

# The United States committed Commie-cide on Cheju-Do

Sang-Soo Hur, Ph.D<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

In South Korea, social healing through justice of Cheju<sup>2</sup> massacres(1947–1954) has progressed considerably since 2000. However, after the March 1, 1947, the US military and US federal governments are still silent about the Cheju massacres and are ignoring the fact-finding demands raised in South Korea. I think that the US Army Military Government in Korea, which occupied and ruled South Korea at the time, branded Cheju Islanders as communists and played a great role in the indiscriminate slaughtering without legitimate legal procedures without distinguishing civilians from guerrillas. The United States committed Commie-cide on Cheju-Do.

### Key words :

Cheju April 3rd Events, Cheju Massacres(1947–1954), U.S Responsibility, Transitional Justice, Social Healing through Justice.

1) Former Professor, Sungkonghoe University, Seoul, and President, Korean Association of Social Science, Co-Representatives, Cheju April 3rd Events' Victims Bereaved Families Association in Seoul.

2) Hur Sang-Soo Ph.D. prefers to use the McCune-Reishauer romanization style (Cheju) over the newer Korean Revised Style (Jeju), WEII honors his request to keep his use of McCune-Reishauer except for direct quotations and the reference section.

Many Americans regard the "War in Korea" as a "forgotten war," where more than 40,000 American soldiers died or disappeared 70 years ago. According to a study on this 'War in Korea' in South Korea and the United States for the past 40 years, there were actually numerous local wars, armed conflicts, and small wars near the 38th parallel north latitude before June 25, 1950. Even on the June 25th, 1950, people did not evacuate because they recognized it as an extension of the existing local warfare.

Among these "small wars", armed conflicts that took place on Cheju Island, far from the city of Seoul are included. Bruce Cummings of the University of Chicago, who wrote the famous book "The Origins of the Korean War", estimates that about 80,000 people died because of the tragedy that took place on Cheju Island<sup>3</sup>. The Republic of Korea government formed and investigated the Cheju April 3rd(4·3) Events(not Incident) Investigation and Honor Recovery Committee, chaired by the Prime Minister for three years from 2000, and confirmed that about 14,000 people were killed, missing, or injured.

On behalf of the government of Republic of Korea, President Roh Moo-hyun, 30th October 2003 and President Moon Jae-in, 3rd April 2018 and 2020 officially apologized to the residents of Cheju Special Self-Governing Province and the victims' families for this contrasting grand tragedy caused by the tremendous fault of the Korean government. Therefore, the government continues to build a cemetery to remember the victims, excavate the remains, designate a memorial day for victims at the government level and provide medical expenses to the survivors, and establish and operate a human rights and peace foundation and trauma healing center for this.

In addition, the revised bill has been submitted to the 21st National Assembly of the Republic of Korea in order to revise the Special Act on the Investigation of the Jeju 3rd April 1948 Events(not 4·3 incident) and the Recovery of Honor to the Reparations(Damage Recovery) Act. If amendments are made to this Damage Recovery Act, it can be evaluated that social healing through justice of the Cheju massacres (1st March 1947 - 21st September 1954) in Korea will be realized to a considerable extent. In this way, a truth community of victims' survivors, civil society,

local media, researchers, etc., who have demanded social healing through justice and establishment of transitional justice that is called, the recognition of wrong doings of the perpetrators' abuse against the Cheju massacres(1947-1954), acknowledgement of the perpetrator's responsibility, reparation for damage, and community reconstruction. This is because the truth community has been working and contributing for over 30 years.

However, the US government and the US Army, known to have played an important role with the Korean government in causing the Cheju massacres(1947-1954), have held no responsibility for the past 73 years. On March 1, 1947, the first event took place at Gwandeokjeong pavilion, killing six people and injuring six on the spot. It happened when the police under the U.S. Military Government in Korea, with support from the mainland, fired upon children and women watching the protest parade that was passing after the 28th anniversary of the Independence Declaration, March 1st, 1919 from the Japanese Imperialist rule. For the Gwandeokjeong massacre, the U.S. military government police from the mainland placed all responsibility on the victims and wrongly concluded that it was incited by outside forces and communists. According to an investigation report discovered later, the US military admitted that it had failed to control the situation at the site of Gwandeokjeong pavilion<sup>4</sup>.

