

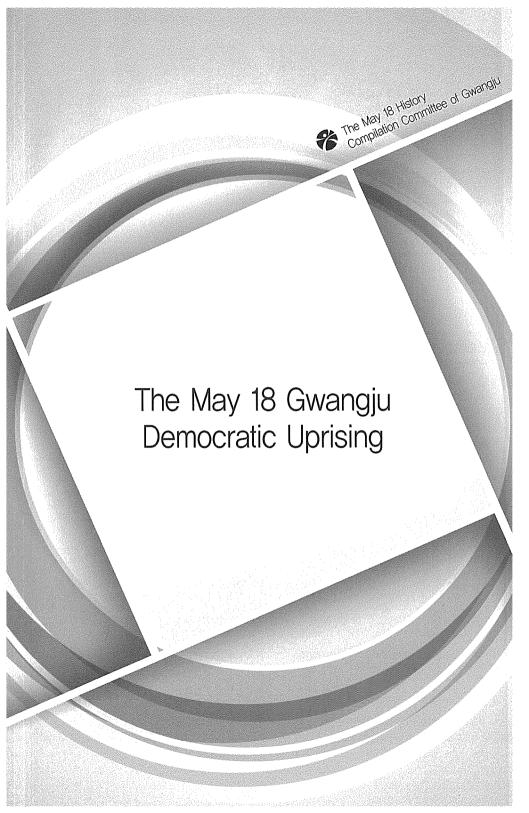
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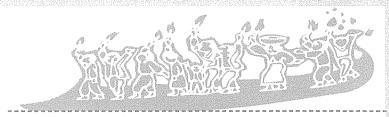


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#### **Preface**

It has been thirty years since the citizens of Gwangju rose up against a military dictatorship to establish freedom, democracy and justice as basic given rights in Korea. While they were in power, the military regime tried to distort the true nature of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising by referring to it as "a rebellion backed by seditious communists."

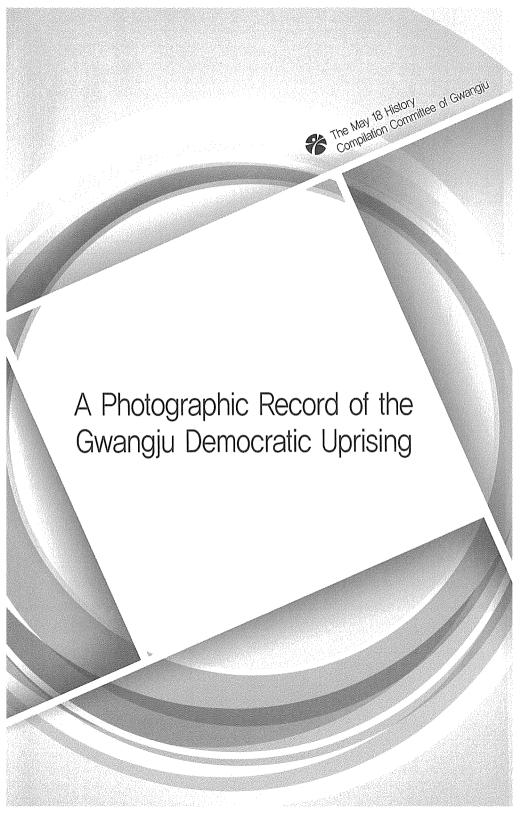
However, the Gwangju Democratization Movement played a decisive role in defining the national movement that eventually resulted in our current democratically-elected civilian government. The people responsible for the massacre of citizens in Gwangju have been brought to trial and their crimes recorded in history. The civilian government has also institutionalized a national memorial day and officially recognized the Gwangju Democratization Movement as a cornerstone of Korea's democracy. Therefore, we should make an effort to inform all nations of the true circumstances of the May 1980 uprising and work to carry on its spirit.

As part of this effort we - the members of the May 18 Historical Compilation Committee of Gwangju - have published this book. By presenting a careful overview of events from Chun Doo Hwan's coup d'etat on December 12, 1979 through the spring of 1980 - including sixty photos - we hope to help re-evaluate the Gwangju Uprising and its achievements to assign it its proper place in the history of Korea and in the larger history of democratic struggles throughout the world.

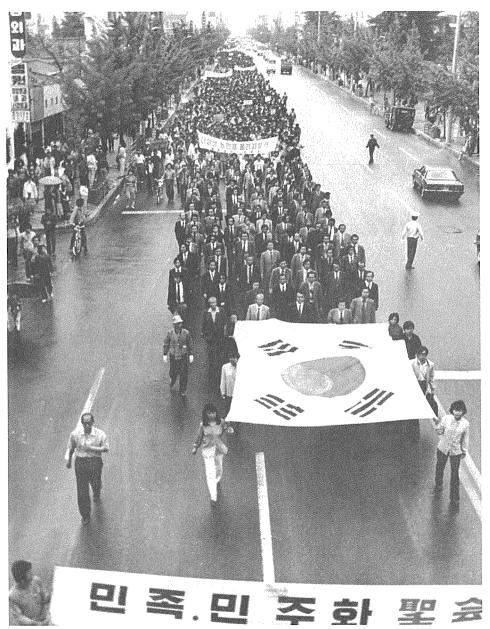
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The May 18 Historical Compilation Committee of Gwangju

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Professors and students march with the national flag for the Meeting for National Democratization on May 15.





Students began marching from their respective universities and advanced in a very orderly fashion.

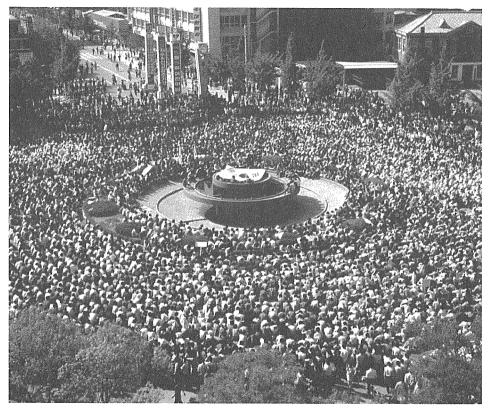


Police and students confront each other at the main gate of Chonnam National University before the start of the march to the Meeting for National Democratization,



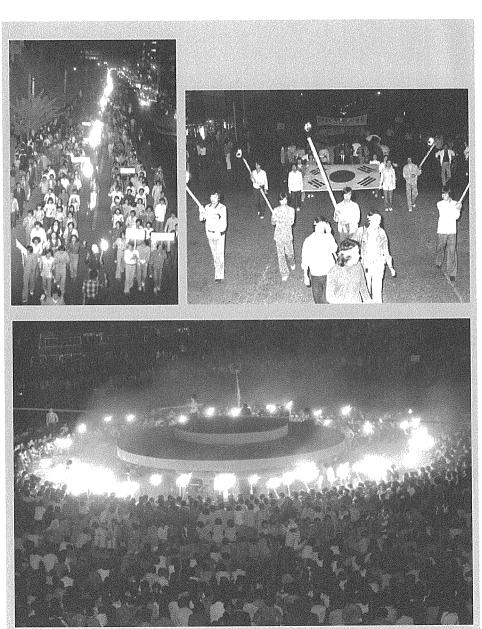


"Opposition to Military Rule," "End the Emergency Martial Law,"

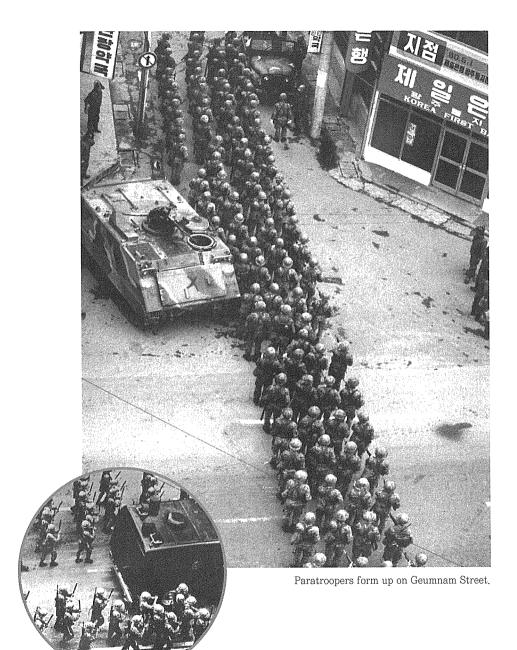


May 16, demonstrators gather around Provincial Hall's fountain for the Meeting for National Democratization.





A torchlight procession around Provincial Hall's fountain.





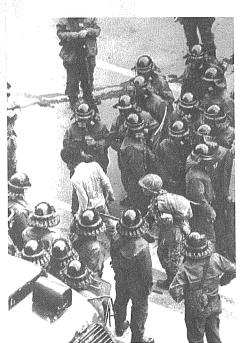








After one paratrooper beats a demonstrator with his truncheon, four more come and beat the same man,

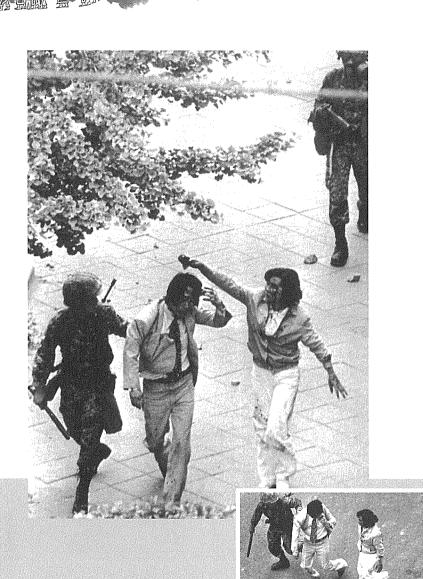








A paratrooper escorts a captured citizen through a line of riot police then beats him behind an armored vehicle.

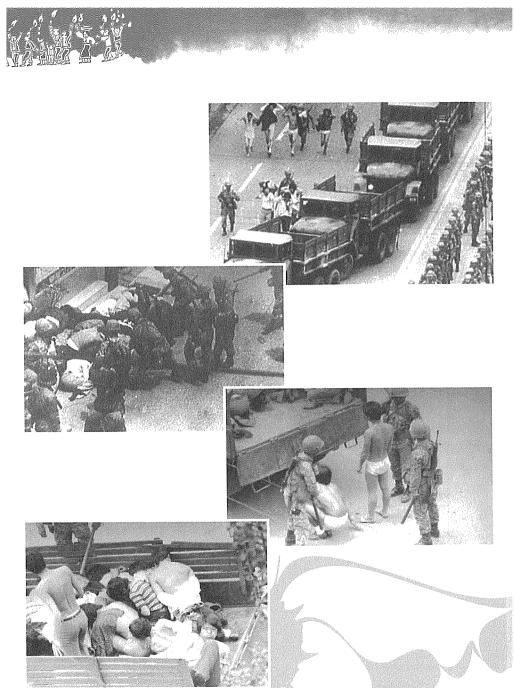


A new married couple were taken from a hotel behind the Catholic Center and beaten by soldiers, Here the wife tries to tend to her husband's wound as he is led away by a soldier,



Even those who weren't demonstrating were arrested.

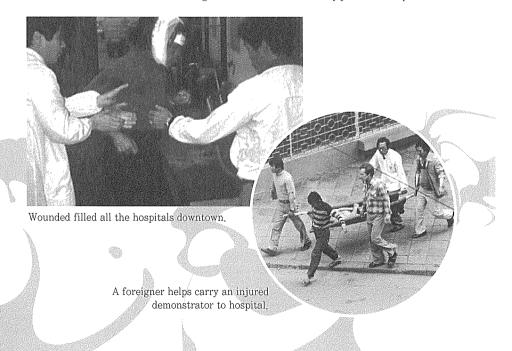
Many who were arrested were made to kneel before
being put in the back of awaiting trucks.



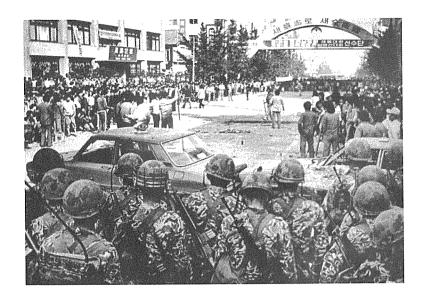
Young people who were caught downtown were ruthlessly beaten and often stripped before being put into the backs of trucks. Once in the trucks speaking was enough to invite further abuse with boots, truncheons and even bayonets.



High school students eventually joined in the protests.

