

General Shin Hyun-joon, Father of the Marine Corps

James F. Durand
International Council on Korean Studies

Abstract

Founder and first Commandant Shin Hyun-joon led the Republic of Korea Marine Corps longer than any other officer. Created without American advisors or equipment, the Navy's amphibious unit initially reflected his long association with the customs and practices of the Imperial Japanese Army and lessons learned on battlefields across Manchuria and China. Shin's path to the Corps' top position also included service with the Korean Coast Guard and Republic of Korea Navy. He led Marines in counter guerrilla operations on Cheju Island, during the Incheon-Seoul campaign, and in fighting along the east coast. As commandant, Shin transformed the rapidly expanding Corps, forging a relationship with the United States Marine Corps and instituting training and education practices modeled on the American system. He remained in uniform after serving as commandant, commanding the 1st Marine Brigade, advising the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Minister of National Defense, and forming the Marine Education Base. Avowedly apolitical, he was nonetheless close to the leaders of South Korea's first three republics: respected by Syngman Rhee, beloved by Chang Myon, and esteemed and subsequently feared by Park Chung-hee. Shin is not only South Korea's longest serving general officer, but the nation's longest serving ambassador. Drawn from the memoirs of General Shin and his contemporaries, this essay provides insight into the relationships between the "Father of the Marine Corps" and the Republic of Korea's early leaders in the establishment and evolution of this elite military service.

Keywords: Shin Hyun-joon, Kim Seok-beom, Kim Dae-shik, Kim Seung-un, Kim Dong-ha, Kim Yoon-geun, Park Chung-hee, Syngman Rhee, Chang Myon, Manchuria, Imperial Japanese Army, Imperial Manchurian Army, Fengtian Military School, Gando Special Unit, Korean Restoration Army, Korean Coast Guard, Republic of Korea Navy, Republic of Korea Marine Corps, Cheju Rebellion, Incheon Landing, 5.16 Coup d'état, Yushin Constitution, Roman Catholic Church

Introduction

The Republic of Korea (ROK) Marine Corps is among the world's elite military forces. The Korean Marines' reputation for hard training and fierce fighting began in the earliest days of the Korean War. Presidents and reporters have acclaimed their daring and bravery. The phrases "Ghost-Catching Marines," "Invincible Marines" and "Myth-Making Marines" remain in use today.

As the unexpected catalyst for Park Chung-hee's coup d'état, the ROK Marines became inextricably linked to a government that laid the foundation for Korea's economic miracle and shifted the balance of power in Northeast Asia. Political support and success on Vietnam's battlefields ushered in the "Golden Age of the Marine Corps" in the 1960's. This period would prove to be short lived as the Army, Navy, and increasingly President Park began to fear the Corps' rising power and popularity. In October 1973—with no public discussion or input from the Marine Corps—the government disestablished the Corps' headquarters, demoted the commandant, and integrated its units and functions into the ROK Navy.

No other individual had greater influence on the ROK Marine Corps than Shin Hyun-joon, its founder and first Commandant. The son of an impoverished migrant farmer in Manchuria, Shin ultimately became South Korea's longest serving general officer and ambassador. Serving in the Imperial Japanese Army and the Imperial Manchurian Army, Shin fought Communist guerillas and Nationalist Chinese soldiers in Manchuria and China. He founded the Marine Corps, led operations to restore stability and trust on Cheju Island, and commanded Korean Marines during the Incheon Landing. He led the Marines throughout the war, declined the opportunity to take the Navy's top position, and voluntarily stepped down as commandant in October 1953. Shin continued to serve in uniform for another eight years, establishing new commands to improve combat capabilities, training, and education.

General Shin was close to leaders of the ROK's first three republics. Syngman Rhee trusted Shin and respected the Corps' combat record. Chang Myon was Shin's Godfather when he joined the Catholic Church. Park Chung-hee served under Shin in Manchuria and China, revering him as an elder brother, then fearing Shin's influence as the "Father of the Marine Corps."¹ As head of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction, Park sent Shin to study in the United States. As president, Park appointed his former battalion commander to three diplomatic posts.

When Shin resigned following Park's assassination, he had served 14 years as an ambassador, a record that remains unmatched.

This essay draws upon General Shin's autobiography, *Reminiscences of an Old Marine*, along with General Kim Seok-beom's unpublished memoir, *Manchurian Army Annals*, and General Kim Yoon-geun's account of Park's coup d'état, *The Marine Corps and May 16th*. Kim Seok-beom was Shin's military school classmate and succeeded him as commandant; Kim Yoon-geun commanded the 1st Marine Brigade during the coup. These candid accounts provide insight into the "Father of the Marine Corps," as well as the individuals, institutions, relationships, and rivalries that forged this elite fighting force.

Manchuria: Student and Soldier

Shin Hyun-joon was born on October 23, 1915, in Gunung, North Gyeongsan Province. His grandfather was a respected classical Chinese scholar. Under Korea's class system of scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants, both son and grandson would have remained in the scholar class. However, the social and economic changes that accompanied Japan's occupation and subsequent colonization of the Korean peninsula relegated Shin's father to farming.

Seeking a better life for his family, Shin's father moved the family to Manchuria in the wake of the March 1, 1919 Movement and worsening conditions for Korea's impoverished farmers. They settled near Harbin, with Shin's father eking out an existence as a wet-rice farmer. Koreans faced the same hardships in Manchuria as they had in their homeland, compounded by an uncertain security situation and distrust by the Russians, Poles, Chinese, and Japanese who resided in the cosmopolitan city.

Shin's father insisted that his son receive the formal education he had been denied. He enrolled the eight-year old boy in a Japanese-language boarding school operated by a private charity. At the beginning of each term, Shin's father would hoist a sack of rice to his shoulders and accompany his son on the day long walk to the school. Arriving at the school, he presented the rice—which constituted a good portion of his annual harvest—to school officials to express his gratitude for educating his son. Shin later attended the Harbin Normal School where he quickly became fluent in Chinese.² Under his father's tutelage, he spent countless hours writing characters, and developed a deep interest in Chinese history and culture.³

Shin left school and abject poverty to join the Imperial Japanese Army following the invasion of Manchuria. Like most young men at the time, he aspired to wear an army officer's sword. The military also provided opportunities for education and advancement that were largely unavailable elsewhere in society. Shin's decision to join coincided with the Kwangtung Army's expansion to fill both the security and administrative roles in the new state. Because of his language skills—Shin spoke Chinese and Japanese without the trace of an accent—he was assigned as an interpreter with the 14th Division. Officers recognized his talent and transferred him to the Fifth Army's Liaison Group in early 1934.

Fengtian Military School

While serving there, he applied for admission to the newly established Fengtian Military School. Formerly one of several regional academies operated by warlords across the Northeastern Provinces, the school was now the focus of the Kwangtung Army's efforts to train officers. The Fengtian Military School was part of the Army Central Training School, an integrated training organization that also trained noncommissioned officers and enlisted soldiers, as well as provided specialized branch education in communications, finance, and military police.⁴

Shin requested and received a transfer to the 34th Infantry Regiment to gain practical experience and increase his chances for admission to the Fengtian Military School. Competition was fierce as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean candidates competed for limited openings. The school trained Japanese and “Manchurian” cadets in separate classes.⁵ The first Koreans were admitted with the fourth “Manchurian” class, competing against the Chinese candidates for admission.⁶

In October 1936, Shin Hyun-joon was among the 350 cadets admitted to the 5th “Manchurian” Class of the Fengtian Military School.⁷ Each of the Korean cadets was assigned to one of five companies that were otherwise composed of Chinese cadets. The curriculum was similar to the two-year course at the Japanese Military Preparatory Academy, but modified to reflect the cadets' different backgrounds and languages. Shin's studies were condensed into a one-year course due to the pressing need for commissioned officers. The curriculum included mathematics, history, economics, Chinese and Japanese. Military training included close-order drill, marksmanship, swordsmanship, and horsemanship. Bayonet training was done on the parade ground early each morning.⁸

Shin graduated from the 5th “Manchurian” Class of the Fengtian Military School in September 1937. The 18 Koreans in this class would prove to be a remarkable group. They would play critical roles in establishing the Korean Armed Forces and serve as combat leaders throughout the Korean War. The graduates would ultimately include many general officers, a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, an Army Chief of Staff, two Marine Corps Commandants, and a Prime Minister.⁹

Regimental Attachment Duty

Similar to the Japanese Military Academy, all graduates from the Fengtian Military School served a six-month probationary period within a regiment. Although treated as officers, they held the rank of sergeant major. Apprentice officers who successfully completed their probationary period received commissions as second lieutenants.

On October 1, 1937, Shin reported to the 35th Infantry Regiment, a predominantly Chinese unit in the Imperial Manchurian Army. He was assigned to a regimental mortar company. Like other new officers, Shin spent his days learning about how the company’s 120 soldiers employed the four 4.2” mortars to provide fire support to the regiment. Nights were spent trying to stop the gambling organized by the unit’s middle-aged non-commissioned officers, whom Shin regarded as idle and lacking a fighting spirit.¹⁰

As a Korean officer in a Manchurian regiment, Shin believed few of his soldiers felt any connection to the newly created state, emperor, or army. During suppression operations along the border with China, his soldiers came across propaganda materials created by units of the 8th Route Army. Communist propaganda stressed there was no difference between the Han and Manchu soldiers, and encouraged those serving in Manchurian units to defect and join the anti-Japanese struggle. Morale was low, and Shin spent considerable time trying to root out the Communist agitators who had infiltrated the company. The regimental commander recognized Shin’s efforts, and recommended he attend the advanced course. After six months, Shin was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Imperial Manchurian Army.¹¹

Figure 1: Manchuria and Northern Korea



Gando Special Unit

On December 1, 1938, Second Lieutenant Shin Hyun-joon was ordered to report to the 6th Military District, for potential service in a new unit designed to respond to growing anti-guerilla activity among the Koreans in the Gando Region. At the time, nearly 820,000 Koreans lived in Manchuria, with over 460,000 concentrated in the four counties in Jilin Province that made up the Gando Region. Although the Military Administration Bureau had organized several companies of Koreans to monitor the Manchuria's eastern borders, the new unit was envisioned as a counter-guerilla unit that would actively target Communists and others opposing Japanese rule within the Korean communities.¹² The Gando Special Unit was one of four units established by Japanese military authorities to counter specific groups opposing Japanese rule in Manchuria. There were also security units composed of Russians, Muslims, and Mongolians. Japanese officers commanded each of the units and Japanese was the unit's official language.

