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TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SEOUL 007402

EXCISE

ADP246
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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06
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TRB Date 9/13/93

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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MR Cases Only:
EO Citations
Wainwright TS authority to:
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 DOWNGRADE TS to S or C OADR

0 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6939
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 10 SEUL 07402

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 6/10/90 (MONJO, JOHN C.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, KS
SUBJECT: INSIDER'S ACCOUNT OF KWANGJU RIOT

- ENTIRE TEXT.
- THERE FOLLOWS AN ACCOUNT OF THE KWANGJU RIOTS COMPILED BY [] OF LONG ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE AREA. HE WAS IN KWANGJU THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF TROUBLE AND, []

THIS IS THE MOST BALANCED RECORD AND ANALYSIS OF INCIDENT WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR. WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED []

END-USERS SHOULD HANDLE REPORT WITH CARE [] STILL.

BEGIN QUOTE:

ABBREVIATED RETROSPECT OF THE "MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT" AT KWANGJU, KOREA.

BEFORE MAY 18TH:

IN THE SPRING OF 1980 IN KWANGJU THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF PAGE NO. 1

June 10 report by S. Presbyterian missionary? refers to his "hell"

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Incomplete due to B1 A9

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CAMPUS UNREST WHICH WAS FOCUSED ON ISSUES WITHIN THE VARIOUS INDIVIDUAL CAMPUSES. WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS A PSYCHOLOGICAL LINK OR ANY RELATIONSHIP, THIS ANTAGONIST STANCE WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONS WAS FOLLOWED BY A REVIVAL OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY.

ON THURSDAY, MAY 15TH, STUDENTS HELD A LARGE ANTI-GOVERNMENT RALLY WITH SONGS, SLOGANS, MARCHING, AND IN THE EVENING A TORCHLIGHT PARADE, ALL DIRECTED AGAINST THE YUSIN CONSTITUTION AND THE CONTINUED IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN KOREA. THE ROUTINE AIR-RAID DRILL HELD ON THE 15TH OF EACH MONTH WAS CANCELLED THIS DAY. RIOT POLICE WERE OUT IN FORCE IN KWANGJU BUT TOOK NO ACTION OF ANY SORT, SIMPLY WATCHING PASSIVELY FROM THEIR POSITIONS.

ON FRIDAY, MAY 16TH, CERTAIN STREETS IN KWANGJU WERE CORDONED OFF, AND RIOT POLICE WERE IN EVIDENCE. IN THE EVENING THERE WAS A TORCHLIGHT PARADE AND SHOUTS AND SONGS AGAINST MARTIAL LAW AND AGAINST CHUN TU HWAN BY NAME. (ONE BILINGUAL HEARER IS CONVINCED THAT THE WORDS HE HEARD TO THE CHRISTIAN PEP-SONG "I'VE GOT PEACE LIKE A RIVER", ETC. WERE OTHER WORDS CHOSEN FOR THE PROTEST.) NO POLICE ACTION APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN. THE RALLY WAS OVER BY ABOUT 9:00 O'CLOCK.

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RELATED OR NOT, MISSIONARIES WISHING TO GO TO TAEJON FOUND BUS TICKETS COMPLETELY UNAVAILABLE AND WERE TOLD THAT IT WAS ON ACCOUNT OF SOLDIERS GOING TO TAEJON. GOING BY TRAIN ON SATURDAY, THEY FOUND LARGE NUMBERS OF ENLISTED MEN ON THE TRAIN, WHOSE BEHAVIOR GREW PROGRESSIVELY UNRULY TO THE PHYSICAL DANGER OF CIVILIAN PASSENGERS AND THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD AMONG THE TROOPS. NO OFFICERS WERE IN EVIDENCE.

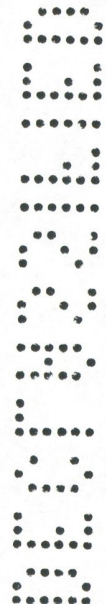
what missionaries told me in 1981

SATURDAY IN KWANGJU WAS QUIET. ON SATURDAY, HOWEVER, THE EXTENSION OF MARTIAL LAW AND THE CLOSING OF COLLEGES OF MANY CATEGORIES WAS ANNOUNCED, TAKING EFFECT AT MIDNIGHT. ON SUNDAY, MAY 18TH:

THE KWANGJU MISSIONARIES DO NOT KNOW HOW OR WHEN THINGS BECAME VIOLENT ON SUNDAY, MAY 18. IN THE MORNING THINGS APPEARED QUIET, BUT BEGINNING AT ABOUT NOON--RETURNING FROM ONE CHURCH OR ANOTHER--SOME OF THE MISSIONARIES RAN INTO INDICATIONS OF PREVIOUS TROUBLE. ONE MOTHER AND CHILDREN, WITH GUEST AMERICANS, SAW NO SIGN OF TROUBLE BUT WERE IN THE WAY OF A HEAVY DISCHARGE OF TEAR GAS, WHICH WOULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN USED FOR A WHIM. HER HUSBAND, IN ANOTHER LOCATION, FOUND STREETS CLOSED WHICH HAD BEEN OPEN EARLIER, AND ALSO DETECTED SIGNS OF TEAR GAS USED EARLIER. OTHER MISSIONARIES SAW NOTHING.

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AT SOME TIME ON SUNDAY TROOPS OF AN AIRBORNE UNIT APPEARED IN THE CITY. SOME SAY AT 9:00 A.M., OTHERS AT NOON.

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON THERE BEGAN TO BE UNPROVOKED ASSAULTS BY AIRBORNE UNIT PERSONNEL UPON YOUNG MEN. INCIDENTS WERE PERSONALLY WITNESSED BY

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WHATEVER PRIOR PROVOCATION THERE MAY HAVE BEEN, THESE PEOPLE WITNESSED ATTACKS OF GREATER OR LESSER SEVERITY ON

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 /076 W
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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6940
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

A NUMBER OF YOUNG MEN SIMPLY WALKING DOWN THE STREETS.
(DETAILS CAN BE PROVIDED IF REQUIRED.)

