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TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSEUL 007266

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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 IO-14 ACDA-12 AID-07 /083 W  
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O 060836Z JUN 80  
FM AMEMBASSY SEDUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6876  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
COMUSKOREA SEDUL KS//BJ-IS  
CHJUSMAG SEDUL KS  
SA CINCLUMC KS

SECTION 01 OF 04 SEOUL 07266

E.O. 12065: GDS 6/4/86 (CLARK, WILLIAM) OR-P  
TAGS: PCOV, PINT, KS  
SUBJECT: AN INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF THE PUBLIC MOOD

1. [REDACTED]
2. SUMMARY: VIOLENT ERUPTIONS OF PUBLIC DISCONTENT APPEAR LESS LIKELY FOR THE MOMENT, BUT SUB-SURFACE RUMBLINGS CONTINUE. THERE IS SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE POLITICAL TREND, BUT THE HIGH PITCH OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS APPEARS TO HAVE DRAINED A GOOD DEAL OF THE EMOTION IN THE SOCIETY. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, THOSE MOST INCENSED AND EMBITTERED ARE FOUND IN THE CHURCH/DISSIDENT/STUDENT/MEDIA GROUPINGS, WITH THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HOLDING OFF TO JUDGE THE NEW REGIME'S PERFORMANCE.
3. THE ARMY APPEARS RELATIVELY UNITED IN SUPPORT OF EFFORTS TO RE-ESTABLISH LAW AND ORDER AND TIGHTEN SOCIAL DISCIPLINE. THERE ARE SCATTERED COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE POLITICAL EXCESSES OF MAY 17 AND POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF GENERAL CHUN. THESE WILL GROW IF THE REGIME FUMBLES, BUT

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THE KWANGJU AFFAIR HAS PROBABLY FORCED AT LEAST TEMPORARY UNITY ON THE ARMY. THE BUREAUCRACY IS WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE NEW ORDER HAS IN STORE AND WILL ALSO PROBABLY GO ALONG. POLITICIANS ARE IN ALMOST TOTAL DISARRAY. THE STUDENTS, WITHOUT THE CAMPUSES ON WHICH TO MARTIAL THEIR FORCES AND WITH THEIR TOP LEADERSHIP EITHER ARRESTED OR IN HIDING, ARE HAVING TROUBLE PUTTING THEIR ACT BACK TOGETHER. THE MOST DISAFFECTED ELEMENT OF SOCIETY ARE THE PEOPLE OF KWANGJU AND OTHERS WHO WERE PRE-  
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SENT FOR THE EVENTS OF MAY 17-18 AND LATER. THEIR HIGHLY EMOTIONAL STATE DOES NOT, HOWEVER, SEEM TO BE STRIKING MANY SPARKS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. THE "MAN ON THE STREET", DESPITE PROTESTATIONS THAT "EVERYONE" IS OPPOSED TO THE MILITARY, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN COOL TO STUDENT PROTEST AND ALARMED BY KWANGJU. SUCH PEOPLE MAY THUS BE MORE THAN NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO THE INITIAL PHASE OF EFFORTS TO TIGHTEN CONTROLS, ESPECIALLY IF "THE TRAINS RUN ON TIME". BUT THEY WILL BE ALIENATED BY EXCESSES AND GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN ECONOMIC PROSPECTS.

4. IN SHORT, THE EVENTS OF MAY HAVE FURTHER POLARIZED A KOREAN SOCIETY WHICH ALREADY HAD DEMONSTRATED AN EXCESSIVE DEGREE OF INTERNAL CONFLICT AND INABILITY TO MODERATE CONTENDING FORCES. THE NEW AUTHORITIES HAVE A FAIR PROSPECT OF MAINTAINING CONTROL FOR THE SHORT RUN, BUT ONLY IF THEY LEARN QUICKLY ON THE JOB, CONDUCT THEMSELVES WITH MORE RESTRAINT THAN THEY HAVE TENDED TO SO FAR, AND COPE EFFECTIVELY WITH SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