The Gando Special Unit's subordinate officers, to include medical and logistics officers, were drawn from Koreans serving in units across the

Imperial Manchurian Army. Noncommissioned officers were transferred from the border-monitoring unit, including Master Sergeant Kim Dae-shik, who would ultimately serve as the third Commandant. Once the cadre of officers and noncommissioned officers was formed, influential Korean leaders across the region recommended young men for service with the new unit. Cadre members required all new members to pass a physical examination and oral interview.¹³

The Gando Special Unit was activated on December 13, 1938¹⁴ The unit was a small battalion, composed of 360 soldiers organized into a headquarters, two infantry companies, and a weapons company with two machine gun platoons and one 80 mm mortar platoon.¹⁵

Second Lieutenant Shin began training the first class of recruits at the headquarters at Mingyue. Initial training focused on marksmanship, bayonet drills, and small unit tactics; much of the training was conducted at night. Discipline was absolute. The first class completed training in May 1939. The Gando Special Unit performed well in marksmanship and military skills contests organized by the 6th Military District, frequently advancing to national-level competitions. Their rivalries—both with conventional and ethnic units—drove the Koreans to outperform others. It was highly regarded within the Imperial Manchurian Army.¹⁶ Reflecting their confidence in the Gando Special Unit, the Military Administration Bureau disestablished the border units in 1939 and transferred responsibility for monitoring the border to the Japanese police.¹⁷

Lieutenant Shin spent nearly two years leading patrols and anti-guerrilla operations with the Gando Special Unit. In July 1940, Kim Dong-ha received orders to the unit after graduating with the 1st Class of the newly established Manchurian Military Academy. He joined founding members Shin Hyun-joon and Kim Dae-shik, who had been promoted to First Lieutenant and Warrant Officer, respectively. First Lieutenant Kim Seok-beom reported to the unit after returning from two years of study at the Japanese Military Academy. He would ultimately serve as the Gando Special Unit's Executive Officer, becoming the highest-ranking Korean to serve in the unit.

Marriage

In the fall of 1940, First Lieutenant Shin returned to Mingyue. Now 26, he began to contemplate marriage. Shin sought out his former teacher from the Harbin Normal School, who served as an unofficial matchmaker among the Koreans living in Manchuria. As in Korea, the marriage broker

was responsible for examining a family's background and economic status; love and compatibility were secondary concerns. Shin was introduced to Ham Hae-ryong, who was seven years his junior. Before he could propose, Shin needed the approval of not only Hae-ryong's father, but also his own parents.

Shin's parents, particularly his mother, opposed the marriage on the long-standing belief that persons from the Gyeongsan Province were incompatible with those from Hamgyeong Province. Because Shin was the only son in the family, his mother insisted that her daughter-in-law—who would be responsible for running the house and taking care of her in-laws—come from the family's hometown in the south. It didn't matter that Hae-ryong had been born and raised in Gando; the provincial beliefs, stereotypes, and suspicions that had existed in Korea for centuries followed the migrants to Manchuria.

Shin nonetheless persisted, arguing that provincial origins were less important than the couple's compatibility and determination to take care of his parents. Knowing his determination to marry Hae-ryong, Shin's parents consulted a fortune-teller, who informed them that the couple was a perfect match. They were engaged in September 1940.

Shin returned to the Gando Special Unit, balancing his duty to train new soldiers with the need to prepare for marriage. However, he heard a rumor that Hae-ryong's father was planning to break the engagement. Shin immediately took an express train to Harbin and asked her father why he objected to the marriage. This meeting left such an impression that Shin was able to recount the elder man's words when he penned his own memoirs 40 years later (it is the longest quote in his book). Shin's father-in-law reiterated the importance of one's hometown, stating that his hometown was his family's hometown. Again, he noted the incompatibility between people from Gyeongsan and Hamgyeong Province. Additionally, Hae-ryong's father feared that Shin's mother would not welcome a city girl who had received a "new style" education at a Japanese Girls' School.¹⁸

As he had with his own parents, Shin asked his Hae-ryong's father to trust him. Not only did he promise to take care of Hae-ryong, Shin assured his future father-in-law the "marriage would be good for all involved." Seeing Shin's sincerity and determination, Hae-ryong's father not only blessed the marriage, but asked him to hurry the wedding ceremony.¹⁹ Shin Hyun-joon and Ham Hae-ryong were married on January 25, 1941.

Military Instructor and Return to the Gando Special Unit

Shortly thereafter, Shin transferred to Hunchun Agricultural High School, where he served as an advisor to the Student Defense Corps. High school and college students were required to complete military training as part of a general mobilization plan established by Japanese authorities. In the event of hostilities, the students would be integrated into the regional defense plans. Shin provided the students with basic tactical instruction, which they would use as future soldiers or farmers.²⁰

In April 1943, First Lieutenant Shin Hyun-joon completed his assignment at the Hunchun Agricultural High School. He returned to the Gando Special Unit, where he was assigned to the motorized mortar section. Shin worked closely with Second Lieutenant Paik Son-yop, who joined the Gando Special Unit after graduating with the 9th and final class of the Fengtian Military School.²¹

After three months of duty, he received a pass to visit his wife and infant son, Yoojang. While there, his wife suggested they visit the Catholic Church their maid attended each week. The following Sunday, Shin and his wife attended Mass for the first time. The priest, a Benedictine from Germany, upbraided Shin for his casual dress. Although he was taken aback—no one spoke to military officers that way—Shin was nonetheless curious about the priest and the faith that gave him such authority.²² It was an inauspicious beginning for a man who would later convert to the religion under the sponsorship of Korea's most prominent Catholic family and ultimately serve as ambassador to the Holy See.

Shin Hyun-joon was promoted to captain in March 1944. He received orders to report to the 8th Infantry Division, which was also stationed in Rehe Province. Shin received special leave and returned to Harbin where his wife and two sons lived with his parents. The two weeks at home were difficult, with the uncertainties that are a part of military service compounded by widespread rumors that Japan was losing the war. Shin's father, who was normally kind and generous, was reserved. The elderly man took his son to the Songhua River. Sensing this might be the last meeting with his son, he requested Shin bury him at a spot along the river the locals knew as Sandy Hill.²³

8th Infantry Division: Company Command and First Lieutenant Park Chung-hee

Captain Shin reported to the 8th Infantry Division's headquarters in Rehe Province on August 1, 1944. First Lieutenant Park Chung-hee, who

was serving as regimental adjutant, called Shin to welcome him to the regiment. Like Shin, Park was among the small number of officers who came from North Gyeongsan Province and spoke with a Gyeongsan accent. Most Korean officers in the Imperial Manchurian Army came from the two provinces that bordered Manchuria, Pyongan and Hamgyeong Provinces.²⁴ Although Chinese was the official language of the 8th Division, Shin welcomed the chance to speak to Park in Korean.²⁵

Shin met with Colonel Tang Ji-rong, who assigned him to the 2nd Battalion's 6th Company. After the meeting, Park warned Shin about the situation in his new command. Park had commanded a platoon in the 6th Company before becoming the adjutant and was familiar with the unit's problems. The previous company commander failed to perform his mission and caused trouble with the local residents. He was smoking opium and having an affair with the hostess at a local restaurant when he was killed in a surprise attack. The soldiers' morale was low and confidence in their leaders was nonexistent.²⁶

Shortly thereafter, Shin led the 6th Company south to Shimenzhen, a small village in Hebei Province. The 2nd Battalion, reinforced with the 2nd Machine Gun Company, operated with a Japanese Military Police unit against the Chinese Communists. Following intelligence reports that 100 Communist soldiers had infiltrated the village, Shin's company was ordered to attack the village on September 8. Enemy soldiers ambushed the 6th Company as it closed to within 300 meters of the village. A second Chinese unit—whose men wore captured Japanese uniforms and waving the Hinomaru—joined the attack. Under attack from two directions, Shin's soldiers returned fire with a light machine gun. When the gun jammed, the unit withdrew under the cover of a grenade launcher.

The battle proved to be the most difficult period during his company command.²⁷ Captain Shin reported that five of his soldiers were killed in the battle, erroneously believing that two missing soldiers had perished in the fighting. When stretcher bearers carried the two injured soldiers to the company the following day, Major Liu, the 6th Battalion Commander, opened an investigation into Captain Shin's actions and false report. In the end, Major Liu lightly reprimanded Captain Shin, closing the case with no further action.²⁸

Surrender and Separation

On August 9, 1945, Shin received news of the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. Colonel Tang ordered all units to assemble at Duolun, where

the 8th Division would fight the Soviets on the grasslands and deserts of Inner Mongolia. Shin's 6th Battalion began marching the following day, but their travel was slowed by the summer monsoons that washed out all the roads. The exhausted soldiers arrived in Duolun on August 17. At 11 that morning, they learned that Emperor Hirohito had accepted the allies' demands. Flags of the Empire of Manchuria had disappeared, replaced by those of the Republic of China.²⁹

With Japan's unconditional surrender, the Chinese soldiers in the Manchurian Army were suddenly free from the Japanese officers, whom they regarded as invaders and overlords. Rumors swirled of Chinese soldiers murdering Japanese officers throughout the region. However, Colonel Tang ordered his soldiers not to harm any Japanese officers. The 13 Japanese officers serving with the 8th Division were assigned bodyguards until they could be safely transferred to the nearby "Kato Unit."³⁰ Tang also promised the Korean officers that they would be treated well. Captain Shin and the other Korean officers remained with the division.³¹

Ham Hae-ryong arrived at her father-in-law's house on October 22, 1945. Soviet, Nationalist Chinese, and Chinese Communist soldiers now occupied Harbin. Shin's father had no information on his son's status, and believed the Red Army had taken him prisoner. The family waited in agony. Shin's father ordered his daughter-in-law to return to her father's hometown in North Hamgyeong Province, while he and his wife elected to remain and wait for Shin to return. Hae-ryong left for Harbin Station with her two children, three-year-old Ong-mok and two-year-old Woo.³²