AT NO TIME DURING THE ENTIRE MAY 18TH INCIDENT, EITHER ON
THAT DAY OR THE DAYS FOLLOWING, DID ANY MISSIONARY SEE OR
HEAR ~~EVEN AT~~ SECOND OR THIRD HAND ANY INDICATION OF BRU-
TALITY BY THE CIVILIAN RIOT POLICE. THE RIOT POLICE WERE
SEEN TO STAND AT THEIR POSTS WITHOUT INTERFERING WHILE
AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS ATTACKED PEOPLE. THERE WAS LATER A
RUMOR THAT ONE KOREAN POLICEMAN HAD BEEN KILLED WHILE TRY-
ING TO INTERFERE WITH AN AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPER'S ATTACK
UPON A PERSON, BUT NO PROOF. [SAW A
CONFLICT BETWEEN A TRAFFIC OFFICER AND AN AIRBORNE UNIT
SOLDIER AT AN INTERSECTION, WHERE THE SOLDIER WANTED A
YOUNG WOMAN (APPARENTLY) OUT OF A TAXICAB, AND THE OFFICER
WANTED HIM TO LET THE CAB GO ON. (THE MISSIONARY NEVER
SAW THE OUTCOME, AS HE HAD TO KEEP GOING HIMSELF. IT
COULD HAVE BEEN SCARE TACTICS AND NOT AN ASSAULT. AT THIS
TIME THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF ANY MOLESTATION OF WOMEN
STUDENTS: ONLY THIS INCIDENT SEEN BY [

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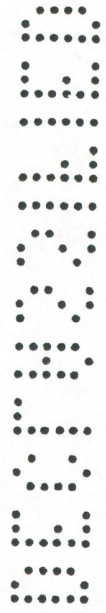
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REPORTS ON MONDAY TOLD OF INCREASINGLY WIDESPREAD BRUTALITY
ON SUNDAY EVENING. IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF SUNDAY THE
[SAW "NORMAL BRUTALITY" WITH NIGHTSTICKS
AND KICKING OF FALLEN MEN (LOOKING FROM THE WINDOWS OF THE
KWANGJU TOURIST HOTEL).

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A CURFEW WAS ANNOUNCED FOR 8:00 AT AFTER 6:30, BUT THEN
CHANGED TO 9:00.

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IN ALL OF THIS, THE WRITER WENT TO THE COUNTRY IN THE MORN-
ING, BACK IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON, AND TO CHURCH IN THE CITY
IN THE EVENING--EARLY BECAUSE OF THE ANNOUNCED CURFEW--AND
NEITHER SAW NOR HEARD ANYTHING AMISS. IT IS A MATTER OF
ROUTES AND LOCATIONS.

ON MONDAY, MAY 19TH:

MOST OF THE ACCOUNTS OF BRUTALITY COME FROM MONDAY, AL-
THOUGH THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SUNDAY HAD ITS SHARE.

THE WRITER'S FAMILY SEEMS SINGULARLY EXEMPT FROM TROUBLE-
SOME MATTERS, EVEN AT SECOND HAND.

(FULLER NOTES, NOT HERE COPIED, GIVE
DETAILS AND SOURCES.)

REPORTS OF SEVERE VIOLENCE BEGAN COMING IN ON MONDAY MORN-
ING. PERHAPS BY COINCIDENCE, THE FIRST REPORTED RIOT-TYPE
ACTIVITY WAS REPORTED ON MONDAY AFTERNOON, WHEN MR. DAVID
MILLER OF THE USIS TELEPHONED AND SAID THERE HAVE BEEN AN
ATTEMPT (ATTEMPTS?) TO SET FIRE TO GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS.

SMALL SCALE RESISTANCE, IF IT CAN BE CALLED THAT, WAS SEEN
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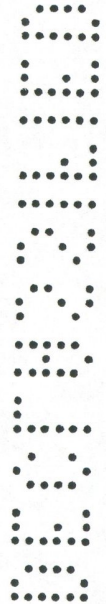
FROM THE FIRST. PERSONAL
VIEWING OF AN ATTACK WAS ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON WHEN THREE
SOLDIERS JOINED IN BEATING A PASSERBY, AND PEOPLE THREW
STONES AT THEM, WITH THE RESULT THAT TWO RAN AFTER THE
STONE-THROWERS (WITHOUT SUCCESS) AND THE THIRD CONTINUED
BEATING THE YOUNG MAN. THERE WAS ALSO STONE-THROWING ON
MONDAY.

MONDAY WAS THE FIRST DAY WHEN WE HEARD REPORTS OF AIRBORNE
UNITS SOLDIERS ENTERING HOUSES IN SEARCH OF YOUNG MEN. CITY
BUSES WERE STOPPED AND YOUNG MEN TAKEN OFF AND BEATEN;
PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND EATING PLACES WERE GIVEN THE SAME
TREATMENT. IT IS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER PRIVATE HOMES WERE
ENTERED OR NOT. (KWANGJU CITIZENS SAY THEY WERE, BUT WE
HAVE NOT HEARD OF SPECIFIC CASES.)

A KOREAN PASTOR, WHO CAN BE NAMED IF NECESSARY, HEARD THE
AIRBORNE UNIT PERSONNEL SPEAKING WITH A DISTINCTIVELY
KYONGSANG ACCENT, AND REPORTS HEARING THEM SAY THEY WERE
GOING TO SLAY THE NO-GOOD CHOLLA-DO RASCALS. ANOTHER WIT-
NESS SAW OTHER AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS BEHAVING WITH A BREAK-
DOWN OF DISCIPLINE SIMILAR TO WHAT TOOK PLACE WITH OTHER
TROOPS ON THE TRAIN TO TAEJON ON SATURDAY, AND NOTICED
THAT THE MEN PRESUMABLY GUARDING THE CHOSUN UNIVERSITY
LOOKED DISHEVELED, WERE OBVIOUSLY DRUNK, AND WERE SHOUTING
FOR FOOD. (THERE IS A RUMOR CURRENT THAT THE MEN WERE IN-
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TENTIONALLY UNDERFED--AND SOME ADD, GIVEN DRINK; AND OTHERS
ADD, GIVEN DRUGS--TO MAKE THEM WILD.)