Through this article, I contend that the Cheju massacre was a political massacre. The massacre was a massacre of innocent non-combatants and non-armed ordinary people in the name of suppressing a group of armed communist guerrillas. It can be called a real communist massacre, but I think it was a massacre of non-communists. I think this communist massacre was committed by the U.S. military and Korean military and police.

## Recognition

In 1978, John Roscoe Merrill wrote a Master of Art thesis at Harvard University, the first American paper, entitled "The Cheju-do Rebellion." However, ten years later, November, 1998, in arguments with me in the Hankyoreh newspaper in the city of Seoul, the United

3) Bruce Cummings 2018 American Responsibility in the Jeju Massacres. Jeju April 3rd Peace Foundation ed., The Jeju 4·3 Mass Killing : Atrocity, Justice and Reconciliation. Yonsei University Press. p. 15.

4) "Report of Special Investigation - Governor Ryu, Hai Chin of Cheju-do Island," March 11, 1948, Report of Special Investigation : Cheju-do Political Situation by Lt. Colonel Lawrence A. Nelson, USAMGIK. 12nd November 1947 - 28th February 1948.

States did not admit the fact that it slaughtered Cheju residents, despite its policy failure<sup>5</sup>.

The Truth Investigation Report of Jeju April 3rd Incident issued by the Government of Republic of Korea in 5th December 2003 was translated and published in English in 1st September 2014<sup>6</sup>. However, the tragic truth and secrets of the grand tragedy of the Cheju massacres(1st March 1947 to 21st September 1954) that the US government and the US Army intervened, ordered, directed, and supported are still waiting to be revealed.

Cheju Island was paid attention to by the powers, especially the U.S., as the strategic place from the 1940s. For example, Major General Claire Lee Chennault, Commander of the 14th USAF, agreed with Korean Liberation Army in China. In early August 1945, the President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, Kim Gu, went to Xi'an, China, and General William J. Donovan who initiated the U.S. O.S.S.(Office of Strategic Service, now Central Intelligence Agency) and the Provisional Korean government had an operational consultation with U.S. to enter the Korean Peninsular, when a code-named Eagle project operation plan, including the occupation of Cheju Island, was established. Therefore, the U.S. OSS Far East planned and prepared an invasion operation to occupied Cheju Island from 1944 to defeat the Japanese army from the Korean Peninsula, while teaching, training and guiding the Korean Liberation Army in Kunming and Xi'an, mainland China. The U.S. military was planning a landing operation on the Japanese mainland to win the Pacific War and was planning a detailed operational plan to occupy Cheju Island, according to the JANIS 75(Joint Army-Navy Intelligence Study of Korea including TSUSHIMA and QUELPART 75)<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, the U.S. Army took over South Korea in September 8, 1945, and Cheju was bloodless in September 28, 1945<sup>8</sup>. The U.S. military government

promoted Cheju Island to an independent local province under the name of accepting requests from right-wing groups on August 1, 1946. In the status promotion of the court and the police, the Cheju Provincial Army, the 9th Constabulary was established as a kind of regular army in accordance with the Bamboo Plan by U.S. in 1946.

On the 12th of March 1947, U.S. President Truman declared a turnaround in his foreign policy line to deter the geopolitical expansion of communism, in his address to the Joint session of the United States Congress. The U.S. expressed its strong will to actively deter the betrayal and spread of communism by providing military and economic aid for anti-communist nations. Truman had already read the telegram of U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, George F. Kennan, who feared the expansion of the Soviet Union since 1946, and accepted his anti-Soviet containment theory. The countermeasure was a preparation for the expansionism of the Soviet Union, which had co-wired to build an axis of evil, including Nazi Germany and Japan.

The goal of the American Mission in Korea(AMiK 1945-1948) was the establishment of the anti-communist and right wing state in South Korea for making 'a bulwark of anti-communist' on the basis of the Truman doctrine in East Asia. For to do so, U.S accepted South Korean rightists' requests with distaste and vigorously command and supported the right wing groups.