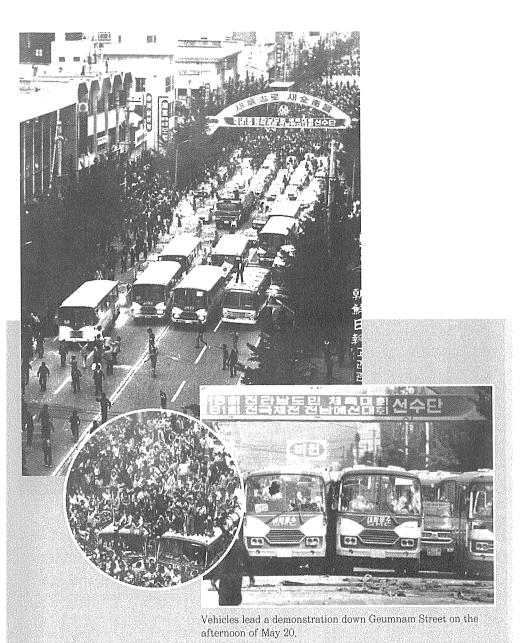








Two scenes from Geumnam Street where demonstrators and Martial Law Forces battled back and forth,

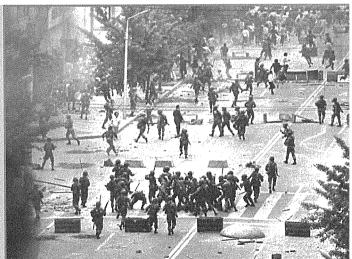




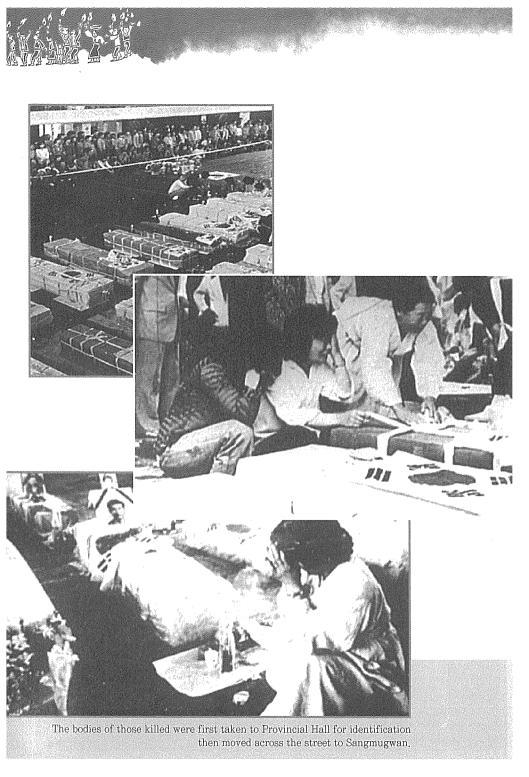


The bodies of the two students killed at Gwangju Station the night of May 20 were marched downtown in a cart the following day. This sight filled the citizens with a sense of horror.

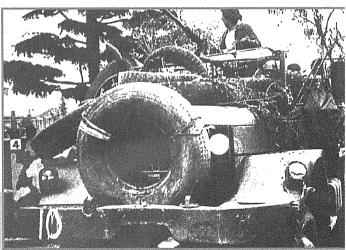




May 21 was the bloodiest day of the uprising. Before the troops began firing in unison on the crowds, Geumnam Street was packed with demonstrators awaiting the results of negotiations between the Martial Law Forces and the citizen representatives.







Eventually citizens took up arms to resist the military.

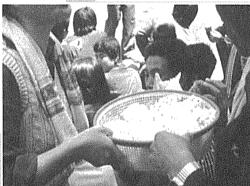






The Citizens' Army maintained or in Gwangju after the Army's retre and stood watch in the outskirts t prevent their reentry.





In a demonstration of community, citizens shared what they had and volunteers collected, cooked and delivered food to the Citizens' Army, However, journalists described Gwangju as a ruined, lawless place.







Citizens demonstrated after the retreat of the Martial Law Forces.

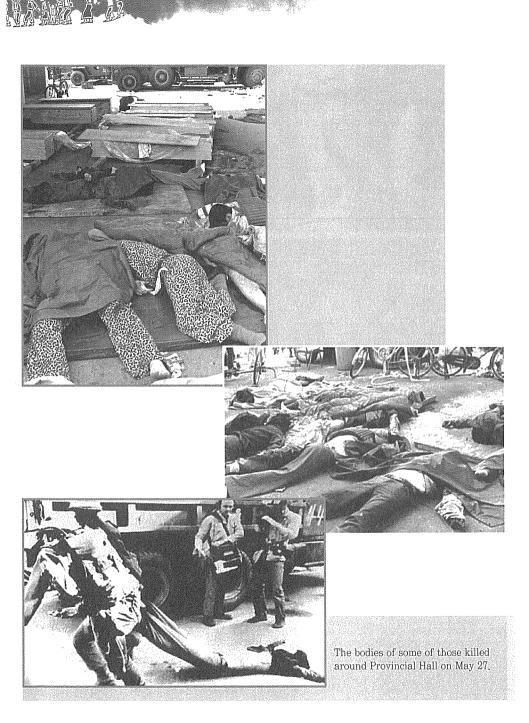




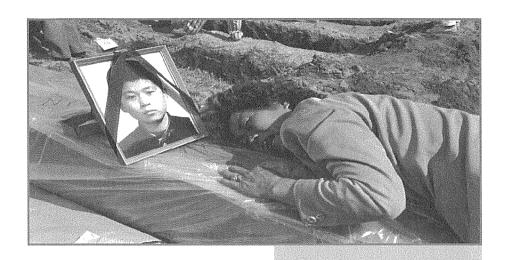
After the Army occupied Gwangju on May 27 an atmosphere of fear and intimidation reigned as students were threatened at gun point. In the bottom two pictures members of the Citizens' Army are marched away to detention centers with their hands bound behind their backs.

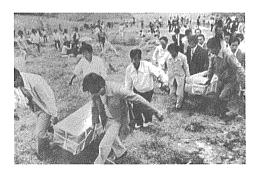


The May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising \_35



#### A Photographic Record of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising

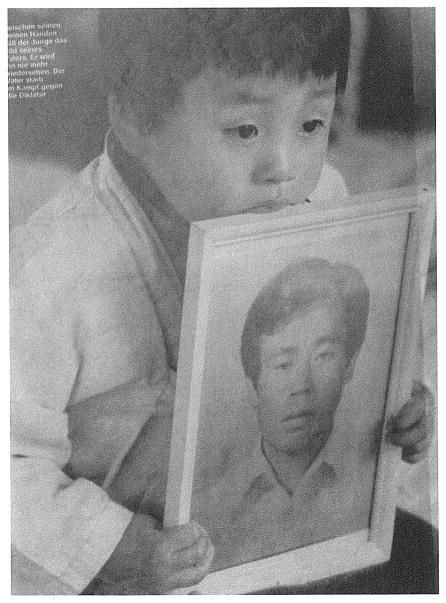






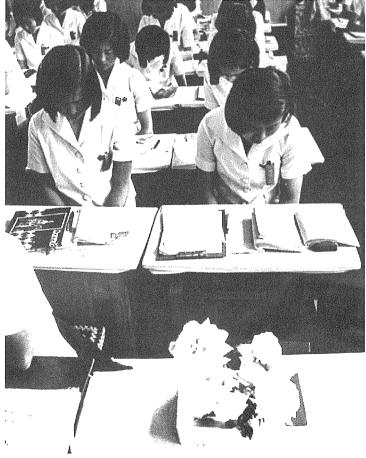
The victims placed in Sangmugwan were moved to Mangwoldong Cemetery.





The ten days of resistance in Gwangju ended with death and wailing.



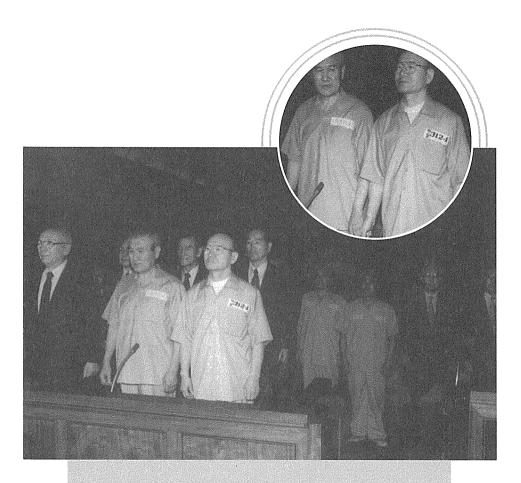


A classroom at a girls' school. How could they accept that one of their classmate's seats is now empty?



At the Military Court at Sangmu Army Base, members of the Citizens' Army stand trial for rioting.

#### A Photographic Record of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising

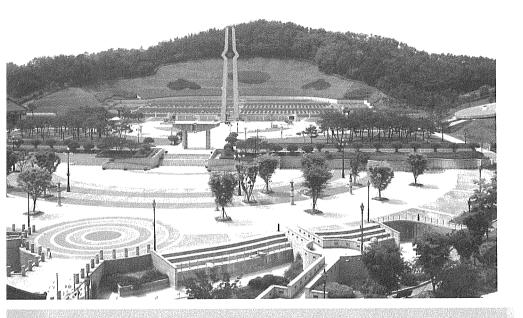


Sixteen years later those responsible for the massacre stood trial for murderous insurrection,

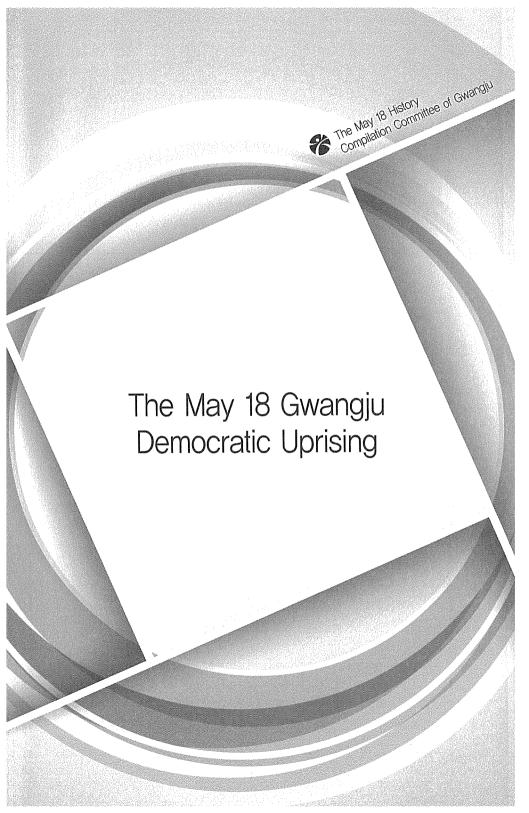


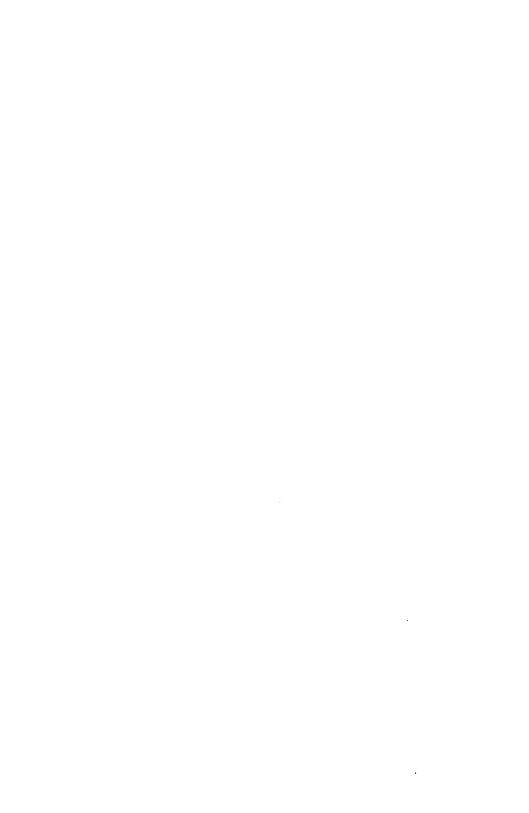
The victims in Mangwoldong Cemetery were moved yet again in May 1997 to the new May 18th National Cemetery.

#### A Photographic Record of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising



View of the May 18th National Cemetery.





## The Character of the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising



The Gwangju Democratic Uprising is most tragic and shameful incident in modern Korean history. In May 1980 over 150 citizens were killed and 3,000 wounded by Korean soldiers. The roots of the massacre go back to October 26, 1979 and the assassination of President

Park Jeong Hui on. This was quickly followed on December 12, 1980 by Chun Doo Hwan's coup d'etat and the declaration of martial law. This illegal seizure of power led to demonstrations in most of the larger cities and eventually to the occupation of Provincial Hall in Gwangju by pro-democracy demonstrators. By that time Gwangju had already shown itself to be the center of the fiercest demonstrations and made itself the target of Operation Choongjung (True Heart), the employment of specially trained troops to quell the uprising once and for all.