REPORTS OR RUMORS OF GIRLS STRIPPED TO THEIR UNDERCLOTHES
HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE NOT FROM THE SOURCES TO WHICH THEY
WERE ATTRIBUTED, AND SO FAR HAVE NOT BEEN VERIFIED BY ANY-

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 /076 W
-----015005 101141Z /13

O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6941
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SZETION 03 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

BODY WHOM WE HAVE FOUND.

BOTH THE ~~WON~~ AND THE CATHOLIC CENTER WERE ENTERED AND SEARCHED WITH A DEGREE OF VIOLENCE BETTER CALCULATED TO COW THAN TO FLUSH OUT PEOPLE IN HIDING.

ON MONDAY AFTERNOON AN
SAW YOUNG MEN ROUNDED UP AND TAKEN OFF, AND WITNESSED REPEATED ASSAULTS ON SOME OF THE YOUNG MEN ALREADY APPREHENDED.

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MORE STONE THROWING OCCURRED ON MONDAY; AND ON MONDAY MORNING AT [] SAW ACTUAL CIVILIAN INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF A PERSON UNDER ATTACK. (THIS WAS WHAT LOOKED LIKE A MOTHER, YOUNGER SISTER AND SMALLER CHILD WHEN--ONE GUESSES--THE YOUNG MAN IN THEIR FAMILY WAS BEING HURT.)

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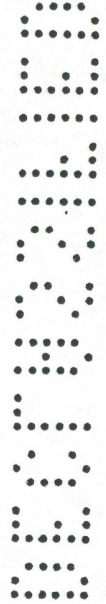
PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WON A GOOD NAME FOR AMERICANS AT THIS TIME BY A SORT OF NON-VIOLENT INTERVENTION. A PCV SEEING A PERSON BEING BEATEN WOULD GO AND PUT THEIR ARMS AROUND THE PERSON, THUS BEING IN THE WAY OF FURTHER BEAT-
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ING. ON SUCH AN OCCASION THE ATTACKER WOULD LEAVE HIS VICTIM BUT CHOOSE ANOTHER, WHO IN HIS TURN WOULD BE PROTECTED BY A PCV WHO PUT HIS ARMS AROUND HIM.

IT IS THE SPONTANEOUS AND UNANIMOUS OPINION OF THE MISSIONARY COMMUNITY LIVING TOGETHER HERE THAT THE PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS HAVE WON THE LASTING GRATITUDE OF GREAT NUMBERS OF THE CITIZENS OF KWANGJU FOR THE UNITED STATES. SHARING THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY CAME TO SERVE,

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EVEN WHEN IT MEANT SHARING SERIOUS, PERHAPS MORTAL, DANGER, THEY MADE EVERYBODY WHO SAW THEM REALIZE THAT AMERICANS (AND AMERICA) REALLY CARE. THEY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH THE PEOPLE NOTSOY SHARED ANIMOSITIES BUT BY SHARED TROUBLE. MISSIONARIES STAY AS A MATTER OF COURSE, IN OBEDIENCE TO A MASTER AND IN A BOND OF LOVE WHICH LEAVES NO CHOICE; BUT THE PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WERE, IC ANYTHING, DISOBEDIENT TO THEIR OWN MASTER IN NOT LEAVING THE CITY. IT IS MY PERSONAL OPINION THAT IF THEIR HEADQUARTERS HAD BEEN ABLE TO SEE THE SITUATION FROM THE GROUND AS WE SAW IT, HEAD-QUARTERS WOULD HAVE HOPED THAT THEY WOULD STAY AND DO AL-MOST EXACTLY WHAT THEY DID. AS AMERICANS, WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR PEACE CORPS FRIENDS.

WE HEARD OF NO VIOLENT OR RIOT-TYPE DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE REPORTS OF AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS' ATTACKS UPON STUDENTS. WE HEARD OF NO NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS AFTER THE REPORTS BEGAN TO CIRCULTE. AGAIN, WE HEARD OF NO VIOLENT OR RIOT-TYPE ACTIVITIES AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FORCES OF LAW AND ORDER FROM THE CITY. WE ASSUME THAT THERE WILL HAVE BEEN THIEVERY AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE, BUT WE HAVE NO DATA TO SUPPORT OUR ASSUMPTION. THERE WAS DEFINITELY ABSOLUTELY NO LOOTING, AND NO WANTON DAMAGE SUCH AS IS ASSOCIATED WITH (FOR INSTANCE) MIAMI OR AMERICAN URBAN RIOTS, EXCEPT DURING

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THE TIME WHEN TROOPS WERE TRYING TO PUT DOWN THE DEMONSTRATIONS. THIS VIOLENCE BEGAN ON MONDAY AND CONTINUED UNTIL THE TROOPS (AND WITH THEM THE POLICE) WERE WITHDRAWN FROM THE CITY.

ON MONDAY CARS AND BUSES WERE BURNED.

WE RE NOT SURE WHEN THE CITIZENRY JOINED THE STUDENTS. IT MAY HAVE BEEN ON MONDAY NIGHT. IT WAS CERTAINLY NO LATER THAN TUESDAY.

WE DO NOT KNOW WHO TOLD WHAT TO WHOM, BUT THE AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS DID NOT REMAIN IN KWANGJU CITY AFTER MONDAY, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL. THE APPEARANCE IS THAT THEY WERE PULLED OUT BY OR AT ABOUT MIDNIGHT ON MONDAY, AND REPLACED (BY TROOPS FROM NORTH CHOLLA?).

ON TUESDAY, MAY 20TH:

ON TUESDAY MORNING THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO TROOPS IN KWANGJU OF THE AIRBORNE UNIT, THEIR PLACE HAVING BEEN TAKEN BY "NORTH CHOLLA" TROOPS. (SOME DAYS LATER) WE KNOW, IN THE CITY--NOT IN UNIFORM OF COURSE-- STUMBLED ON TWO AIRBORNE UNIT MEN VERY UNKEMPT AND APPAR- ENTLY LOST AND FRIGHTENED. HE HAD A SCUFFLE WITH THEM AND CAME OUT AHEAD. THIS SEEMS TO BE SIMPLY TWO MEN WHO GOT

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SEPARATED FROM THEIR OUTFIT AND LEFT BEHIND IN A HOSTILE CITY.)