Until early 1947, the 58th U.S. Military company stationed in Cheju island maintained relatively amicable relations with Cheju people without any major friction or conflict. However, the U.S. military government began suppressing Cheju Islanders in early March 1947 by labeling it as if it were related to the communists and using its hostile policy of making the island unsafe. The pro-Japanese police, who had been chasing and capturing independence fighters under the Japanese colonial rule in the past, were re-enlisted as police under the U.S. military government and became members of the governing body. They repeated the practice of cracking down on branches of the National Liberation Movement by branding them as red bandits without rational grounds and legal foundations.

While the defeated Japanese in the Pacific War stepped down, the Cheju People's Committee filled the security vacuum and exercised its home affairs capabilities, doing much to the residents' autonomous

5) Hankyoreh November 12 and 17, 1988.  
<https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?publishDate=1988-11-12&officelid=00028&pageNo=1>  
<https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?publishDate=1988-11-17&officelid=00028&pageNo=1>

6) From 2015 to 2019, international conferences of Cheju victims testimony with American, Japanese and Korean scholars and students were held at Washington D.C., University of North Carolina, State University of New York, University of Chicago, and University of Pennsylvania on the truth of the Cheju Massacres(1947-1954). In April 2020, an international conference was scheduled at Howard University and American University in Washington, D.C., but could not be held due to COVID-19.

7) <http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=fs&setId=5930478&position=5>

8) Headquarter. XXIV Corps, G-3 Operations Report No. 25. 28 Sept. 1945. USAFIK, History of the United States Army Force in Korea Pt. 1. Ch. 7, pp. 49-51.

bodies from below. The Cheju People's Committee began its activities in earnest by reorganizing the Cheju Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, which was formed on 10th September 1945. The Cheju People's Committee also actively campaigned for the establishment of schools and fostering future generations, so Cheju residents trusted and supported them. As an extension of such activities, the Democratic National Front of Cheju Island was formed in 23rd February 1947, and they launched a project to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the March 1st Movement in 1947. There was no confrontation between the left and the right, but they all joined together. At that time, Lt. Gen. Hodge, commander of the U.S. Forces in Korea, was on a business trip to a special zone in Washington D.C. at a time when six people were killed and eight others were seriously injured on Cheju island, while right-wing leader Rhee Syng-man was also visiting the U.S., emphasizing the establishment of South Korea's own government, so a divided Korea.

Since then, the U.S. military has designated communist or socialist routes as the goal of political exclusion in occupied areas south of 38 degrees north latitude. The 13rd August 1946 of Dong A Ilbo(Daily News paper) reported the results of the U.S. Army Public Opinion Office social survey.

When asked, "What general political form do you agree with?"

219 persons(2.6%) agreed with individual dictatorship (relation to the people's will) ; 322 persons (4 %) agreed with plural dictatorship(who are not related to the other people); and 237 people (2.8 percent) agreed with class dictatorships (no relation to maintaining other classes), and 7,221 people(85.4%) agreed with popular politics, and 453 (5.4%) responded "I don't know". The preference for representative politics was the highest.

And when asked, "Which one do you approve of?" 1,189 people(14.1%) preferred "Capitalism", 6,037 people(71.4%) "Socialism", all of them. 574 people(6.8%) "Communism". 653 people(7.7%) responded "I don't know", There was the highest approval for socialism. In this regard, people at the time were relatively sound and had diverse ideas.

However, the U.S. military denied it altogether. As soon as the U.S. president Truman turned openly and directly anti-communist to deeply worry and deter the expansion of the Soviet Union, the U.S. military government in Korea also fully excluded and

suppressed social groups and major political parties involved. So, they tried to oust the communist forces. Anti-Communism has become a ruling ideology that demonized the communists. Since September 1946, the U.S. military government in Korea has regarded both the South Korean Workers' Party and its associated groups as enemies and began to discriminate, oppress, exclude and annihilate them. And after March 1947, the U.S. military government in Cheju branded Cheju's progressive forces communist, considered them enemies, and began cracking down violently.

