has handled this hot issues 25 times through putting essays and columns in it. Jeju businessmen can manage to land daily commodity on the ship with help of Jeju islanders living in Japan. Especially policemen in the processes handling this case defend interest of smugglers in comparing with their handling investigation on ordinary businessmen harshly relating to this case. Finally it developed into hot issues worse in Jeju Island. Even though this incident was emerged as a main concern of Jeju people, high ranking officials from the US Military Government did not respond to this matter fairly. They concealed the truth, tried to impede the fact-finding, threatened newspaper companies

which were demanded the fact-finding and shifted the blame to the victims.<sup>13)</sup> Even conservative organizations such as the Korean Democratic Youth Alliance and the Korean Democratic Youth Party affiliated themselves to blaming the US Military Government and this shows how Jeju people could not trust the policies implemented by the US Military Government.

The disclosure of this accident revealed the intrinsic limit of the policies from the US Military Government and different stakeholders defined their positions on this issue.

The Korean Democratic Youth Alliance insisted all the anti-democratic, anti-nationalistic individuals and parties should be eradicated. Their stance was that the profiteers were the anti-nationalistic traitors who had colluded with the Japanese colonial ruling power.<sup>14)</sup>

The Korean Democratic Youth Party defined the incident as 'the failure of interpretation politics' that has nothing to do with the will of Jeju people and suggested solutions such as 'the eradication of the profiteers, the probity and integrity of the US Military Government, and the establishment of the nationalistic conscience.'<sup>15)</sup>

Meanwhile, the Jeju Shinbo also blamed the corrupted officials, saying "They are doing the same vicious activities, which they had done colluding with the Japanese officials, under the patronage of the US military officials this time." The newspaper argued that these corrupted officials should be rooted out. Without the eradication, the paper warned that "the liberation from the Japanese Colonial Rule would be the liberation for the profiteers, not for the ordinary citizens."<sup>16)</sup>

## 2) Active participation in education problems by private organizations : A case of the strike of the students of Ohyun School

There is a case in which the Jeju people solved a conflict between students and a school by actively involving in the issue. This made a contrast with the passive attitude of the US Military Government. The exemplary case which shows this kind of Jeju citizen's capability to solve problems is the strike of the students of Ohyun School. The strike which had been triggered by the collision between the students and one teacher evolved into a social issue.<sup>17)</sup> The parents of the students and the teachers asked representatives of various circles for mediation. According to this call, on January 20th 1947, some representative from various circles of the Jeju society gathered and discussed ways of solving the issue. Eventually, after two days of the meeting, the representatives let the concerned teacher who were blamed as being fascist resign and made the students go to school, solving the conflict which lasted about one month at the time. The fact that the people themselves involved in the issue and solved the conflict which even the local government couldn't resolve shows how deep the distrust between the people and the authorities was.<sup>18)</sup>

## 2. Conflicts between the US Military Army and Local Residents around the 3 · 1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration in 1947

13) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 8, 1947.

14) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 8, 1947.

15) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 10, 1947.

16) Articles of the Jeju Shinbo, February 12 and 18, 1947.

17) Around December 19, 1946, the students conflicted with the teachers over performing a play prepared by the students. This became a starting point for the students to express their dissatisfaction with some teachers. The students went on strike, making four requirements (1. Firing fascist teachers, 2. Stopping fascist education, 3. Firing the principal, 4. Guaranteeing students activities) and the school counteracted this with closing down the school. As the development of the issue became complicated, the committee consisting of various circles was established and it arbitrated between the students and the school and ended the conflict.

18) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, January 26, 1947.

As Jeju people became discontented with the incompetence and injustice of the US Military Government in dealing with public welfare and security issues on Jeju, many residents and some political organizations began to respond strongly against the military government's administration around the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration. The development of the private sector's activities and the military government's responses to them show how the complaint about the policy implementation evolved into political conflicts.

#### A. Establishment of the National Front for Democracy and Criticism against Policies of the US Military Government

In early 1947, when the US military government showed its incapacity in dealing with issues of the Jeju society, organizations such as the National Front for Democracy, the Joseon Democratic Youth League, and the Women's League were established. They were based on the Jeju People's Committee and emerged as critics against the US Military Government. They proposed a policy goal of national independence to Jeju people who have dissatisfaction and anxiety about the US Military Government.

『……Some people misunderstood that currently Joseon(Korea) is at the stage of a political revolution. But it is reasonable that we should secure the nation's independence first and then discuss policy and political lines or agenda. Announcing only policies without the full independence of the nation will eventually lead to nothing. We should prepare ourselves for and establish a goal of the nation's independence concentrating all our efforts and capabilities, not just hoping the world will solve our problems……』<sup>19)</sup>

However, they insisted that pro-Japanese collaborators, traitors, and newly-emerged opportunists be excluded for securing the nation's independence and asked for the national solidarity and support for the National Front for Democracy.

『On Jeju, it is true that new opportunists are emerging while some pro-Japanese collaborators begin to confess their wrongdoings. Among them, the most vicious ones are those who had flattered the Japanese imperialism and then joined in the People's Committee later in order to wield again the power once they had enjoyed. Once their shameful past was revealed, they disappear without a trace. They are opportunists to the core. Especially, there are many opportunists of this kind among so-called prominent figures. They have reported false and groundless plans of riots to the authorities and endlessly done treacherous activities against the nation and people. However, the National Front for Democracy is still open to those who blindly followed other traitors and sincerely reflect on what they have done.

We will present our petition asking for accepting 11 conditions to Lieutenant General Hodge and will not participate in the local election if the 11 conditions are rejected by the US military government. Regarding the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, Mr. Ahn Se-hun suggested that the demonstration be in good order and without violence. We will also file a protest asking for withdrawing the Provincial Order no. 5 and handing over rights to develop and implement policies for Jeju people……』<sup>20)</sup>

As shown above, some political organizations were set up reflecting Jeju people's dissatisfaction

19) New year's address of the Jeju Shinbo, January 1, 1947.

20) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, January 26, 1947.

with the US Military Government to some extent. On January 12, the Jeju Democratic Youth Alliance was established and on February 23, the Jeju Chapter of the National Front for Democracy was set up.<sup>21)</sup> The National Front for Democracy on Jeju emerged as a critic against the military government. The National Front for Democracy announced that they would embrace the existing organizations of Jeju people, carry out the peaceful 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, suggest measures for solving problems concerning Jeju people's welfare on their own, and criticize and protest the wrongdoings of the US Military Government.

#### B. Confrontation between the military government and Jeju people around the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the General Strike

Conflict between the military government and Jeju people around the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the General Strike shows the difference in the perception of reality between the two. Here I present the stances of the two parties over the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the General Strike and compare the differences of their stances.

##### a) Controversies over legitimacy of the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration

The first difference in perceiving the reality between the military government and private organizations arose around the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration. The Jeju Preparation Committee for the Ceremony of the 3·1 Independence Day Movement and the Assembly of Student Delegates Meeting saw the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration as a legitimate demonstration which celebrates the 3·1 Independence Day Movement so they believe that holding the demonstration peacefully is legitimate. On the contrary, the US Military Government argued that only an indoor ceremony was legal if it was permitted by the government so any outdoor ceremony or parade were all illegal and would be suppressed by force. In order to narrow the gap in the stances between the two, the chairman and vice chairman of the National Front for Democracy and a counselor of the US Military Government met and shared their opinions but failed to reach an agreement. The 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration was carried out and the US Military Government suppressed it forcibly. However, during the suppression, the police fired at the crowd killing six people.

##### b) Issue over investigating the facts and handling the victims

The second issue between the private organizations and the US Military Government was about handling the victims and investigating the facts.