There were no passenger trains at the station. Soviet occupation officials loaded over 3000 refugees into boxcars and cattle cars that were attached to a freight train transporting gasoline to Hoeryong. The journey of a week extended into two, as the train stopped in Jilin. Red Army soldiers on the train preyed upon the returnees, stealing watches, fountain pens, and other meager possessions the returnees had attempted to take from their lives in Manchuria. Bitter cold and limited food made the wait worse.³³

The Soviet soldiers were far worse than the cold and hunger. Anonymity was the only defense against the soldiers' savagery. Young women covered their faces in soot and their bodies with sewage to make themselves less appealing to their tormentors. Mothers spent nerve-racking nights attempting to keep their children quiet to avoid provoking the anger that frequently preceded the assaults. Although the old attempted

to protect the young, Red Army soldiers continued to attack the girls and young mothers among the returnees. The perilous journey continued until November 4, when Hae-ryong and her young sons finally arrived in Hoeryong.³⁴

Korean Restoration Army

Unbeknownst to Hae-ryong, her husband was very much alive. Shin remained with the 8th Division in the days following Japan's surrender. First Lieutenants Park Chung-hee and Lee Choo-il sought Shin's advice. Although the 8th Division was being re-equipped and preparing to move, they questioned the role of the Korean officers in the Chinese unit. Remaining with the division offered a measure of safety amidst a deteriorating security environment. Despite the desire to reunite with his wife in Fengtian and parents in Harbin, Shin believed the journey too perilous to undertake at the time. The Soviet soldiers didn't distinguish between former Japanese and the Koreans who fought alongside the Japanese in Manchuria. If captured, both groups were sent to prison camps in Siberia.³⁵ The three officers opted to travel to Beijing, where Koreans who had served in the Imperial Japanese and Manchurian Armies were assembling. After meeting with the division commander on September 19, the officers left for Beijing.³⁶

Shortly after arriving in Beijing, Shin, Lee, and Park joined the Korean Restoration Army. Then headquartered in Chongqing, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea established the Korean Restoration Army on September 17, 1941. Despite manpower shortages, the army expanded to nearly 1000 men by war's end. The Korean Restoration Army operated under the Chinese National Revolutionary Army, supporting operations in Southeast Asia. Most notably, the Koreans fought alongside the British Army in Burma and India.

The Korean Restoration Army grew rapidly due to the influx of former soldiers from the Imperial Japanese, Imperial Manchurian, and Nationalist Chinese Armies. Choi Yong-deok, who had served as a major general in the Nationalist Chinese Army and would later head the ROK Air Force, led efforts to organize the Korean Restoration Army in Beijing in September 1945. He tasked Shin with forming a battalion. Shin gave Park Chung-hee command of the battalion's second company, with the first company assigned to Lee Choo-il, who was one year senior to Park. The Pyungjin Unit was named for Beijing and Tianjin, the cities from where most soldiers were drawn.³⁷

The Pyungjin Unit reflected both the dreams and frustrations of Korean soldiers following liberation. Korean Restoration Army leaders hoped to recruit and train 10,000 men to return to serve in an independent Korea. However, while there were many experienced Korean officers and soldiers in China, there was little support for the Korean Restoration Army in Seoul. Shin recruited over 200 Koreans for service in the Pyungjin Unit, but spent much of his time trying to feed and pay his soldiers. Although the Chinese military permitted training on the grounds surrounding an abandoned paper factory that was formerly owned by a Korean, Shin's battalion came under machine gun fire during a training exercise in December.³⁸

In April 1946, Shin led the Pyungjin Battalion on its return to Korea. However, the United States Military Government in Korea refused to recognize the Korean Provisional Government. When it became apparent that the Korean Restoration Army would not be allowed a role in a new government, Shin dissolved his battalion. Accompanied by Park, Shin began his journey home.

Korea: Commander and Commandant

Shin Hyun-joon and Park Chung-hee arrived at the port Pusan on May 10, 1946. The two men had grown close through their service with the 8th Division and Korean Restoration Army. Difficult missions in arduous terrain and their minority status within the army reinforced the common bonds of language, culture, and home province. Park respectfully referred to Shin, who was two years older than Park, as "elder brother." At times, Park jokingly called his senior "Confucius," acknowledging Shin's encyclopedic grasp of Chinese characters and deep appreciation for Chinese history and culture.³⁹ After nearly two years of soldiering alongside one another, Shin and Park parted company and returned to their hometowns in North Gyeongsan Province.

Shin arrived in Gunung and found his mother, whom he had last seen in July 1944. Believing Shin was in China, his parents had remained in Harbin, desperately waiting for news of their son. The lack of news was made worse by stories of atrocities committed against Japanese military officers and those loyal to them. Shin's father's health deteriorated quickly, and he passed away in January 1946. Shin's friends fulfilled his promise, burying the 62 year-old man along the Songuha River. His mother returned to Korea alone.⁴⁰

Shin sent word through a soldier traveling to Hoeryong that he had survived the war and had returned to his parents' hometown. Hae-ryong's father was upset that his son-in-law didn't travel to get his family, and forbade his daughter to leave. In spite of this, she departed Hoeryong on June 17 with Ong-mok; Woo had died of pneumonia in April. Arriving in southern Korea a week later, she told Shin of the family's return to her birthplace, where she went to the train station each day in hopes of seeing her husband return from China.⁴¹

Korean Coast Guard

After settling his family with relatives, Shin sought to find the men he served alongside in Manchuria. He traveled to Seoul and met Chung Il-kwon, who, along with Paik Son-yop, had obtained the first commissions in the Korean Constabulary.⁴² Chung briefly had been a Soviet prisoner before returning to Korea and graduating with the first class of the Military English Language School, the forerunner of the Korean Military Academy. Now a company commander in the 1st Constabulary Regiment, Chung suggested that Shin contact their classmate, Kim Seok-beom, who was serving with the Korean Coast Guard in Chinhae, as there were no vacancies in the constabulary.⁴³

Shin secured a meeting with Son Won-il, Chief of the Coast Guard.⁴⁴ Son, then a lieutenant commander, was impressed by Shin's experience but unable to offer him a commission at that time. Instead, Shin was made a provisional officer and charged with training warrant and petty officers. The Personnel Chief, Ensign Kim Dae-shik, who served with Shin in the Gando Special Unit, welcomed his former commander aboard and made arrangements for his new assignment.⁴⁵

In early July, Shin began service with the Korean Coast Guard. He oversaw four instructors responsible for training 40 warrant and petty officer candidates in a three-week course, including Ensign Kim Seung-un.⁴⁶ Seven years younger than Shin, Kim had immigrated to Manchuria with his family as a child. He studied at Harbin Agricultural College and joined the Manchurian Student Defense Corps, where he received the same type of training Shin oversaw at Hunchun. In addition to supervising training, Shin led the Coast Guard's participation in the week-long ceremonies marking the first anniversary of Korea's liberation from colonial rule. On August 15, 1946, Shin received a temporary commission as a lieutenant junior grade.⁴⁷

After successfully training six classes of warrant and petty officers, Shin was assigned as commander of Incheon Coast Guard Base in November. He was reunited with Kim Dong-ha, who now served as operations officer. In addition to being responsible for defending the port facilities at Incheon, Shin supported the defense of Paengyoung Island. He was promoted to lieutenant on March 1, 1947.⁴⁸

Shin assumed command of the Pusan Coast Guard Base on September 1, 1947, advancing to lieutenant commander on the same day. The following May, he was promoted to commander and reassigned as the chief of staff of the Chinhae Coast Guard Base. Although the Coast Guard Headquarters was relocated to Seoul, the base still oversaw training, logistics, and key repair facilities.

On August 15, 1948, three years after the nation had been liberated from Japanese rule, President Rhee proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Korea. In the following months, the Constabulary became the ROK Army and the Coast Guard became the ROK Navy. Shin was appointed commander of the Navy Defense Unit at Chinhae.⁴⁹

Yosu Rebellion

The establishment of the new Republic did little to stop the internal conflict in the south. On the evening of October 19, Communists within the ROK Army's 14th Regiment mutinied after receiving orders to embark for Cheju Island. The Yosu-based regiment was to support the government's counter-guerilla operations. The mutineers killed over 30 officers, broke into the regimental armory, and distributed weapons to the 800 soldiers sympathetic to their cause. Joined by villagers across the Cholla Provinces, the rebels advanced toward Kwangju and Chonju before loyalist government forces stopped their advance.⁵⁰

The government formed a task force of Kwangju-based army regiments that forced the rebels to withdraw to Yosu. After repeated attempts to seize the ridgeline surrounding the city failed, the task force commander planned an assault from the sea to support his attack. Soldiers embarked on a ROK Navy tank landing ship (LST) in Pusan. The commander rejected advice from American Army officers assigned to the Korea Military Assistance Group to cancel the mission.⁵¹

On October 23, the LST and four Navy cutters advanced toward Yosu's shore. Rebels quickly pinned down the soldiers as they disembarked. Lacking communications and fire support, the attackers' response was limited to uncoordinated small arms fire.⁵² Unable to move

inland, they were soon forced to withdraw. Absent the threat from the sea, the emboldened rebels again turned back the assault on the ridgeline. It would take loyalist forces another three days of intense fighting to secure the city.⁵³

Admiral Son acted quickly following the debacle at Yosu. Recognizing that the lack of coordination between the navy and the army had been a major factor behind the failed landing, he moved to create a ground combat unit within the navy. The Chief of Naval Operations appointed Shin Hyun-joon to lead the new unit on February 1, 1949.

Republic of Korea Marine Corps

Commander Shin found few takers as he sought officers and noncommissioned officers for the new unit. Those with knowledge of the Imperial Japanese Navy knew the ground combat units as backwater assignments relegated to garrison defense duties by war's end.⁵⁴ Kim Seung-un rebuffed Shin's first two offers to transfer to the unit. Persistent and persuasive, Shin returned for a third time with his wife. Together, they convinced Kim to serve as chief of staff.⁵⁵ Kim Dong-ha agreed to serve as Operations Officer. By the end of March, Shin had assembled 80 officers and noncommissioned officers to lead the new organization.

The cadre's concerns about the ground combat unit's status within the Navy were confirmed with the arrival of the first recruits. The Navy had selected its sailors from the 13th Recruit Class, leaving the cadre with the remaining 300 recruits. They began training as the 1st Marine Corps Class on April 5.⁵⁶ Shin organized his men into two rifle companies, a support company, a security section unit, and counter intelligence unit. The headquarters section contained operations, intelligence, and logistics staff sections.