The Cheju massacres, which took place for seven years and seven months from March 1, 1947 to September 21, 1954, took place at first during the peace time under the rule of the U.S. military government in Korea. Six people were killed by a police under the U.S. military government. One of the first victims of the day, 1st March 1947 was a young student and a baby mother who were watching the demonstration. To protest, Cheju islanders staged a concerted general strike with public and private support. But the U.S. military authorities arrested and detained 2,500 people in 13 months. The U.S. military government concluded that Communist forces were behind the mass strike of Cheju residents protesting the Gwandeokjeong massacre, branded them communists and suppressed them.

The U.S. asked the U.N. to solve the agenda in order to solve the Korean issue. The United Nations decided to launch a general election on the Korean Peninsula. With the Soviet Union rejecting it, only South Korea will hold a general election which divided the Korean nation. Many Koreans campaigned against the South Korean single-handed election. Right-wing leaders such as Kim Koo and Kim Kyu-sik also boycotted the South Korean single-handed election. Rhee Syng-man, along with the U.S. military government in Korea, strongly supported the divided Korean government in general elections.

The U.S. military government began to kill those who refused to accept the South Korean election through a hard-line crackdown. Many people were worried about national division and worried about a war on the Korean Peninsula. The people of Jeju Island had no choice but to start an uprising on 3rd April 1948. The U.S. government authorities did not make any significant decisions about the incident in which Cheju people stormed the police station at dawn on 3rd April 1948. They thought it was just a disturbance. U.S.

saw it as an anti-election campaign taking place in many parts of the South Korea. So the U.S decided that the U.S could reinforce the police force and deal with it.

On April 16, 1948, the U.S. military gave up the police force's collaboration and ordered the troops to be dispatched to suppress the situation. Military Governor Dean gave an order to the Korea 9th Constabulary in Cheju to begin repression operations on 17th April 1948. Major General Dean, US Army commanded the 59th Army Regiment in Cheju to restore order by commanding the troops and notifying them of the dispatch of one battalion of the Constabulary in Pusan<sup>9</sup>. The reason why the U.S. military attempted to calm the situation by mobilizing military force was because the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea(UNTCOK) were alerted to the seriousness of the situation on Jeju Island.

Lieutenant Colonel M. W. Schewe, the Operation Staff of the 24th Corp, and Colonel Rothwell H. Brown, commander of the U.S. 20th Regiment go to Cheju on 27th April, 1948. Just two days later, Military Governor Major General Dean and the 6th Division Commander Major General Orlando Ward who was in charge of Cholla and Cheju Province go to Cheju Island. It was the day after the peace negotiations between the 9th Regimental Commander Kim Ik-ryul and the Cheju guerilla leader Kim Dal-sam took place. However, the peace mood rose just two days later and was broken by the Ora-ri arson attack by rightist youth groups and the Cheju National Police.

Just five days later, a suppression operation meeting was held on Cheju Island, attended by the top leaders of the U.S. military government, the U.S. military government in Cheju, the 9th Constabulary commander, and the police commander. The Ninth Constabulary Commander insisted on a peaceful resolution, but Cho Myo-ok, head chief of the National Police of U.S. Military Government in Korea called for a hard-line crackdown. The U.S. military government appointed Lt. Col. Park Jin-kyung, a hard-liner, to the post of the 9th Constabulary Commander. The U.S. military government actively encouraged South Korea to participate in the May 10 elections by mobilizing the U.S. military, Constabulary and police, and Hyangbodan(Hometown Defence Group), but Cheju failed to hold the election properly and the results in

Cheju were nullified.

The U.S. military sent Colonel Brown, an infantryman who had no experience in guerrilla warfare, to Cheju as commander. This is the time when Captain James Leach, a former tank soldier, was dispatched to Cheju Island and left a photo of him developing a combat plan with police and others.

The results of only one military operation shows that about 3,000 people were arrested and examined, and 575 people, including two women, were detained in a Cheju concentration camp and four interrogation teams were screened<sup>10</sup>. About 6,000 people were arrested by the security forces and police, the Chosun Ilbo reported about the operations around this time<sup>11</sup>.

The U.S. military was deeply involved in the massacre of tens of thousands of civilians and innocent people on the Cheju island, saying they catch those who refuse to vote for the South Korea's single general election on 10th May 1948.