TUESDAY MORNING WAS QUIET. AT [] WENT TO THE BANK AND GOT SOME MONEY, SAW YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE "VICTIM" AGE GROUP WALKING UNCONCERNED.

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01
OES-09 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /102 W
-----022480 110738Z /13/43

O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
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SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

RUMORS SPREAD ON TUESDAY THAT THE HOUSE-SEARCHES OF MONDAY NIGHT WERE A PRELUDE TO PLANNED EXTENSIVE HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH AND ABDUCTION PLANS FOR TUESDAY NIGHT. WE ASSUME THESE RUMORS TO BE BASELESS, BUT THEY WERE BELIEVED. ALSO BELIEVED WERE STORIES OF AIRBORNE UNIT MEN WAVING SEVERED BREASTS ON THEIR BAYONETS. WE HAVE BEEN HARD PUT TO FIND SUBSTANTIATED STORIES OF WORSE TREATMENT OF WOMEN THAN OF MEN, AND MOST OF THE SPECIFIC STORIES WE HAVE HEARD CONCERNED NOT WOMEN BUT MEN. HOW TRUE THE RUMORS ARE LIKELY TO BE IS A MATTER ON WHICH OUR MISSIONARY GROUP IS NOT IN FULL AGREEMENT.

A LARGE RALLY ON TUESDAY NIGHT RAN LATE IN DEFIANCE OF THE 9:00 CURFEW. ON TUESDAY NIGHT WE HEARD A MODERATELY LARGE AMOUNT OF GUNFIRE, AND ON WEDNESDAY MORNING WE DISCOVERED THE TROOPS AND POLICE APPARENTLY GONE FROM KWANGJU.

A MARTIAL LAW COMMAND LEAFLET (OF WEDNESDAY, MAY 21) SAYS
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THAT ON TUESDAY NIGHT THE TROOPS AND POLICE SUFFERED TEN CASUALTIES (KILLED OR WOUNDED), AND THAT PUBLIC BUILDINGS, POLICE STATION AND THREE BROADCAST STATIONS HAD BEEN DESTROYED OR BURNED.

NOT ALL TROOPS HAD LEFT THE CITY ON TUESDAY, NONETHELESS, AND THERE WAS MORE FIGHTING ON WEDNESDAY.

A PAPER WRITTEN BY A KOREAN ENGLISH TEACHER AND ADDRESSED



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TO A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT SAYS THAT THE "MBC" TELEVISION STATION CAUGHT FIRE BY ACCIDENT AND THAT STUDENTS TRIED IN VAIN TO SAVE IT. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION.

RUMOR HAS IT THAT THE SOCALLED "V.O.C.", THE STATION OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER, WAS DESTROYED BY TROOPS. WE HAVENO CONFIRMATION.

ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 21ST:

THERE WAS FIGHTING ON WEDNESDAY, BUT NONE OF US SAW IT, ALTHOUGH WE DID HEAR GUNFIRE AND SEE SMOKE. [I DROVE SOME PEOPLE TO THE COUNTRY AND RETURNED, BUT WHILE HE SAW BURNING VEHICLES AND HAD SOME ENCOUNTERS WITH THE MILITANT CITIZENRY, HE SAW NO SECTION OF THE CITY (WHERE HIS ROAD TOOK HIM; OR LATER WHERE HE WENT FOR PHOTOGRAPHS) WHICH HAD EITHER TROOPS OR POLICE IN EVIDENCE.

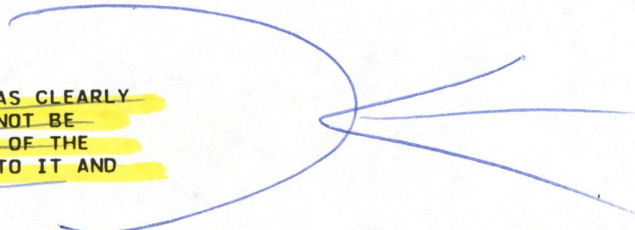
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WEDNESDAY MORNING WAS SURPRISING, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE POLICE AND TROOPS WERE GANESROM OUR SIGHT, BUT BECAUSE WE SAW UNMISTAKABLY THAT ALL VISIBLE CITIZENRY APPLAUDED THE STUDENTS, AND THAT--BARRING ANY UNKNOWN AND DISCREETLY SILENT CITIZENS--THE ENTIRE CITY HAD EMBRACED AND ADOPTED THE STUDENT PROTEST.

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FROM THIS POINT ON, THE MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT WAS CLEARLY A MATTER OF THE CITIZENRY OF KWANGJU, AND SHOULD NOT BE SPOKEN OF IN TERMS OF STUDENTS. I WAS MYSELF ONE OF THE SLOWEST TO RECOGNIZE THIS FACT, BUT I WAS FORCED TO IT AND I CONSIDER IT BEYOND DEBATE.



- EDITORIAL PARAGRAPH; MAY BE SKIPPED:

- IN MY OWN OPINION, WHAT WE SAW IN KWANGJU WAS A DEMONSTRATION OF FREE PEOPLE PUSHED TOO FAR, AND REACTING WITH VIOLENT INDIGNATION WHICH IS DIVORCED FROM POLICY OR PLAN AND WHICH INSPIRES A TEMPORARY LAWLESSNESS IN LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE. I LIKEN IT TO THE BOSTON TEA PARTY; LAWLESS, EMOTIONAL, DUYTRUCTIVE AND ILL-CALCULATED FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BENEFIT; SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION WHEN FREEBORN CITIZENS SUDDENLY REFUSED TO BE TRUMPED UPON ANY LONGER. THIS OPINION IS REINFORCED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THE CITY HANDLES ITS RETURN TO SANITY, WHICH COMES VERY SOON NOW.