At this time, the terms Marine or Marine Corps were not used in describing the new unit. Shin referred to the units as the 'ground combat unit,' a Japanese term that reflected his long association with the Imperial Japanese Army.⁵⁷ However, the ROK Navy was patterning itself after the American Navy, which had borrowed many of its customs and traditions from the Royal Navy.⁵⁸ As part of the trend to move away from Japanese customs and practices, the Korean Marines adopted the Chinese characters used to denote the United States and Royal Marines, and the terms Marine and Marine Corps for English language use.

On April 15, 1949, the Republic of Korea Marine Corps was activated in a simple ceremony at the Deoksan Air Base in Chinhae. With President

Rhee in attendance, Admiral Son passed the Marine Corps Colors to Lieutenant Colonel Shin. The Marines assembled before the dignitaries were a humble lot, wearing an assortment of discarded uniforms and helmets; Japanese leggings were worn over oversize American boots. Those issued weapons carried Japanese Type-99 rifles; others carried wooden drill rifles.⁵⁹ The Deoksan Air Base had been abandoned following liberation and was in a sad state of disrepair. The ceremony concluded with the Navy Song, as the Marines had yet to compose a hymn.⁶⁰

The Marine Corps' legal basis came on May 5, 1949, when President Rhee signed Presidential Order 88. Known simply as "The Marine Corps Order," it established a Marine Corps within the Navy to "conduct ground combat in support of naval operations as well as protect assigned areas."⁶¹ Shin was promoted to colonel on June 1.⁶²

The new commandant was accustomed to material deficiencies. He focused on training, summarized in the Chinese maxim, 多流汗 小流血: "The more you sweat in peace, the less you bleed in war."⁶³ Colonel Shin demanded tough, physical training. Noncommissioned officers drilled the new Marines on Deoksan's cement landing strip and marched them up the 1800-foot Chonja Peak so often that the mountain quickly became a symbol of the new Corps. Discipline was absolute, and cadre members meted out beatings for the slightest infraction.⁶⁴

Colonel Shin ordered the translation of the Imperial Japanese Army's *Drill Manual* and Imperial Japanese Navy's *Naval Handbook* for use as the basic texts.⁶⁵ At the same time, he looked to Korea's martial history to develop new traditions: the Shilla Dynasty's Hwarang Warrior's Creed was incorporated into the Marines' training.⁶⁶ On August 1, the Marine Corps 2nd Class began training with 440 recruits.⁶⁷

Later that month, the Army Chief of Staff requested Shin send Marines to Jinju to protect the town from guerillas who had operated in the nearby mountains since the Yosu rebellion.⁶⁸ The commandant dispatched a battalion-sized unit that constituted nearly his entire Corps. Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Kim Seung-un, the Marines began patrolling the town and surrounding countryside.

The Commandant knew that earning the trust of the people was essential to breaking the guerillas' support network in the region. He warned his Marines not to commit any acts that could disgrace the Corps.⁶⁹ Visiting the Marines in late September, Army Brigadier General Chung Il-

kwon observed, “The Marines never caused any harm to the public and earned the love and trust of the people of Jinju.”⁷⁰

After a month and a half of avoiding the Marine patrols, an estimated 70 rebels attacked the Marine camp during the evening of October 27. The Marines inflicted heavy casualties on the guerillas and forced them to retreat. The rebels never again attacked Jinju.

The success of the Jinju operation soon brought about another deployment. On December 26, 1949, Colonel Shin received orders to deploy the entire Marine Corps to Cheju Island, where the protracted insurgency had torn the island apart. Since guerillas had conducted the first large-scale attack on police stations the previous April, tens of thousands of people had been killed. The Korean government reported that 27,719 islanders died, while private estimates ran as high as 60,000, with an additional 40,000 people estimated to have fled to Japan.⁷¹

On December 28, Colonel Shin and 1200 Marines landed at Cheju City. The return of Lieutenant Colonel Kim Seong-un’s battalion from Jinju—coupled with the addition of graduates of the 2nd Marine Corps course—allowed the Commandant to add a second battalion to the Corps. In addition to coordinating anti-guerilla operations, Colonel Shin spent considerable time overseeing the training and integration of new personnel, as well as developing new capabilities. Training continued as before, with the NCO Training Unit working to instill a fighting spirit in the new Marines. Upon Receiving reports that Marines were involved in fights with soldiers and sailors while on leave, the commandant’s first question was whether the Marines won; those who lost were forced to don full combat gear and run endless laps around the parade ground.⁷² Thirty new lieutenants—graduates of the 9th Class of the Korean Military Academy who were commissioned into the Marine Corps—arrived on January 14, 1950, and were integrated into ongoing operations.⁷³ Later that month, an anti-armor unit was established with 37mm recoilless rifles.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most important undertaking at this time was the tremendous effort to reclaim the trust of the people of Cheju. Colonel Shin’s attitude differed considerably from previous police and Constabulary commanders. Reflecting years of leading counterinsurgency missions across Manchuria and China, Shin advised his Marines, “Be gentle as sheep to the people and be fierce as lion to the enemies.”⁷⁵ He urged Navy Headquarters to support his efforts to reach out to the people of Cheju.⁷⁶ The Navy responded by sending medical personnel to provide free examinations and treatment for the islanders.⁷⁷ The Marines assisted

farmers in spring planting, and conducted other public service activities throughout the island.⁷⁸ The success of the outreach can best be judged by the fact that over 3000 young men from Cheju volunteered to join the Marine Corps in the days following North Korea's surprise invasion.⁷⁹

War

As the North Koreans advanced south, Colonel Shin sent three companies of Marines under the command of Major Ko Kil-oon to engage the enemy as far north on the peninsula as possible. The "Ko Kil-oon Unit" landed at Kunsan on July 16 and attacked the North Korea People's Army's 13th Regiment. The ROK Marines fought the North Koreans—who had hoped to bypass the coastal areas—for the next four days. After successfully delaying the regiment's attack south, Major Ko ordered his Marines to break contact and withdraw to Yosu.⁸⁰

Reinforcements arrived from Cheju Island. The unit, now numbering over 500 Marines and named for its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Kim Seung-un, fought the North Koreans at Namwon, Unbong, and Chinju from July 23 to 31. The Korean Marines were then ordered to Chindongni, located along the coastal road leading to the ports at Masan and Chinhae. On August 3, the Marines attacked the advancing North Koreans, surprising and defeating an unsuspecting enemy.⁸¹ Upon hearing of the attack—the first by South Korean forces—President Rhee directed that all Marines in the Kim Seung-un Unit be promoted one rank, the first such distinction of the Korean War.⁸² Two days later, Korean and American Marines met for the first time when the 5th Regimental Combat Team passed through ROKMC lines at Chindongni. The Korean Marines continued to fight in the vicinity of Chindongni until August 13, when they were ordered to Chinhae.

Desperate to cut off the source of allied reinforcement and resupply, elements of the 7th NKPA Division captured the city of Tongyoung and prepared for a final assault to seize the port facilities at Masan and Chinhae. Admiral Son ordered the Marines to land behind enemy lines and recapture Tongyoung. On the evening of August 17, seven Navy patrol craft landed the "Kim Seung-un Unit" on the beaches near Tongyoung. The following morning, the Marines attacked the North Koreans, drove them from the city, and established a defensive perimeter.⁸³

The amphibious assault at Tongyoung was a brilliant success, affirming Admiral Son's decision to create a Marine Corps. Lieutenant Colonel Kim's Marines were disciplined, aggressive fighters, killing 469

North Korean soldiers, capturing 83 prisoners, and preventing the capture of critical facilities in Masan and Chinhae. The Tongyoung landing evoked the memory of Korea's most revered military hero, Admiral Yi Sun-shin, whose turtle ships had turned back Hydeoshi Toyotomi's invading fleet in the same area in 1592. The victory brought about a new tradition. In her account of the battle, *New York Herald Tribune* reporter Margeurite Higgins wrote, "They might even capture the devil." Translated into Korean and published throughout the country, "The Ghost-Catching Marines" became heroes in the darkest hours of the war.⁸⁴

The Incheon-Seoul Campaign

As the 1st U.S. Marine Division completed its plans for the amphibious assault at Incheon, Colonel Edward D. Snedeker, Chief of Staff, proposed substituting the Korean Marines for the ROK Army's 17th Regiment, the unit originally assigned to the division and now committed to the defense of the Pusan Perimeter.⁸⁵ The Far East Command approved the change on September 3, 1950. Colonel Shin organized his 3000 Marines into three infantry battalions, a reconnaissance company, and headquarters element. Upon arriving in Chinhae, the Korean Marines received M-1 rifles from the 1st U.S. Marine Brigade, which was also in the process of rearming and reequipping following its service in the Pusan Perimeter.

Attached to the 1st U.S. Marine Division, the Korean Marines embarked aboard amphibious ships and sailed for Incheon. Major General O.P. Smith first met Colonel Shin on September 13 aboard the *USS Pickaway*, where the 56 year-old division commander tasked the 34 year-old commandant with serving as the landing force reserve.⁸⁶ General Smith formed a liaison team from within his staff to coordinate support.⁸⁷

The 3rd ROKMC Battalion landed on Red Beach on the evening of September 15. Attached to the 5th Marines, the Koreans were assigned the mission of clearing Incheon. They destroyed remaining pockets of resistance, allowing the 1st and 5th Marine Regiments to continue the attack toward Seoul.⁸⁸ When relieved by the 2nd ROKMC Battalion, the 3rd ROKMC Battalion moved to rejoin the 5th Marines in its attack toward Kimpo.

On September 17, Colonel Shin brought his headquarters and 1st ROKMC Battalion ashore, regained control of the 3rd ROKMC Battalion, and was assigned the mission of clearing enemy on the Kimpo Peninsula. The 2nd ROKMC Battalion joined the operation on the following day. By September 19, the Korean Marines had cleared a zone sufficient to protect

the division's left flank and secure the Han River crossing site at Kimpo City.⁸⁹ Leaving the 3rd ROKMC Battalion to secure the division's flank, General Smith ordered the Korean Marines to cross the Han River on September 20, attaching the 1st ROKMC Battalion to the 5th Marines for the assault on Seoul.⁹⁰ Visiting the Marines the following day, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur presented General Smith and Colonel Shin the Silver Star Medals.