The position of denying involvement in the civilian massacres in Cheju Island is that civilians have suffered only collateral damage, and that it is an accident and a mistake that occurred during the legitimate exercise of the nation's public authority, and that it will not take responsibility. However, in tracking the beginning and the development of the Cheju massacres, the U.S. military government in Korea determined the Cheju people as communists from the beginning, and set them as targets for annihilation, and launched military action to eliminate these fabricated communists in Cheju Island.

The U.S. military controlled Japan indirectly, but the U. S. directly dominated South Korea. The U.S. military government in Korea has become a direct target of occupation policy against South Koreans. In order to remove the communists from Cheju, the U.S. infantry unit, and officers and soldiers from the 20th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army's 24th Army Corps were sent directly to Cheju Island to conduct military operations<sup>12</sup>. But there was no blood on the hands of the U.S. military. Instead, US. committed blood-stained murder with the hands of the Korean military and police and para-military rightists youth group from North Korea. US was commanded, controlled, communicated, collected and analyzed informations

9) "Cheju-Do Operation," April 18, 1948, RG 338: Records of US Army Command(1942-), US Army Forces in Korea, 1945-49, Entry No. 11071, Box No. 68, NARA, Washington, D. C.

10) "Disturbances on Cheju Island," Despatch No. 199, dated July 2, 1948, from American Political Advisor Joseph Jacobs to State Department.

11) the Chosun Ilbo 「朝鮮日報」, 12nd June 1948.

12) Colonel. Brown, the commander of the U.S. military's punitive force, is presumed to have taken up the post on May 20, 1948 according to the two following documents. The Rothwell H. Brown Papers, Box 3, US Army Military History Institute, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.; Hq. USAMGIK, Major General William Dean to Major Edgar Noel, July 17, 1948.

and supported the execution of the massacre. Many studies and an official Korean government investigation confirm that President Syngman Rhee played a very important role in slaughtering civilians on Cheju Island since the beginning of his term in accordance with the directions and order of the military advisors of the U.S Army in South Korea.

The Administrative Agreement on Temporary Military Safety to be implemented in the transitional period signed between South Korean President Syngman Rhee and U.S. Forces Korea Commander, Gen. Hodge on August 24, 1948. The content consists of preface and five sections of the text. In Article 1, The USFK commander agrees to continue to organize, train and arm the Republic of Korea's defense forces within his home country's directives or within his own authority. In Article 2, USFK Commander, in case of U.S. joint security, agree to gradually and as soon as possible to hand over the responsibility of the former police, coast guard and existing defense security forces to the Republic of Korea government. Thus, the U.S. military exercised operational control over all military forces, including the South Korean military, police and coast guard, even after the end of the U.S. Military Government in Korea and the establishment of government of the Republic of Korea, and took control of all military operations.

Therefore Syng-man Rhee's government launched a punitive operation based on the military command, control, communication, intelligence(C3I) and support of the U.S. Provisional Military Advisory Group to South Korea. The 14th Regiment, which was stationed in Yeosu, was moved into the city by refusing to follow the order of killing of Cheju Island. The U.S. commander was called in to suppress the noncompliant regiment, and many people were massacred in Yeosu and Suncheon, Cholla-Do.

The President Syng-man Rhee invoked martial law in Cheju Island, in November 17, 1948 without any effective martial law. It was the second time military-controlled martial law was held in modern Korean history, through the decision of the Cabinet, even though the martial law was not even enacted. South Korean police and troops launched a scorched-earth operation under U.S. military advisory group command and supervision. As soon as the War in Korea broke out, President Rhee ordered the execution of prisoners in prison. Members of a group called the National Guidance Federation(Kookmin Bodo Yunmaeng), which was composed of people who turned left, also

were ordered for immediate execution. So far, 14,232 victims have been investigated and confirmed by the Korean government.

There are tens of thousands of people who have been branded communists and massacred for seven years and seven months, but no one confesses that I killed them. Two presidents of South Korea acknowledged and apologized for the South Korean government's fault. The U.S. president has 13 men in office over the past 73 years, but they have not said anything or taken responsibility for the wrong doings that the U.S. military committed at that time. This is Something You Should Know About US Army Force in Korea(USFK), US Army Military Government in Korea(USAMGIK), Syngman Rhee and The United States committed Commie-cide on Cheju, Cheju Massacres(1947-1954).