5. VIOLENT ERUPTIONS OF POLITICAL FERMENT IN THE ROK GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF HAVING SUBSIDED FOR THE PRESENT. AS ONE LOCAL OBSERVER PUT IT, HOWEVER, THE CURRENT SITUATION IS VERY ANALOGOUS TO MOUNT ST. HELENS. THERE HAVE

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BEEN TWO SERIOUS ERUPTIONS, THE STUDENTS IN SEOUL AND THE CITIZENS IN KWANGJU, AND A THIN LAVA DOME COMPOSED OF STRICT MILITARY CONTROL, EXTREME CAUTION, AND A DEGREE OF EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION HAS BEEN FORMED. HOW LONG THIS WILL HOLD, GIVEN THE CONTINUED SUBTERRANEAN RUMBLINGS IN THE SOCIETY, IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN.

6. CLEARLY THERE IS SERIOUS UNHAPPINESS AMONG MAJOR PORTIONS OF THE ROK CITIZENRY OVER THE CURRENT PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. ALTHOUGH MOST SHARED THE GOALS OF THE STUDENTS ON MAY 15, THERE APPEARED LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR THEIR TACTICS -- TAKING TO THE STREETS. THE COUNTERACTION BY THE MILITARY ON MAY 17 EVOKED A BACKLASH EFFECT WHICH HAS IN THE EYES OF MANY VINDICATED THE STUDENTS AND JUSTIFIED THEIR PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN. THE EVENTS IN KWANGJU DAMAGED THE IMAGE OF THE ROK ARMY, IN PARTICULAR THE SPECIAL FORCES, AND AT THE SAME TIME FRIGHTENED MANY PEOPLE BY THEIR INTENSITY. NOW, AFTER THE HIGH EMOTIONAL PITCH OF THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, THERE IS A DEGREE OF FATIGUE AND RESIGNATION COUPLED WITH CAUTION IN THE MOOD IN SEOUL.

7. NOT SURPRISINGLY, OUR SCATTERED SOUNDINGS HAVE SHOWN THAT THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK HAVE FURTHER POLARIZED THE SOCIETY. THE LIBERAL ELEMENTS, IF REPRESSED, ARE EMBITTERED. THE MAN ON THE STREET WHO NORMALLY FAVORS

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LAW AND ORDER HAS BEEN FRIGHTENED BY EVENTS AND MAY BE MORE THAN NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO TIGHTER CONTROLS. THIS PHENOMENON MAY BE SHORTLIVED IF THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT COPE WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. IN ANY EVENT, THE MODERATE CENTER IN KOREA HAS BEEN ERODED.

8. THE REACTION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN SEOUL

  
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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-14 ACDA-12 AID-07 /083 W  
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O 060836Z JUN 80  
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6877  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
COMUSKORLA SECUL KS//BJ-IS  
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MIRRORS ACCURATELY THE ATTITUDES OF THEIR PRIMARY CONTACTS. U.S. BUSINESSMEN ARE CAUTIOUS OVER THE LONG-TERM STABILITY OF THE ROK BUT LESS CONCERNED OVER DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT. IF THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP CAN DEVELOP AN APPARENTLY STABLE STRUCTURE AND REINVIGORATE THE ECONOMY, THEN U.S. BUSINESS AND BANKING CIRCLES WILL BE PREPARED TO GO BACK TO BUSINESS AS USUAL. THE MISSIONARY COMMUNITY, IN CONTRAST, IS ACUTELY DEPRESSED BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, CONCERNED OVER THE POSSIBLE MISTREATMENT OF THE NUMEROUS PEOPLE ARRESTED, AND CRITICAL -- OFTEN BITTERLY CRITICAL -- OF THE U.S. FOR NOT HAVING IN SOME WAY PREVENTED THESE DEVELOPMENTS. THEY ARE QUICK TO BRING TO THE EMBASSY TALES OF RISING ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT, ARE NOT TAKEN WITH MOVES WE HAVE ALREADY MADE, AND CANNOT BE COUNTED ON FOR SUPPORT IN OUR DIFFICULT MANEUVERINGS OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. SINCE THE U.S. CHURCH SUPPORTERS OF THIS LATTER GROUP ARE MORE NUMEROUS AND MORE VOCAL THAN THOSE OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, WE WOULD EXPECT THAT COMPLAINTS REACHING THE DEPARTMENT WILL BE HEAVILY WEIGHTED ON THE SIDE OF THE CHURCH-RELATED AMERICAN RESIDENTS OF THE ROK. THESE TWO VIEWS IN FACT HIGHLIGHT THE DILEMMA FACING MANY KOREANS --