Positioned between the 5th Marines' 2nd and 3rd Battalions, the 1st ROKMC Battalion began its attack on Hill 296 on September 22 and immediately encountered heavy resistance. The two sides exchanged heavy mortar and artillery fire for the next two days. Marine aviators flew additional sorties in support of the Korean Marines. While the 1st ROKMC Battalion inflicted more than 600 casualties on the Communist defenders, the Korean Marines also suffered heavy losses and were assigned as the regimental reserve on September 24.⁹¹ The 5th Marines captured Hill 296 two days later.

The arrival of the 7th Marines and the "Kim Seung-un Unit," now designated the 5th ROKMC Battalion, reinforced the 1st Marine Division as it began its final assault on Seoul.⁹² The 1st and 5th Marines' commanders both used their attached ROKMC Battalions to clear the area of remaining enemy because, as observed by Colonel Chesty Puller, "They're the only ones who can tell the cowboys from the Indians."⁹³ It was in this role that the Marines from the 2nd ROKMC Battalion raised the South Korean flag in front of the National Capitol on the morning of September 27.⁹⁴ President Rhee awarded the Korean Marines the Presidential Unit Citation the following day.

Colonel Shin invited General Smith to review the Korean Marine Regiment in early October. The battle-tested Marines who paraded before the division commander were a sharp contrast to those assembled before President Rhee 18 months earlier. All wore complete uniforms, packs, and web equipment; their rifles, machine guns, and mortars were "spotless."⁹⁵ Following the ceremony, Colonel Shin invited General Smith and his staff to a luncheon prepared by the ROK Marine officers' wives. Writing in his log, the veteran of fierce fighting on Camp Gloucester, Peleliu and Okinawa noted, "These Korean Marines were quite remarkable."⁹⁶

East Coast Operations

American and Korean Marines parted company after the Incheon-Seoul campaign. Recently promoted to brigadier general, the commandant

detached the 2nd ROKMC Battalion and sent the unit to Mokpo to support anti-guerilla operations.⁹⁷ After meeting with Major General Edward Almond, X Corps Commander, General Shin embarked his remaining three battalions on amphibious shipping to move to the east coast.⁹⁸ The 1st, 3rd and 5th ROKMC Battalions were initially assigned to the Main Supply Route for the 1st U.S. Marine Division near Wonsan.⁹⁹

Reinforced with the arrival of the 2nd ROKMC Battalion, General Shin's Marines supported the defense of the Wonsan and Hamhung harbors following the Chinese Communist Force intervention. Taking their place in the defensive line, they facilitated the evacuation of over 100,000 allied troops and a similar number of North Korean refugees.¹⁰⁰ The Korean Marines were among the last forces to leave, departing Wonsan by ship and Hamhung by air.

After arriving in Chinhae, General Shin reorganized the Corps into a headquarters, the 1st ROKMC Regiment, and the 5th ROKMC Battalion on December 20, 1950.¹⁰¹ The commandant faced immediate requirements to train additional Marines, both to replace combat losses and meet the needs of senior commanders. The intervention of Chinese Communist Forces—and the real fear that allied forces would be driven off the peninsula—led to plans to station 150 to 200 ROK Marines on each of the strategically located islands along Korea's coasts.¹⁰²

General Shin turned over command of the 1st ROKMC Regiment to Colonel Kim Seung-un to focus on training and equipping the growing Corps. Colonel Kim led the regiment and 5th ROKMC Battalion while attached to the 1st U.S. Marine Division to support mop-up operations in the Pohang area, the 1st ROKMC Regiment and 5th Battalion operated in the Young Deok region from January 26 to February 15.¹⁰³ Reflecting his confidence in the Korean Marines, General Smith assigned them their own Tactical Area of Operations in the same manner as the division's other regiments.

Building the Corps

In February 1951, General Shin organized the first company of Marines for service on the islands, deploying the 42nd Company to Yeo Island in Wonsan Harbor. ROK Marine Corps Headquarters formed the 1st Marine Artillery Battalion. The Marines were redeployed to counter Chinese Communist Force (CCF) advances in the central area: the 1st U.S. Marine Division moved to Chungju and was assigned to IX Corps and the 1st ROKMC Regiment deployed to Samchok via amphibious ships for duty

with the ROK Capitol Division. Separately, the 5th ROKMC Battalion was assigned to defend the Kimpo Peninsula.¹⁰⁴ The 1st Marine Division and 1st ROKMC Regiment were reunited for a third and final time on March 20, 1951.¹⁰⁵

To support the training needs of a growing Corps, General Shin opened the Marine Corps School in Chinhae on April 1. He deployed a second independent company to Kyodong Island off Incheon's coast shortly thereafter. Defending the islands would ultimately require the establishment of the 2nd ROKMC Regiment. The commandant relocated his headquarters to Pusan in May.

The Marines whom General Shin selected and trained distinguished themselves in June 1951. Under the command of Colonel Kim Dae-shik, the 1st ROKMC Regiment took its place in the center of the 1st U.S. Marine Division line with orders to seize Hill 1148. The NKPA's 12th and 32nd Divisions defended the hill and the approaching ridgelines with orders to "stand or die."¹⁰⁶ The regiment's actions from June 4 to 24 became known as the Battle for Mount Do Sol.

For the first six days, progress was measured in yards. In the early hours of June 11, the Korean Marines began a series of night attacks, steadily and methodically destroying enemy strong points. During the fighting, the Korean Marines seized 24 objectives, killed 2620 enemy soldiers, and captured 53 prisoners. The battle was the costliest of the war: 181 Korean Marines were killed and 647 wounded during the fighting.¹⁰⁷ Major General Gerald C. Thomas, the new commander of the 1st U.S. Marine Division, described the 1st ROKMC Regiment's valor: "Congratulations to the KMC on a difficult job well done. Your seizure of objectives on the Kansas Line from a determined enemy was a magnificent dash of courage and endurance. Your courageous and aggressive actions justify our pride in the Korean Marines."¹⁰⁸ However, President Rhee provided the most enduring tribute when he visited the battlefield to award the Presidential Unit Citation. Deeply moved by the account of the battle, the president went to a nearby table, picked up a calligraphy brush, and wrote the characters 無敵海兵, "Invincible Marines."¹⁰⁹

General Shin spent much of the next two years establishing new units and capabilities to meet the growing requirements of an expanding Corps. Temporarily promoted to major general on January 3, 1952, he oversaw the formation of armor, engineer and medical companies, an island defense company, and an infantry regiment that would later become the Island Defense Unit. The following year, he led the formation of the 2nd

Marine Regiment, a coastal engineering company and the Marine Education Group. When the 1st ROKMC Regiment relocated to the western end of the main line of resistance, General Shin attached the 5th ROKMC Battalion, the Marine Artillery Battalion, and engineer and armor companies to create the 1st Marine Combat Group.

The commandant also broadened the relationship with the U.S. Marine Corps beyond the liaison teams that had supported the Korean Marines since the Incheon Landing. In March 1952, General Shin welcomed five officers and 16 enlisted U.S. Marines who would serve as advisers at his headquarters and education group. General Shin traveled to the United States at the invitation of his American counterpart, General Lemuel Shepherd, to observe training and education at Quantico, Camp Pendleton, and Camp Lejeune. The visit laid the groundwork for nearly 250 ROK Marine officers to study in the United States during the 1950s and 60s.¹¹⁰

Personal Loss and Joining the Catholic Church

The Shin family would also experience personal loss during the war. In November 1950, their eldest daughter, five-year old Soon-hee, died in an accidental shooting at home. She was baptized after her death and buried in a Catholic cemetery. In the wake of the tragedy, the Shins decided to enter the Catholic Church and sought a sponsor. Prime Minister Chang Myon volunteered to be Shin's Godfather.¹¹¹

Chang Myon—a Catholic educator, social activist, politician, and diplomat—came from South Korea's most prominent Catholic family. French missionaries selected the young teacher for study in the United States as part of a larger effort to encourage the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America to serve in Korea. He studied at Maryknoll's junior seminary when Father Patrick Byrne, who later became the first Maryknoll Missionary in Korea, served as rector.¹¹² While there, Chang changed his Catholic name Johan to John.

Chang Myon returned to Seoul via Rome, where he attended the 1925 Beatification of the 79 Korean Martyrs and met Pope Pius XI. For the next 20 years, Chang taught at several Catholic schools in Seoul and Pyongyang. He also led Maryknoll's translation and language training efforts, as well as authoring several books related to Church doctrine and history in Korea.

He entered politics following Korea's liberation from Japan. Under the sponsorship of Syngman Rhee, who appointed Chang as a delegate to several political conferences, he was elected to the Provisional National Assembly in August 1946 and the National Assembly in the UN-

supervised elections in May 1948. Newly elected President Rhee selected the Catholic legislator to be the country's delegate to the UN General Assembly, where international recognition of South Korean sovereignty had been gaining traction. The Holy See had appointed an Apostolic Visitor to Korea the previous year, the first official connection with the government after liberation.¹¹³ Chang was instrumental in having his former principal, Bishop Byrne, return to Korea as the papal representative.¹¹⁴

Chang's success at the United Nations—which recognized the Republic of Korea as the sole legitimate government on the Korean peninsula in December 1948—led to his appointment as the first ambassador to the United States the following December. Rhee's desire for keeping Chang abroad was motivated, in part, by a deepening rivalry between the two men. Nonetheless, Chang proved to be an excellent choice for the post. Following the outbreak of war, he conveyed South Korea's request for military aid to the State Department and addressed the UN Security Council before the critical vote to assist the Republic of Korea in repelling the invasion. President Rhee appointed Chang as Prime Minister on November 23, 1950. Reflecting their widening differences, Chang initially declined the post before returning to Korea in February 1951.

Like Shin, Chang experienced personal losses during the war. His sister Agneta, a Maryknoll Sister, was captured and executed by retreating North Korean soldiers. Communist authorities also arrested and tried Bishop Byrne; the 73-year old ambassador succumbed to pneumonia following an exhaustive march north. Chang sympathized with Shin and readily agreed to serve as his Godfather. On the second anniversary of Soon-hee's death, the entire family was baptized and welcomed into the Catholic faith.