## Responsibility

Bruce Cumings at the April 3rd Events commemorative lecture held in Tokyo, Japan in 1998 for the first time indicates, America was directly and indirectly responsible for whole repressive measures against the Korean people during the three years after the Liberation, August 15, 1945. But Stephen W. Bosworth, the US ambassador to Seoul, referring to the April 3rd Events(not incident) for the first time as a American official, told a press conference in December 1999 that his country had no responsibility for the events.

For the first time in history, scholars and activists from South Korea and the United States gathered at Harvard University on April 25 to 26, 2003, focusing on the role and responsibility of the United States under the title of Cheju April 3rd People's Uprising and Peace in East Asia. The international conference, which began in honor of James West', a human rights lawyer, was sponsored by the Jeju April 3rd Events Research Institute(JATERI), Harvard Law School East Asian Law Association, World Association of Island Studies(WAIS), Harvard Korean Research Institute, and Peace Island Foundation.

At the conference, John Merrill, who worked as an information analyst at the U.S. Federal Government at the time, attended this meeting, and Bruce Cumings who pointed out U.S. responsibility for Cheju April 3rd Events. Many Korea studies researchers participated, including Professor Edward Baker of Harvard

University, George Katsiaticas of the Peace Island Foundation (later Professor of Wentworth Institute of Technology), and Tae-ung Baek (later Professor of Hawaii University).

As Dong-Chun Kim (Professor of Sungkonghoe University, then a visiting scholar at the University of Michigan) who also participated the conference has pointed out, there are three mass killing types of intervention methods of the United States. The first is the direct massacre in the course of war, such as the No Gun-ri incident, July, 1950 or the Atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August, 1945 and the second is the massacre that seems to have been committed by the local people, but it is a real order and slaughter as a conductor, Cheju massacres (1947-1954). Third, the Gwangju massacre, May, 1980 and the Kosovo massacre belong to the case of aiding, condoning, or aiding the massacre from the perspective of the US policy of global domination.

First, to look at Cheju Massacres (1947-1954), USAF, USAMGIK, U.S. Army and U.S. responsibilities, first and foremost, I want to distinguish between the top U.S. leader, the U.S. military leader, and the U.S. military enforcers.

The power lay in the military occupation of a part of the Korean Peninsula, declaration of a de-facto sovereign government, and rule over the Korean people by the US armed forces, which lacked essential sovereignty. The U.S. military occupied Japan, but it was a way of indirect control. However, the U.S. military took direct control of South Korea.

U.S. President Truman and Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo were in command of General Hodge of South Korea. General Hodge also wielded very powerful authority to issue orders as commander-in-chief of the U.S. Army's 24th Army and USAMGIK.

In July 1952, retired soldiers and their families, demanding bonus payments, went up to Washington D.C. en masse to stage a peace demonstration. MacArthur declared that this collective action was instigation of the communists and pushed hard. MacArthur demonstrated his position as an anti-Communist in this process.

In a joint address to Congress on 12nd March 1947, President Truman declared that he would support only countries that do not support communism. This declaration meant that the U.S. government was turning to anti-communist diplomacy. They could not accept the expansion of the Soviet Union, the southward movement to the South Korea at all.

Second, I will write down those who should be noted in the course of executing orders from the top U.S. commanders. Military Governor, Dean, Lieutenant Major M. W. Schewe, the 24th Corps Operation Directorate, Colonel Rothwell H. Brown, Commander of the 20th Infantry Regiment, and Brigadier General William L. Roberts, head of the Provisional Military Advisory Group played a very important role as leader of the U.S. Army in planning, directing, ordering, and enforcing the tactics and strategies of hard-line punitive operations by the army and police that led to the Cheju massacres (1947-1954).

Jo Byeong-ok, Chief of the National Police Agency, USAMGIK, Lieutenant Colonel Park Jin-gyeong, 9th Constabulary Commander, the Korea Constabulary, Lieutenant Colonel Choi Gyeong-rok and Major Song Yo-chan, Commander and Deputy Commander of the 11th Regiment played a leading role in slaughtering of Cheju residents, faithfully and sincerely accepting non-regular warfare strategies, tactics and operational plans developed by the U.S. military in Mt. Halla and the mountainous area using the military map provided by the U.S. military.