The 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration was an pan-provincial event in which more than fifty thousand Jeju people participated (At the time the population of Jeju Island was about 280,000.). However, due to the shooting by the police, six people were killed, other six people were heavily injured and five were slightly injured in Jeju City. The National Front of Democracy insist that the US Military Government assume the responsibility for the casualties, a

21) According to the Jeju Shinbo, the following organizations were established during this period, the Jeju Democratic Youth Alliance (January 12), the Association of Secondary Education Work (January 14), the Women's Alliance (January 25), the Jocheon-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (January 25), the Daejeong-myeon Farmers' Committee (January 27), the Gujwa-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (January 30), the Jeju Gwangbok Young Men's Association (February 1), the Seogwi-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (February 9), the Hallim-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (February 9), the Daejeong-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (February 10), the Seongsan-eup Democratic Youth Alliance (February 13), the Association for Adult Education (February 15), the Jeju-eup Democratic Youth Alliance (February 16), the Namwon-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (February 16), the Convention of the Women's Alliance (women's alliance by eup district) (February 16), the Aewol-myeon Democratic Youth Alliance (February 22), and the National Front for Democracy (February 23).

fact-finding committee consisting of various circles be established, and the killed be given a public funeral.

On the other hand, the US Military Government said that they could not accept what the National Front insisted and would investigate the incident on its own. On March 2, the US Military Government released 25 students who had involved in the demonstration five days after the arrests. On March 4, the National Front held a public funeral for one victim and conducted a fund-raising campaign for the victims. All this development shows how the both parties were in sharp disagreement over the issue.

c) Conflicting views over the General Strike

The third confrontation between the private sector and the US Military Government arose from the different views over the General Strike.

i) Grounds of the General Strike and demands from the private sector

The private sector defined the police's shooting as 'unparalleled violence which could not be seen even during the Japanese Colonial Rule and inconceivable incident in the 'free' Joseon territory.' This kind of awareness spread among Jeju people and led to the private sector's general strike in which many circles of the Jeju society from the Jeju governor and the employees of the local government to bus drivers actively participated in. The organizers of the strike informed military governor Stout and Lerche of the following demands and said that they would continue the general strike if the demands were not accepted. The demands were as follows.

- ① Disarm the police and cease torture immediately for establishment of democratic police!
- ② Execute the officer in command and the policemen immediately who fired at the crowd!
- ③ The police executives resign over the incident!
- ④ Guarantee the livelihoods of the families of the victims and the injured!
- ⑤ Do not arrest patriotic figures with regard to the incident!
- ⑥ Purge pro-Japanese policemen!<sup>22)</sup>

ii) The US Military Government's view over the General Strike and its hardline policies

The US Military Government considered the general strike illegal and regarded those who organized the demonstration and Jeju people as criminals. It judged that all these developments as a challenge against the military government itself. The following interview with Jeju military governor Stout shows this kind of perception in details.<sup>23)</sup>

Q. I've heard the investigation has been completed. Why haven't the results been announced yet?

A. The investigation team finished its investigation and submitted the report. But when I read it, I realized that there had been many things missing. So, I returned the report to the team and ordered a reinvestigation of the incident. Everything related to the incident should be examined without omission. Just now, Colonel Casteel arrived in Jeju and began to investigate the case thoroughly.

Q. Who do you think is responsible for the shooting incident that killed and injured dozens of people?

22) The Jeju Shinbo, 1947, 3, 12. Students from a teacher-training institute also issued a statement. In the statement, they denounced the US Military Government for its irresponsibility. They made 11 requirements which were similar to the above requirements. One of their requirements was 'not interfering in the school issues'.

23) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 14, 1947.

A. I can't talk about that before the investigation is finished.

Q. It is said that for two days over 10 and 11 March, the staff and workers of public offices and businesses went on a general strike and delivered their demands to the military government. What do you think of their demands?

A. I think there is no reason for the strike. Furthermore, many of their demands are not related to the 3 · 1 Shooting Incident.

Q. Due to the general strike, almost all provincial services, such as administration, transportation and communication haven't functioned properly. Are you preparing measures for dealing with this situation?

A. Jeju people will be the eventual victims of this strike and USAMGIK will not be affected by the strike. Thus the strike will eventually harm the Jeju people.

Q. The US Military Government is here to protect the interests of the Korean people. So, it seems that it is your duty to mitigate the impact of the strike.

A. That question is irrelevant. I was bold enough to say it when the organizers of the strike visited me. I even pointed out the folly of the strike and advised them to stop it. And also I think that this strike will not solve anything.

Q. Then you see the demands as unjust?

A. The demands in the petitions are ill founded. Each petition has arguments which are not based in truth and it seems that all the petitions were prepared by one organization. And all the petitions are practically the same.

Q. Are beating and torture allowed at the democratic police?

A. Those practices are undemocratic. We have tried to eradicate those undemocratic practices since we entered Korea. Not only us but also good Korean policemen are making a great effort to do this.

Q. There are rumors that the police brutally beat and tortured students who were arrested regarding the 3 · 1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration. What do you think of this?

A. I've also heard those rumors. Now the investigation is being carried out for the allegation.

Q. Jeju citizens are greatly interested in Colonel Casteel's investigation and anticipate an impartial examination.

A. Colonel Casteel is investigating everything relevant to the incident and will report the results to the superior office when he finishes the investigation. Therefore, we cannot see the results anytime soon but the investigation will be conducted rapidly and democratically. Neither I nor Colonel Casteel can say who's good or who's bad. Anyway, the offenders will be brought to trial and will have the opportunity to defend themselves.

C. Confrontation between the US Military Government and Jeju people over the trials for the demonstration

The US Military Government and Jeju people were against each other during the trials for the 3 · 1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration. The US Military Government announced that the trials should be carried out by the US Army, not by the Korean court. This shows the fact that the US Military Government considered the 3 · 1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration as a challenge to itself. The trials were conducted 16 times for about 40 days. 72 cases with 328 people were put on trial in total. 52 people were sentenced to imprisonment, 52 people were put on probation, 56 people were fined, and others were suspended of indictment or not indicted.<sup>24)</sup>

24) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, May 26, 1947.

Meanwhile, 65 policemen were also disciplined for dereliction of duties and other charges.<sup>25)</sup>

The largest number of people were put on trial for the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration in South Korea at the time. The trials attracted Jeju people's attention because the US Military Government and Jeju people were against each other during the trials. Now let us review the stances of the both sides during the trials.<sup>26)</sup>

At the first trial, the US Military Government accused the defendant of violating four articles of the Decree no. 2 (an illegal assembly, hostilities against the US Military Government, unlawful acts such as organizing an illegal strike, and holding an unlicensed assembly), but the defendant refuted that all of those were justifiable acts based on freedom of assembly and association and freedom to strike.

Stevenson (Judge): The defendant is under indictment for the following charges. He held an unlicensed assembly at Jeju Agricultural School on February 27 and plotted the demonstration on March 1. The defendant participated in the 3·1 demonstration and held another unlicensed assembly and distributed unlicensed leaflets on March 10, violating the Decree no. 2.

Partridge: I saw the defendant conducting the student choir at Ohyun School on March 1. I also watched the defendant leading the student demonstrators in front of the police agency

The defendant Hyun Byeong-taek: You permitted an assembly at Ohyun School, didn't you?

Partridge: No, I did not permit an assembly at Ohyun School. When I arrived there, the assembly was already held. So, I urged you to finish the ceremony early and dismiss immediately.

The defendant Hyun Byeong-taek: In front of the policy agency, I tried hard to prevent accidents from happening. It can be proved by the fact that I participated in the negotiation.

Partridge: However, the students did not dismiss anyway. In the end, a reporter of the Jeju Shinbo persuaded the students to dismiss.

Witness for the defendant: It is a groundless allegation that the defendant led the demonstration at Ohyun School and the policy agency. The defendant joined the negotiation only because he is good at speaking English. The responsibility for the students' demonstration should be assumed by the teachers of the school.

The defendant Hyun Byeong-taek: The US Military Government is describing me as an instigator but I am not. I worked as an interpreter from beginning to end. Therefore, the punishment for me is unfair.

Partridge: I withdraw the fourth charge against the defendant for lack of evidence. However, the evidence is enough for the other three charges. Therefore, I contend that the defendant is guilty.

The defense attorney Kim Yeong-gil: The defendant always worked as an interpreter and tried to keep unfortunate accidents from happening. He never played a leading role in committing illegal acts as the prosecutor claims. Therefore, I contend that the defendant is not guilty.