Relinquishing the Commandancy and Continued Service

Major General Shin met with President Rhee in August 1953 regarding a successor to lead the 27,000-man Marine Corps. Shin had served four years and seven months as the Corps' top officer, receiving his permanent promotion to major general four months earlier. Among the service chiefs, only Admiral Son had served longer. The president was reluctant to let Shin leave, stating that the Marine Corps had been the most reliable service during the war. He asked Shin to reconsider, even offering him the position as Chief of Naval Operations. Shin declined both offers,

stating it was time for other officers to be given opportunities for advancement.¹¹⁵

President Rhee’s comparison of the Marine Corps with the other services appears unfair at best and disingenuous at worst. In contrast to the corps-sized units fielded by the ROK Army, the Korean Marines’ largest unit was a regiment. The 1st Marine Regiment (later the 1st Combat Group) fought as part of the 1st U.S. Marine Division for the majority of the war, benefitting from the American division’s fire support, engineering, and logistics capabilities. Additionally, the larger army had suffered from competition among various factions since its founding as the constabulary.¹¹⁶ President Rhee fueled these rivalries, pitting officers from the Northeast and Northwest factions against one another.

Yet the president was correct in attributing much of the Corps’ success to General Shin. As commandant, Shin alone decided who joined the Corps, his seniority upon joining, and whether he would be given command. As shown in Table 1, Shin selected the commanders of the Corps’ largest unit based on his experience in serving with them as far back as a cadet in Manchuria.

Table 1: ROK Marine Corps Commanders, 1951 to 1953

Unit	Commander	Home Province	Service with General Shin
1 st Regiment	Kim Seung-un	South Gyeongsan Province	Korean Coast Guard, ROK Navy, Founding Cadre
1 st Regiment	Kim Tae-shik	Kangwon Province	Gando Special Unit, Korean Coast Guard, ROK Navy
1 st Regiment	Kim Dong-ha	North Hamgyeong Province	Gando Special Unit, Korean Coast Guard, ROK Navy, Founding Cadre
1 st Regiment/ 1 st Combat Group	Kim Seok-beom	South Pyongan Province	Fengtian Military School, Gando Special Unit, Korean Coast Guard, ROK Navy
1 st Combat Group	Kim Seung-un	South Gyeongsan Province	Korean Coast Guard, ROK Navy, Founding Cadre
1 st Combat Group	Ko Kil-hoon	South Hamgyeong Province	“Ko Kil-hoon Unit,” 2 nd Regiment

Source: Developed by the author from multiple sources.

As a compromise, General Shin was allowed to turn over the post of commandant, but remained on active duty. On October 15, 1953, Major General Kim Seok-beom, his classmate from the Fengtian Military School, became the Corps' top leader. Two days later, General Shin assumed command of the newly established 1st Marine Brigade. The arrangement worked well. General Kim, who was known as a seasoned administrator, focused much of his energy on building the new ROK Marine Corps Headquarters compound at Yongsan. General Shin worked to transform the 1st Combat Group to a combined arms brigade capable of defending Kanghwa Island and the Kimp'o Peninsula.

After commanding the brigade for a year, Major General Shin relinquished command to Brigadier General Kim Tae-shik. Shin entered the ROK Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC). His age (40), rank, and status made Shin an unlikely student. He was a year older than the CGSC Commandant, who had graduated from the Japanese Military Academy and fought with the Imperial Japanese Army in New Guinea. The commandant warmly welcomed General Shin, who served as class president for the eight-month course.

General Shin reported to the Joint Chiefs of Staff following graduation. He served three chairmen, including General Chung Il-kwon, his classmate from the Fengtian Military School. Concurrent with his staff duties, General Shin studied English at the English Language Institute. He attended the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth for four months in late 1958. Upon returning to Korea, he was assigned as the first commander of the Marine Education Base at Chinhae. General Shin spent the next year consolidating Marine Corps education and training efforts under a single command.

His assignment at Chinhae occurred as the decade-long feud between President Rhee and Chang Myon came to a head in the 1960 presidential elections. In keeping with the pattern of the two prior elections, President Rhee remained on the ballot after his supporters in the National Assembly amended the constitution, this time exempting incumbent presidents from the three-term limit. General Shin publicly challenged the incumbent president's efforts to remain in office two weeks before the election. In a speech to his Marines commemorating the March 1st Independence Movement, he stated, "The political power of a country can be replaced by a new power if necessary."¹¹⁷

General Shin's statement was an extraordinary challenge to the president, and one that placed the former commandant at great personal

risk. President Rhee controlled—and was willing to use—the national police, having ordered the arrest of all lawmakers who opposed his attempts to amend the constitution prior to the 1952 election. Yet the octogenarian president was soon overcome by events. Chang Myon was soundly defeated in the vice presidential race, leading to accusations of fraud and nationwide protests beginning in neighboring Masan. When police killed an estimated 180 student protestors on April 19, the American ambassador met with President Rhee, who blamed the problems on Chang, the Catholic Bishop of Seoul, and other troublemakers.¹¹⁸ President Eisenhower threatened to withdraw American forces unless free and fair elections were held. President Rhee stepped down shortly thereafter and began a life in exile in Hawaii. On June 25, 1960, Shin was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned as Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister of National Defense.

The president's departure emboldened military officers who had long endured the corruption and political involvement that accompanied his rule, including the sale of military property to raise political funds for Rhee and ordering subordinates to vote for the ruling party. Within the Marine Corps, Brigadier General Kim Dong-ha, Commanding General of the 1st ROK Marine Division, accused Lieutenant General Kim Tae-shik of influencing the election and other financial irregularities and demanded the commandant's removal. Both men retired shortly thereafter, and newly appointed Commandant Kim Seung-un and the three service chiefs used the occasion of Constitution Day—July 17—to pledge to “the military keep out of politics in order to maintain political neutrality of the armed forces.”¹¹⁹ That same month, voters elected Chang Myon prime minister under the new parliamentary republican system, beginning the Second Republic.

Abroad: Exile and Ambassador

In the early morning hours of May 16, 1961, Army Major General Park Chung-hee found Marine Brigadier General Kim Yoon-geun's column of vehicles traveling up the Kimpo Road. Working with retired Marine General Kim Dong-ha and Army Lieutenant Colonel Kim Jong-pil, Park had meticulously planned the overthrow of Prime Minister Chang Myon's government. Those plans—along with the lives of the conspirators—were now in jeopardy after the scheme had been compromised earlier in the day. Although the VI Corps Artillery had moved to ROK Army Headquarters, elements of the 30th and 33rd

Divisions remained in the barracks. General Park traveled to the Airborne Brigade, which was to have provided the officers responsible for rounding up Chang's cabinet, but was rebuffed. While there, the Army Chief of Staff told Park to stand down, and ordered a company of military policeman to seize the bridge spanning the Hannam River.

After exchanging salutes, General Park told Kim that the coup had been compromised. If the coup were to go forward, it would depend upon the Marines. General Kim had assembled a battalion-sized force of 600 Marines; a company of tanks followed the vehicles. Fearing a situation in which the Marine Corps would be seen as leading the coup, General Kim had asked that the Marine Brigade be the last forces to arrive in Seoul. Generals Park and Kim also knew they faced the First ROK Army's 20 divisions arrayed north of the capital. Despite the long odds, General Kim committed his Marines to the coup.

The Marines overwhelmed the military policemen defending the bridge and quickly advanced toward Seoul. Hearing shots, other units belatedly joined in the coup. Although Prime Minister Chang escaped, paratroopers arrested other members of his cabinet and seized key facilities. The Marines surrounded Army Headquarters as Park sought the Chief of Staff's approval for his action.

A tense standoff developed between the conspirators and loyal government forces. Lieutenant General Lee Han-rim, who had been a cadet with Park for four years at the Manchurian and Japanese Military Academies, denounced the coup but feared the North Koreans would take advantage of the situation should he commit any of his frontline divisions. Four days later, Chang Myon emerged from hiding in a Carmelite monastery and resigned his premiership. A coup force of 3000, spearheaded by a battalion of Marines, had toppled a government controlling a 600,000-man army.

Nevada

On July 4, the military junta announced the retirement of General Lee, his chief of staff, the superintendent of the Korean Military Academy, and other influential army officers who publicly opposed the coup. The junta also forced General Shin Hyun-joon to retire. The junta further announced that the generals would be sent to the United States for study, each destined for a separate university.¹²⁰

The former commandant had no knowledge of Park's plans. They had last met over 15 years ago, when Park visited Shin while in command of

the Korean Coast Guard Base at Incheon.¹²¹ Yet Park and other junta leaders were wary of Shin, who commanded great respect throughout the Corps and was Chang Myon's Godson. Washington hadn't recognized the coup or its leaders, and Park and his advisors were likely concerned that Shin might speak in favor of the Chang government or against Park's junta. The four forcibly retired generals departed Korea aboard an American military transport plane. In August, Shin began hastily arranged studies at the University of Nevada.¹²²

Morocco

In August 1962, Shin returned from his year-long study in the United States. His stay in South Korea would be brief, as President Park appointed Shin as the first resident ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco in January 1963. South Korea had established diplomatic relations with Morocco the previous summer, opening its first embassy in an Arab state. As such, Foreign Ministry officials viewed the embassy as a test case for future relations with other countries in the Arab world. Additionally, establishing a diplomatic presence would counter North Korean influence in the region: Pyongyang had recently opened an embassy in neighboring Algeria.

Despite Shin's lack of diplomatic experience, the government would have been hard pressed to find a better representative. His warrior credentials would no doubt appeal to Morocco's ruler, King Hassan II, who, as crown prince, served as Chief of Staff of the Royal Armed Forces and led expeditions against anti-government guerillas. Throughout his career, General Shin repeatedly established new commands and organizations with limited resources under extremely challenging conditions.

Posting the first commandant abroad would prevent him from interfering in a government still attempting to consolidate power. At the time, General Kim Dong-ha was engaged in a bitter power struggle with former Army Lieutenant Colonel Kim Jong-pil, who led the newly created Korean Central Intelligence Agency and was married to Park's niece. Both men were integral to Park's coup, with the elder Kim coordinating support from the Navy and Marine Corps, and the younger Kim recruiting key officers from the 8th and 9th Classes of the Korean Military Academy.

