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~~Systematic Review Decision: RELEASED, APPROVED~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 01 OF 10 101321Z
ACTION EA-12

DECLASSIFIED BY/RELEASE AUTHORITY:
JEFFREY CHARLSTON, SENIOR REVIEWER
U.S DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RELEASE DECISION: RELEASE IN FULL
DATE: MAY 11, 2021

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
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6939
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 10 SEOUL 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

1. ~~(C)~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THERE FOLLOWS AN ACCOUNT OF THE KWANGJU RIOTS COM-
PILED BY AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY OF LONG ACQUAINTANCE
WITH THE AREA. HE WAS IN KWANGJU THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD
OF TROUBLE AND, IN ADDITION, HIS STATURE IN THE COMMUNITY
GAVE HIM ACCESS TO THE VIEWS OF A NUMBER OF OTHER WIT-
NESSES AND PARTICIPANTS. THIS IS THE MOST BALANCED
RECORD AND ANALYSIS OF INCIDENT WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR.
WE HAVE SUBSTITUTED "PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY" OR "BAPTIST
MISSIONARY" IN PLACE OF NAMES USED IN THE REPORT. STILL,
END-USERS SHOULD HANDLE REPORT WITH CARE SINCE IDENTITIES
OF PERSONS MENTIONED COULD BE SURMISED BY PEOPLE FAMILIAR
WITH KWANGJU, AND WE DO WISH TO PROTECT AUTHOR AND ALL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 01 OF 10 101321Z

PERSONS CITED IN ACCOUNT.
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
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-GOVERN-
MENT RALLY WITH SONGS, SLOGANS, MARCHING, AND IN THE EVEN-
ING 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 01 OF 10 101321Z

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.

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 (WIFE OF A BAPTIST MISSIONARY) 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.

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 A BAPTIST MISSIONARY AND SOME OF HIS AMERICAN GUESTS IN KWANGJU FOR AN EVANGELISTIC CRUSADE. WHATEVER PRIOR PROVOCATION THERE MAY HAVE BEEN, THESE PEOPLE WITNESSED ATTACKS OF GREATER OR LESSER SEVERITY ON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 02 OF 10 101046Z
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 6940
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 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 BRUTALITY 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 TRYING TO INTERFERE WITH AN AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPER'S ATTACK UPON A PERSON, BUT NO PROOF. A BAPTIST MISSIONARY 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 THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 02 OF 10 101046Z

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

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

IN ALL OF THIS, THE WRITER WENT TO THE COUNTRY IN THE MORNING, 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. BAPTIST AND PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY FAMILIES ARE OUR SOURCE FOR MOST OF WHAT WE KNOW PERSONALLY. (FULLER NOTES, NOT HERE COPIED, GIVE DETAILS AND SOURCES.)

REPORTS OF SEVERE VIOLENCE BEGAN COMING IN ON MONDAY MORNING. 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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 02 OF 10 101046Z

FROM THE FIRST. A BAPTIST MISSIONARY'S 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 UNIT 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 WITNESS 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 INTENTIONALLY 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-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 03 OF 10 101054Z

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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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6941
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SZETION 03 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

BODY WHOM WE HAVE FOUND.

BOTH THE YWCA 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 IRISH PRIEST AT THE CATHOLIC CENTER SAW YOUNG MEN ROUNDED UP AND TAKEN OFF, AND WITNESSED REPEATED ASSAULTS ON SOME OF THE YOUNG MEN ALREADY APPREHENDED.

MORE STONE-THROWING OCCURRED ON MONDAY; AND ON MONDAY MORNING A BAPTIST MISSIONARY 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.)

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WON A GOOD NAMEGEOR 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-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 03 OF 10 101054Z

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, 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, HEADQUARTERS WOULD HAVE HOPED THAT THEY WOULD STAY AND DO ALMOST 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 CIRCULATE. 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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PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 03 OF 10 101054Z

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 A NAVAL CADET WE KNOW, IN THE CITY--NOT IN UNIFORM OF COURSE--STUMBLED ON TWO AIRBORNE UNIT MEN VERY UNKEMPT AND APPARENTLY LOST AND FRIGHTENED. HE HAD A SCUFFLE WITH THEM AND CAME OUT AHEAD. THIS SEEMS TO BE SIMPLY TWO MEN WHO GOT SEPARATED FROM THEIR OUTFIT AND LEFT BEHIND IN A HOSTILE CITY.)

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 04 OF 10 110732Z
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
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
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COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 04 OF 10 110732Z

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 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 SO CALLED "V.O.C.", THE STATION OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER, WAS DESTROYED BY TROOPS. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION.

ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 21ST:

THERE WAS FIGHTING ON WEDNESDAY, BUT NONE OF US SAW IT, ALTHOUGH WE DID HEAR GUNFIRE AND SEE SMOKE. A BAPTIST MISSIONARY 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.

WEDNESDAY MORNING WAS SURPRISING, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE POLICE AND TROOPS WERE QANESROM 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 04 OF 10 110732Z

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 DEMON-
- STRATION 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-CALCU-
- LATED FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BENEFIT; SPONTANEOUS COM-
- BUSTION WHEN FREEBORN CITIZENS SUDDENLY REFUSED TO BE
- TROMPED 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 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 05 OF 10 101110Z
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

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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 05 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

SOMEWHERE, HOWEVER, THERE WAS FIGHTING. AT ABOUT NOON THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY FAMILY SAW SMOKE AND WENT TO A POINT FROM WHICH THEY COULD PLACE IT. THEY ARE SURE THAT THIS 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 A MEMBER OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH WHO LIVED TOO CLOSE TO ESCAPE THE FIRE.

A LITTLE BEFORE THIS THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY, 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. (A PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY COUPLE, HOWEVER, DID SEE THESE DEAD.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 05 OF 10 101110Z

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 AIRBORNE UNIT TROOPS. THIS COULD BE BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE OF TROOPS OR IT COULD BE BECAUSE A RIOT-CONTROL TYPE SITUATION WAS SUCCEEDED BY AN ARMED-CONFLICT TYPE SITUATION. (THE FIRST CASUALTY IN THE KWANGJU CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL WAS A MAN BAYONETTED IN THE BACK WHILE TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT ONE OR MORE OF HIS CHILDREN, BUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES MAKE IT UNCLEAR WHETHER THE SOLDIER KNEW HIM TO BE INNOCENT. IF HE WAS WOUNDED AT NOON IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE TOURIST HOTEL, AS REPORTED, ANY SOLDIERS THERE AT THAT TIME WILL HAVE BEEN FACING AN EXTREMELY HOSTILE AND DANGEROUS CROWD.) CROWDS WERE WARNED TO DISPERSE OR BE FIRED ON BY HELICOPTERS, BUT THERE WAS GREAT INDIGNATION WHEN FIRING ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE.

FROM 3:00 TO 4:00 ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON THERE WAS A SPATE OF CASUALTIES, BOTH DEAD AND WOUNDED--TEN DEAD AND FIFTY

WOUNDED BY ABOUT 4:00 IN THE KWANGJU CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL
(BUT BY THURSDAY NOON THE DEAD BROUGHT THERE TOTALED ONLY
13 OR 15, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE MORE WOUNDED).

ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT MANY PEOPLE CAME TO THE COMPOUND IN THE HOPE OF SAFETY FROM SUPPOSED HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH-AND-SEIZURE OR OTHER DANGERS. MOSTLY THEY WERE PEOPLE'S SONS, BUT THERE WERE OTHERS ALSO. NONE STAYED AT MY HOUSE, MANY

PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 05 OF 10 101110Z

AT THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY'S HOUSE, AND BY FAR THE GREATEST
NUMBER AT THE HOUSE OF A PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FAMILY.

THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY FAMILY ARE THE SPONTANEOUS FOCUS OF HOPE IN THE KOREAN BAPTIST FAMILY, BUT THE MAY EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT HAS DEMONSTRATED DRAMATICALLY THE PLACE WHICH THEY HAVE WON IN THE HEARTS OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. IT IS THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FAMILY WHO RECEIVES TELEPHONE MESSAGES OF INFORMATION OR DISTRESS, WHO IS ASKED FOR HELP OR SHELTER, WHO IS COUNTED ON BY PEOPLE IN TROUBLE. WHATEVER GOOD OPINION THE REST OF US MAY RECEIVE FROM THOSE AROUND US, WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN IT IS THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FAMILY ON WHOSE LOVE AND HELP THEY COUNT.

WEDNESDAY DARKNESS BROUGHT A LARGE INCREASE IN GUNFIRE, MUCH OF IT SEEMING TO BE IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

THE LATTER PART OF THE NIGHT WAS MUCH MORE QUIET, DESPITE A SUPPOSEDLY SURE WORD THAT THE CITY WAS TO BE REOCCUPIED DURING WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

ON THURSDAY, MAY 22ND:

THE AMERICAN GUESTS OF THE BAPTISTS, UNABLE TO CONTINUE THE EVANGELISTIC CRUSADE, AND SCHEDULED IN ANY CASE TO GO TO MEETINGS IN TAEJON, WERE VISITED ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT BY A YOUNG MAN FROM THE SEOUL OFFICE OF THE TOURIST BUREAU, WHO CAME IN BY TRAIN TO THE JUNCTION TOWN OF SONGJUNGNI, AND SO (SAFELY ENOUGH) ON INTO KWANGJU.