Stevenson: The defendant is guilty. For the first charge, the assembly on February 27 should have been permitted in advance because it was a political one for preparing the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration. For the second charge, the defendant is not guilty for lack of evidence. For the third charge, the defendant is guilty because he himself participated in the demonstration. Also he should assume the responsibility for the students' acts. He also arranged the demonstration. Due to the demonstration, there were casualties. The US Military Government does not intend to ban holding ceremonies on national holidays but its objective is to make people hold those ceremonies peacefully. For this, assemblies need permission from the US

25) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 6, 1947.

26) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 6, 1947. This is the reconstitution of the article in the form of dialogue.

Military Government. I sentence the defendant the guilty verdict not because he is the leader of the demonstration but because he is responsible for the accident to some degree. I sentence the defendant to six months in prison for the first charge and another six months in prison for the third charge. However, the defendant will serve his time for two charges at the same time, thus he will be in prison for six months. This verdict will be reviewed in the headquarters in Seoul. His time will begin on March 16.

At the later trials, the stances between the US Military Government and Jeju people remained apart consistently. Charges raised by the US Military Government were always the same but arguments from the defendants were different. Here are some defense arguments raised by the defendants who were Jeju people.

『.....I think I'm not guilty. To establish a democratic nation, there must be freedom of assembly, association and freedom to strike. I didn't instigate violence. I just thought I should participate in the 3.1 Independence Day ceremony as a citizen of Korea. That was all. So, I don't think I committed any crime.』<sup>27)</sup>

『I attended the meeting at the school on February 19 and also participated in the ceremony at Buk Elementary School. However, I dropped out of the demonstration in the middle of it. I didn't commit any other crimes. I didn't know the charges in the police report. I just signed and sealed the report because the police told me without any explanation.』<sup>28)</sup>

『We, teachers, have devoted ourselves to educating students even our livelihood becomes more and more difficult. Therefore, the time was ripe for the strike. Besides, the 3·1 Shooting Incident occurred in which innocent people were killed and injured. So, we joined the strike to break down the injustice of social phenomena.』<sup>29)</sup>

『The police report is false. I was severely tortured and lost my consciousness. I have no memory of confessing my wrongdoings.』<sup>30)</sup>

『As a laborer, I can't live if I stage a strike. Nonetheless, we staged a strike because I wanted to revive our factory. That was why I participated in the general strike. During the strike, I stood guard over the factory and maintained a watch on the machinery. I was in the demonstration procession because that was the same way back to our factory but I never did any act of violence.』<sup>31)</sup>

『This is the suppression of the democratic camp and I'm afraid that this may interfere with establishing an independent nation.』<sup>32)</sup>

From the review of the newspaper articles, this writer concludes that the US Military Government labeled Jeju people as “challenging against the US Military Government” based on insufficient evidence and wrong misinterpretation of freedom of assembly and association and freedom to strike. On the contrary, Jeju people expressed their opinions that their acts were justifiable and not against the Decree no. 2. In addition, they argued that the charges against them were groundless only coming out from the torture. Here it is clear that the US Military Government considered Jeju

27) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 12, 1947. The defendant Lee Gyeong-cheon was indicted with the following charges, 1. Organizing an illegal rally on March 1 at Jeju Buk Elementary School, 2. Waging an unlicensed demonstration and throwing stones at the police, 3. Organizing an illegal rally and planning a general strike, 4. Waging an illegal demonstration at Aewol Elementary School.

28) Testimony of Kim Dong-cheol (Gwakji-ri, Aewol-myeon) at his third trial.

29) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 22, 1947. Testimony of Kim Im-saeng (teacher) at his fifth trial.

30) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 30, 1947. Testimony of Kim Hong-yun and others at their 10th trial.

31) Testimony of Hyun Cheon-o at his 10th trial.

32) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 30, 1947. Testimony of Kim Pyeong-won.

people a challenging power against it and already decided to suppress Jeju people.

#### D. Activities of Jeju people and political groups and suppression by the US Military Government

The activities of Jeju people and political groups during the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and after it were interlocked with the US Military Government's responses and raised tensions.

##### 1) Jeju people's participation in the fund-raising campaign for the victims of the 3·1 Shooting Incident

Jeju people extensively shared understanding that Jeju people's arguments were justifiable and the policies of the US Military Government were unjust as they witnessed the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, the 3·10 General Strike and the trials for the both incidents. This sharing of understanding was reflected in the fact that many Jeju people took part in the fund-raising campaign for the victims of the 3·1 Shooting Incident officially announced on March 10 by the Jeju Shinbo. The first deadline of the fund-raising campaign was April 15. However, as more people joined the campaign than expected, the final deadline was extended to June 15. Here are two newspaper articles on the beginning of the campaign (March 10, 1947) and the end of the campaign (June 18, 1947).

It is well known that several people were killed during the unfortunate accident on March 1. The victims collapsed brutally without having a chance to see their fatherland become an independent nation. Hence, our city desk begins the fund-raising campaign for the victims' families and the injured to support and console them. We sincerely hope that 300,000 Jeju people will sympathize with their pain and sorrow and participate in the campaign.

.....After extending the deadline three times, finally, the fund-raising campaign will end on June 15. The total amount of money donated is 67,118.15 won. In order to deliver the money to those concerned without delay, we (the Jeju Shinbo) invited 10 representatives of the donors and discussed how the money will be divided and delivered. The concrete plan for this was also prepared. We will soon hold the delivery ceremony within this month. We all think that this achievement is all thanks to Jeju people who showed their lofty brotherly love.....]

As seen above, the fund-raising campaign was quite successful. Many Jeju people showed their brotherly love and solidarity, by actively participating in the campaign. This shows the fact that most of the Jeju people considered the policies of the US Military Government wrong and they thought they themselves were the victims of those wrong policies. This was the expression of community spirit that they could overcome the difficulties in unison which the Jeju society was facing.

##### 2) Outline of Jeju people's protest and the US Military Government's hardline and oppressive measures

Around the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3·10 General Strike, incidents in which Jeju people criticized the US Military Government occurred one after another among students or in villages. This shows how the dissatisfaction against the military government widely spread among Jeju people at the time.

First, students launched a campaign and demonstration for not consuming foreign confectionery. Here is an article on the campaign in the Jeju Shinbo (February 10, 1947).

{These days, foreign confectionery is selling at high process on the streets or at stores. Regarding this phenomenon, more than 1,000 students gathered at the Gwandeokjeong Plaza and chanted slogans such as “we are positively against the import of foreign confectionery!” And “Let’s stop Korea’s colonialization starting with not consuming foreign confectionery!” And staged a parade.}

Second, on March 24, 1947, people in Jungmun–myeon staged a demonstration for protesting against the US Military Government and, in response to this, the military government fired at the demonstrators. Here is an article on this incident.

{……In Jungmun–myeon, due to the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3·10 General Strike, the principal of Jungmun School and several executives of the Joseon Youth League were detained at the police box. Around 1 p.m. on 17, many residents and students gathered and resolved to demand the immediate release of the detainees. Around 700 people marched to the police box, singing songs about liberation. Besides this, eleven people including the head of Jungmun–myeon and local leaders were negotiating with the police over releasing the detainees at the time. When the demonstrators marched toward the police box, the commanding officer warned them to disband. As they did not comply with the repeated order, the policemen fired at them. Upon the firing, the demonstrators fled in all directions. One man was seriously wounded and seven people were slightly injured. They are now being treated at a hospital……} <sup>33)</sup>

Thirdly, there were many incidents in which students and residents in villages protested against the policies of the US Military Government occurred one after another. In Jongdal–ri, residents protested against the US Military Government and the military government arrested 71 residents there and sent 16 people to the prosecutor’s office.<sup>34)</sup> Students and detained in Jocheon–myeon distributed leaflets which criticizes the policies of the military government. The US Military Government sent 10 students to the prosecutor’s office.<sup>35)</sup> The fact that there was an atmosphere to protest against the US Military Government among Jeju people indicated that they felt the military government’s hardline responses to the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3·10 General Strike were unjust.

b) The US Military Government’s perception of the situation and its policies

Now let us review how the US Military Government perceived Jeju people’s protest against itself and responded to it.