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THE DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN SELECTING THEIR LEADERSHIP COUPLED WITH RECOGNITION THAT STRONG LEADERSHIP IS REQUIRED IN A FRACTIOUS SOCIETY. EVEN KOREAN CHURCH GROUPS ARE SPLIT WITH THE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS SEEKING CALM AND A HEALING OF INTERNAL DIVISION, WHILE THE PROGRESSIVE SEGMENTS GIRD THEMSELVES FOR FUTURE TESTS OF STRENGTH WITH THE POWERS NOW IN CONTROL.

9. OUR BEST READING OF ARMY REACTION GIVES A SOMEWHAT

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MIXED BUT BASICALLY FIRM PICTURE. FEW OFFICERS DISAGREE WITH THE DECISION TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW IN THE WAKE OF STUDENT EXCESSES. THEY ARE ALSO PLEASED WITH THE ARMY PERFORMANCE IN RETAKING KWANGJU AND CONVINCED THAT COMMUNIST ELEMENTS PLAYED A ROLE IN THAT UPRISING. THERE IS A DISINCLINATION TO LOOK AT THE ARMY EXCESS WHICH CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE KWANGJU UPRISING AND A LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AS TO THE FULL MEANING OF THE NEW, BASICALLY MILITARY, STRUCTURE THAT IS BEING ESTABLISHED TO MONITOR AND CONTROL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES. THE ARREST OF KIM DAE JUNG (M-R: KIM TAE-CHUNG) IS ACCEPTED AS JUSTIFIED. THERE HAVE BEEN SCATTERED EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ABOUT THE POLITICAL CRACKDOWN AND COMPLAINT ABOUT THE POLITICAL AMBITION OF GENERAL CHUN. THESE WILL MULTIPLY IF THE NEW REGIME FUMBLES OR GOES TO NEW EXCESSES. BUT AT THIS TIME THE ROK MILITARY APPEARS TO BE RELATIVELY UNITED IN THE CAMPAIGN TO RE-ESTABLISH LAW AND ORDER AND TIGHTEN SOCIAL DISCIPLINE.

10. THE ROK BUREAUCRACY IS IN A STATE OF SHOCK AND IS WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE NEW ORDER HOLDS FOR IT. THE TREND IS TOWARD ACCOMMODATION, NOT CONFRONTATION. THE WHOLESALE HOUSECLEANING OF THE KCIA HAS LED MANY TO SPECULATE THAT A SIMILAR PATTERN WILL BE FOLLOWED IN

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OTHER GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES. YOUNGER BUREAUCRATS ARE REPORTEDLY VERY DISHEARTENED, DISINCLINED TO WORK HARD, AND HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE MILITARY. BUT THEIR CRITICISM IS LIMITED TO COMPLAINTS AT PRESENT AND THEY CONTINUE TO REPORT FOR WORK. SOME LOWER-LEVEL OFFICIALS HAVE EVEN SIGNED ONTO CHUN'S STANDING COMMITTEE; THE MAKEUP OF WHICH CONTINUES CHUN'S PATTERN OF BRINGING UP JUNIORS WHO WILL HOPEFULLY BE GRATEFUL FOR THE PROMOTION. THERE ARE OTHER CASES OF MOFA OFFICERS ACCEPTING LESS THAN FIRST-RATE ASSIGNMENTS IN ORDER TO SERVE OVERSEAS AT THIS TIME.

11. ROK POLITICIANS ARE IN A STATE OF COMPLETE DISARRAY. THEIR LEADERS ARE IN DETENTION OR UNDER HOUSE ARREST. CLOSE ASSOCIATES OF J.P. KIM (M-R: KIM CHONG-P'IL) AND KIM DAE JUNG ARE STILL BEING SOUGHT BY THE AUTHORITIES. FORBIDDEN ASSEMBLY, DENIED A ROLE IN CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, AND UNCERTAIN OF THEIR FUTURE, POLITICAL FIGURES OF ALL PERSUASIONS ARE LYING LOW.

12. LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE ROK BUSINESS COMMUNITY ARE LESS CONCERNED WITH DEMOCRATIC FORM THAN WITH STABILITY AND LABOR CONTROL. THEY SEEM INCLINED TO SUPPORT THE NEW MOVES, BUT THIS COULD CHANGE IF THE STRUCTURE PROVES INCAPABLE OF REVVING UP THE ECONOMIC ENGINE. MANY ARE NERVOUS ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE NEW REGIME WILL PUSH ITS ANTI-CORRUPTION THEME.

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13. NOT SURPRISINGLY, INTELLECTUALS -- ACADEMICS, CHURCH-  
MEN, JOURNALISTS, ET AL -- ARE MOST CRITICAL OF THE NEW  
REGIME. THEY VIEW RECENT EVENTS AS AN ATTEMPT TO REIMPOSE  
THE MOST HATED ELEMENTS OF PARK'S YUSHIN SYSTEM. SEVERAL  
OF THEIR NUMBER, PARTICULARLY THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH KIM



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FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6878  
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SA CINCUNC KS

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DAE JUNG OR PROMINENT DISSIDENTS, HAVE BEEN "DETAINED".  
THEY LOOK TO THE U.S., WITH CONSIDERABLE DISPAIR, TO TURN  
THE CLOCK BACK.

14. FOR THE PRESENT, STUDENT LEADERS ARE DISORGANIZED  
AND UNSURE OF HOW THEY WILL GET THEIR ACT BACK TOGETHER  
BUT HAVE BEEN REAFFIRMED IN THEIR BELIEF THAT THEIR  
WORST FEARS WERE JUSTIFIED. THE STUDENT MASS IS HARDER  
TO ASSESS. TO SOME EXTENT IT HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN  
RADICALIZED, BUT THERE ARE ALSO MANY SIGNS THAT STUDENTS  
WANT TO STUDY AND QUESTION THE WISDOM OF THEIR ACTIONS  
DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS. OUR STUDENT CONTACTS REPORT  
THAT THEIR TCP LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN EFFECTIVELY ROLLED UP  
BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND THE CLOSURE OF CAMPUSES  
HAS MADE IT VERY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE ANY DEGREE OF  
COORDINATION. THEY ARE CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT THE  
GOVERNMENT WILL FEEL THE NECESSITY TO REOPEN THE SCHOOLS  
AND MANY ARE DETERMINED TO USE THAT OCCASION TO REKINDLE  
THE MOVEMENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO SNUFF

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OUT SUCH EFFORTS BY PARK ERA METHODS. A NEW FEATURE  
OF STUDENT ACTIVITY, WHEN AND IF IT RECOMMENCES, MAY  
WELL BE THE PARTICIPATION BY MANY FACULTY MEMBERS IN  
THE STUDENT MOVEMENT. EVEN THOSE PROFESSORS WHO DO NOT  
TAKE PART WILL BE LESS LIKELY TO COUNSEL MODERATION IN  
THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. ADDITIONALLY, FORMER  
DAMPENERS ON STUDENT ACTIVITY, SUCH AS THE HOPE THAT  
KIM DAE JUNG MIGHT ACHIEVE POLITICAL POWER THROUGH  
PEACEFUL PROCESSES AND THE HOPE THAT THE U.S. MIGHT

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IN SOME WAY BUFFER THE SOCIETY AGAINST AGGRESSIVE MOVES BY THE MILITARY HAVE BEEN EITHER TOTALLY REMOVED OR VERY SERIOUSLY ERODED.