So it was through violence and repression Korea's Fifth Republic came into existence. Officially, the dictatorship's victims number 4,406: 154 killed, 76 missing, and 4,176 wounded and/or arrested. These figures are based compensation claims made after the events of May 1980 were officially recognized as a democratic uprising. 8,721 claims for compensation were made and 5,101 approved. However, the total number of those killed, wounded or arrested, both during and after the uprising, may be closer to 7,500.

For several years afterwards it looked as if the Gwangju Democratic Uprising had failed, yet it proved a touchstone that fed continued demands for democracy throughout the 1980s. Even so, it took nearly a decade for the Gwangju Democratic Uprising to be rightfully recognized as an act of popular resistance instead of a riot.

At the time, the autocratic government referred to it as "a riot," "the Gwangju affair," or, less simply, as "a rebellion backed by some seditious power scheming to overthrow the government." However, by June 1988, Koreans had slowly started to appreciate the uprising's true nature and intent. Then with the advent of the Sixth Republic the uprising was renamed the Gwangju Democratization Movement in an attempt to restore national harmony. In addition, the change in balance of political power in the 13th National Assembly made it possible to hold a televised hearing on the Gwangju Democratic Uprising. These played an important role in bringing to light the brutality of the Martial Law Forces during the ten days of the uprising.

Kim Young Sam, South Korea's first democratically-elected civilian president made his position on the Gwangju Democratic Uprising clear on May 13th, 1993. "The bloodshed in Gwangju in May 1980 is the cornerstone of this country's democracy. Its victims gave their lives for democracy." He continued by indicating the shift in perception that had taken place. "This government today stands in line with the Gwangju Democratization Movement." With these words he redeemed the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.

On that day he enacted the  $5 \cdot 18$  Special Law to, in Kim's words, "set history to rights." The law recognized the uprising as a precursor to a pivotal event in South Korea's democratization. As President Kim noted in his speech that day, such recognition would help "bring the military junta to

trial under law, justice, and history" and "heal the wounds the nation had suffered."

Unfortunately, the full truth of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising has yet to be discovered. In addition to the true number of casualties, several questions remain including why the original Martial Law Forces were later reinforced with paratroopers, who commanded them, who gave the order to fire on the demonstrators and the role the United States played in the suppression of the uprising. Given all these

unknowns, it is our duty to continue to search for the truth. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising can be evaluated from different points of view. Till now, the most common discussions can be summarized as follows:

- 1. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising was true to the spirit of earlier uprisings in Korea. In 1980 the demonstrators were resisting an illegitimate military government that had come to power through a coup d'etat. Chun Doo Hwan's coup marked the second time in a generation an autocratic government had undermined the hopes of the April 19 Movement when, in 1960, popular opposition forced Syngman Rhee's resignation and brought an end to the First Republic.
- 2. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising reminds us that citizens are a dynamic force in national histories. The uprising helped make Koreans from all walks of life more aware of their power and this newfound consciousness helped encourage what would soon become a national democratic movement.
- 3. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising demonstrated that even armed resistance against an unjust government is a human right and that the rightness of such resistance can be officially recognized. The uprising was originally denounced by the military authorities as "a rebellion of armed rioters"

then later recognized as the Gwangju Democratization Movement by the democratically-elected government that eventually followed. Even earlier events such as the 1894 Peasant Uprising, the Donghak Revolution and the years of resistance against colonial Japan have not yet obtained such official status.

4. By rejecting Chun Doo Hwan's claims of legitimacy, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising was decisive in ending a regime that simplycontinued the oppressive policies of President Park's Yushin (Renovation) system. Jeon's regime tried various means to manipulate public opinion to remain in power, yet its gross abuse of authority only encouraged renewed protest every May in Gwangju until Jeon's Fifth Republic was finally overthrown through popular action.

The ultimate outcome of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising shows it should not be considered a painful, frustrated chapter in modern Korean history, but the beginning of the country's democratization. The people's sincere desire for democracy - which remained undiminished afterwards despite the terrible events of May 1980 - should serve as an inspiration to all of us.

### II. The Last of the Yushin System and the December 12 Coup

 The October 26th Incident and the Collapse of the Yushin System

#### A. The Political Background of the October 26th Incident

The crisis of October 26, 1979 is commonly seen to have resulted from the antagonism ordinary citizens felt towards the government of President Park Jeong Hui. His so-called Yushin (Renovation) system was little more than a typical military dictatorship that denied citizens their fundamental rights and freedoms. Much of Park's power lay in the 1972 Yushin Constitution which eliminated the previous constitution's presidential term limit and created an electoral college called the National Conference for Unification, thus practically guaranteeing Park's rule. In addition, the inconclusive result of the Korean War left a dangerous ideological enemy to the north. The government actively exploited this situation by using claims of national security to justify their consistent suppression of the necessary foundations of a democratic system such as the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association, thought, scholarship, and conscience. However, as opposition to the Yushin system grew in the 1970s, especially among intellectuals, some reform became inevitable.

The level of discontent with the repressive political system as well as Park's economic policies was made clear in December 1978 during the 10th National Assembly elections. The governing Republican Party garnered only 31. 7% of the vote despite widespread attempts to influence the

election through bribes and the system's institutional power. In contrast, the opposition New Democratic and Unification Parties won 32. 8% and 7. 4% respectively. Initially, these surprising results led to some encouraging signs from the government. First, on December 27 Kim Dae Jung was released from prison. As the New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate, Kim had lost the previous presidential election to Park Jeong Hui. On May 29, 1979,Kim appeared at a rally with an NDP Assemblyman named Kim Young Sam. There they formed an alliance under a "clean party" platform. This event brought some hope to the nation and contributed to a growing sense of crisis within the Yushin regime.

# B. The YH Incident and Kim Young Sam's Dismissal from the National Assembly

In the summer of 1979, a minor labor incident led to an outburst of social upheaval. On the morning of August 9, 1979, 200 female employees of clothing manufacturer YH Trading Corporation occupied the fourth floor auditorium of the New Democratic Party Building to protest their boss's decision to close his company. There they conducted a sit-in demonstration to demand their jobs be saved. Despite the government's hostility to organized labor, they did not consider the women's action a threat. Instead they saw it as an opportunity to target the opposition and initiated what became known as Operation 101. 1,000 uniformed and plainclothes policemen entered the building, broke into the party offices and beat and removed the leading members. They also forcibly removed 174 of the factory workers. In the process one of the union leaders, Kim Gyeong Sook, leapt from a window and later died in hospital.

As the political situation continued to worsen the Park regime attempted

to split the New Democratic Party. On August 13, three members of the local delegation of the NDP - who were really in the employ of the government - submitted a court application requesting the suspension of the party's president and vice-presidents.

On the morning of September 8th, the 16th Consultant Committee of the Seoul Local Court suspended the NDP leaders and installed their own acting president. Then later in the month Kim Dae Jung was placed under house arrest. At a press conference two days later, Kim Young Sam vowed "to resist the present regime" and in an interview with The New York Times demanded that the Carter Administration end its support of the regime. The government responded by branding Kim Young Sam's actions "an anti-constitutional and anti-national act" and demanded the National Assembly take appropriate disciplinary action. On the afternoon of October 4th, 159 members of the Republican Party and the National Conference for Unification successfully revoked Kim's membership.

The government's heavy-handed response to the YH Incident and its expulsion of a National Assembly leader only increased the people's distrust and hatred. In addition, coinciding with the beginning of the second half of the academic year like they did, the events spurred the existing student movement to become more political and as a result students began demanding the withdrawal of the Yushin system.

### C. Prelude to the Collapse of the Yushin System: the Busan and Masan Uprisings

Around 10 in the morning on October 16, 1979, soon after a group of students in front of Busan University Library begun shouting "Do away with the Yushin system!," "Do away with martial law!," and "Down with

the dictatorship!," 1,000 students stormed the building. The number of demonstrators continued to grow and eventually broke through the police cordon that had formed in front of the school gate. The intention of the police had been to keep the students on campus, but by the afternoon scores of students were threading their way through the streets. Encouraged by the cheers of onlookers, by 1 o'clock in the morning the demonstrators had destroyed eleven police stations in Busan and a large scale democratic uprising appeared to be developing.

The following day the government ordered Busan University closed causing students from Donga University to take to the streets. Citizens and students all over Nampodong demonstrated until late that night shouting the usual slogans. In response the 3rd Paratroopers Brigade under Brigadier General Choi Sae Chang was sent in and quickly and violently broke up the demonstration. By midnight the city was under martial law.

In 1960, in the nearby city of Masan, public anger over the murder of a high school student by riot police was a major impetus behind the April 19th Movement that ended Syngman Rhee's rule. Now, nineteen years later, Masan would once again be a focal point. On the morning of October 18, over 1,000 students from Gyeongnam University demonstrated on campus in violation of a closure order. In a rough repeat of the events in Busan, by late afternoon the demonstration had developed into a street march and by evening the demonstrators numbered in the tens of thousands.

They too then went on to attack any buildings considered necessary for the maintenance of the Yushin system - a Republican Party office, the house of the President's chief bodyguard, the local MBC broadcasting station, North Masan police station, Masan City Hall and the Law Court. All told, nineteen buildings were attacked. Approximately 250 soldiers from

the 39th Division were sent in but unrest continued until 2 a.m. The next night saw more demonstrations by both students and workers as 1,500 additional soldiers entered the city. The following day Masan was "under a state of siege" and the Busan and Masan Uprisings ended as quickly as they had begun. During the four days of unrest in the two cities 1,563 demonstrators were arrested, about a third of which were students.

#### D. The Collapse of the Yushin Dictatorship: October 26, 1979

On October 26 at a dinner party in a secret location near the presidential Blue House in Seoul, Park Jeong Hui's 18 years of rule came to an end. He was shot dead during dinner by the chief of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), Kim Jae Gyu. Kim claimed his act was motivated by patriotism, so public dissatisfaction, especially with the recent unrest in Busan and Masan may have played a part. Yet Park's assassination was principally the result of internal strife that both reflected the closed politics of the Yushin system and presaged its fall.

With Park's death, what poet Yang Seong Woo called "the winter republic" encountered a sudden collapse, but this was not the result of the direct and increasing resistance of the people. In fact, even though Park Jeong Hui was gone, the politically-minded military officers who had helped create the Yushin regime continued to maintain the system and thus their power long after Park's death.

### 2. The War of the Stars: the December 12 Coup

#### A. Chun Doo Hwan's Position after the October 26th Incident

After Park's assassination Prime Minister Choi Gyu Ha became acting president and martial law was declared throughout South Korea except on Jeju Island. Commander of the Defense Security Command (Martial Law Forces), Jeong Seung Hwa, set up the Joint Investigation Headquarters to investigate Park's assassination and, as commander of the National Security Force, Chun Doo Hwan was appointed to lead it.

Jeon now held two very high positions, a situation that attracted the attention of the domestic and international press. On November 2nd the Japanese newspaper San Kei reported, "The opinion that Chun Doo Hwan, the Head of the Joint Investigation Headquarters, is the most powerful person in the Korean military is firm." Indeed, he now oversaw the organizations controlling central intelligence, internal security and investigation.

# B. Origins of the Coup - the Struggle between Jeong Seung Hwa and Chun Doo Hwan

Around this time Chief of the General Staff Jeong Seung Hwa was purging the military to exclude any "politically-minded officers" who had held important positions within the Blue House bodyguards, Army Headquarters, Special Combat Division Headquarters or Metropolitan Defense Division Headquarters (Seoul's army-based defense troops). Ostensibly, these measures were meant to send a message that military leaders should stay out of politics, but their real aim was to solidify his own control over the military.

Not surprisingly, differences soon arose between Jeong and Jeon.

After the coup Jeong had stated that "the Yushin system must change." However, Jeon and his allies were not of like minds. Matters soon came to a head when Jeon learned that Jeong was looking to sideline him. On December 8 Jeong spoke with the Minister of National Defense about making Jeon commander of the Eastern Coast Guard. Jeon immediately sent for Roh Tae Woo, Commander of the 9th Division. In the briefing that followed, Chief Secretary of the National Security Force Heo Hwa Pyeong presented six reasons Jeong should be arrested.

- (1) Jeong's friendly relations with President Park's assassin Kim Jae Gyu.
- (2) Jeong's presence at Park's assassination,
- (3) Jeong's earlier receipt of money from Kim.
- (4) Jeong's instructions to reduce the murder charges against Kim,
- (5) Jeong's instructions that the murder trial be concluded as quickly as possible, and
- (6) the opposition Jeong faced from some of the younger officers.