ON WEDNESDAY MORNING YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN CAREENED THROUGH THE STREETS ON COMANDEERED PICK-UPS, BUSES, AND MILITARY-TYPE ARMY OR POLICE VEHICLES, WITH SLOGANS PAINTED ON THEM. AS THEY WENT BY, YOUNG AND OLDER SOBER CITIZENS STOOD BY THE STREETS APPLAUDING AND CHEERING. TWICE I SAW WOMEN

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RUN OUT WITH BUNDLES OF STICKS OR CUDGELS FOR THE STUDENTS. LATER THE OFFERINGS WERE SOFT DRINKS AND BUNS (NEVER DID I SEE LIQUOR GIVEN, OR STUDENTS DRUNK). THE MOOD OF STUDENTS AND CITIZENRY WAS HEADY AND EXHILARATED, AND ORDINARY RULES WERE CLEARLY IN ABEYANCE. A VERY FEW RIFLES WERE IN EVIDENCE, BUT THE MOOD WAS LESS LIKE THE EVE OF BATTLE THAN LIKE THE NIGHT BEFORE THE HOMETOWN TEAM'S GAME OF THE SEASON.

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 /076 W
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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 10 SEUL 07402

SOMEWHERE. HOWEVER. THERE WAS FIGHTING. AT ABOUT NOON THE
FROM WHICH THEY COULD PLACE IT.] SAW SMOKE AND WENT TO A POINT
WAS THE BURNING OF THE TAX OFFICE, ALTHOUGH ITS LOCATION
DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN HELD EARLIER IN THE DAY BY TROOPS
OR POLICE. IF IT WAS WANTONLY BURNED, AS CONTRASTED TO
BEING BURNED IN CONFLICT, IT IS OUR ONLY DEFINITE INSTANCE
OF RIOT-ACTIVITY THIS LATE. IN ANY CASE, THE BUILDING WAS
GUTTED TOGETHER WITH AN ASSOCIATED BUILDING IN THE SAME
GROUNDS AND WITH THE HOME AND RESTAURANT OF]
WHO LIVED TOO CLUSE TO ES-
CAPE THE FIRE.

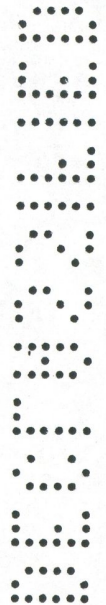
B1 A9

A LITTLE BEFORE THIS] ON THE LAST
JAUNT HE RISKED BY CAR, WAS TOLD OF "MANY BODIES" IN FRONT
OF THE CATHOLIC CENTER AND ASKED TO GO PHOTOGRAPH THEM,
BUT WAS UNABLE TO GET THERE BY CAR AND UNWILLING TO LEAVE
HIS CAR UNTENDED. HE FOUND PEOPLE NOT UNFRIENDLY TO HIM,
BUT IN A VERY ANGRY MOOD AT THIS POINT.]
HOWEVER, DID SEE THESE DEAD.)

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CASUALTIES BEGAN COMING IN AT NOON ON WEDNESDAY. ANY
EARLIER CASUALTIES ARE FOR THE MOST PART UNACCOUNTED FOR
EVEN AFTER THE CITY HAS BEEN REOCCUPIED AND THE DEAD
BURIED.

MANY CASUALTIES WERE NEEDLESS TRAGEDIES. WE HAVE A NUMBER
OF STORIES OF THESE. WE HAVE NO (OR ALMOST NO) INDICATION,
HOWEVER, OF WANTON CRUELTY AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AIR-
BORNE UNIT TROOPS. THIS COULD BE BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE OF

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSEOUL 007402

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 /076 W
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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6944
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

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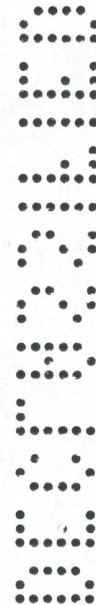
IN TWO CARS WITH AMERICAN FLAGS AND "FOREIGNER'S CAR" SIGNS, THEY MADE A CIRCUITOUS TRIP TO SONGJONGNI, CONVOYED PART WAY BY CITIZENRY. SONGJONGNI ALSO BEING IN CITIZENS' HANDS, AND NO TRAINS RUNNING, THEY RETURNED AND TOOK THE EXPRESS HIGHWAY NORTH UNTIL TURNED BACK BY A MILITARY GUARD ON THE HIGHWAY. THE SOLDIERS SAID, HOWEVER, THAT TRAINS WERE SERVING A STATION WITHIN REACH A LITTLE BACK ON THE ROAD. THIS PROVED TRUE, AND AFTER SEEING THE PARTY OFF, THE TWO CARS RETURNED TO KWANGJU. ENROUTE THEY WERE STOPPED AT A NEWLY ERECTED BARRICADE AND TOLD THAT THE CITY WAS UNDER ATTACK. THIS WAS NOT STRICTLY ACCURATE, AS THEY FOUND OUT WHEN FINALLY ALLOWED TO GO ON. MET BY CITIZENRY AT THE EDGE OF THE CITY, THEY WERE CONVOYED MOST OF THE WAY HOME BY DIFFERENT STREETS THAN BEFORE, AND ARRIVED WITHOUT INCIDENT.

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(CITIZENRY FAITHFULLY SUPPLIED THOSE IN VEHICLES WITH FOOD AND DRINK. ON THIS TRIP BACK TO KWANGJU, [] WAS TOSSED A BUN FROM CITIZENRY IN A COMMANDERED BUS, BUT WITH TOO POOR AN AIM, AND PROCEEDED BUNLESS.)

TWO RUMORS ROSE FROM THIS EXCURSION: ONE, THAT THE MISSIONARIES HAD ALL LEFT THE CITY, AND ONE THAT AMERICAN EMBASSY STAFF HAD ENTERED KWANGJU WITH FLAGS FLYING. SO WE DO NOT



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FEEL WE WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN RELYING HEAVILY ON OTHER RUMORS WHICH WE HEAR.

RUMORS AGAIN CONFIDENTLY FORETOLD THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY ON THURSDAY NIGHT. FROM 11:00 P.M. UNTIL 12:30 THE WRITER'S FAMILY [

B1 A9

HEARD SUSTAINED AND HEAVY FIRING INCLUDING WEAPONRY LARGER THAN SMALL ARMS. THERE WAS A DISCERNIBLE PROGRESSION FROM THE VICINITY OF THE MILITARY UNIT HALF-WAY TO SONGJONGNI IN THE WEST, IN A SOUTHWARD ARC AND AROUND TO A POINT SOUNDING IN THE NIGHT LIKE THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PROVINCIAL CAPITOL. IN THE MORNING THERE WAS NO SIGN OF ANY SUCH ACTION HAVING TAKEN PLACE, SO FAR AS OBSERVATIONS POSSIBLE TO US REVEALED.