The announcement of the US Military Government on these issues shows that the military government considered Jeju people’s protest ‘illegal activities from various social groups instigated by pro–North Korean camps’ and it defended the police’s hardline responses against the demonstration and the strike as ‘self–defense’. Here’s an article which shows the military government’s stance.

33) The injured are Kang Yang–jun, Joo Cheol–guk, Ko Jae–ho, Oh–Seung–jun, Byun Il–bong, and Kang Yeong–beom.

34) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, June 18, 1947.

35) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, June 14, 1947.

{.....First, we (the US Military Government) think that the firing by the 1st precinct police station as 'self-defense' to maintain public order. Secondly, we admit that another firing occurred in front of the provincial hospital was inconsiderate considering all the circumstances. Thirdly, we regard government employees' strike at public offices including the military government as preparation for demonstrations and riots. Fourthly, the recent incidents are activities to overthrow the US Military Government and cause social chaos by several organizations in South Korea which collude with North Korean camps. These North Korean camps are providing their South Korean counterparts with political belief. Finally, frequent occurrence of social chaos such as the October riots and the Jeju incident will only cause a loss of momentum to establish an independent nation and dim the prestige of Korean people internationally.}

<sup>36)</sup>

As the US Military Government considered the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3·10 General Strike a challenge against itself, the military government's responses to this are a mixture of hardline and moderate ones. One of the hardline policies is to increase the police force such as dispatching the police reserves. 200 policemen were dispatched to Jeju from Jeonnam Province and Jeonbuk Province<sup>37)</sup> and 100 policemen were sent to the island from Incheon.<sup>38)</sup> Also the control of publications became tighter than before. Copies of new publications should be submitted according to Article no. 5 of the Military Government Order no.19.<sup>39)</sup> Next, the US Military Government strengthened the interrogation and arrest of the leaders of the organizations participating in the strike.<sup>40)</sup> Some of the moderate responses were the police's operation of the pacification units<sup>41)</sup> and holding the public and private round-table talks to let the people know the injustice of the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3·10 General Strike and discuss ways of appeasing the public sentiment.<sup>42)</sup> The US Military Government technically impeded the fact-finding investigation and prevented the facts from becoming known to outside. On March 24, four investigators from the National Front for Democracy arrived in Jeju but Oh Myeong, the head of the investigation team was arrested and detained.<sup>43)</sup> Also another investigation team consisting of seven newspaper companies came into the island. However, they left Jeju without giving any specific opinions on the incidents.<sup>44)</sup>

### 3. Administrative characteristics on confrontation between Jeju people and the military government in policy formation and implementation

Now let us review the characteristics of the confrontation between Jeju people and the US Military Government in those days.

Firstly, the two confronted with each other over the issues of who would lead the Jeju society. The private sector organized students' and women's organizations and the National Front for Democracy excluding pro-Japanese collaborators and suggested the unification of the nationalist forces and the civil forces. However, the US Military Government regarded this kind of unification as activities which were influenced by the North Korean camps and the results from collusion

36) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 22, 1947. It is a summary of the statement announced by Jo Byeong-ok, the Commissioner of the National Police Agency.

37) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 16, 1947.

38) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 18, 1947.

39) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 30, 1947.

40) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 18, 26, 28, 1947.

41) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 28, 1947.

42) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 8, 1947.

43) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 26, 30, 1947.

44) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 26, 30, 1947.

with rebellious powers. Therefore, the US Military Government suppressed these movements by force. Instead, the US Military Government supported and nurtured bureaucratic organizations and government-sponsored organizations in which pro-Japanese collaborators played a key role.

Secondly, with regard to public welfare policies, Jeju people were discontent with the implementation of the policies rather than the objectives of the policies. Jeju people were also alarmed and afraid of hardline and one-sided policies for public order and security. They were infuriated by and protested against unfair treatment of impending issues which was shown in the case of the Boksihwan incident. The apprehension, anger, and distrust about the whole policies of the US Military Government were amplified by the reckless firing during by the police during the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, the hardline responses to the general strike, and the unfair and unilateral application of the law in the trials. Amid this chaotic situation, Jeju people brought forth the impending problems and suggested solutions to them in their own way. They pushed ahead with the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and denounced the brutal practices of the police. They also demanded the police's transition into a more democratic organization and expulsion of its members who had been pro-Japanese collaborators. Jeju citizens also involved in and solved the Ohyun School issue, showing off their capabilities to solve their own problems in an autonomic way. They also presented an alternative for solving food rationing problems and pointed out the US Military Government's problems in implementing their policies through the campaign for not consuming foreign confectionery which was launched mainly by students.

Thirdly, Jeju people's ways of presenting policies were peaceful. They were like publicly expressing their positions, waging a strike, visiting public offices for delivering their opinions, waging demonstrations and distributing leaflets, defending their positions at trials, forwarding opinions on the conflict between teachers and students and resolving it automatically. But the US Military Government regarded all these activities violation of the Decree no. 2 and hostilities against itself. Therefore, the US Military Government was tough on these activities and inhibited these peaceful ways of solving problems from expanding their influence in the Jeju society.

### **III Policy Logic of the US Military Government and Jeju People's Responses to It in the Latter Half of the US Military Government Era (1947. 9. 1. ~ 1948. 4. 20.)**

1. Jeju people's level of awareness of the policies of the US Military Government in the Latter Half of the US Military Government Era
  - a. Jeju people's awareness of and dissatisfaction with policy formation and implementation by the US Military Government

#### 1) The US Military Government's police goals

The police goals of the US Military Government in the latter half of its ruling were solving problems concerning public welfare and suppressing and imposing a blockade on the forces which were against the US Military Government in South Korea saying "They refuse to take part in the general election held only in South Korea." The administrative plans for 1948 prepared by the Jeju government had more systematic and long-term goals compared to the plans in the middle of the US military government ruling. However, even though these plans had a blueprint for development, they lacked the practicality such as how to secure the budget for them. Most of the plans mainly focused on the development of Jeju and the improvement of public welfare.

Some of the project plans were as follows: (1) establishing an agricultural experiment station and a livestock experiment station (required budget: 37,900,000 won), (2) conducting livestock industry development projects (required budget: 11,730,000 won), (3) conducting land improvement projects (using the land in the mid–mountainous area and developing drinking water sources) (required subsidy: 33,600,000 won), (4) collecting mulberries (required budget: 10,370,000 won), (5) encouraging growing insect flowers (required budget: 3,200,000 won), (6) conducting ice manufacturing projects (required subsidy: 3,000,000 won)

Also the local government discussed and delivered the central government's policies. These were as follows: (1) collecting 5000 seoks (volume unit) of fall grains, (2) collecting 420,000 geuns (weight unit) of cotton, (3) restructuring an agricultural statistics organization (province: 3 persons; gun: 4 persons; eup and myeon: 13 persons; a total of 20 persons assigned), (4) protecting and conserving the forests thoroughly, (5) arranging and managing the coastal fishery and encouraging the deep–sea fishery, (6) enforcing the minor labor protection law.<sup>45)</sup>

At the meetings of the county governors, more detailed plans were prepared and jobs and tasks were assigned to each department and section.

#### Tasks of the general affairs section

1. Managing day duty and night duty at eup and myeon offices and schools
2. Managing and controlling firearms
3. Appointing the heads of eup, myeon, and gu. (each is an administrative district.)
4. Submitting reports of resident registration
5. Submitting various reports
6. Managing subscription fees of a provincial government newspaper

#### Tasks of the civil construction section

1. Maintaining facilities in fall
2. Preparing for inspection of road maintenance
3. Conducting data research for imposing charges against damaging roads
4. Completing advanced work before commencing civil engineering projects
5. Supporting ongoing civil engineering projects

#### Tasks of the school affairs section

1. Encouraging parents to send their children to elementary schools
2. Surveying the state of children of school age
3. Distributing school supplies
4. Collecting educational fees for adults of 1947
5. Constructing libraries

#### Tasks of the personnel section

Revising forms of personnel management

#### Tasks of the fishery section

1. Assigning employees of the fishery section their duties
2. Preparing for regular briefing

<sup>45)</sup> Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 12, 1947.