Ro agreed to help and it was decided Jeong would be arrested on December 12, one day before the new presidential cabinet was to be formed. In the meantime, Ro and Jeon worked to persuade the young officers from the Hana Association to assist them. Many members of this association were, like Roh Tae Woo and Chun Doo Hwan, from North Gyeongsang Province.

#### Officers Involved in the December 12 Coup

Name	Rank and Position	Army Academy Class	
Chun Doo Hwan	Major General - Commander, Security Agency; Superintendent, Joint Investigation Headquarters	11th Class	
Cha Gyu Heon	Lieutenant General - Commander, Metropolitan Corps	8th Class	
Yu Hak Seong	Lieutenant General – Assistant Munitions Minister (Defense Ministry)	8th Class	
Hwang Yeong Si	Lieutenant General - Commander, 1st Army Corps	10th Class	
Roh Tae Woo	Major General - Commander, 9th Division	11th Class	
Baek Un Taek	Brigadier General - Commander, 71st Defense Division	11th Class	
Park Jun Pyeong	Major General - Commander, 20th Division	12th Class	
Park Hui Do	Brigadier General – Commander, 1st Paratrooper Brigadier	12th Class	
Choi Sae Chang	Brigadier General - Commander, 3rd Paratrooper Brigade	13th Class	
Jang Gi Oh	Brigadier General - Commander, 5th Paratrooper Brigade	12th Class	
Jang Sae Dong	Colonel - Commander, 30th Metropolitan Guards Headquarters	16th Class	
Kim Jin Yeong	Colonel - Commander, 33rd Metropolitan Guards Headquarters	17th Class	
I Hak Bong	Lieutenant Colonel - Director, Security Agency's Anti- Communism Bureau	18th Class	

<sup>\*</sup> Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising, 1990. Dolbegae. p. 70

# C. The Junior Officers' Coup, Password, "A Party in the House of Birthday"

Around 6:30 p.m. on December 12th, Chun Doo Hwan, commanders from Metropolitan Defense along with officers from the Hana Association

abandoned their posts in disregard of the state of emergency martial law. They entered the office of the 30th Defense Commandant of the Metropolitan Guard in Gyeongbok Palace using the password "A party in the house of birthday."

Jeon ordered two officers to arrest Jeong Seung Hwa: Colonel Heo Sam Su, Head of Security (Personnel Administration) and Colonel Wu Gyeong Yun, Commandant of Army Criminal Investigations and Second Director of the Joint Investigation Headquarters. They arrived with reinforcements at Jeong's residence around 6:50 p.m.

About 25 minutes into their meeting, they announced that they had a presidential order to take Jeong to record his "statement concerning Kim Jae Gyu." Jeong grew angry and said he would speak to the president personally about that request. He called for his aide, Major I Jae Jeon, but as I entered the room Woo and Heo fired at both him and a guard, Captain Kim In Sun. As Jeong shouted for them to stop, an officer in a guard's uniform fired an M16 through a window before crashing through it and into the room. With a rifle now aimed at Jeong, Heo took him from the residence to a detached office at the National Security Agency in the Seobinggo neighborhood of the Yongsan area of Seoul.

Meanwhile, Chun Doo Hwan and the director of both the Security Agency's Anti-Communism Bureau and the Joint Investigation Bureau, Lieutenant Colonel I Hak Bong, visited President Choi's official residence to request permission to arrest Jeong. Jeong, of course, was already in custody, but the coup members needed official cover. Choi deferred, arguing that such an order required the consent of the Defense Minister, Ro Jae Hyeon. Jeon vainly persisted but Choi held his ground and demanded to see the minister. Jeon and I refused and, despite having already been

ordered to return to their posts, directed one of their co-conspirators, Colonel Go Myeong Seung, commander of the President's Residential Guard, to disarm the guards and blockade the residence, thus effectively imprisoning the President.

Next, Jeon and his faction, including the Commander of the 1st Army Corps, Hwang Yeong Si, stormed the President's office. Choi continued to remain steadfast in face of their demands for permission, even when Jeon claimed that this was also the wish of the leading army commanders. The rebels were now in a difficult situation. Without Choi's sanction they would be found guilty of mutiny.

If Choi could not be persuaded soon, the only way the rebel officers could save themselves would be through a full-blown coup.

# D. The Army Headquarters' Counterattack and the Coup Army Mobilization

In the meantime, Vice-Chief of the General Staff Yun Seong Min sensed something was up. In the process of confirming the status of all his units he learned several officers had gone to Gyeongbok Palace. Yun's order that they release Jeong and return to their posts was ignored.

When they learned of the shooting at the Presidential Residence, Defense Minister Ro Jae Hyeon and Chief of the Joint Staff Kim Jong Hwan fled to a bunker at the US Army base in the Yongsan district of Seoul. Others close to Jeong were at a dinner party. Among them were Commander of the Metropolitan Guard Headquarters, Jang Tae Wan, Special Forces Commander Jung Byeong Ju, and Superintendent of the Military Police

under the Army Headquarters, Kim Chin Gi. When they learned of Jeong's arrest, they hurriedly returned to their posts.

By 10:30 p.m. the coup leaders had still failed to sway Choi. In desperation they phoned Defense Minister Ro but he refused to come. Instead he asked that the Chief of the General Staff be released. Jeon concluded that "the use of armed force is the only way to control the counterforce" and ordered the Commander of the 1st Paratroopers Brigade Park Hui Do to seize both the Defense Ministry and Army Headquarters. The paratroopers met no resistance and easily occupied the buildings by around 1 a.m. on December 13.

Jeon then ordered Choi Sae Chang, Commander of the 3rd Paratroopers Brigade and Colonel Kim Jung Ryong from the security section at Special Combat Headquarters to arrest his commander Jeong Byeong Ju, Around 3 that morning Jeong was shot andarrested by his own men.

At 3:35 a.m. Chun Doo Hwan had Lt. Colonel Shin Yun Hee arrest a large number of officers including Yun Seong Min, Vice Chief of the General Staff, Mun Hong Goo, Chief of the Joint Staff Office, Ha So Gon, Chief of the Operational staff under Army Headquarters, and Jang Tae Won, Commander of the Metropolitan Guard Headquarters. They were all apprehended at Metropolitan Guard Headquarters where they had been working out a response to the unfolding events. Under the instructions of the Chief Secretary of the Security Agency Heo Hwa Pyeong, the officers were taken to the same office in the Seobinggo neighborhood.

Brigadier Major General, Baek Oon Taek, Commander of the 71st Defense Division, requested that I Sang Gyu, Commander of the 2nd Mechanized Brigade, mobilize a tank force strong enough to confront the Metropolitan Mechanized Division's armor. He also instructed Roh Tae Woo, as



Units	Composition	Objective	Date & Time of Occupation	Date & Time of Withdrawal	Staging Area
1st Paratroopers (3 Battalions)	Officers: 137 Soldiers: 755 1st, 2nd, & 5th Battalions	Defense Ministry & Army Headquarters	December 13, 2:00 a.m.	December 25, 12:01 a.m.	Training Institute for Telecommunic ations
3rd Paratroopers (2 Battalions)	Officers: 108 Soldiers: 539 12th & 15th Battalions	Gyeongbok Palace	December 13, 6:50 a.m.	December 14, 12:01 a.m.	Hanyang University
5th Paratroopers (2 Battalions)	Officers: 79 Soldiers: 410 21st & 25th Battalions	Hyochang Stadium	December 13, 7:00 a.m.	December 26, 1:30 a.m.	Chang Eui Dong (Namdaemun Middle School)
30th Division, 9th Regiment	Officers: 72 Soldiers: 1,058	71st Training Corps, 712th Branch	December 13, 6:20 a.m.	December 23, 11:00 a.m.	Susaek (return to their post)
9th Division, 29th Regiment	Officers: 109 Soldiers: 1,285	Central Government Building	December 13, 3:50 a.m.	December 24, 12:01 a.m.	llsan (return to their post)
2nd Mechanized Brigade	Officers: 19 Soldiers: 167 Tanks: 35	Central Government Building	December 13, 3:25 a.m.	December 17, 12:01 a.m.	Geumcheon (return to their post)

<sup>\*</sup> Peace Democratic Party, The May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising: a White Book, p. 20

Commander of the 9th Division, to send the 29th Regiment to the Central Government Building. The 29th met up with Lee's 16th Tank Battalion on their way to Seoul and the two units entered the city together. The 30th Division's 90th Regiment under Major General Park Hee Mo occupied the Central Government Building and established a coup headquarters there.

In taking over the various headquarters, any officers who resisted were

arrested and by dawn on the 13th the coup was complete.

The coup had taken only ten hours. On the morning of December 13 the new leaders, having officially seized military command, labeled themselves the New Military Power.

Eight months later, shortly after the Gwangju Democratic Uprising, President Choi would resign and be replaced by Chun Doo Hwan as head of state.

### III. The Retreat of Democratization

1. The Appearance of a New Junta and the Plot to Usurp Political Power

### A. The New Military Power's Seizure of Choi's Cabinet

Choi's resignation would bring to a close "the longest coup d'etat in the history of the world." In the eight months preceding Chun Doo Hwan's final ascendancy, the coup members worked to undermine an embattled Choi administration through the maintenance of martial law, extending the operational domain of the Joint Investigation Headquarters; and delaying any proposed constitutional revisions. In addition, so-called K-Operations (King Operations) were conducted to manipulate the press and sway public opinion.

As a first step one of the last remnants of the Yushin regime, the new Prime Minister Shin Hyeon Hwak, set about gaining control of the cabinet. As Chun Doo Hwan could not exert sufficient influence there as either Commander of the Security Agency or Superintendent of the Joint Investigation Headquarters, he needed to become KCIA Director. Around the end of March in a meeting with Shin he demanded he be given the position. When Shin objected, Jeon threatened to investigate the 59. 4% rise in the price of oil that had occurred at the end of January, which many suspected Shin was responsible for.

Whatever the truth, Jeon received tacit consent and Choi appointed him Acting Director of the KCIA on April 14. While this appointment was illegal - it is forbidden for the Director to hold any concurrent positions - Jeon had already been attending cabinet meetings, although he was limited to simply reporting on the proceedings and expediting procedural matters. Once he became Director Jeon quickly took control of all policy decisions.

#### B. K-Operations: Manipulating the Press

Shortly after the coup, the New Military Power expanded the information section of the Army's Security Headquarters and K-Operations were begun through the Press Manipulation Team. Warrant-Officer I Sang Jae led the team, but Chun Doo Hwan had ultimate control.

The K-Maneuvering Plan notes that "in case it should be necessary to revise or complement any clauses, the operation team must first receive sanction from the Commander of the Security Headquarters." That is because the plan had been drawn up at Security Headquarters when Chun Doo Hwan was commander.

The purpose of the K-Operations was to convince people of the necessity of the military takeover by "changing the public's desire for a democratization movement into a desire for safety." To achieve this end all news was censored and through individual meetings with all 94 daily newspaper and broadcasting presidents Chun Doo Hwan and the New Military Power were portrayed as the only hope against "the spread of disorder." Amazingly, the existence of these operations was not publicly known until the end of 1989.

C. Choongjung (True Heart) Training

To help solidify their power, on February 18, the New Military Power ordered Army Headquarters to conduct Choongjung (True Heart) training with paratroopers and all regular units based around the larger cities. Choongjung training focused on the aggressive and efficient suppression of demonstrations and such units had been important in quelling disturbances since the Park regime. Discipline was very severe, but their unique duties and training fostered an esprit de corps. The members were very physically fit as their training included gymnastics and long distance marches.

Coinciding with the opening day of university, the expanded program began with a 3-day trial comprising physical training and field exercises from March 4-7. Problems were analyzed and addressed at an initial meeting at Roh's Metropolitan Guard Headquarters on March 6. Present were Commander of the Special Combat Unit Jeong Ho Yong and the commanders of the 20th, 26th and 30th Divisions and the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 9th Brigades.



Paratroopers comprised the core of the new Choongjung Units. All were trained in methods of crowd control that stressed offence over defense. Their usual tactic was to break up groups of demonstrators by charg-

ing them and then through flanking maneuvers keep them scattered and isolated to frustrate any attempts at rallying again while arresting any ring-leaders. For maximum mobility, they were lightly armed. Although bayonets were occasionally used, the primary weapon was an ash truncheon measuring 45 to 70 cm long and 5 to 6 cm indiameter. The soldiers were trained to aim for the head or neck when using the truncheon. Demonstrators who were caught, regardless of their gender, were often stripped and thrown into awaiting trucks to be taken to military jails where further abuse was not uncommon.

Since the new rulers had labeled the student movement "a reckless resistance power," preemptive arrests were another weapon of control, although in more serious cases "a strong punitive step" was recommended instead. This ominous new approach was very different from the standard police procedure which simply looked to break up and disperse demonstrations as they occurred.