15. THE MOST SERIOUSLY DISAFFECTED SEGMENT OF SOCIETY ARE THE KWANGJU PARTICIPANTS, EITHER ACTIVE DEMONSTRATORS OR CONCERNED OBSERVERS. THE EMOTIONAL INTENSITY WITH WHICH EVENTS OF MAY 18 IN KWANGJU ARE BEING DESCRIBED BY THOSE WHO WERE PRESENT INDICATES CLEARLY THAT THE WOUNDS INFLICTED BY THE ARMY WILL NOT HEAL FOR A VERY LONG TIME. THESE PEOPLE ARE CONVINCED THAT CHOLLA NATIVES ELSEWHERE IN THE ROK -- AND THERE ARE ONE MILLION IN SEOUL ALONE -- WILL NOT REMAIN PASSIVE ONCE THE TRUE FACTS OF THE KWANGJU INCIDENT BECOME WIDESPREAD KNOWLEDGE.

16. THE MAN IN THE STREET -- OR ON THE FARM -- TO THE EXTENT ONE CAN DECIPHER HIS THOUGHTS, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN GENUINELY FRIGHTENED BY THE LARGE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE KWANGJU RIOTING. CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH THE NEW MILITARY REGIME, THEY APPEAR WILLING TO BELIEVE KIM DAE JUNG AT LEAST HAD A HAND IN THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. MORE THAN WE WOULD HAVE GUESSED ALSO APPEAR TO WELCOME THE ARREST OF J.P. KIM AND LEE HU-RAK (M-R: YI HU-RAK) ON

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CORRUPTION CHARGES. MANY HAVE TOLD US THOSE ARRESTS WERE LONG OVERDUE. THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE APPEAR TO BE CAUTIOUSLY WATCHING WHICH WAY THE WIND IS BLOWING. IF WE HAD TO GUESS JUST NOW, WE SUSPECT THEY WILL BE WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY TO THE NEW ORDER.

17. WHILE IT IS QUITE POPULAR IN SEOUL CIRCLES TO CONTRAST UNIVERSAL DISLIKE FOR CHUN DOO HWAN WITH A DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE FOR PARK IN 1961, THIS ALSO APPEARS AN OVERSTATEMENT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE MANY KOREANS, LESS EDUCATED AND AT THE LOWER END OF THE ECONOMIC SCALE, WHO WILL OPT FOR ORDER OVER LIBERALIZATION IF ORDER IS ACCOMPANIED BY ECONOMIC REWARDS. IN A SIMILAR MANNER, THE EVENTS IN KWANGJU ARE NOT CALLING FORTH THE SYMPATHETIC RESPONSE ONE WOULD EXPECT. CHURCH GROUPS AND DISSIDENT CIRCLES ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BUT THE AVERAGE SEULITE APPEARS LESS EXCITED, EVEN BY THE DEATH TOLL RELEASED, AND SOMEWHAT INCLINED TO ACCEPT PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ARGUMENT. REPORTS FROM BOTH TAEGU AND PUSAN, ADMITTEDLY KYONGSAN-DO CITIES, NOTE A SIMILAR LACK OF INTEREST. IN THOSE AREAS EFFORTS TO COLLECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO AID THE PEOPLE OF KWANGJU ARE NOT DOING WELL.

18. WE CANNOT YET SINGLE-OUT THE WORKERS FROM THE

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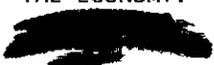
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MAN ON THE STREET. LABOR LEADERS ARE UNDER PRESSURE AND SOME HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. WORKERS ARE OBVIOUSLY THINKING TWICE BEFORE PRESSING THEIR DEMANDS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WAGE SETTLEMENTS STILL SEEM TO BE RUNNING ABOVE GOVERNMENT GUIDELINES, IF STILL BELOW WORKERS' DEMANDS. THE GOVERNMENT IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER THIS SECTOR AND OBVIOUSLY HAD THE WORKERS AS WELL AS MANAGERS IN MIND WHEN DECIDING TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY. THEY WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE WITH SMALL



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CARROTS AND LARGE STICKS.