3. Encouraging coastal fishery and deep-sea fishery
4. Taking measures to illegal fishing by Japanese fishing boats

Tasks of the commerce and industry section

1. Facilitating distributing goods in control
2. Checking the demand of goods in control in the gun areas
3. Dealing with bringing property into Korea by Koreans in Japan
4. Reporting of distributing goods in control in the gun areas
5. Encouraging factory registration
6. Expanding electric industry
7. Distributing oil
8. Encouraging production of goods
9. Educating laborers
10. Enforcing the minor labor protection law
11. Enforcing the law of limiting the longest working hours
12. Protecting the women laborers

Tasks of the agriculture section

1. Dealing with issues of rural extension
2. Operating and nurturing agricultural associations
3. Organizing agricultural statistics institutes
4. Allocating the targets of collecting fall grains
5. Seed-gathering of canola in 1948
6. Treating poor seeds of canola
7. Thoroughly managing orchards
8. Increasing production of malting barley
9. Regulating taking sweet potatoes out of the island and bringing them into the island
10. Securing sweet potatoes for producing ethyl alcohol and starch
11. Plans for collecting cotton produced in 1947
12. Encouraging increase of cotton production in 1948
13. Increasing production of self-sufficient fertilizers
14. Transferring responsibility of managing agricultural equipment
15. Strengthening tasks of managing fertilizers and agricultural pesticides
16. Carrying out land improvement projects

Agendas at the meetings of the county governors

1. Effective ways of collecting fall grains
2. Establishing a committee for collecting grains
3. Establishing a committee for improving farm villages
4. Arranging seeds of potatoes from USA produced in 1947
5. Holding joint sales of cotton produced in 1947
6. Dealing with incentive goods for collecting cotton
7. Preparing grading standard of seed cotton
8. Encouraging growing insect flowers<sup>46)</sup>

46) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 22, 1947.

Meanwhile, the police goals announced by the police agency were the same as those presented in the middle of the USA Military Government era. They emphasized the unity between the police and the people. The tone of these announcements were strongly worded. Here is one of these kinds of announcements.

『.....After the liberation (from the Japanese Rule), incidents which disturbed the public order have occurred across the nation. Fortunately, according to the chief of the Jeju police agency, Jeju Island has maintained order and the public sentiment has been settled. However, some people try to subjugate Korea to a certain nation. They don't hoist the Korean flag but hang the red flag and sing 'The Red Flag'. Others argue that Korea needs a revolution which is as same as one occurred in Russia. They instigate young students and deceive farmers, causing disturbances all around the nation. All of this cannot be tolerated.....』<sup>47)</sup>

The warning against illegally enforcing donation issued by the Jeju Police Agency on November 3 was also in line with this stance.

『.....You have been deceived by communist elements who try to sell Korean people to the Soviet Union as slaves. The general election is a golden opportunity and the only way to complete Korea's independence. You have to understand this. Fellow citizens! It is not late. Do not blindly follow their deceptive propoganda and destructive riots. To the leaders and those who actively participated in these crimes, reflect your past and be good citizens. Surrender all your illegal weapons to the police and return to your original occupations. Only if you do this, you will be extenuated.....』<sup>48)</sup>

## 2) Jeju people's Expectations of the policies of the USA Military Government

Jeju people's evaluation of the US Military Government's policies became less and less positive in the latter half of the USA Military Government era. It seems that Jeju people's distrust of the USA Military Government's policy implementation had increased because they had already experienced it for two years up to that time. However, Jeju people also had high hopes of some of the proposed plans such as integrated development plans for Jeju and plans for building libraries<sup>49)</sup> and actually there were some positive results from the USA Military Government's policies such as distributing relief to the destitute, carrying out free medical treatment for workers, and providing people with preventive injections against rabies.<sup>50)</sup>

## 3) Jeju people's dissatisfaction with the policy implementation of the USA Military Government

### A) Dissatisfaction with the absence of welfare policies and generalization of dissatisfaction

Jeju people's expectations of the USA Military Government's public welfare policies gradually turned into dissatisfaction. The power rates climbed by 5.4 times even though the power transmission was possible only every other day. Public utility charges were also increased, making the inflation chronic.<sup>51)</sup> The allocation of grain in November was mere 162ml a day per one person, showing a severe shortage of food. In some cases, the authorities couldn't ration out rice with

47) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 12, 1947. Address by Hwang Ok, the inspector general of the Jeonju Police Station. The warning against forcing illegal donation issued by the Jeju Police Agency was in the same vein.

48) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, April 16, 1948. Excerpt of the pacification statement issued by Jo Byeong-ok, the commissioner of the National Police Agency.

49) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 6, 1947.

50) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 6, 1947.

51) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 4, 1947.

mixed grains and had to give people candy instead.<sup>52)</sup> Only 60% of the total buses on the island could be operative due to the lack of tire supplies, aggravating the traffic problems.<sup>53)</sup>

B) Systematization of the suppression by the USA Military Government and maximization of unrest  
 As the hardline responses and suppression by the USA Military Government became systematized, the unrest felt by Jeju people became greatly intensified. There was an assault upon an executive of the National Front for Democracy(1947. 9. 10.), US Army soldiers beat residents in Yongdam-ri(1947. 10. 4.), and 30 students from Jeju Agricultural School and Jeju Middle School were arrested on charges of possessing seditious documents. There was a clash between the Daedong Youth Corps and local young men(1947. 2. 8.). Some drunken USA Army soldiers attacked local residents(1947. 11. 6.) and the demonstrations were waged around the island on February 8, 1948 in the aftermath of the 2·7 Incident on the mainland(1948. 2. 8.). Kim Yong-cheol who had been arrested on charge of involving in the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration was tortured to death(1948. 3. 12.), and Yang Eun-ha who had been detained in the Moseolpo police box also died from the torture by the police(1948. 3. 16.). These kinds of assaults and tortures consistently carried out by the USA Army soldiers, the police and the right-wing organizations made Jeju people feel fear of them. Especially, it is noted that, unlike the first half of the USA Military Government ruling, there were many cases of USA Army soldiers assaults upon local residents in the aftermath of the hardline policies toward Jeju people. The following is an article on this.

(At around 2 p.m. on September 28, two USA Army soldiers who stationed in an airport broke into Mr. Go Dal-guk's house located in Yongdam-ri and hit him in the face. They ran away after hurting him. Mr. Go reported this attack to the 1st Precinct Police Station. Residents in the village were badly agitated and pleaded with the USA Military Government to control and manage their soldiers.....<sup>54)</sup>

At around 9 p.m., two USA Army soldiers and one interpreter was drinking at Mokpo Restaurant in Bonjeongtong. One soldier attacked two employees (one of them was a woman). Just at that moment, Policeman Kim In-ok witnessed this assault while passing by the restaurant and tried to restrain him. But the USA soldier also assaulted the police officer and hurt him in the face. When passenger tried to restrain him, the four USA Army soldiers (two soldiers came to the site later) joined and attacked the passenger. This assault was stopped only after the policemen at the police station arrived at the site. It is reported that Policeman Kim In-ok is in hospital.)<sup>55)</sup>

C) The USA Military Government's one-sided support of right-wing organizations, sponsor organizations for the army and the police

The USA Military Government aggressively involved in supporting right-wing organizations and establishing sponsor organizations in order to hold concerned organizations such as the National Front for Democracy in check. In the second half of the USA Military Government ruling, right-wing organizations sprang up and rapidly widened their influence over the island. Right-wing organizations such as the Daedong Youth Corps, the Korean National Youth Corps, and the Seobuk Young Men's Association systematically engaged in various activities. The Jeju Capters

52) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, January 16, 1948.

53) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, January 16, 1948.

54) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, October 4, 1947.

55) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, November 2, 1947.

of different right-wing organizations were set up at this period (the Jeju Chapter of the Daedong Youth Corps (1947. 10. 06.); the Nam(south)Jeju-gun Chapter of the Daedong Youth Corps (1947. 10. 22.); the Seongsan-myeon chapter of the Daedong Youth Corps (1947. 10. 22.); the Gimnyeong chapter of the Daedong Youth Corps (1947. 10. 26.); the Jeju Chapter of the Korean National Youth Corps (1947. 11. 08.); the Jeju Headquarters of the Seobuk Young Men's Association (1947. 11. 08.); the Jeju Chapter of the Democratic Independence Party (1947. 12. 08.); the Daejeong Chapter of the Daedong Youth Corps (1947. 12. 08)). In addition, sponsor organizations for establishing the Korean Army (1947. 10. 18.) and the police (1947. 10. 22.) were established.

D) The USA Military Government's operations to isolate the South Korean Labor Party from ordinary citizens

The USA Military Government induced Jeju people to defect from the South Korean Labor Party and actively took measures to isolate the party from Jeju people. The US Military Government even disclosed how many people defected from the party in a newspaper to this purpose. The military government's operations were carried out consistently. These efforts eventually led to the defection by some people (one student (1947. 12. 22.); A Mr. Kang in Seogwi-myeon (1948. 2. 18.); A Mr. Oh in Sehwa-ri (1948. 2. 24); 16 people in Seongsan-ri, 22 people in Ojo-ri, 18 people in Goseong-ri (1948. 3. 12.); 65 people in Sagye-ri, Andeok-myeon (1948. 3. 30); other 16 people in Sagye-ri; 15 people in Seogwang-ri). The statements announced by those who defected from the party were much the same in condemning the illegality of the South Korean Labor Party and promising devotion to the nationalist camp. Here is one statement of that kind.

{We joined the South Korean Labor Party around May 1947 because we had been deceived by sweet talk and deceptive acts from the schemers of the party. We acknowledge that arson, murder, attacks on public offices, cutting wires, interference with a public official in the exercise of his duty, waging demonstrations, and distributing rebellious leaflets which we have been doing are all illegal. For conscience' sake and with persuasion by the police and community leaders, we regret our wrongdoings and have a new understanding of the current state of affairs and pledge to defect from the South Korean Labor Party. From now on, we will join the Daedong Youth Corps and devote ourselves to building a new nation with an iron will.}<sup>56)</sup>

E) Uneasy stability from the hardline policies by the USA Military Government

As seen from above, due to the continuous hardline policies, the reinforcement of right-wing organizations, and the measures to isolate the South Korean Labor Party from Jeju people, Jeju people had no choice but to side with one or the other. With this background, the year 1948 began with uneasy stability. Jeju people suffered from the hardships of life caused by the confusing policies of the USA Military Government and bated their breath as the USA Military Government regard them as rebellious elements influenced by the South Korean Labor Party and took the carrot-and-stick approach to Jeju people. In this situation, the South Korean Labor Party and the National Front for Democracy were forced to be underground organizations. The articles of the Jeju Shinbo also changed in the latter half of the USA Military Government era. Unlike those in the middle of the USA Military Government ruling, articles which cover the policies of the US A Military Government, the establishment of right-wing organizations, sports, and movies were mainly published in the newspaper. Under this circumstance, as it reviewed the situations in 1947, the Jeju Shinbo pointed out that building an independent nation was still the biggest issue in Korea and

56) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 12, 1948.

asked Jeju people to make an effort to achieve the national goal.

『……In 1947, the issue of our nation's independence was transferred to the United Nations from the US–Soviet Joint Commission and UN adopted a new resolution to hold a General Election in Korea. It is undeniable that the development of the situation in Korea had changed much……』

In politics, it was clear that the middle-of-the-roaders who defected from the right-wing and the left-wing camps emerged as a new political power last year. The political circles in Korea consisted of the distinct three forces such as the right, the left, and the center and the political strife became more and more severe.

Firstly, the right-wing camp waged a campaign for advocating the establishment of an interim government in South Korea as Rhee Syng-man argued before the US–USSR Joint Commission resumed. However, after the Joint Commission resumed, the right-wing camp put pressure on the Joint Commission with a two-front strategy of cooperating with the commission or not. As the Joint Commission broke down, the right-wing camp began to gain influence in South Korea. After the issue of Korea's independence was transferred to UN, the camp displayed a tendency to consider the USA the most important player in completing Korea's independence. Taking the Soviet Union's rejection of the UN resolution opportunity, the right-wing camp in South Korea asked again for the setting up an interim government in South Korea. One of the two factions of the right-wing camp, which was influenced by Rhee Syng-man, insisted that the General Election must be held in South Korea by summer at the latest. Meanwhile another right-wing faction which was led by Kim Gu argued that the General Election should be held in both South Korea and North Korea. However, it seems that the both factions had agreed to some degree with the ways of holding the General Election by the end of last year.

Secondly, last year, the left-wing camp was against the claim of the right-wing camp which was in favor of holding the General Election only in South Korea. It tried hard to help the US–USSR Joint Commission resume. As the Joint Commission resumed, the left-wing camp actively waged its political campaign against the right-wing camp. However, as the Joint Commission went badly adrift and the 8 · 15 arrests occurred, the left-wing force had to be driven to underground.

Thirdly, the middle-of-the-road camp expanded its influence while in the process of establishing a National assembly. While doing so, the camp achieved the desired result. In addition, as the Democratic Independence Party was established, the middle-of-the road camp could stand face-to-face with both the right wing and the left-wing camps. Meanwhile, the USA–USSR Joint Commission produced no results and broke down and the issue of Korea's independence was referred to UN, the middle-of-the-road camp established a consultative body and tried to induce cooperation from the USA but met with little success. As the political instability got worse, people became more and more agitated and violence against politicians frequently occurred. Among them, the assassinations of Yeo Un-hyeong and Jang Deok-su astounded the nation……』

## 2. Policy logic of the USA Military Government and Jeju People's responses to it around the 2 · 7 Incident

Around the 2 · 7 Incident occurred in 1948, the USA Military Government's policies became tougher and organizations and factions which were against the military government were forced underground. However, the broad scale arrests around the island carried out by the USA Military Government gave Jeju people an opportunity to realize how the USA Military Government's policies were contradictory and how the situation on the island was tense. Let us review the circumstances

of the time through an interview with the chief of the Jeju Police Agency, Kim Yeong-bae.<sup>57)</sup>

Q: Can you tell us why this large scale arrests across the island carried out?

A: As the General Election comes near, some factions, which had begun to be active again in South Korea, planned to start riots. The details of these arrests cannot be announced at this moment because they can influence the investigation.

Q: How many people have been arrested? How will they be treated?

A: I cannot tell you the number of people arrested now. Those who are innocent will be released as the interrogation is carried out. These are the people who blindly followed the rebellious elements. The police is lenient with those who are penitential for their wrongdoings. The police does not intend to suppress those who joined the South Korean Labor Party but give a hard blow to those who are committing illegal acts.

Q: Has the decree announce by the late Governor Lerche that strongly prohibits torture lost its validity?

A: No, it hasn't. It is still undoubtedly valid.

Q: We've heard some rumors that the arrested were tortured.

A: Those are false rumors. Torture has never been inflicted to the detainees. Some minor policemen might not have paid heed to the instructions, but I repeatedly and strictly order my subordinates not to torture the arrested.

Q: People sincerely want the police to approach themselves more warmly with brotherly love because the time of cruel suppression by the Japanese police is over now.

A: That is the supreme task of the national police. The police does not hesitate to get rid of the evil of convention.

Q: How will the policeman who resorted to violence against the arrested during the operation be treated?

A: The case is still under investigation. The police officer allegedly used violence is now detained. He will be thoroughly interrogated. Military Governor Mansfield and Jeju Governor already agreed to how to deal with this case.