### 2. Seoul, Spring 1980

#### A. The Student Movement in the Spring of 1980

After a series of demonstrations in 1975, the Student Defense Corps was created by the Park government to replace the existing independent - and politically unreliable - student governments. In November 1979 university students started discussing ways challenge the Corps.

In the spring of 1980 discussions led to the Student Association Restoration Movement. In March Seoul National University took the lead by holding General Student Council elections. Soon after other universities quickly followed suit.

However, what was originally conceived as a push for school democratization was quickly evolving into a large scale political movement. As much as possible, the students had refrained from holding political rallies and demonstrations until after the student elections, but by April calls for the removal of martial law and an end to all remaining facets of the Yushin regime were commonplace. This political movement began with demonstrations against or lock-outs of the nepotistic management at the private universities, but notable results were not achieved until the middle of the month when the issue of military training on campus arose.

Beginning in Park's regime, all male university students who had not yet done mandatory military service were required to take an on-campus military training class that also included a stint of off campus training. As opposition to the training spread, the New Military Power criticized the "students' lack of security consciousness" and pressured the media to present an exaggerated picture of the situation. This issue arose during Chun Doo Hwan's appointment to the KCIA and created divisions within the student movement regarding the best course of action to take. Should they continue protesting the military training or focus on Jeon's continued accumulation of power?

Once again taking a lead, when Seoul National University suspended its campaign against military training on the first of May, the student movements throughout the country quickly turned their attention to the most pressing political issues: martial law, the Yushin system, Jeon's Constitutional amendments and labor rights.

For over a week, students prepared for a full-scale street campaign. On May 10th, 23 student council presidents met at Korea University and drew up a resolution demanding the immediate end of martial law and resignation of Chun Doo Hwan, Prime Minister Shin Hyeon Hwak, and other remnants of the Yushin regime.

The students agreed to demonstrate only on campus. By thus limiting their actions they hoped to disprove the claim that Jeon's coup was necessitated by "the rumor of a May uprising" However, the council presidents soon discovered that they could not control the direction and tenor of events. On the night of the 12th, a more militant group of students staged a demonstration near the main gate of Gyeongbok Palace in Seoul (Gwanghwamun), and in short order the students' movement had turned into an all-out street "campaign for democratization."

# B. Unrest in the Political World ("Different Dreams in the Same Bed")

In the spring of 1980, there were two ongoing political dramas. One was the New Military Power's confrontation with the Choi Administration and the other the 'cooperative rivalry' between the three Kims: Republican Party leader Kim Jong Pil, former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and NDP Assemblyman and party leader Kim Young Sam. Proponents of democracy, particularly those outside of politics, often banded together into so-called People's Associations. Their individual members were a varied lot yet the majority supported Kim Dae Jung.

On January 9, 1980, it was reported that a constitutional amendment creating a two-chamber system had been proposed. This was seen by many as

an attempt by Chun Doo Hwan to solidify his growing power. Initially, Choi denied such an amendment existed, but later declared before the Inquiry Committee of the Amendment of the National Constitution that he supported the idea of an eclectic government. The proposed amendment caused an uproar that greatly shook up both the government and opposition. The three Kims worked together to form a majority in the National Assembly to block the passage of the amendment.

Adding to the confusion was a rumor that "a new political party favoring the government "would be created from representatives of the National Conference for Unification, National Assembly members from the Yujung Club (a clique within the National Assembly), former and present cabinet ministers, and Republican assemblymen from Daegu and North Gyeongsang Province (Gyeongsangbukdo) who were opposed to Kim Jong Pil.

On February 28, 1980, Kim Dae Jung had his rights reinstated and so finally could resume political activities. Presupposing the amendment's passage, the three Kims now began maneuvering for the Presidency. Immediately, a keen competition arose between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam which threatened to split the NDP. With both eyeing the presidency, they requested restraint on the part of students and labor to avoid any further meddling in politics by the military.

Kim Jong Pil, watching the New Military Power work public opinion and disparage the competition between the two other Kims as "ugly factional strife," refused the NDP's demand for an extra session of the National Assembly to discuss Chun Doo Hwan's appointment as Chief of the KCIA and the continuing unrest on college campuses.

As the students protests grew, a rumor spread that there would be a general student uprising on May 15. The two Kims made a press statement repeating their for an extra session of the National Assembly, an end to martial law, and a suspension of the proposed constitutional amendment. The Republican Party's response again was lukewarm. They simply said the Assembly would reconvene sometime after the 20th. This was a calculated gamble.

Their hope was by that time the political situation would have taken a favorable turn.

Amidst this political wrangling, the New Military Power continued to dispatch its new Choongiung units to the larger cities, while university students all over the country continued to demonstrate in the streets. These were harbingers of the upcoming life or death struggles that spring would bring.

#### C. The Student Withdrawal from Seoul Station

About 4:30 in the morning on May 14, another meeting of student representatives was held at Korea University. 40 representatives from 27 Seoul area student councils were there to work out plans for a full blown street campaign. The next four days would determine the course of Korean politics in the 1980s.

When the meeting ended around noon, more than 70,000 students surged into the streets of Seoul from their campuses. Tens of thousands again marched to Gwanghwamun crying "End martial law!" "Get out, Chun Doo Hwan!" "Down with the remnants of the Yushin regime!" and "Guarantee the three rights of labor!" It was one of the largest student demonstrations so far, yet most ordinary citizens still remained reluctant to add their support.

Still, there was no way to stop the street campaign once it had started. The next afternoon nearly 100,000 students crowded around Seoul Station and began a sit-down demonstration in the square. Students from 24 universities outside of Seoul also held street demonstrations and clashed with police in their areas. Almost every city with a university - Daegu, Gwangju, Busan, Incheon, Mokpo, Chungju, Choonchun, Chunan - experienced similar mass protests. This greatly shook up the opposition. The New Democratic Party "moved for a resolution to end emergency martial law" and Republican leader Kim Jong Pil declared he was "against any physical measures to end the situation."

However, reports of troop movements convinced the university council representatives to order a withdrawal from Seoul Station. With few signs of support from the general population, it was deemed unwise to invite a clash with the military at night. The students dispersed and the campuses were again quiet the following morning.

The next day, the 16th, students from Chonnam and Chosun Universities and the College of Education in Gwangju held an outdoor assembly in front of Provincial Hall in Gwangju, followed by a peaceful torch-light march. More demonstrations occurred at other provincial universities as well, but by the 17th every university was again quiet.

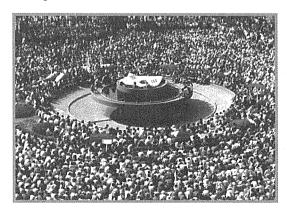
The students hoped the street campaign would encourage others with democratic leanings to join in and prevent a restoration of the Yushin system. To all appearances, the New Military Power had assumed the defensive, however, they were in fact working on a most forceful response.

### 3. Gwangju in the Spring of 1980 and the Extension of Martial Law

#### A. The Meeting for National Democratization

Gwangju is the capital of Jeonnam Province. The concentration of political power around Daegu (the capital of North Gyeongsang Province) coupled with longstanding regionalism meant Jeonnam lagged far behind the other provinces economically. This made the students' movement the most likely means of bringing about change. Like elsewhere in the country, Chonnam and Chosun University students were initially focused on school democratization.

Spurred by the October 26th Incident and the December 10th Coup, Chonnam University students began a consciousness raising movement and started a movement for the resignation of professors they felt were integral to the maintenance of the Yushin system. In addition, they organized a Preparatory Committee for School Autonomy to create a democratic student government. When a Student Council election was finally held, law



student Park Gwan Hyeon was elected President by an overwhelming majority. The Council then became the students' representative body and, with Park at the helm, would assume leadership of the democratization movement. All these

activities helped develop a sense of solidarity within the student body.

On May 6 Chonnam University's Students' General Council had an Emergency Assembly. There was a rumor that the New Military Power was plotting to usurp power and that they had attempted to restore the old regime. It was decided then to change their focus from campus democratization to national political change. At the assembly they fixed the week of May 8-14 for a "sacred rally for national democratization." The plan was to again limit demonstrations to campus for those seven days, and then march in the streets on the eighth day, May 15. At the first rally on May 8th, Chonnam University's Student Council and the Chosun University's Committee of the Democratization Campaign published their first joint declaration. It demanded emergency martial law be ended by the 14th. The students also announced they would physically resist any school closures and appealed for all sympathetic professors to participate in the campaign. These activities attracted more and more students to their ranks, especially after one particular campus demonstration in which demonstrators had successfully confronted the police.

The last day of the "sacred rally," many students requested that the street march begin that day. The Council agreed and at 2 p.m. more than 7,000 students broke through the cordon of riot police at the main gate. By 3 p.m. they were downtown rallying in the square in front of Provincial Hall. However, like most people in other cities, most citizens of Gwangju still remained on the sidelines. During the rally it was decided that if universities were ordered closed or students otherwise prevented from attending class, they would meet in front of their school's main gates at 10 a.m. and move on to Provincial Hall at noon.

The street campaign continued until the following day. The following morning after "the third national democratization rally" was held on the



Chonnam campus, over 20,000 local university students, professors and ordinary citizens gathered in front of Provincial Hall. The next day, the 16th, more university students as well as high school students joined in. Now numbering more than 50,000, a final national democratization rally was held. When night fell, the three-day rally was concluded with a torchlight procession.

Partly owing to the obvious amount

of public support the demonstrators had, there had been no confrontations with the police. In fact, the police primarily worked to prevent accidents and the students demonstrated their friendly attitude by serving them refreshments.

Now that the students had fully expressed their views, they suspended all activities for the 17th and 18th while awaiting the government's response. If they did not end martial law or provide a timeline for democratization, it was agreed to rally again on the 19th and demand Choi's impeachment. However, nobody knew that at that time the New Military Power had already settled on a military response.

#### B. The Extension of Martial Law

The initial political upheaval and confusion following Park's assassination ended with the formation of the New Military Power. However, since people were eager for meaningful political change, it was impossible for the coup leaders to immediately present themselves on the political stage. In the meantime they worked behind the scenes to consolidate enough power to finalize the coup.

As this was playing out, some politicians were beginning to show support for the demonstrators' demands. On the 14th, the New Democratic Party, speaking on behalf of all their National Assembly members, submitted a resolution calling for an end to emergency martial law. The incumbent Republicans backed the motion and even the Yujung Club showed signs of voting for it, thus increasing both the chances of passage as well as the New Military Power's sense of crisis.

At 10 a.m. on the 17th, the leading commanders of the Martial Law Forces held a conference at the Ministry of Defense. They told President Choi that emergency martial law should be extended over the entire country, all schools closed, the National Assembly dismissed, and a National Emergency Security Committee be established. Choi accepted the proposals and martial law was extended to the entire country this time, including Jeju Island, which had previously been excluded. This extension of martial law was a clear rebuttal of the people's demands and represented a serious regression after the slight improvements made after October 26th. The resulting Martial Law Decree No. 10 prohibited all indoor or outdoor political actions and meetings, closed all universities, prohibited strikes or unauthorized leaving of one's workplace and mandated the censoring of all media. In addition, 26 politicians including Kim Dae Jung were arrested. Also, on orders from Joint Investigation Headquarters, a few hours before the extension of martial law was passed, Seoul police raided a Student Council meeting at Ehwa Women's University. Scores of students were arrested there and by midnight several hundred more people - student leaders and ordinary citizens alike - had been taken into custody throughout the country on suspicion of being supporters of democracy.

The universities in Gwangju were quiet that day as students rested after the street campaign, but the army and police were busy. By midnight every university in Gwangju was occupied by the army.

#### C. The Movement of Choongjung Units on May 17

Around the time Ehwa University was being raided, the new Choongjung units were being readied for deployment. The second and final stage of the New Military Power's coup d'etat would soon happen. The Army's movement orders were as follows (the time of the order is in parentheses):

- 1. (16:50): The head of the operational staff orders the whole Army to remain on duty, the operational staffs of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and District Armies are placed on alert.
- 2. (19:40): Army Headquarters instructs 2nd Corps Headquarters that Operation Choongjung must be in effect by 00:01 on May 18, the occupation of the universities must be completed before 04:00 and the arrest of rebellious elements before 00:01.
- 3. (21:15): 34 vehicles will be supplied to the 7th Special Combat Brigade.
- 4. (22:30): Army Headquarters orders the Choongjung units of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Corps, the Metropolitan Guard Headquarters, and the Special Combat Headquarters to prepare for deployment.
- 5. (22:40): Army Headquarters orders essential members of Operation Choongjung to remain on normal duty.
- 6. (22:45): Army Headquarters orders the 2nd Corps that the occupation

of schools must be completed before 02:00.