President Park's motivations notwithstanding, Ambassador Shin and his family arrived in the West African nation in early 1963. He presented his diplomatic credentials to King Hassan II on February 8, 1963, and

immediately immersed himself in the details of leading the embassy. He began studying French, the language of the government. With much to do and limited staff, Ambassador Shin took on many additional responsibilities in opening the new embassy. His efforts were well received, both in Rabat and Seoul. The South Korean Foreign Ministry soon began opening other embassies in the region. In addition to his duties in Morocco, Ambassador Shin was appointed nonresident ambassador to Liberia when the two countries established relations in 1964.

The assignment in Rabat presented some challenges for the Shins. With their eldest son in the Marines, Ambassador and Mrs. Shin had to educate five children on his modest salary. Some of his children attended local schools where the curriculum was taught in French. Others were able to attend international English language schools due to President Park's personal support. During annual consultations with the foreign ministry, visiting ambassadors were granted an audience with the president. On each occasion, President Park would give Shin an envelope filled with cash, telling his former comrade-in-arms, "Elder brother, this is for your children's education."¹²³

During Ambassador Shin's seven years abroad, he would receive accounts of the Marine Corps. President Park named the Fourth Commandant, Lieutenant General Kim Seung-un, Minister of National Defense, a position he would hold longer than any other individual. The 2nd Marine Brigade was the first combat unit deployed to Vietnam, where they continued the Marines' legacy of courage and sacrifice begun during the Korean War. Major Lee In-ho became a national hero for diving on an enemy grenade to save his fellow Marines. The 11th Company, 3rd ROKMC Battalion defeated a regimental-sized attack at Tra Binh Dong, earning international acclaim as the "Myth-Making Marines" and the first unit-wide promotion since the Korean War. Success on Vietnam's battlefields ushered in the "Golden Age of the Marine Corps,"¹²⁴ leading to the establishment of new commands, the opening of new schools, and the elevation of the commandant's rank to four stars.

World Anti-Communist League

Ambassador Shin returned to Korea in February 1970. That fall, President Park recommended Shin for Secretary General of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL); he would concurrently serve as South Korea's representative to the international body. Founded as the Asian People's Anti-Communist League under the leadership of Presidents

Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Elpidio Quirino (Philippines), the league adopted a new name and charter in 1967 to account for its global membership. At the time of Shin's nomination, 27 countries were members of the WACL. Member states confirmed his nomination in July 1971.¹²⁵

As one of two Secretaries General, Ambassador Shin was responsible for managing a global organization during a period of enormous change. Countries that previously supported the WACL were forced to curtail or limit involvement in the league as relations with the People's Republic of China warmed. The Secretariat, which was headquartered in Saigon, was under increasing threat of attack. Ambassador Shin worked with other members to manage these challenges.

If Ambassador Shin witnessed the rise of the Marine Corps during his first diplomatic assignment, then he saw its fall during his second. The Vietnam War exposed inter-service rivalries as the Army and Navy began to fear the Corps' rising power and popularity. In September 1973, with no public discussion or input from the Marines, the government disestablished Marine Corps Headquarters, integrating its units and functions into the ROK Navy. The commandant became the 2nd Vice Chief of Naval Operations and was reduced to three-star rank. Marine Corps schools were shuttered and all training functions were transferred to the Navy. In a somber ceremony on October 10, 1973, the Marine Corps colors were cased.

Rome

In the same way South Korea's Catholic leaders opposed President Rhee's attempts to remain in power, the nation's bishops and priests rallied against the Yushin Constitution that allowed President Park to succeed himself indefinitely. Seoul's Myeongdong Cathedral became the epicenter of anti-government protests, offering demonstrators safety and sanctuary. In February 1974, Park's government announced it would send Shin Hyun-joon to the Holy See as resident ambassador, addressing a long standing demand from South Korean Catholics.

The Vatican had been one of the earliest supporters of Korea's independence, assigning Bishop Byrne as Apostolic Visitor in August 1947 and making the post permanent in April 1949.¹²⁶ The Holy See continued to send representatives to Seoul, and elevated the Vatican's diplomatic mission to an Apostolic Nunciature in September 1966.

Despite these overtures, the South Korean government hadn't considered sending a resident ambassador to the Holy See.

On one level, Shin's selection was practical: In Morocco, he proved to be a sound diplomat who ably represented his nation's interests. He was a skilled administrator who managed the myriad details required to open the embassy. Shin's new appointment also reflected Park's shrewd calculus: Shin was close to Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou-hwan, Archbishop of Seoul and the senior prelate in Korea. Priests esteemed Shin's humility and common touch. In short, Shin was widely respected by the nation's Catholic hierarchy, but was not part of it. Sending General Shin to Rome would highlight the seriousness of Park's commitment to the nation's Catholics.

On the morning of April 8, 1974, Ambassador Shin, Hae-ryong, and two of their daughters stepped from an official car in front of the Vatican's Apostolic Palace. Resplendent in a white tie and tails adorned with his military decorations, Ambassador Shin was ushered in to present his diplomatic credentials to Pope Paul VI. The pope's benevolent face and warm smile quickly put Shin at ease. It was a sharp contrast to the young officer who had been upbraided for his shabby dress three decades earlier.¹²⁷

Shin's first meeting with the pope belied the challenges he faced during his first year in Rome. Two weeks after presenting his diplomatic credentials, KCIA agents arrested Ji Hak-soon, the Bishop of Wonju, as he returned from a trip abroad. The intelligence agency detained the bishop at an undisclosed location for over two months until releasing him under mounting pressure from Cardinal Kim. Bishop Ji announced a declaration of conscience on July 23, writing "the so-called Yushin Constitution is null and void and contrary to truth because it has disrupted a democratic constitutional order treacherously and had been concocted by violence, blackmail and a deception of referendum irrespective of the will of the people . . ." ¹²⁸ The government rearrested Bishop Ji and promptly sentenced him to 15 years in prison. In response, the nation's priests formed the Catholic Priests Association for Justice to resist the Park Government in September.¹²⁹

Ambassador Shin mediated between the government in Seoul and church leaders in both Rome and Korea.¹³⁰ It proved to be one of the most difficult assignments he faced during his long career. Shin—who previously did not attend Mass outside of Sundays and Holy Days of Obligation—frequently visited a church near the embassy and prayed for

strength and guidance.¹³¹ At the same time, he challenged President Park to end his persecution of the Korean Catholic Church. At a banquet for South Korean ambassadors serving in the Americas and Europe, Ambassador Shin openly questioned the government's policies toward the church and urged the president to stop persecuting clergy. It was a bold statement, one for which Shin could have been fired or even arrested. However, President Park took no action against his ambassador and former battalion commander.¹³² In time, the Park government agreed to a referendum on the Yushin Constitution. When it passed the following February, the government released Bishop Ji from prison.

As the protests abated, Ambassador Shin focused on the detailed and time-consuming tasks associated with running a new embassy. Now 60, he began studying Italian with a tutor. Ambassador and Mrs. Shin opened their official residence to the growing number of South Korean priests, seminarians and religious sisters studying in Rome. He attended the funeral for Pope Paul VI, witnessed the brief reign of John Paul I, and served during the first two years of Saint John Paul II's papacy.

Epilogue

Following President Park's assassination in October 1979, Shin resigned as Ambassador to the Holy See.¹³³ When he officially stepped down from the post in April 1980, he had completed over 14 years as an ambassador, a record that remains unmatched. Now 65, he had lived nearly half a century outside of Korea, including 14 of the 18 years Park Chung-hee ruled Korea. Reflecting their international upbringing, Shin's children eventually settled in America, Europe and Australia. He and Hae-ryong occasionally returned to live in Korea, but spent considerable time living near their children.

Still revered as the "Father of the Marine Corps," Shin's visits to Korea were marked by honor guards, gatherings of the living commandants, and updates on the status of the Corps. On the Corps' 55th Anniversary, Shin donated his modest life savings to fund scholarships for young Marines.¹³⁴

From the initial 380 men, over 1,000,000 South Korean men and women would earn the title "Marine." ROK Marines trained with better equipment, operated from a new headquarters, and deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq. Over time, the Marine Corps reclaimed many of the authorities it had lost in 1973.

Following the death of his wife in 2001, General Shin moved in with his son in Niceville, Florida. He continued to attend English as a Second Language classes into his nineties. Shin Hyun-joon passed away on October 14, 2007. He was buried with full military honors at the National Cemetery in Daejeon. He joined his beloved former chief of staff and protégé, Defense Minister Kim Seung-un, who had died in May 2007 and was buried in a nearby grave.

In October 2015, Shin's children traveled to ROK Marine Corps Headquarters to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the first commandant's birth. General Kong Jung-shik, 6th Commandant of the ROKMC, described a recent meeting with Peoples' Liberation Army veterans from the Korean War. The Chinese generals recalled that they always knew when they had fought the ROK Marines, because the South Koreans always buried the enemy dead. General Kong stated that General Shin had issued standing orders to that effect.¹³⁵ His children knew the "Father of the Marine Corps," a lifelong student of Chinese history and culture, would have been pleased.

Notes

¹ Letter from General Kong Jung-shik, 6th Commandant of the ROK Marine Corps, to General Shin's children dated October 15, 2015.

² 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, (서울: 가톨릭출판사, 1989), pp. 5-10.

³ E-mail from Mr. Shin Ong-in to the author on July 3, 2017.

⁴ 김석범, *滿州國軍誌*, [Unpublished memoir], (서울: 1987), pp. 41-2.

⁵ Carter J. Eckert, *Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea: The Rots of Militarism, 1866-1945*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: 2016), pp. 76-77.

⁶ 김석범, p. 53.

⁷ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 33-39.

⁸ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 38.

⁹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 37.

¹⁰ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 39-41.

¹¹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 39-41.

¹² The Military Administration Bureau created the border units in 1935. 김석범, pp. 33-4.

¹³ 김석범, p.34.

¹⁴ Sources list several dates for the Gando Special Unit's establishment.

¹⁵ 김석범, p. 33.

¹⁶ 김석범, p. 34.

¹⁷ 김석범, p. 33.

¹⁸ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 47-49.

²⁰ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 49.

²¹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 60-61.

²² 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 57-60.

²³ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 83.

²⁴ Subsequently known as the northwest and northeast factions, President Rhee would pit officers from each faction against one another throughout the 1950s. Prominent members of the northwest faction included Paek Son-yeop, Paek In-yeop and Chung Il-kwon, who headed the northeast faction.