ON THURSDAY THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY AND THE WRITER, ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY, SET OUT TO TAKE

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 06 OF 10 101124Z
ACTION EA-12

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INFO  OCT-01  ADS-00  CIAE-00  DODE-00  NSAE-00  NSCE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6944
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 06 OF 10 SEOUL 07402

THEM TO SONGJONGNI OR ELSEWHERE AND SEND THEM ON UP TO TAEJON, ALONG WITH THE TOURIST BUREAU MAN AND THREE OF THE CHILDREN OF THE STATION, TAKEN CARE OF BY THE WIFE OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY AND A LADY BAPTIST MISSIONARY.

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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PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 06 OF 10 101124Z

(CITIZENRY FAITHFULLY SUPPLIED THOSE IN VEHICLES WITH FOOD AND DRINK. ON THIS TRIP BACK TO KWANGJU, THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY 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 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 (BUT NOT THE FAMILY OF ANOTHER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY) 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 MILI-

TARY 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

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 06 OF 10 101124Z

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, THE BAPTISTS AND OUR SISTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. PROMINENT TOO WAS A PASTOR OF THE KOREAN CHURCH OF GOD. THERE WAS ALSO GOOD PARTICIPATION BY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, BUT (NEWSWEEK TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING) NO CONSPICUOUS LEADERSHIP ROLE.

FOUR TIMES, ACCORDING TO A KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN PASTOR, THE MILITARY CONSENTED TO POSTPONE MILITARY ACTION AT THE PLEA OF THE RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE (RECONCILIATION; RESOLUTION; SETTLEMENT. SETTLEMENT PROCEDURE COMMITTEE? -- SOO-SUP TAE-CHAEK COMMITTEE).

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 NAVAL CADET FRIEND OF A PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FAMILY SAW TWO UNIFORMED SOLDIERS WALKING THROUGH OUR OWN HILL, BUT DID NOT SPEAK TO THEM OR THEY TO HIM.

MEANWHILE THE CITIZENRY MAINTAINED GOOD ORDER IN THE CITY, 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.) BAPTIST PASTORS TOOK A LEAD IN SEEKING THE FORMATION OF AN

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 08 OF 10 101135Z
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 SY-05
 SYE-00 DCT-02 /083 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6946
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
SA CINCUNC KS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 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 BREAKING OF A PROMISE, AND THE BAPTIST AND PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES AGREED TO SEEK MEMBERS OF THE RECONCILIATION DELEGATION AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY ASK ENOUGH DELAY TO KEEP THE PROMISE MADE BEFORE.

ON MONDAY MORNING THIS WAS CONFIRMED BY TROOP MOVEMENTS,
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 08 OF 10 101135Z

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 ALREADY VOID. THE FABRICATED POSTERS WERE CLEARLY THE WORK OF OTHERS, AND WOULD NOT BE BELIEVED BY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE. THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY'S 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.

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 FRONT THE SUICIDE GROUP AND SOME TRAGIC HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN WHO JOINED THEM.

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PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 08 OF 10 101135Z

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. A MISSIONARY OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA WAS HERE THROUGHOUT, THOUGH WE DON'T KNOW WHETHER THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR SAID NOT TO BE. OUR PRESENCE WAS CONSPICUOUSLY (WORD 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.

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 BEEN SHOT BY THE TROOPS INTO WHOSE ARMS THEY WERE SKILLFULLY 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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 09 OF 10 101953Z
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 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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 09 OF 10 SEOUL 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 INFILTRATED 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 UNFORTUNATE. 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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 09 OF 10 101953Z

FOR THE KNOWN DEAD, THE CITY PROVIDED BURIAL SPACE IN THE SUBURBAN CITY CEMETERY, BUT FAMILIES DID NOT HAVE THE OPTION 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 BEHAVIOR AND KILLED ALMOST BY ACCIDENT WHILE GUARDING EXPLOSIVES FROM FALLING INTO WRONG HANDS. THE MULTIPLE SIMULTANEOUS 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-
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 SEOUL 07402 09 OF 10 101953Z

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 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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PAGE 01 SEOUL 07402 10 OF 10 101223Z
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
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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
COMUSKOREA SEOUL KS//BJ-IS
CHJUSMAG SEOUL KS
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 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 MARTIAL LAW 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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PAGE 02 SEOUL 07402 10 OF 10 101223Z

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 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/ A PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY. JUNE 5-6, 1980.

END QUOTE. GLEYSTEN

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