7. (22:45): 2nd Corps instructs Combat Education Headquarters that Operation Choongjung will begin at 00:01 on May 18 - the schools in North Jeolla Province must be occupied before 01:30 and before 2:30 in South Jeolla Province.

(Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising, pp. 139-140)

### IV. The May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising

- The Outbreak of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising and Operation Wonderful Vacation
- A. The Beginning of the Tragedy



Soon after an extension of the Emergency Military Law was declared at 9:40 p.m. on May 17th, the New Military Power dispatched troops to several larger cities including Seoul, Busan, Daegu, and Gwangju. However, Seoul and Gwangju were the primary focus. The 1st, 3rd, 5th, 9th, 11th and 13th Paratroopers Brigades were stationed in Seoul and the 33rd and 35th Battalions of the 7th Paratroopers Brigade were stationed at Chonnam University and Chosun University in Gwangju.

#### B. The First Clash with the 7th Paratroopers Brigade

The Students' Council members who had avoided arrest were now in hiding and unable to contact each other. Therefore, the demonstration in front of Chonnam University on the morning of the 18th, the first step toward the Gwangju Democratic Uprising, was a contingent event. The demonstration

was initiated by students who earlier that morning had been prevented from approaching the library. At that time 33rd Battalion, 7th Paratrooper Brigade formed an armed cordon at the university gate. They informed the students of the closure order and requested they go home, but recalling the

# Disposition and Equipment Details of the 33rd and 35th Battalions, 7th Paratroopers Brigade

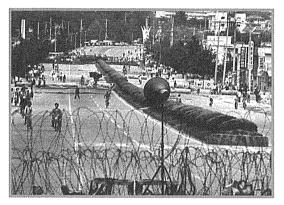
Date & Time	Details	Source
May 14; 1:40 p.m.	245 vehicles supplied for the transport of the Special Combat Unit	Army Headquarter's Periodical Operational Report 80-5
May 14, 5:05 p.m.	885 personnel and 31 vehicles moved from Gwangju to Guemma by the 7th Paratroopers Brigade	Army Headquarter's Periodical Operational Report 80-5
May 17, 10:30 p.m.	Operational orders issued	Army Headquarter's Periodical Operational Report 80-5
May 17, 10:37 p.m.	33rd & 35th Battalions depart Geumma	Army Headquarters' Report of the Military Situation

<sup>\*</sup> Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al., The Gwangju Democratic Uprising, p. 156

		33rd Battalion	35th Battalion	Headquarters
Number deployed (officers/soldiers)		45/321	39/283	10/76
M60 ammunition (60 rounds/soldier)		3,200 rounds	3,200 rounds	600 rounds
M16 ammunition		24,600 rounds	00 rounds 24,600 rounds 84	
Pistol ammunition		154 rounds	154 rounds	
Tear gas grenades		100	100	
Tear gas (CS)		3 cans	3 cans	
Jeeps 1/4-ton		1	1	
Trucks	2-1/2 ton	19	18	

<sup>\*</sup> Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al., The Gwangju Democratic Uprising. pp. 139-140

earlier plan to meet at 10 a.m., the students refused.



A little after 10 a.m. around 100 students began to demonstrate on the bridge in front of Chonnam's main gate. When their numbers reached over 200 they started to sing and shout slogans. Agitated, the soldiers raised a battle cry and rushed the

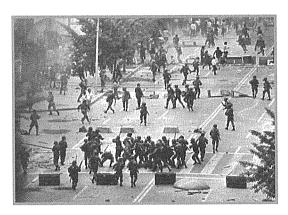
demonstrators. The soldiers struck the unarmed students and drove them back after injuring about ten of them.

As the students fled they arranged to regroup in front of Gwangju Station. Many others were already in the plaza and after some reforming, between 300 and 400 demonstrators marched towards Provincial Hall.

Shouting the usual slogans - "End the Emergency Martial Law!" "Release Kim Dae Jung!" "Withdraw the order for the closure of schools!" and "Get out, Chun Doo Hwan!" - they got as far as the Catholic Center, but their numbers were still too small to successfully confront the riot police.

# C. "Suppress the Uprising at all Costs!": Operation Wonderful Vacation

The paratroopers were not yet feared. The demonstration was so small that until the afternoon of the 18th the police were able to control it themselves. The 7th Brigade left Chonnam University and regrouped at Suchang Primary School at 1:00 p.m. An hour later they were confronted by sixty or so students shouting "End martial law!" The soldiers quickly and forcefully scattered the demonstrators.



Around 4 o'clock 7th Brigade paratroopers advancing towards Provincial Hall broke up demonstrations in front of the Catholic Center and on Choongjang Street. The troops indiscriminately attacked demonstrators and bystanders alike,

but specially targeted anyone of university age. People who resisted or assumed a defiant posture were descended upon by a group of soldiers and roughly thrown into awaiting trucks. Such treatment was a new and shocking experience for all who witnessed it.

In areas where the Martial Law Forces had taken action, the streets were quiet; only puddles of blood remained. The Army had entered all the large cities that day, but only met resistance in Gwangju. The course of action the student leaders had chosen in case the authorities closed the schools

was the same all over the country, but in all the cities the leadership was in a state of paralysis.

People were enraged by the army's brutal response and the news of Chun Doo Hwan's coup d'etat and Kim Dae Jung's arrest. Kim Dae Jung was from Jeolla Province so people there tended to link his fate to theirs and viewed his arrest as the end of any hope for real change. Only a small number of demonstrators, trembling with fear and pursued by the army, remained in the streets to demonstrate. Toward 5:30 p.m., between 500 and 600 people began to demonstrate in front of the Labor Bureau next to Provincial Hall and were immediately dispersed. At 7 p.m. several hundred more attempted to make a stand around Gwangju High School. About 8 o'clock over 600 people formed ranks in front of the Catholic Center and threw rocks at the troops for about ten minutes before being broken up. That was largely the extent of the demonstrations and their success on the 18th.

The scope of the 7th Paratrooper Brigade's activity though was not limited to the center of the city. They chased anyone who fled and went as far as to break into houses, often beating and stripping their victims before taking them away. The conduct of the 7th Brigade's 33rd and 35th Battalions employing both clubs and, at times, bayonets - was indiscriminate and merciless enough to be branded massacre. According to The Report of the Military Situation of the 2nd Corps Headquarters, on May 18, 149 university students, 6 high school students, and 250 other citizens - 405 people in total - were arrested. 68 had suffered head wounds, bayonet wounds or bruises, twelve of whom were in serious condition. These figures though are believed to be on the conservative side.

Matters were clearly deteriorating. At 6 p.m. the martial law curfew was

extended from midnight to 4:00 a. m. to 9:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. and at 11:20 an army detachment was sent to bolster each of the 36 riot police units stationed around the city.

#### 2. The Situation on May 19

#### A. The Deployment of the 11th Paratroopers Brigade to Gwangju

Shortly after lunch on May 18, Major General Kim Jae Myeong, the Head of Staff Operations at Army Headquarters told the Commander of the Special Combat Unit, Jeong Ho Yong, that "they had decided to dispatch the 3rd Special Combat Brigade as reinforcements because there were indications the situation in Gwangju would take a turn for the worse." Jeong Ho Yong suggested that they dispatch the 11th Paratroopers Brigade instead because the two 7th Paratroopers battalions were having difficulties in Gwangju.

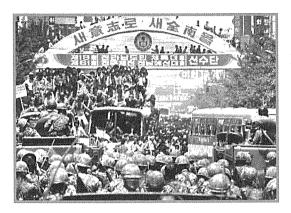
However, the 7th did not arrive in Gwangju until later in the afternoon of the 18th. Therefore, the request for reinforcements was not based on the actual situation or intention of the commander in Gwangju. In any case, the 11th Paratroopers Brigade was ordered to move to Gwangju at 3 p.m. The first group boarded five C-123 transports at Seongnam Airport outside Seoul at 4:30 and arrived at Chosun University two hours later. The remaining troops arrived at 1:50 the following morning.

#### The 7th Paratroopers Brigade and its Equipment

Total (officers/soldiers)	61st Battalion	62nd Battalion	63rd Battalion	Headquarters
162/1,038	43/277	43/306	42/275	34/180

Category	Items	Quantity	Ammunition
	M16	1,139	60 rounds per soldier
Firearms	50 MG	2	
Tilleanne	M60	3	
	M203 grenade launcher	81	
	Tear gas grenade	1,143	
Chemical arms	Riot control grenade (M25A7)	303	
	Flame thrower	6	
!	P-77 radio	130	
Communications	U-87	18	
	Megaphone	12	
	2-1/2-ton truck	4	
Transportation	3/4-ton truck	2	
	Broadcasting car	1	

#### B. Terror on Geumnam Street



On the morning of the 19th, the army and police presence was obvious and added to an overall sense of apprehension. In and around Gwangju the universities were closed, but public offices and factories were operating as usual, although workers

mostly talked about the previous day's violence. Still, most shops downtown were closed and no vehicles were allowed near Provincial Hall. That though did not keep people in their homes. By twos and threes they went outside to feel out the situation.

By 10 a.m. as many as 3,000 had gathered downtown on Geumnam

Street. Interestingly, ordinary citizens were now the majority, only a small number of students were present. At 10:40 the police and Martial Law Forces began firing tear gas to disperse the crowd, but having seen or head what the army had done

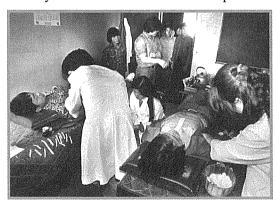


the day before, thepeople were too angry to run away and ridiculed and threw stones at the soldiers and police instead.

About a half hour into the clash 30 trucks arrived at Gwangnam intersection and Provincial Hall. Shortly after, 1,140 troops of the 11th Paratroopers Brigade then began their assault. They attacked demonstrators regardless of their age, gender or actual participation - the elderly, bus drivers, high school students - all who were caught were treated without mercy.

The soldiers eventually split into small groups and ransacked the houses and other buildings in the area. Every young man they found they beat then arrested. All they caught were stripped half-naked and put into the backs of trucks to be taken away.

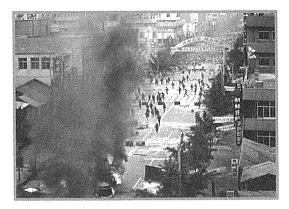
Many of the wounded who had escaped arrest lined up for treatment at



hospitals but their numbers were overwhelming. It appeared the soldiers were enjoying their "wonderful vacation" to the fullest. Like on the 18th, this sort of violence was carried out throughout the city at large.

Despite the deteriorating situation, the government made no comment on what was happening nor did the media report honestly about what was happening. In the afternoon, the character of the demonstrator began to change from one of defense to offense and, roused by the brutality of the soldiers, ordinary citizens began to take a central role.





The people of Gwangju spent the night of the 19th awaiting daybreak harboring anger towards the army, the actions of which had only fed what was now a large scale democratic uprising. In recognition of this fact, immediately after the uprising the

army published An Analysis of the Gwangju Disturbance: A Collection of Lessons. It concluded that citizens in Gwangju fought the army because:

The Martial Law Forces attacked people from all sides rather than simply breaking them up, violent clashes took place in front of bystanders, they entered private residences, destroyed private property and intimidated family members while chasing demonstrators. These actions all served to incite the crowd into a primitive passion. (In addition) the army was slow to deal with both the casualties and arrestees incurred during the suppression of the riots and left the dead in the road for a long time. These scenes further incited the crowd.

#### 3. The Situation on May 20

A. The 31st Division's Restraint Order and the Reinforcement of the 3rd Brigade

The 7th and 11th Paratroopers Brigades were under the nominal com-

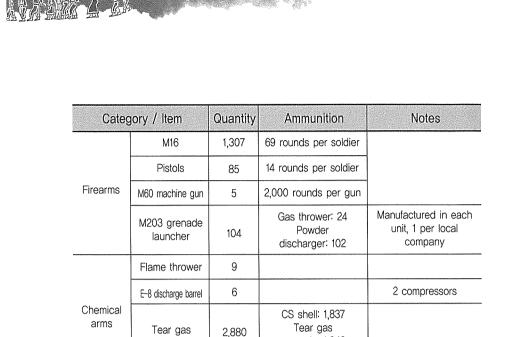
mand of the 31st Division in Gwangju, but actually controlled by the New Military Power. Neither brigade reported to either the 31st Division or the Combat Education Headquarters, so neither Jeong Woong, the Commander of the 31st Division, nor Yun Heung Jung, the Commander of the Combat Education Headquarters, were aware of the situation in Gwangju. However, when Jeong learned of the paratroopers' conduct he issued Order No. 3 advising his division to avoid bloodshed.

However, the New Military Power issued "an additional instruction" demanding "a resolute blow be delivered." With a focus on "preventing their escape," demonstrators were to be arrested "at an early stage" through the systematic application of a divide and conquer strategy.