²⁵ Cho Gap-jae, Translated by Lee Dong Wook, “Pen and Sword: Captain Shin Hyun-joon,” (114) *The Life and Death of a President: Spit on My Grave! Chosun Ilbo*, February 24, 1998.

²⁶ Cho Gap-jae, Translated by Lee Dong Wook, “Pen and Sword: Captain Shin Hyun-joon.”

²⁷ Cho Gap-jae, Translated by Lee Dong Wook, “Pen and Sword: Captain Shin Hyun-joon.”

²⁸ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 69.

²⁹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 69-70.

³⁰ In his memoirs, Shin writes the name of unit as the Kedo Unit, (계도, 下道).

Assuming the characters are correct, the unit would have been the Kato Unit. 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 71.

³¹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 71.

³² Shin refers to his sons by their Japanese names, Yoo-jang and Woo. He changed Yoo-jang’s name to Ong-mok following the establishment of the Republic of Korea. 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 81-83 and p. 85 and Mr. Shin Ong-in email to the author dated July 3, 2017.

³³ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 85-86.

³⁴ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 87.

³⁵ Estimates of the number of Koreans interred by the Soviets vary greatly, with accounts varying between 2,000 to 7,000. An estimated 500,000 to 750,000 Japanese soldiers were interred in 49 camps from 1945 to 1950.

http://news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news_id=N1000838386

³⁶ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 74-75.

³⁷ Pyungjin is the Korean pronunciation of the characters 平津, combining the final characters used at the time in Beijing and Tianjin, 北平 and 天津. 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 74-77.

³⁸ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 75-76.

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- 39 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 207.
- 40 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄* pp. 81-85.
- 41 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp 90-91.
- 42 Chung and Paik were among the first 120 officers commissioned in the Korean Constabulary, and were assigned Serial Numbers 10005 and 10054, respectively. 이치업, *번개장군*, (서울: 원민 Publishing House, 2001), p. 278 and 289.
- 43 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 93.
- 44 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 93.
- 45 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 94.
- 46 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 95.
- 47 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 99 and 오진근, 임성채, *순원일제독*, (서울: 한국해양전략연구소, 2006), p. 117.
- 48 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 102.
- 49 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 103-4.
- 50 Richard J.H. Johnston, “Korea Uprising Under Control, 1300 Rebels Trapped Seoul Says,” *The New York Times*, October 22, 1948, p. 14.
- 51 U.S. Forces in Korea (USFIK) 11071 file, box 65/96, “The Yosu Operation, Amphibious Stage,” an undated report by Captain Howard H. Darrow, USA, quoted in Bruce E. Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*, Volume II, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) p. 264.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Colonel Timothy F. Gellel, Australian Army (Ret.), “The Navy’s Army: The Special Naval Landing Forces,” Unpublished Paper, p. 27.
- 55 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 104.
- 56 海兵隊司令部, *海兵略史*, (서울: 海兵隊司令部, 1958), p. 75.
- 57 Personal interview with Mr. Cho Man-ku, 1st Marine Corps Course, Taejon, ROK, September 10, 1998.
- 58 Personal interview with Kim Chong-ki, Professor of Strategy, Korean Naval War College, Taejon, ROK, August 10, 1998.
- 59 鄭采浩, *掌篇敘事詩大韓民國海兵隊*, (서울: 신명출판사, 1990), p. 47.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 李善浩, *한번海兵隊는 영원한海兵隊*, (서울: 도서출판 정우단, 1997), p. 28.
- 62 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 108.
- 63 申鉉俊, “海兵魂은 살아있다,” *해병훈*, 제 5 호, 1994 년 8 월, p. 29.
- 64 鄭采浩, p. 29.
- 65 鄭采浩, *海兵隊의 傳統과 秘話*, (서울: 화정문화사, 2000), p. 38.
- 66 Ibid., pp. 36-40.
- 67 海兵隊司令部, *海兵略史*, p. 75.

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- 68 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 114.
- 69 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*, 第一輯. 增補版, (서울: 海兵隊司令部, 1962), p. 19.
- 70 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*, 第一輯. 增補版, p. 19.
- 71 Cumings, Volume II, p. 258.
- 72 Mr. Shin Ong-in e-mail to the author, January 23, 2018.
- 73 최돈수, *海兵史*, (서울: 도서출판 돈오사), p. 41.
- 74 海兵隊司令部, *海兵略史*, p. 7.
- 75 Quote from General Lee Byong-moon's eulogy of General Shin. General Lee served as the 9th Commandant of the ROKMC. E-mail from Mr. Ong-in Shin on February 4, 2018.
- 76 제주방어사령부, p. 52 and 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*. 第一輯. 增補版, p. 30.
- 77 제주방어사령부, p. 52.
- 78 제주방어사령부, p. 52.
- 79 鄭采浩, *掌篇敘事詩 大韓民國 海兵隊*, p. 50.
- 80 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*, 第一輯. 增補版, pp. 43-45.
- 81 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*, 第一輯. 增補版, pp. 57-60.
- 82 海兵隊司令部, *海兵戰鬪史*, 第一輯. 增補版, p. 63.
- 83 P.M. Smith, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC, "Tong Yong Operation," *Marine Corps Gazette*, December 1959, pp. 13-8.
- 84 李善浩, p. 62.
- 85 Colonel Robert Debs Heidl, Jr., USMC (Retired), *Victory at High Tide: The Inchon-Seoul Campaign*, (Baltimore: The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1979),
- 86 해병대사령부, *해병대원 행동지침서*, (발안: 해병대사령부, 1996), p. 20 and Heidl, p. 72.
- 87 Original letter dated October 10, 1950 from Colonel Shin Hyun-joon, Commanding Officer, ROK Marine Corps, thanking O. P. Smith for designating Colonel Hagenah as Advisor to the ROK Marine Corps, Box 37, O.P. Smith Collection, Marine Corps Archives and Special Collections.
- 88 Heidl, pp. 124-126.
- 89 Heidl, pp. 185-186.
- 90 Heidl, pp. 186.
- 91 해병대사령부, *해병대원 행동지침서*, p.21.
- 92 해병대사령부, *해병대원 행동지침서*, p. 21 and Heidl p. 209.
- 93 Burke Davis, *Marine! The Life of Chesty Puller*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), p. 270, quoted in Heidl, P. 227.
- 94 李善浩, p. 64.
- 95 Heidl, p. 256.
- 96 Heidl, p. 256.
- 97 해병대사령부, *해병대 50 년사 (1949-1999)*, (발안: 해병대사령부, 1999), p. 66.
- 98 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 120-121.
- 99 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
- 100 Ibid.

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- ¹⁰¹ 李善浩, p. 63.
- ¹⁰² Admiral Smith's personal letter to the authors quoted in Commander Malcolm W. Cagle, USN and Commander Frank A. Manson, USN, *The Sea War in Korea*, (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1957), pp. 398-9.
- ¹⁰³ Lynn Montross, Major Hubbard D. Kuoka, USMC, and Major Norman W. Hicks, USMC, *U.S. Marine Corps Operations in Korea, 1950-53: The East-Central Front*, Volume IV, (Washington: Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1962), pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁰⁴ Montross, Kuoka, and Hicks, p. 58.
- ¹⁰⁵ Montross, Kuoka, and Hicks, p. 92.
- ¹⁰⁶ 鄭采浩, *海兵隊의 傳統과 秘話*, pp. 162-163.
- ¹⁰⁷ 해병대사령부, *해병대원 행동지침서*, p. 23.
- ¹⁰⁸ Montross, Kuoka, and Hicks, p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁹ 해병대사령부, *해병대 50 년사 (1949-1999)*, p. 75.
- ¹¹⁰ Undated list of ROK Marine Officers who studied at U.S. Marine Corps Schools from 1954 to 2006.
- ¹¹¹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 127-129.
- ¹¹² Raymond A. Lane, *Ambassador in Chains: The Life of Bishop Patrick James Byrne*, (New York: (P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955), pp. 47-48 and 67.
- ¹¹³ "Historians Say Vatican Played Key Role When United Nations Recognized South Korea," December 17, 2008.
- ¹¹⁴ Douglas Hyde, "In Line to Succeed Dr. Rhee," *Catholic Herald (UK)*, May 25, 1956.
- ¹¹⁵ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 130-2.
- ¹¹⁶ American Army officers who selected the first group of 60 Koreans for the Military English Language School and subsequent commissioned service in the constabulary sought to have an equal number of officers with Imperial Japanese Army, Japanese Kwangtung Army, and the Kuomintang-aligned Korean Restoration Army. Bruce E. Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947*, Volume I, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 173-177.
- ¹¹⁷ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 134-6.
- ¹¹⁸ Documents related to the 4.19 Incident, on display at the Korean National Archives, Daejeon, Korea. Telegram to KORIC, Washington, DC, Department of Foreign Affairs.
- ¹¹⁹ *Hanguk Ilbo*, July 16, 1960, p. 1 quoted in Se-Jin Kim, *The Politics of the Revolution in Korea*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 79-80.
- ¹²⁰ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 138.
- ¹²¹ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 101.
- ¹²² 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 138.
- ¹²³ Mr. Ong-in Shin e-mail to the author dated August 10, 2017.
- ¹²⁴ Phrase attributed to Lieutenant General Jun Do-bong, 23rd Commandant of the Marine Corps.
- ¹²⁵ 申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 177-8.
- ¹²⁶ Bishop Raymond A. Lane, *Ambassador in Chains: The Life of Bishop Patrick James Byrne (1888-1950), Apostolic Delegate to the Republic of Korea*, (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955), pp. 173-192.

¹²⁷申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 161-162.

¹²⁸ “Democratization Movement in Korea: Bishop Ji Hak-sun’s Declaration of Conscience,” Korea Democracy Foundation Newsletter, Newsletter Number 7 (February 2006), Available online at http://www.kdemocracy.or.kr/mail/newsletter/mail_article_200602_01.html

¹²⁹Author’s translation from the Korean, 천주교정의구현전국사제단, (天主教正義具現全國司祭團).

¹³⁰申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 177-8.

¹³¹申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, p. 179.

¹³²申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 192-4.

¹³³申鉉俊, *老海兵의 回顧錄*, pp. 206-8.

¹³⁴ Mr. Ong-in Shin e-mail to the author dated July 17, 2017.

¹³⁵ Mr. Ong-in Shin e-mail to the author dated July 3, 2017.