The situation of Jeju on January 1948 implies that the uneasy stability could lead to tense confrontation at any time. The USA Military Government declared that, during the period of preparing for the General Election, it would not prohibit distributing leaflets, and newspaper articles and would permit all assemblies as long as they do not instigate riots or disturbances. However, the military government warned that it would crack down on rebellious elements who try to stir the society taking this opportunity. The USA Military Government made it clear that the right to permit political assemblies belonged to the Governor and the right to permit other assemblies belonged to the police. But the USA Military Government had an ambivalent attitude, skirting the issues of revealing the facts of the arrests and how to deal with the detainees.<sup>58)</sup>

However, the statement announced by Kim Yeong-bae was an antinomic one. He argued that the large scale arrests were carried out because of the activities by the communist forces. However, while arguing that, the police released 94 detainees at a time. The USA Military Government concluded that those who arrested belonged to the same forces which also waged demonstrations on February 8, and 9 and they were communists abetted by the Soviet Union. The below is the announcement of the time.

57) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 4, 1948.

58) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 8, 1948.

『.....Because the traitors who fall into a communist way of thinking did everything to turn the fatherland into a member of the Soviet Union, Korea's independence is delayed more and more.....Since February 8, the reactionaries have waged demonstrations and distributed leaflets in Hamdeok, Seongsanpo, Jocheon, Daejeong, Hado, Samyang, and Dumo. In Sagye-ri, Andeok-myeon, a police officer was kidnapped but later rescued by the patrol officers. About 100 demonstrators from Hwabuk and Samyang entered into Jeju-eup and set fire to the warehouse of the provincial office and tried to attack a branch office in the Sanji area. But they were suppressed by a squad of police officers who were urgently dispatched to the site. As these kinds of incidents frequently happen, the police could not but arrest these reactionaries who impede the establishment of an independent nation and make people be in distress. This is only for the bright future of our fatherland through rooting out the traitors who consider their fatherland the Soviet Union. Therefore, ordinary citizens do not need to worry and should work hard for a living. Please trust the police and do not be deceived by the traitors' sweet talk. We advise you not to commit a rash act and be cautious at this important moment of achieving the national independence.』<sup>59)</sup>

As seen from above, the policies of the USA Military Government at the time were a mixture of hardline ones and conciliatory ones. The South Korean Labor Party went underground. The USA Military Government implemented hardline policies toward the South Korean Labor Party and civil organizations and extensively supported and nurtured right-wing organizations and tried to isolate the Korean Labor Party from ordinary Jeju people. Meanwhile, the USA Military Government implemented policies putting an emphasis on sports and movies. Like this, the USA Military Government's concerns were mainly blocking and isolating the opposition forces, not implementing public welfare policies. In this situation, through the large scale arrests in January and the responses to the demonstrations on February 8 and 9, the USA Military Government revealed its intention of holding the General Election at any cost and also its judgement that the communist forces which consider the Soviet Union the fatherland were behind those two cases.

### 3. Confrontation between the USA Military Government and Jeju people around the April 3 Incident

#### A. The shock of the torture incidents by the police and the tension from them

The two torture cases by the police in March after the large scale arrest in January and the demonstrations in February came as a big shock to Jeju people and built up a sense of tension in the Jeju society. Let us see the article on Mr. Kim Yong-cheol who was tortured to death by the police.

[A young man from Jocheon village died suddenly at Jocheon police box of the 1st District Police Station while he was in custody at the station as a suspect of the 3·1 Incident last year. The dead man's name is Kim Yong-cheol (age 22) from Ha-dong, Jocheon village, Jocheon-myeon. He had been wanted by the police as a suspect of the 3·1 Incident last year. He was arrested in Daeheul village, Jocheon-myeon at dawn on March 4 where he had been hiding. He had been in custody since his arrest, but died suddenly on May 6. On receiving the report of the death, the prosecution office dispatched Jang Si-yeong, a doctor, and its staff to the police box under the direction of Prosecutor Chae Yong-byeong. Park Geun-yong, Deputy Commissioner of the Jeju Police Inspection Agency, and an American from the CIC also accompanied them. They conducted

59) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, February 16, 1947.

an autopsy on the body and a thorough investigation of the scene of the incident. They have returned to Jeju-eup. The investigation is going to continue, based on the report by the doctor, and the CIC is also conducting its investigation of this case. The development of the incident is being watched with keen interest.)<sup>60)</sup>

Soon, another death from torture occurred at Moseolpo police box, amplifying the shock and tension in the Jeju society. The article on this case is as follows:

{At the same time as wild speculation is spread about the unclosed incident at Jocheon police box in which a young man suddenly died, another similar incident occurred at Moseolpo police box on March 14. A young man identified as Yang Eun-ha (age 27) from Yeongrak village, Daejeong-eup, died suddenly on the morning of March 14 at Moseolpo police box. He had been in custody at the police box on a charge of violating the decree, and died suddenly at 4 a.m. in the morning on March 14. Upon this urgent report, the commissioner of the Jeju Prosecution Office, the head of the investigation division of the Jeju Police Inspection Agency and Dr. Moon Jong-hu were sent to the police box and examined the dead man. Upon the examination, it turned out that Yang died from damage to his testicles. It is said that two policemen, Ko Eung-chun (police officer) and Byeon Tae-mun (detective), who interrogated Yang, were arrested immediately at the dictation of the commissioner and are under interrogation now.)<sup>61)</sup>

#### B. The USA Military Government's announcement of the damage from the April 3 Incident and its response to the Incident

The April 3 Incident occurred after two cases in which police officers tortured civilians to death. The Jeju Emergency Defense Headquarters' special announcement regarding the April 3 Incident is as follows:

{Attacked areas: Moseolpo, Oedo, Hwabuk, Jocheon, Daejeong, Sehwa, Namwon, Hallim, Hamdeok, Iho, Jeoji  
Damage to the police: 6 deaths, 6 heavily injured, 1 lightly injured, 2 missing, 2 houses destroyed, 2 arson attacks  
Damage to ordinary people: 12 deaths, 14 heavily injured, 19 lightly injured, 10 missing, 15 houses destroyed, 4 arson attacks.  
Damage to the armed guerrillas: 6 deaths

Total: 22 deaths, 30 heavily injured, 20 lightly injured, 12 missing, 17 houses destroyed, 7 arson attacks)

What can be identified through the announcement is that more armed guerrillas were killed than police officers and twice as many people than the armed guerrillas died. The number of the victims was similar to that of other incidents in other areas at the time.

With the development of this situation, the USA Military Government issued a warning. The following is the warning that issued by Commander Kim Jeong-ho on April 18, 1948.

{The disturbances which begun on April 3 have continued across the island until now. In order to suppress the disturbances as early as possible, Mr. Kim Jeong-ho, the commander of the Jeju Emergency Defense Headquarters issued a warning on April 18.

60) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 12, 1948.

61) Article of the Jeju Shinbo, March 16, 1948.

## Warning

My fellow 300,000 Jeju citizens! The independence and autonomy of Korea which 30 million compatriots have been yearning for will be achieved soon through the upcoming General Election. Nevertheless, the undesirable elements from the South Korean Labor Party are killing and raping people, destroying and setting fire to houses and other buildings on a daily basis as a last resort to establish a communist nation through selling our fatherland to the Soviet Union, making the livelihoods of the public be in distress. Therefore, I urge you, good citizens, not to be deceived by sweet talk from these rebellious elements and blindly follow their riots. Here I warn the undesirable elements to do the following things immediately.

1. To those who led or actively participated in the riots: Surrender yourselves!
2. To those who possess guns and deadly weapons: Surrender those guns and deadly weapons to the police immediately!
3. To those who supplied food to the armed guerrillas or provided money and goods to the armed guerrillas: Surrender yourselves!

Those who are penitent about what they have done will receive special favors. But those who are not penitent about their past and keep committing violence will be rooted out at one stroke.

1948. 4. 18.