In preparation, the 3rd Paratroopers Brigade were reinforced with five battalions at 6:30 in the morning of the 19th This decision was made hours before the 11th Paratroopers Brigade was sent to Gwangju at 10 a.m. just like the decision to send the 11th Brigade was made before the 7th Brigade started its operation. The 3rd Brigade arrived by train from Seoul at 7:30 a.m. bringing the total number of Martial Law Forces in Gwangju to 3,400.

The 3th Paratroopers Brigade and its Equipment

Total	11th Battalion	12th Battalion	13th Battalion	15th Battalion	16th	Units Under Direct Headquarter s Control
255/1,137 (officers/ soldiers)	40/198	47/192	45/205	45/206	44/220	34/116



Source: Page	<ul> <li>Democratic Pa</li> </ul>	arty The Gw	randiu Demo	ocratic Unrigina	a: ∆ \Mhite	Book r	85

grenade: 1,043

Additional receipt: 700

1 per soldier

2 used in Signal Corps

### B. The First Signs and Shots of the Uprising

2.102

145

7

12

1

1

Truncheon

P-77 radio

U-87

1/4-ton jeep

Broadcasting car

Demolition vehicle

Communic

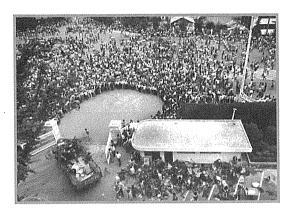
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Transporta

tion

The Martial Law Forces remained on guard throughout the city the morning of the 20th. Despite their earlier brutality people once again refused to hide in their homes and had started gathering downtown shortly after dawn.

There was a sense something terrible was going to happen, but the army's attitude appeared to have positively changed. Bayonets were not fixed and they spoke politely. It was also a positive sign that none were drunk or hung-over, unlike during their arrival in Gwangju.

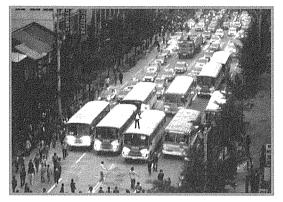


Although the atmosphere remained tense, clashes did not break out until after lunch when approximately 100,000 people surged all over Geumnam Street. This time even the outdoor market vendors deserted their jobs to take part. Thousands

of leaflets disputing the government's false placatory broadcasts were distributed. Called Fighters' Circulars, these were first prepared on May 19 by Deulbul (Wildfire) night class teachers. One teacher who was instrumental in creating these, Yun Sang Won, would be killed during the uprising.

Demonstrators continued to appear and by 3 p.m. the police had started firing tear gas. This though only caused the people to momentarily draw back before coming forward again. This dance was repeated time and time again as more and more people arrived. The streets leading to Provincial Hall were bursting with demonstrators and no one seemed ready to run away or remain an onlooker.

Additional groups of demonstrators formed throughout the city, sometimes led by individuals with previous military experience. Although they



had few weapons, they used whatever they could to resist the army. Eventually even the taxi drivers, normally as apathetic as the street merchants, began to take part in the campaign. About 7 o'clock that evening over 200 taxis left Mudeung

Stadium and proceeded towards Geumnam Street with their headlights turned on. Upon reaching Geumnam Street, the crowd, which had been confronted with a cordon of soldiers, shouted for joy.

These troops advanced on the taxis, smashing the cars' headlights with the butt of their guns and beating the drivers. The crowd, having momentarily retreated, returned with a busload of demonstrators who had just arrived at the nearby Gongyong Bus Terminal. Reinforced, they now drove the army back to Park Jong Building (Jeonnam Ilbo) on the first block of Geumnam Street. By 7:30 the army appeared surrounded and a bloody battle soon broke out in front of Provincial Hall. However, the demonstrators refused to disperse and the battle grew as the night wore on. Elsewhere, both the MBC and KBS broadcasting stations were burned for failing to report what was really happening in Gwangju. With the situation clearly deteriorating, roadblocks were set up at strategic points as the Army took initial steps to cut Gwangju off from the rest of the country.

Around 11p.m. demonstrators used vehicles to try to break through the 3rd Brigade troops guarding the train station. The soldiers fired a volley,

hitting some of the demonstrators. Around this time, shootings also occurred in front of the Tax Office and near Chosun University. The first shots had been fired in Gwangju.

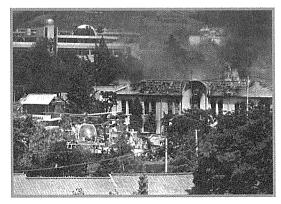
#### 4. The Situation on May 21

#### A. On to Provincial Hall!

The citizens continued fighting until the early hours of the 21st, the fourth day of the uprising. At 1:00 a.m., a large number of them smashed the furniture in the Tax Office before setting the building on fire. Their justification was taxes that could have been used for social programs had been used to buy weapons to kill citizens instead. This marked a curious shift from earlier demonstrations in which the more obvious organs of the Yushin system such as police stations and administrative buildings were targeted.

In one of the many stark contrasts that marked the uprising, on May 20th

two demonstrators were killed at Gwangju Station. Their bodies were put on a handcart and covered with a Korean flag before being slowly marched downtown. Elsewhere, in many neighborhoods housewives continued to offer food to the



demonstrators as did vendors in the various market areas.

By 10 p.m. over 100,000 people were on Geumnam Street, many of them armed with sticks or iron pipes. Around this time, for the first time in his capacity as a government official, Martial Law Commander I Hee Seong issued a statement on the situation in Gwangju. He declared "the state of Gwangju" was due to "acts of destruction, arson, and instigation by rebellious elements or spies" and called the army's actions legitimate self-defense. His announcement, coming when it did, suggests that orders had already been given to fire upon the demonstrators. It is said that by around 10:10 a.m. that morning, bullets had already been supplied to the paratroopers stationed at Provincial Hall.

#### B. Firing into the Crowd at Provincial Hall



At precisely 1 p.m. the national anthem was broadcast from the roof of Provincial Hall. At that signal a sudden volley of gunfire rang out. The paratroopers were firing into the crowd from the prone position. From the roofs of the Park Jong

Building, Sangmugwan, Provincial Hall and the Jeonnam Fisheries Cooperative, snipers fired at the front line of demonstrators. The shooting lasted approximately ten minutes and stopped as suddenly as it had started when a cease fire order was given through a megaphone. The people's earnest and naive expectation of a peaceful resolution had been bloodily rebuked. Geumnam Street was now filled with pitiful groans and the blood of the dead, dying and wounded. If the troops' earlier violence had come as a surprise, this murderous ambush was nothing less than shocking.

The exact number of causalities has yet to be determined. However, based on Army figures and victim compensation claims, it has been estimated that at least 54 demonstrators were killed and over 500 wounded.

Who issued the order to fire on the crowd at Provincial Hall that day? In hearings before the Gwangju Special Committee the commanders maintained that "the demonstration party opened fire first" and that one of the soldiers must have returned fire in self-defense. They also insisted that the bullets were supplied by the 31st Division and that no one in a position of authority or above the rank of battalion commander (usually a Lieutenant Colonel) gave the order to fire.

To help support their claim of self defense, a year after the uprising, Army Headquarters published an examination of each unit's situation reports. According to the resulting document, The Oppression of the Demonstration and its Instructions, between 2:30 and 3:50 p.m. on May 21 demonstrators took rifles and ammunition from five police stations outside Gwangju: Sampo (Naju), Yeonggwang, Geumsung, Suan and Hwasun. This is true, but not proof that any member of the Citizens' Army fired first.

Choi Woong, Commander of the 11th Paratroopers Brigade told the Gwangju Special Committee "Although the battalion commanders under my command requested bullets before the shooting occurred in front of Provincial Hall, I told them not to fire under any circumstance. From the

morning May 21st, I strongly urged the commanding officer, Yun Heung Jung, to withdraw...the situation was so critical that I felt I had to protect my men from injury and prevent unnecessary clashes. So I requested that someone in command order them to withdraw."

However, Yun denied receiving any such request from Woong. In fact, in Jeong Ho Yong: the Person in Charge of the Gwangju Incident Discloses the Truth (The Gyeonghyang, May 1988) Jeong Ho Yong, Commander of the Special Combat Unit - who was in Seoul at the time of the uprising - makes a rather curious claim. "As the situation in Gwangju worsened, I received an urgent message asking if the troops should open fire. Although I was not in a position of command, I ordered that no shooting be done under any circumstances. "Why would the commanders of the paratroopers request permission from Jeong instead of their commanding officer? The answer may simply be that the commanders are simply passing on responsibility to their subordinates.

As soldiers who supposedly regard honor very highly, such behavior is in sad contrast with Choi In Gyu, the Minister of Interior who, by accepting all responsibility for the death of a student during protests in Masan in 1960, also accepted the death penalty. Unfortunately, even without the obfuscation of many of the participants, the full truth will likely never be known. During its 8 years in power, the New Military Power destroyed much of the most incriminating evidence.

# C. The Birth of the Citizens' Army and the Withdrawal of the Paratroopers

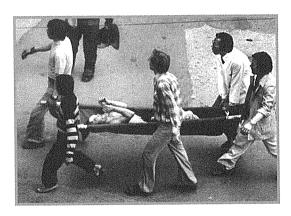


After the slaughter, citizens hastily tried to arm themselves. Guns in particular were needed so demonstrators culled the surrounding towns and as the aforementioned Army publication notes, carbines and other weapons were also stolen from various

police stations around Gwangju. In addition, large amounts of dynamite and detonators were acquired from miners in Hwasun. These munitions were immediately spirited into the city and distributed to young males. The armed demonstrators joined the ranks of what was naturally called the Citizen's Army. Citizen's Hall in Gwangju Park became their headquarters.

The Citizen's Army started firing back at 3:20 p.m., 2 hours and 20 minutes after the army had begun its original assault. Small street battles took place near Chonnam National University Medical College, the Labor Bureau, City Park, Geumnam Street and other areas around Provincial Hall. In the battle with the paratroopers, a large number of the untrained Citizen's Army were killed or wounded. In response, those with previous military experience formed a Battle Guidance Division to provide rudimentary training. These teachers then formed and commanded squads of ten or so men to be stationed at key points throughout Gwangju.

As the Citizens' Army pressed toward Provincial Hall, where the Martial Law Forces were stationed, the paratroopers began a general retreat at 5:30 p.m. The soldiers, now completely surrounded by armed citizens, disguised their retreat by having some soldiers fire machine guns down both sides of the street in front of the hall while the others scaled the wall behind the building. Therefore, it wasn't until later then that the Citizen's Army realized the troops had escaped. Around 8 o'clock, part of the Citizen's Army entered Provincial Hall, sporadically firing their guns for cover. It was soon clear that all of Gwangju, except for Gwangju Prison, had been abandoned by the Army.



Buses and small vehicles transported the dead and wounded to area hospitals. Hospital staffs, though overwhelmed by the number of gunshot wounds, did their best. Many who had not actively participated in the demonstration donated blood,

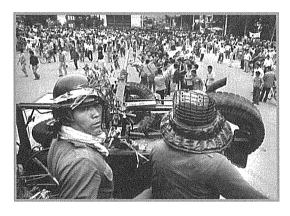
even children came with bared arms. In front of the Red Cross Hospital, prostitutes were begging to be allowed to donate blood, crying out, "We have clean blood too."

After the 21st, the uprising rapidly spread through Jeonnam all the way to Mokpo. In the meantime, about 200 Americans living in Gwangju were flown from the US Air Base in Songjungri to Seoul and all remaining planes were moved to either Gunsan and Osan.

The Army's retreat was partly the result of the courage of the Citizen's Army, but it was primarily a tactical move. They had already planned to "blockade the Gwangju area, agitate internal trouble, and finally suppress the riot."

#### 5. The Situation from May 22-25

#### A. Gwangju, a Cooperative Community



At the start of the fifth day of the uprising people crowded in front of Provincial Hall to confirm the soldiers were really gone. In the early stages of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising, people were on the defensive, but the uprising had taken on a

deeper meaning. All the citizens enjoyed the victory and gave full play to their noble spirits as citizens. They cleaned up the debris and other rubbish that had become scattered in the streets.

Members of the Citizen's Army gathered in Gwangju Park to regroup. Public order was now their responsibility along with providing against any counterattack. Provincial Hall became the civilian headquarters with general affairs and operations sections on the first floor. The operations section handled personnel and vehicular passes, fuel coupons and a mobile compa-

ny to maintain communications with the Citizen Army squads.

By this time, the Army had finished blockading of Gwangju. The seven major roadways into the city were blocked with armored vehicles and whenever someone tried to use those roads, soldiers fired at them from the surrounding hills. Gwangju was now for all intents and purposes cut off.