19. THE MOST WIDELY ASKED QUESTION TODAY IS WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE. MOST OF OUR SOURCES FIRMLY BELIEVE THE CURRENT SITUATION IS INHERENTLY UNSTABLE BUT THERE IS A WIDE RANGE OF OPINION REGARDING THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME. WE HAVE HEARD VERY LITTLE TALK OF GOING BACK INTO THE STREETS NOW AND THE HARSH ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE MILITARY APPEAR TO HAVE DAMPENED FOR THE PRESENT ENTHUSIASM FOR DIRECT CONFRONTATION. OPPOSITION ELEMENTS APPEAR TO BE LOOKING FOR A CATALYST AROUND WHICH PUBLIC SENTIMENT CAN COALESCE. SOME PIN THEIR HOPES ON THE ARMY ITSELF, IN THE FORM OF EITHER YOUNGER OFFICERS OR WISER SENIOR OFFICERS, REALIZING THE ERKOK OF ITS WAYS AND RECTIFYING THE SITUATION. THOSE WITH THIS VIEW TEND TO HAVE THE SIMPLISTIC APPROACH THAT, IF CHUN DOO HWAN (M-R: CHON TU-HWAN) WERE REMOVED, THE SITUATION WOULD IN SOME MAGICAL WAY BE RESOLVED. OTHERS LOOK TO THE STUDENTS AS THE MOTIVE FORCE AND THUS EXPECT LITTLE ACTION BEFORE THE UNIVERSITIES ARE ALLOWED TO REOPEN. HERE AGAIN

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THERE SEEMS TO BE A NAIVE FAITH THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL ALLOW STUDENT ACTIVITIES TO TAKE PLACE SIMILAR TO THOSE IN APRIL-MAY OF THIS YEAR. OTHERS LOOK TO THE U.S. TO EXERCISE ITS PERCEIVED GREAT LEVERAGE AND SOMEHOW MAGICALLY CORRECT THE SITUATION.

20. THIS LATTER ELEMENT HAS LED TO SERIOUS CRITICISM OF THE U.S., A CRITICISM COMPOUNDED OF FRUSTRATION OVER CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, MISINTERPRETATION OF

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U.S. MOTIVES AND A BELIEF IN DISTORTED NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS BY PEOPLE WHO ARE QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT NO ONE CAN BELIEVE ANYTHING IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THOSE WHO ARE AWARE OF OUR ACTIONS ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE POSITIONS TAKEN, BUT MANY BELIEVE THAT MORE SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE AT A LOSS TO SUGGEST SPECIFICS.

21. HOW THIS MIXTURE WILL SETTLE OUT IN THE MONTHS AHEAD IS VERY UNCLEAR. WE APPEAR TO BE IN FOR AT LEAST A SHORT PERIOD OF SULLEN CALM. HOW THE GOVERNMENT MOVES TO OVERCOME ITS CREDIBILITY GAP, THE ACTIONS IT TAKES ON POLITICAL REFORM, ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN COPING WITH THE ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS CURRENTLY ABOUNDING, AND ITS ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THE STUDENTS ALL WILL HAVE VERY LARGE IMPACT ON THE EVOLVING SITUATION. THE STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PHENOMENA TO HANDLE. THERE IS WIDESPREAD DISAFFECTION AMONG THE STUDENT POPULATION AND MORE -- BUT NOT EXTENSIVE -- COMMENT THAT THE NORTH AND SOUTH ARE LITTLE DIFFERENT SO WHY FIGHT FOR ONE OVER THE OTHER. THIS IS NOT NEW BUT IS GROWING. IN A CURIOUS WAY THE KWANGJU INCIDENT HAS INCREASED THE ABILITY OF THE NORTH TO GAIN LISTENERS FOR ITS PROPAGANDA

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BROADCASTING. DURING THE KWANGJU UPRISING THE NORTH WAS INITIALLY QUITE CAREFUL IN PROVIDING RATHER FACTUAL ACCUNTS OF WHAT WAS TAKING PLACE. (PYONGYANG LATER WENT WILD WITH BASELESS EXAGGERATION). IN LIGHT OF THE PAUCITY OF INFORMATION IN THE ROK MEDIA, THE NORTH BECAME THE SOLE SOURCE FOR MANY HERE OF NEWS FROM THAT AREA. THESE NEW LISTENERS MAY WELL CONTINUE TO TUNE THEIR RADIOS TO PYONGYANG IN THE PRIVACY OF THEIR ROOMS AFTER MIDNIGHT. GLEVSTEEN

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