Commander of the Jeju Emergency Defense Headquarters  
Kim Jeong-ho

The USA Military Government thought that the April 3 Incident occurred because the communists including the members of the South Korean Labor Party made a frantic last-ditch effort. The USA Military Government believed that those rebellious elements made Jeju people be in distress through unforgivable measures such as killing people, destroying and setting fire to houses and buildings, and raping women. Thus, the military government repeatedly warned good Jeju people not to involve in those deceptive instigation and violent activities.<sup>62)</sup>

#### **IV. Administrative meaning of the relations between the USA Military Government and Jeju people during the period of the Jeju Protest**

1. The conflict between the USA Military Government's logic of governance and Jeju people's response

As seen from above, during the Jeju protest, the local residents distrusted the government's policy goals and their contents. At first, Jeju people adapted themselves to the policies of the USA Military Government but later they accustomed themselves to protesting those policies. The USA Military Government's logic of governance and Jeju people's logic of response complexly interacted with each other. The administrative meaning of this period can be analyzed based on the conflict in forming the main agent of administration, Jeju people's perception of the USA Military Government's policy goals and their implementation, the difference between the ways of the policy implementation and the ways of Jeju people's protest, and the difference of political culture between the USA Military Government and Jeju people.

62) The analysis here is limited to the articles of the Jeju Shinbo. Therefore, the responses from Jeju people and the South Korean Labor Party around the 4.3 Incident, the 4.28 Peace Talks, the rejection of the 5.10 Election, and testimonies and data are excluded in discussion and analysis. It is noteworthy that the tone of an argument of the Jeju Shinbo changed after the USA Military Government took a tough stance against Jeju people.

The USA Military Government's governing principles were as follows. It wanted the pro-Japanese figures to be in charge of administration. The USA Military Government's administration was based on anticommunism and it used oppressive tactics to build a rigid bureaucratic structure. On the contrary, Jeju people wanted the nationalist forces and citizens to be in charge of administration, excluding the pro-Japanese collaborators. They wanted to have peaceful politics in which freedom of assembly, association and freedom to strike are guaranteed in their own way. They accepted peaceful measures such as presenting opinions in legitimate way and waging orderly demonstrations to ask for flexible bureaucratic culture (however in the latter half of the USA Military Government ruling, in some cases, Jeju people also adopted violent ways of protesting). While, the USA Military Government presented government-centered administration in which orders and instructions are emphasized and military, police, and government-sponsored organizations form the backbone, Jeju people presented a new organizational culture which puts an emphasis on consultation, solidarity, and respects of civil organizations. This kind of organizational culture could be seen in establishing the National Front for Democracy, the Preparation Committee for the 3·1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, and the committee for solving Ohyun School students' strike. Also, the fact that many Jeju people joined the fund-raising campaign for the victims of the 3·1 Independence Day Shooting Incident is another example of how the Jeju society respected community spirit. The USA Military Government tried to label Jeju Island as the South Korean Labor Party's stronghold and Jeju people as those who have an amicable relationship with the South Korean Labor Party, taking the 3.1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration and the 3.10 General Strike opportunity. As seen from the trials for the above two incidents, the USA Military Government showed an inflexible posture in which it thought that Jeju people were challenging against itself and categorized freedom of speech, assembly, and association and freedom to strike as violation of the Decree no. 2. In addition, in the latter half of its ruling, the USA Military Government not only implemented strong oppressive measures but also supported and nurtured right-wing organizations and aggressively tried to isolate the South Korean Labor Party from local residents. It is open to the interpretation that these kinds of hardline policies and isolation strategy from the USA Military Government invited the South Korean Labor Party's going underground and radicalization.

## 2. Administrative meaning of the relationship between Jeju people and the USA Military Government during the period of the Jeju Protest

Now, let's review the USA Military Government's governing principles in tandem with Jeju people's responses to them.

### A. Conflict over the main agent of administration: principle of bureaucratic organizations and government-sponsored organizations

The USA Military Government did not consider local movements spontaneous but manipulated by the rebellious elements, especially the communist party, the South Korean Labor Party, North Korea, and the Soviet Union. The USA Military Government incorporated many of the pro-Japanese collaborators into its ruling power, making the government and the police influenced by pro-Japanese collaborators and invigorated and enhanced government-sponsored organizations and military organizations,

On the contrary, the political forces and private sector tried to organize themselves excluding vicious pro-Japanese collaborators. Consequently, ordinary people, nationalist forces which

criticize the USA Military Government, and civil forces united. They even showed tolerance toward pro-Japanese collaborators who sincerely repented of what they had done in the past.

However, as the USA Military Government gained the upper hand of forming the main agent of administration and governance, the bureaucratic organizations and the government-sponsored organizations emerged as the main players in implementing administration.

#### B. Conflict over the policy goals and their contents: adoption of anticommunist politics

The USA Military Government generalized the anticommunist politics, which puts an emphasis only on anticommunism, and structured the political system with no legitimacy. Therefore, the military government eliminated the critical forces, illegalized the National Front for Democracy, removed the National Youth Groups, and suppressed schools. The military government emasculated the regions which were against establishing a separate government in South Korea and labeled these regions as 'communized'. The assassinations of Yeo Un-hyeong and Jang Deok-su were carried out in the same vein. The island became tenser and like a police state. Pro-Japanese collaborators reemerged in the public organizations and right-wing organizations such as the Daedong, and the Seobuk Youth Corps became more influential and tyrannized over people. On the contrary, the forces which were critical to the USA Military Government and Jeju people pursued the policy goals for privately led democracy and demanded the policy contents according with those goals. They raised an issue of increasing autonomous capability of the private sector and, as a result, became critical to the USA Military Government's policy contents and in conflict with the USA Military Government. Jeju people staged a peaceful demonstration, and general strike, and launched a fund-raising campaign. They also demanded the reform of the police, asked the USA Military Government to offer possible alternatives to the existing policies, and staged protest rallies. The good example of the private sector's autonomous capability was its solving the Ohyun School students' strike through establishing a countermeasure committee to deal with the strike. At the trials for the 3.1 Independence Day Movement Demonstration, Jeju people consistently maintained that they thought they had freedom of assembly, association, and freedom to strike and that's the reason they criticized and protest against the USA Military Government which suppressed them and limited their rights. All these cases show Jeju people's capacity to deal with their problems autonomously and democratically. However, because the hard-line policies of the USA Military Government blocked the demand of Jeju people, the policy goals became anticommunism and the contents of the policies were in line with those police goals.

#### C. Conflict over the USA Military Government's oppressive ways of implementing its policies and Jeju people's protest against it: disruption of peaceful and democratic ways

The USA Military Government's oppressive ways of implementing its policies had no room for adopting peaceful ways of dealing with issues. Not only did the USA Military Government regard the protest on Jeju as attempts to overthrow the existing system but also it did not adopt the basic principles of democracy such as freedom of speech, assembly, association and freedom to strike. When the peaceful ways were blocked, Jeju people began to adopt more violent ways and, eventually, physical confrontations broke out. As warnings and decrees were announced continuously, illegal arrests and detention, torture, and killing people became more widely justified. Even the target were selective, the protesting forces also used violent means such as armed attacks, and killing people. The more the USA Military Government illegalized and suppressed the private sector, the more the hardliners in the private sector gained influence. Those hardliners

depended on violent measures such as armed attacks on limited targets. The result of these two parties' adoption of violent ways was the break down fall of peaceful and democratic ways of solving issues.

D: Conflict over rigid bureaucratic culture and Jeju people's culture of resistance: settlement of bureaucratic organizational culture

Radical anticommunist politics presented an uncompromising bureaucratic culture as a governing principle. Thus, Jeju people were labeled as communists or sympathizers with communism and Jeju people's efforts to unite the nation were unjustly suppressed. Jeju's people-centered and resistant culture was intimidated and colonial cultural policies such as sports (boxing and football) and movies were emphasized and diverted people's attention away from the critical issues. Freedom of speech was also daunted and criticizing or evaluating policies also became difficult and uniform. Tolerance toward political opposing movements was not allowed and rigid bureaucratic culture in which military, police, and government-sponsored organizations take the center stage was firmly systematized and rooted in the Jeju society. Jeju people's capability to solve their problems democratically and autonomously, their criticism against wrongful and unjustifiable policies and community spirit of sharing the pain together could not mature because they were drawn into a whirlpool of the US military government's hard-line policies and the South Korean Labor Party's violent protest. As a result, the bureaucratic organizational culture destroyed and absorbed the civilian culture which pursued the harmony between individuals and communities.

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