Cho Byeong-ok began to regard Cheju Island people as red or leftist when the Gwandeokjeong massacre took place on March 1, 1947. As soon as the general strike of a joint civilian-government alliance against the Gwandeokjeong massacre broke out, he concluded that leftists were behind all these protests and did not hesitate to make remarks and actions that antagonized the people of Cheju Island. He worked with the socialists until the anti-Japanese independence movement under the Japanese occupation. But after studying in the United States, Jo didn't get along well with socialists.

The 11th Regiment, led by Park, carried out suppression operations throughout the Cheju Island. The results of the operation are written as follows by the U.S. military report.

"The 11th Regiment arrested about 4,000 people during six weeks of operation and sent about 500 to prison. Among soldier of the Korea Constabulary, three were killed and two were injured during the operation."<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, there were mountaineers (入山者), who went into the mountains. Those who went to the mountains included not only guerrillas, sympathizers and supporters, but also those who left their hometowns

13) Weekly Summary, No. 27, July 2, 1948, RG-9: Radiograms (Messages), 24th Corps, Jan-Aug 1948, reel 274. in The Jeju April 3rd Incident Investigation Report. pp. 277-278.

and villages because they could not withstand the violence, oppression and pressure of the military and police, which were under orders and support from the U.S. military government.

I don't agree with the investigation report's claim that the April 3rd uprising people are called "armed forces." Fewer than 10 percent of these armed forces, including the People's guerilla(人民遊擊隊), the Self-Defense Forces(自衛隊) and the Special Forces(特警隊), and others were armed. Estimates of the U.S. military or South Korean military, and some researchers' conclusions, are highly exaggerated.

As soon as the government's investigation report came out, I prepared and presented an assessment forum with jurists in the hall of Human Rights Commission of ROK, on October, 2003. Here I argued that the "armed resistance group. 武裝隊" mentioned in the investigation report should be expressed differently as "resistance group stationed in the mountains, 在山部隊". This is because Cheju guerrillas were far less armed compared to the U.S. military, the Korea Constabulary and the National Police at the time<sup>14</sup>.

I also made the same argument at a forum held at the National Assembly on June 29, 2020 to "revision the Special Act on the Investigation of Jeju 3rd April Events and the Restoration of Victims' Honor."<sup>15</sup>

"According to the Investigation, those who participated in the devastating uprising were not the size of military weapons, equipment, or armed systems that they should have as "armed resistance group." They had no cannon, no machine guns, no fighter jets, no reconnaissance planes, no tanks, no armored vehicles, no military jeeps or trucks, no aircraft carriers or destroyers, no cruisers or battleships. At the time of the uprising in April, they declared themselves to be armed forces, rather than defining it as a "military force," with only 10 Japanese 99 and 38 type rifles, they were found to be nothing more than a "mountain entry fraction, 入山派," a "mountainous group, 在山集團" or "mountain people" or a "field group, Yasandae, 野山隊" or simply a small group of armed forces."

My idea is that the then U.S. president, the federal

government, and political and military leaders of the U.S. military had fallen into the extreme anti-communist doctrine. On March 1, 1947, Gwandeokjeong massacre took place in Cheju Island, The U.S. military said it did not abolish fundamental measures to protest the brutality of the police, but instigated the left. When the uprising broke out in Cheju on 3rd April 1948, the U.S. military government regarded it as a mere "disturbance" case. They were very sensitive about the nationwide campaign against the 10th May 1948 general election. Defining the people of Cheju Island as communists, the U.S. military government systematically and deliberately repeatedly intervened in the massacre. The United States committed commiecide in Cheju-Do. It was a violation of the values and spirit of the U.S. Constitution and became involved in crimes that violated universal human rights norms and international human rights laws.