FRIDAY THROUGH MONDAY, MAY 23RD THROUGH 26TH:

THE NEXT FOUR DAYS, FRIDAY, SATURDAY, SUNDAY AND MONDAY, WERE A TIME OF NEGOTIATION AND MUTUAL FOREBEARANCE BY MILITARY AND CITIZENRY IN THE EFFORT TO RESTORE REGULAR GOVERNMENT TO KWANGJU.

IN THIS THE INITIATIVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE CHRISTIAN CLERGY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE COINCIDENCE IS SO CONFIDENTIAL
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PERFECT AS TO MAKE OUR ACCOUNT SUSPECT, BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE MAJOR ROLE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PLAYED BY PASTORS OF THE TWO KOREAN DENOMINATIONS WITH WHICH WE ARE MOST CLOSELY ASSOCIATED]

B1 A9

FOUR TIMES, ACCORDING TO [THE MILITARY CONSENTED TO POSTPONE MILITARY ACTION AT THE PLEA OF THE RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE (RECONCILIATION; RESOLUTION; SETTLEMENT. SETTLEMENT PROCEDURE COMMITTEE? -- SOO-SUP PAE-CHAEK COMMITTEE).

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MEANWHILE THERE WAS NO NIGHT WHEN FIRING DID NOT OCCUR. TROOPS ADVANCED WELL INTO THE CITY AND WITHDREW. ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION THEY WITHDREW WHEN A DELEGATION OF PASTORS WENT AND ASKED THEM TO ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY HAD AGREED NOT TO COME YET INTO THE CITY.

ON FRIDAY MORNING THE [FAMILY SAW TWO UNIFORMED SOLDIERS WALKING THROUGH OUR OWN HILL, BUT DID NOT SPEAK TO THEM OR THEY TO HIM.

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AND BEGAN COLLECTING WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES TO AVOID TROUBLE WHEN THE CITY WAS REOCCUPIED. (SOME PERHAPS ALREADY FELT THAT THE COLLECTION WOULD ON THE CONTRARY PROVIDE A DEPOT OF ARMS TO USE IN RESISTING REOCCUPATION, BUT IF SO IT WAS A PRIVATE OPINION.)

TOOK A LEAD IN SEEKING THE FORMATION OF AN

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 SY-05
SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6946
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

BY AND LARGE THE HARD-LINE STUDENTS DID NOT REFUSE TO
ACCEPT THE SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED, BUT SOME OF THEM FELT WITH
THE SOCIAL-ACTIVIST NEWCOMERS ON THE CONCERNED CITIZENS'
COMMITTEE THAT A LITTLE TOUGHER BARGAINING WOULD BE BETTER.
THE SUICIDE GROUP OF COURSE WAS THE MAJOR PROBLEM.

WITH THE BREAKING OF THE CONSENSUS, THE DELEGATION COULD NO
LONGER SPEAK FOR THE CITY IN DEALING WITH THE MARTIAL LAW
COMMAND.

ON SUNDAY NIGHT WE RECEIVED A MESSAGE INDICATING THAT ONLY
MILITARY SECURITY FORBADE TELLING US OUTRIGHT THAT MILITARY
ACTION WOULD BEGIN ON SUNDAY NIGHT OR MONDAY. SINCE THERE
HAD BEEN NO NOTICE GIVEN THE CITY. WE THOUGHT THIS A BRFAK-
ING OF A PROMISE, AND THE
AGREED TO SEEK MEMBERS OF THE RECONCILIATION DELEGA-
TION AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY ASK ENOUGH DELAY TO KEEP THE
PROMISE MADE BEFORE.

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ON MONDAY MORNING THIS WAS CONFIRMED BY TROOP MOVEMENTS.
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AND WE SET OUT ON THIS ERRAND; AND SAW POSTED ON THE
STREET NEW POSTERS OF AN INFLAMMATORY NATURE, OVER A NAME
ALMOST BUT NOT EXACTLY LIKE THAT USED BY THE RECONCILIATION
PROCEDURES COMMITTEE. THE COMMITTEE MEMBER, WHOM THE
WRITER APPROACHED, SEEMED TO THE WRITER TO HAVE FELT THAT
HE HAD DONE ALL HE COULD DO, AND THAT THE BREAKING OF THE
CONSENSUS HAD RESULTED IN THE BREAKING OF THE CITY'S SIDE
OF THE ACHIEVED SETTLEMENT, SO THAT THE PROMISES WERE AL-
READY VOID. THE FABRICATED POSTERS WERE CLEARLY THE WORK

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSEOUL 007402

OF OTHERS. AND WOULD NOT BE BELIEVED BY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE. CONTACT WAS OUT OF TOUCH AT THE MOMENT, BUT WE MET SOME OTHERS, AND WERE TAKEN BY THEM TO THE MEETING OF THE CONCERNED CITIZENS, NOT TO SPEAK BUT TO LISTEN.

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THERE HAD BEEN A DEADLINE ANNOUNCED, AND IN FACT THE MARTIAL LAW TROOPS DID NOT COME UNTIL AFTER THAT DEADLINE PASSED, SO EITHER OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE INFORMATION WE RECEIVED WAS WRONG OR SOMEBODY TOOK ACTION AFTER ALL.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY CAME ON MONDAY NIGHT, OR MORE PROPERLY IN THE EARLY HOURS OF TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 27TH.

THE MILITARY OPERATION WAS SWIFT AND NEAT. THE GUNFIRE WE HEARD WAS FAR LESS THAN WE HAD HEARD ON THE THURSDAY WHEN IT HAD BEEN SO NOISY.

WE THINK IT CLEAR THAT THE OCCUPATION OF THE CITY WAS AS RELATIVELY BLOODLESS AS IT TURNED OUT BECAUSE IN FACT THE CITY DID NOT OPPOSE IT. THE ONLY ACTUAL OPPOSITION, WE BELIEVE, WAS FROM THE SUICIDE GROUP AND SOME TRAGIC HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN WHO JOINED THEM.

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THE DAYS FROM FRIDAY THROUGH MONDAY WERE ALSO THE PERIOD DURING WHICH AMERICANS WERE INSTRUCTED TO LEAVE KWANGJU. TIME MAGAZINE'S ACCOUNT THAT "SOME MISSIONARIES" WERE RECEIVED AT THE AIR FORCE BASE IS TRUE IN THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO CAME AS MISSIONARIES OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS DID (WE HEAR) LEAVE KWANGJU. WE KNOW OF NO OTHER.

OUR PRESENCE WAS CONSPICUOUSLY CHOSEN BY DESIGN, SATISFYING TO ALL WE MET. TO HAVE LEFT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TO US EACH, AND HAD WE FORCED OURSELVES TO LEAVE, THERE WOULD, WE THINK, HAVE BEEN NO MORE PLACE FOR US TO SERVE IN THIS COMMUNITY.

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FROM TUESDAY, MAY 27TH, THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4TH:

THE CITY WAS REOCCUPIED IN THE DAYBREAK HOURS OF TUESDAY, MAY 27. THE RADIO WARNED EVERYONE TO STAY OFF THE STREETS THAT DAY. NOT ALL OF US OBEYED THE ORDER, BUT NONE OF US SUFFERED HURT OR THREAT OF HURT.

FOLLOW-UP OPERATIONS SEEMED LARGELY TO BE NOT RETALIATORY BUT SIMPLY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THOSE WHO STILL REFUSED TO TURN IN ARMS OR ACCEPT THE RETURN OF POLICE AND TROOPS. SIX WERE FLUSHED OUT OF OUR OWN HILL, AND WERE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY IN A SITUATION WHERE THEY COULD MORE EASILY HAVE

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BEEN SHOT BY THE TROOPS INTO WHOSE ARMS THEY WERE SKILL-
FULLY HERDED.

WE WERE SHOCKED BY AN INCIDENT AT THE YWCA, IN WHICH BLOOD
WAS SHED AND LIVES WERE LOST. LATER WE LEARNED (FROM
SOURCES MORE LIKELY TO BE SYMPATHETIC THAN NOT TO THE
YWCA) THAT AT THE TIME OF THIS INCIDENT THERE WAS A PRAYER

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 OCS-06 SY-05
SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W
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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6947
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 09 OF 10 SEUL 07402

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 3)

MEETING HELD IN THE YWCA LATE INTO THE NIGHT IN VIOLATION
OF THE CURFEW; AND THAT ALTHOUGH THE GIRLS AT THE PRAYER
MEETING SLIPPED SAFELY HOME, THE BOYS CHOSE TO REMAIN, AND
THAT IN ~~SPITE~~ OF ALL THE TURNING IN OF WEAPONS, THE BOYS
HAD GUNS WITH THEM. FINALLY, WE LEARNED THAT THERE WERE
ONLY TWO DEATHS, ONE OF AN EMPLOYEE ON DUTY AND ONE OF ONE
OF THE BOYS.

THE MAY 18 INCIDENT WAS NOT COMMUNIST INSPIRED OR INFIL-
TRATED OR INFECTED. THIS IS CLEAR FACT, BUT WE HEAR--NOT
SURPRISINGLY--THAT THE TROOPS WHICH REOCCUPIED THE CITY
WERE GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY WERE DEALING WITH A
COMMUNIST INSURRECTION. IF JUDGMENT IS TO BE PASSED, WE
THINK THIS MISINFORMATION OF THE TROOPS EXTREMELY UNFOR-
TUNATE. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN IS THE RESTRAINT BY
WHICH SO FEW CASUALTIES OCCURRED, EVEN WHEN THE TROOPS
THOUGHT IT WAS COMMUNISTS THEY WERE FIGHTING.

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FOR THE KNOWN DEAD, THE CITY PROVIDED BURIAL SPACE IN THE
SUBURBAN CITY CEMETERY, BUT FAMILIES DID NOT HAVE THE OP-
TION OF BURIALS ELSEWHERE. TRUCKS TOOK COFFINS, FREE BUSES
TOOK MOURNERS. CITY GRAVEDIGGERS PREPARED ROW ON ROW OF
OPEN GRAVES, AND AFTER INTERMENT HELPED FINISH AND SOD THE
MOUNDS. WE ATTENDED OR SHARED THE FUNERAL OF A SEMINARY
STUDENT WHOM WE UNDERSTAND TO HAVE BEEN EXEMPLARY IN BE-
HAVIOR AND KILLED ALMOST BY ACCIDENT WHILE GUARDING EXPLO-
SIVES FROM FALLING INTO WRONG HANDS. THE MULTIPLE SIMUL-

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TANEOUS BURIALS WERE EXTREMELY TAXING TO OBSERVE.

AS THE MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT FALLS FARTHER INTO THE BACKGROUND WE BEGIN TO FEEL WE SEE INCREASING DEGREES OF RETALIATION. ONE SOURCE SYMPATHETIC TO THE CITIZENS SAYS THAT THE CONTRACT WAS BROKEN BY THE CITY AND THE PROMISE ALREADY VOID. IF THE PROMISE IS NOT VOID, THE APPEARANCE IS THAT IT HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT BROKEN. IF THE PROMISE IS VOID INDEED, THE WONDER IS THAT THERE REMAINS THIS MUCH GENTLENESS.

IF AN ABBREVIATED ACCOUNT IS THIS LONG, CONSIDER HOW MUCH REMAINS UNSAID, BUT ONE FINAL POINT I AM DETERMINED TO MAKE. IT IS THIS.

IN MY LIFE I HAVE NEVER FELT SUCH WONDERING PRIDE IN MY KOREAN FRIENDS AS I HAVE FELT IN THE DAYS OF THIS MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT. ALL I HAD SUPPOSED ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE WAS SURPASSED BY WHAT WAS TO ME AN INCREDIBLE WILLINGNESS TO PAY ANY PRICE REQUIRED IF BY PAYING IT THEY COULD ACHIEVE GOOD. I MEAN PARTICULARLY THE RESTRAINT SHOWED BY THE MILITARY AFTER THE FIRST TRAGIC DAYS WHICH SET EVERYTHING OFF, AND THE DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT SHOWED BY THE CITIZENRY AT A TIME WHEN THEY BE-

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LIEVED THINGS FAR MORE OUTRAGEOUS THAN THE TRAGIC TRUTH.