## Reparations

On 27th March 2014, Jeong Moon-hyun, chairman of the Jeju April 3rd Events Victims Bereaved Families Association, for the first time in the history of claiming reparations, together with chairman of the WAIS, Chang-hoon Ko, Yang Dong-yoon, president of the Jeju Islanders Solidarity for April 3rd Events, and Hur Sang-soo, chairman of the Social Healing through Justice Committee of WAIS and Yoo Chul-in, the Director of the JATERI, signed the "Petition for a Joint South Korea and United States Jeju April 3rd Events(not Incident) Task Force to further implement Recommendations and Foster Comprehensive and Enduring Social Heal through Justice".

The U.S. and ROK governments evaluated the work that the ROK government has pursued so far to jointly resolve the issue of the Cheju massacres(1947-1954), and formed a joint task force or committee to end this unfinished project, noting that there are still many issues. The signing work has begun to make a petition to do so. Professor Eric Yamamoto of the University of Hawaii proposed a new direction of social healing through justice to resolve the Cheju massacres. With the participation of Professors. Kunihiro Yoshida of Hokkai University in Japan and Ko, JNU and WAIS in South Korea, the social healing through justice approaches was evaluated as the royal road to the realization of the transitional justice for the Cheju

14) Truth of Politicide of April 3rd, 1948 in Cheju Island and Performances and Limits of Government Paper on the Incident's. Korea Social Science Institute Trends and Perspectives. No. 61. pp. 176-228.

15) The forum entitled "The revision the Special Act on the Investigation of Jeju April 3 Incident and the Restoration of Victims' Honor." was co-hosted by the policy committee of ruling Democratic Party and lawmakers Oh Young-hoon, Wi Sung-gon and Song Jae-ho who proposed the revision bill and the Jeju Victims' Bereaved Families' Association on April 3.

Massacres(1947–1954).

On 17th January 2019, the Jeju District Court revisited trials done by the military court between December 1948 and June 1949, and was released after serving, and was necessary to exercise the right to a fair trial on Eighteen people who survived until then. A retrial decision was made to dismiss the prosecution on the grounds that the proper procedure were not confirmed. In fact, these 18 petitioners for retrial were found not guilty, but with a very unusual and historical judgments with the same meaning. These 18 people received criminal compensation and are claiming reparations.

### Reconstruction

In April 2019, civilians in the U.S. and South Korea proposed for the first time a victims bereaved families welfare project calling for construction of an apartment complex for the surviving families of the affected villages to rebuild the community destroyed by the Cheju massacres(1947–1954). However, time, people and conference roundtables are still needed to discuss concretely the formation of the main body for the construction of this apartment, fundraising, securing of financial resources, and construction plans.

### Closing Remark

As I finish this paper, I would like to present new approaches for social healing through justice of Cheju massacres(1947–1954) between U.S and ROK in due course, in the future.

The following are new approaches to social healing through justice on the Cheju massacres(1947–1954) in the United States that I hope, urge and expect. First is a joint investigation by the ROK and USA governments on the Cheju massacres that took place between March 1st, 1947 and September 21st, 1954. The U.S.A. government and the ROK government jointly conduct a fact-finding investigation on the Cheju massacres (1947–1954). The Korea-US Joint Investigation Commission or Task Force in the near future should look into those who on Jeju Island were apprehended without any arrest warrant, locked in prison, and tortured. By slaughtering innocent people without a lawful trial, we must jointly investigate how they were taken away, the noble right to life and

physical freedom that the people of the island had.

Second, the U.S. Congress(Senate and House of Representatives), with the commencement of joint truth-finding work with the ROK and U.S. governments, to investigate this grand tragedy based on the fact that the U.S. Army occupied, commanded, controlled, ordered, directed and supported all military operations in areas south of 38 degrees north latitude during the three years of U.S. Military Government in Korea(September 1945–August 1948) and the timing of withdrawal of U.S. forces (September 1948–June 1949) not only during the war in South Korea (June 1950–July 1953) but also during the entire period of the Cheju Massacres(March 1, 1947–September 1954), legislation should be enacted to settle in the direction of social healing through justice.

Third, during the U.S. Military Government in Korea and when the U.S. military directly occupied and fully enforcing military operational control in South Korea, if there was any responsibility for the Cheju Massacres(1947–1954) on Cheju Island, it should be acknowledged immediately and the responsibility for reparations must be fulfilled.

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