IN NO WAY DIMINISHING THE CREDIT DUE TO OUR KOREAN FRIENDS, FIRST PRAISE GOES TO GOD, WHO IN HIS GOOD WILL SAW FIT THIS TIME TO ANSWER OUR PRAYERS WITH DAILY MIRACLES WORKED IN THE HEARTS OF HUNDREDS WHO KNOW HIM AND THOUSANDS WHO DO NOT. IF I HAVE ONE REGRET IT IS TO END THIS REPORT WITH NO MORE PRAISE THAN THIS.

I WISH NOW TO EMPHASIZE SOME IMPORTANT POINTS TO BE REMEMBERED:

1) KWANGJU WAS NEVER A RIOT-TORN CITY. FOR UNDER 24 HOURS RIOT-TYPE ACTIVITY TOOK PLACE IN SPECIFIC AND LIMITED LOCATIONS ON ACCOUNT OF THE CITIZENS' OUTRAGE, BUT EVEN DURING THOSE TIMES THE CITY WAS NOT IN TURMOIL AND THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY NOT IN DANGER FROM THE SO-CALLED RIOTERS. OUTSIDE THE HOURS OF THIS DESTRUCTIVE FURY, WHICH WAS SO NARROWLY FOCUSED AND SO SPECIFICALLY LOCALIZED, THE CITY WAS QUIET, AND PEOPLE WERE COMPLETELY SAFE EITHER ON OR OFF THE STREETS.

2) KWANGJU WAS NOT A CITY HELD DANGEROUSLY BY STUDENTS OR DISSIDENTS. IT WAS A CITY UNITED IN CRISIS. THE CRISIS CAME FROM OUTSIDERS, UNITING THE CITIZENRY AS ONLY HAPPENS IN CRISIS AND DISASTER. EVEN THE POLICE, EVEN THE RIOT-POLICE, WERE FELT BY THE CITIZENS TO BE INNOCENT OF OFFENSE



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AGAINST THE CITY. THE ANIMOSITY OF KWANGJU IS AGAINST THE AIRBORNE UNIT WHICH BEHAVED SO BADLY, AND AGAINST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH THE CITY BELIEVES TO HAVE BEEN UNFAIR THROUGHOUT.

3) CIVIL RIGHTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GREATER DEMOCRACY WERE NOT AT THE HEART OF KWANGJU'S ANGER. STUDENT ACTIVITY TOWARD THESE GOALS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE EVENTS WHICH ROUSED THE CITY, AND MANY OF THE CITIZENS FEEL DEEPLY

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-14 PC-01 DCS-06 SY-05
SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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O 100943Z JUN 80
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6948
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 10 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

ABOUT THESE CAUSES, BUT THE KWANGJU INCIDENT WAS NOT FOR OR
BECAUSE OF THESE THINGS. IT WAS BECAUSE OF OUTRAGEOUS ACTS
AGAINST ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS OBJECTIVE WAS TO MAKE KNOWN
THAT SUCH ACTS COULD NOT BE INFLICTED HERE WITH IMPUNITY.

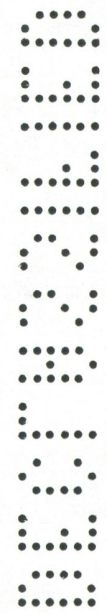
4) THE OUTRAGES WHICH OCCURRED WERE NOT FOR THEIR PART
DISCERNIBLY INFECTED WITH SEXUAL LICENSE OR WITH SADISTIC
ACTS AGAINST WOMEN. DESPITE RUMORS OF UNSPEAKABLE ACTS,
THE VICTIMS OF ABUSE PROVIDE INADEQUATE GROUNDS FOR BELIEF
IN SPECIFICALLY WOMAN-FOCUSED ATROCITIES.

5) TO THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED LONG IN KOREA, THE SINGLE MOST
AMAZING FACTOR IN THE ENTIRE KWANGJU INCIDENT IS AN ATYPICAL
AND PROBABLY MIRACULOUS RESTRAINT EXERCISED BY ALL.
WHATEVER CHARGES MAY BE BROUGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OR
THE MARTIN LUTHER KING COMMAND, THE CONSPICUOUS FACT IS THAT,
WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE KWANGJU AREA AND THE TIME OF
THE KWANGJU INCIDENT AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AIRBORNE
UNITS, THE KOREAN MILITARY EXERCISED, AND THE KOREAN
GOVERNMENT ALLOWED, A RESTRAINT WHICH RAN COUNTER TO THEIR
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RECORD AND MUST HAVE BEEN GALLING TO MAINTAIN. BY THE SAME
TOKEN, THE SELF-DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE CITIZENRY
IS BEYOND ALLPRECEDENT.

FINALLY, THE MISSIONARIES WERE NOT IN ANY GREAT DANGER, BUT
WERE THE OBJECT OF CONCERN ON THE PART NOT ONLY OF OUR OWN
COUNTRY BUT ALSO ON THE PART OF KOREANS ON BOTH SIDES OF
THE KWANGJU CONFLICT. NONETHELESS WE LEARNED THAT HEROISM
IS APPARENTLY NOT REQUIRED OF GOD'S SERVANTS IN SITUATIONS



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LIKE OURS; BUT THAT HE GIVES INSTEAD A CLEAR CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHAT WE SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT DO, TOGETHER WITH SO UNMISTAKABLE AN ASSURANCE OF HIS CARE THAT THERE IS NO ROOM FOR THE KIND OF FEAR WHICH HEROISM CONQUERS. HAD THINGS GONE DIFFERENTLY, OR SOME ACCIDENT OCCURRED, ONE OR MORE OF US MIGHT HAVE DIED, BUT UNLESS IT IS HEROIC TO RELAX IN THE LOVE OF GOD, WE NEVER FELT THAT HE WAS ASKING US TO BE HIS HEROES.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY WE WERE IN SO CRITICAL A SITUATION. BUT ONLY TO SAY WE WERE GIVEN STRONG AND SIMPLE GIFTS WHICH MADE THESE THINGS IRRELEVANT.

/s/ [] END QUOTE. GLEYSTEN

JUNE 5-6, 1980.

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