#### B. The Citizens' Settlement Committee

Inside Gwangju, two committees were organized to attend to the most urgent administrative matters: The Students' Settlement Committee and the May 18th General Citizen Settlement Committee. The General Committee was made up of 20 people including clergymen, lawyers, professors, and politicians who were in charge of negotiations with the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters. The Students' Committee was divided into four groups for funerals, public information, traffic control, and weapons collection. The first day they informed citizens of the 7-point demand submitted to the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters, controlled traffic, and collected over 300 guns.

#### C. The Situation on May 23

On May 23rd, two days after the citizens had taken control, gunfire was occasionally heard in the suburbs, but most stores had finally reopened as people continued to clean up the streets and feed the volunteers who had stayed up all night standing guard.

By 10:00 a.m. nearly 50,000 people were crowded in front of Provincial

Hall. Many there were queued up across the street in front of Sangmugwan waiting to light funerary incense at the entrance. Inside the building, rows of flag-draped coffins lined the rooms. Bodies for which there were no coffins were



simply covered with a cotton cloth.

#### D. Conflict in the Citizens' Settlement Committee

The first day of their existence both committees cooperated, but the hard-line and moderate elements in both clashed after the Martial Law Forces rejected their seven demands and responded with one of their own: immediate disarmament. The moderates in the General Committee favored surrender and were quickly expelled and on the evening of the 24th the hard-line elements also took the initiative in the Students' Committee. The next day Kim Chong Bae, Heo Gyu Jung and others created the Citizens' Fighting Committee. Around 1:00 p.m. they made the following demands to the government:

- 1. Since the Gwangju Democratic Uprising is the will of all Gwangju citizens you must give the reasons why the authorities are referring to it as a riot by rebellious elements and apologize for defining it that way.
  - 2. Hold a public funeral for those killed in the uprising.

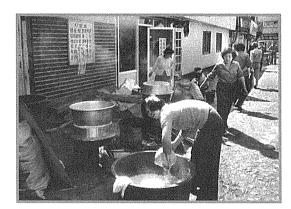
- - 3. Release everyone who has been imprisoned in relation to the uprising.
  - 4. Pay compensation for any damage caused to the degree demanded by the citizens.

A major problem was some of the General Committee had not won the public's confidence. Some people viewed the General Committee moderates in the same light as the Students' Committee moderates, that is, in favor of surrender. Yet this was caused by a fundamental misunderstanding of the situation. The Students' Committee Chair, Kim Chang Gil, didn't want to abandon his slim hope for an agreement with the Army. He and other members of the General Committee had earlier negotiated with the Vice Chief of the Jeolla Province Martial Law Headquarters, Kim Gi Suk, and found him serious and genuinely interested in a peaceful resolution.

Adding to these problems were agent provocateurs. By the 23rd some had begun spreading disinformation within the city. Their rumors helped exacerbate the problems stemming from the Students' Settlement Committee's poor leadership and internal conflict. One example was the "poisonous needle case" in the morning of the 25th. It was claimed a spy had sneaked into Provincial Hall, but it turned out to be part of the disinformation campaign.

An even greater problem relating to information was the limited and often outright dishonest reporting by Korean journalist. Throughout the uprising both foreign and Korean journalists were active. However, people in Gwangju were unhappy with the local reporters and so cooperated more with foreign journalists. For the same reason, they now had much freer access to Provincial Hall than their Korean counterparts.

## E. The Restoration of Order: the Realization of Community Consciousness



Under citizen control, Gwangju quickly achieved a semblance of order. Most markets and stores reopened and most of the problems of provisioning food, electricity and water were solved with the help of the relevant public officials.

In spite of the very limited resources available to maintain public order not a single bank or shop was burglarized. In fact, during this time the crime rate was much lower than normal. A widespread sense of community also helped keep essentials available. The hospitals had originally been hindered by a scarcity of blood, but more than enough was collected through makeshift donation centers. Citizens donated money required by the Settlement Committee and Citizen's Army and meals for the 300-400 soldiers were prepared and served by volunteers.

Despite their accomplishments in managing the city, internal conflict continued to take a toll. Late on the 25th the moderates left Provincial Hall, only those who wished to fight stayed. The new leading group consisted primarily of the hardline elements of the Students' Committee, the Youth Anti-Government Group, and people of lower socioeconomic status. The split in the two committees was also reflected in a thinning of the ranks of the Citizen's Army. However, most remained regardless of where they

stood in the ongoing debate.

The new leadership, of course, rejected the idea of surrendering their weapons. Instead, they opted "to fight with one hand and to negotiate with the other." In addition to their administrative duties, those remaining in Provincial Hall organized a self-defense force and worked out the conditions of negotiation. These included a warning that if the Army attacked they would detonate the dynamite in the building's arsenal (they had not yet realized there were no detonators).

Preparing for the possibility of a prolonged confrontation, Provincial Hall considered way to normalize the citizens' daily life. However, there was very little they could practically accomplish under the prevailing conditions.

### 6. Armed Suppression of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising: Operation Sangmu Choongjung

#### A. Death March

At 5:00 a.m. on May 26, a stolen army radio was used to report that troops and tanks were approaching the Nongsungdong area of the city. A state of emergency was proclaimed in the city and some members of the General Committee such as I Seong Hak, a Presbyterian elder, Kim Seong Ryong, a Catholic priest, rushed to Nongsungdong to lay down in the street. The tanks easily crushed the barricades that had been erected there and they and the troops went about a kilometer further before taking up positions in front of the Korea Electricity Company.

That night, anticipating the imminent arrival of the army, more people fled Provincial Hall. The leadership did not try to dissuade them as it had already been announced that only people who were willing fight should stay. Later, the 150 or so people in the YMCA joined those remaining in Provincial Hall. About 80 of the remaining 'citizen soldiers' had weapon training and more than 60 were middle or high school students with no military experience, including about 10 females.

#### B. Operation Sangmu Choongjung

According to the Army's records, the Operation Sangmu Choongjung went through five stages. Until May 17 the police alone worked to contain the uprising. From the 18th to the 21st, this task was shifted to the martial law army. By the morning of the last day, the paratroopers were in position for the planned "mop-up of the Gwangju area after the 23rd." Over the following two days the blockading of Gwangju was completed, followed by three days of pacification activities and final preparation for Sangmu Choongjung (May 24-26). Lastly, on May 27, the Army's final operation began.

#### Munitions of the 3rd Paratroopers Brigade's Special Attack Unit

M16	Grenade	Bulletproof vest	Tear gas grenade	Stun grenade	Special chemical grenade	Signal grenade (Star)
80-140 bullets/ rifle	3/company	1/soldier	2/company (plus gas mask)	10	10	1/company

<sup>\*</sup> Source: Peace and Democratic Party, The Gwangju Democratic Uprising: A White Book, p. 156

#### 7. Provincial Hall on May 27th, the Last Flame of Daybreak

#### A. The Plan to Suppress the Uprising

On the evening of the 27th, the 1st Local Company (troops stationed in Gwangju) under Captain Pyun Jong Sik and Brigadier General Choi Sae Chang's 3rd Paratroopers Brigade were awaiting their operational orders. Armed with M16s and grenades, the 3rd, 7th, and 11th Paratroopers Brigades wore bullet-proof vests and, to disguise their identities, general infantry uniforms instead of the paratrooper's distinctive camouflage fatigues. On the outskirts, the 20th Division was also prepared to go into action.

At 6 p.m. on May 26 the Special Attack Unit of the 11th Battalion, 3rd Paratroopers Brigade completed a preliminary drill practicing the "mop up" of the remnants of resistance at Provincial Hall. Its initial advance into the city secretly got them to the hill behind Chosun University around 1:30 a.m. After a final review of the plan, at 3:30 a.m. the unit began moving towards the starting points around Provincial Hall, the YWCA, Park Jong Building, and Tourist Hotel. Other troops were also infiltrating in the city through back roads and alleyways, including the 20th Division which left their barricades on the outskirts and reached their jump off point in the city center by 3:30 a.m.

Meanwhile, the citizen leadership dispersed members of the Citizen's Army and about 150 other fighters between the YMCA, Gaerim Elementary School, Park Jong Building, and Provincial Hall.

### Units Involved in the Operation Choongjung

	Unit	Strength (officer/ranks)	Targets	Time of deployment	Time of occupation
Special Attack Unit	3rd paratroopers brigade 7th Paratroopers Brigade 11th Paratroopers Brigade	14/66 33/224 4/33	Provincial Hall Gwangju Park Council Building YMCA Tourist Hotel	01:10 01:10 01:00	05:00 05:06 04:40
	Total	53/323			
Attack Unit	20th Division 31st Division	252/4,035 56/693	all of Gwangju	02:20 04:00	05:00 05:00
Orne	Total	308/4,728			
Blocka de Unit	Infantry School Armored School Artillery School	24/548 36/620 19/1,522	Gwangju outskirts Gwangju outskirts Gwangju outskirts	03:40	05:30 05:25 05:25
	Total	79/2,690			

<sup>\*</sup> Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising, p. 305

#### B. The Last Stand at Provincial Hall



Right before the final assault began, the Army severed the city's telephone links. However, Provincial Hall already knew the army had reentered the city and despite the lack of phones the operations office was provided with contin-

uous updates.

However, it was decided to not inform the citizens of the army's arrival until the last moment. In the meantime those in Provincial Hall calmly prepared for the last battle. When the time came to inform the public, two female demonstrators, Park Yeong Soon and I Gyeong Hee, drove through the city until 3:00 a.m. broadcasting the following message:

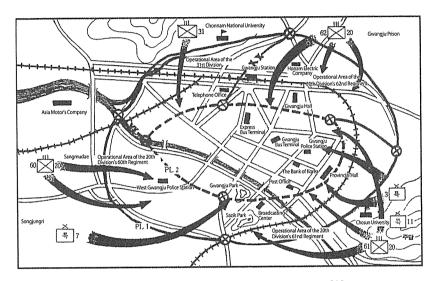
My fellow citizens, the army is entering our city now. Our dear brothers and sisters are being killed by their guns and bayonets. We will fight against the army to the last. Let's fight together to the last. We will defend our Gwangju to the last. Please remember us...!

Many who were in Gwangju at the time can still recall the plaintive plea.

The routes the troops took into Gwangju were roughly as follows:

Just after 4 a.m. the sound of gunfire began to reverberate throughout the city. The defenders of Provincial Hall were positioned in twos and threes at

# Outline of the Army's Movements for the Suppression of Provincial Hall



\* Source: Jeong Sang Yong, et al. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising, p. 308

the windows on the first three floors and along the perimeter of the building. The Special Attack Unit of the 3rd Brigade split into four groups and laid siege to the building.

The first group came over the back wall and immediately began shooting. At that signal the other paratroopers began their firing advance. Bullets were now coming from every direction as the paratroopers rushed into the building. The troops kicked down doors and shot at anything that looked or sounded like a person. Seemingly endless shrieks and gunshots marked "the mop-up of the rioters."

By 5:10 a.m., the YMCA, YWCA, Gaerim Elementary School, Park Jong Building, and Tourist Hotel were all in Army hands as was Provincial Hall a short time later. In less than 90 minutes the ten-day Gwangju Democratic Uprising had been brought to an end. Before long, Provincial Hall was unceremoniously handed over to the 20th Division, the 3rd Paratroopers returned to Gwangju Air Base and the surviving members of the Citizens' Army, now classified as "weapon holders" and "special rioters," were taken away to military camps.

### 8. The Expansion of the Uprising

Soon after the Army's first assault upon demonstrators on May 21st, the uprising spread from Gwangju to Hwasun, Naju, HamPyeong, Yunggwang, Gangjin, Muan, Haenam, and Mokpo. The required spread of ideas and information as well as the dispersal of leadership was greatly assisted by the requisitioning of cars from the Asia automotive factory and garages.

To further expand the uprising, it was originally hoped some people could make it as far as Jeonju and Seoul, but the army, afraid of just such an expansion, was blocking the railways and the north-south Honam Expressway.

The New Military Power's isolation of Jeonnam Province - both through physical means and the control of information - was quite successful. However, control in the province's southwest coastal areas was relatively weak because most of the provincial police force was preoccupied around Gwangju. This helps explain why the uprising easily spread to those areas, but a more important reason is most people in Jeonnam sympathized with

the demonstrators. They supported their demands and viewed them as the most likely force to succeed. Earlier on, although many people outside the city knew that demonstrators had been killed in Gwangju, they did not much more than get angry until demonstrators from Gwangju led them to participate in practical action.

### 9. The Gwangiu Democratic Uprising and the United States

# A. The Position of the United States During the Gwangju Democratic Uprising

On May 22, US Department of Defense spokesman Thomas Ross announced that General John Wickham, Commander of the UN Army in Korea and the ROK-US Combined Forces, had permitted the Korean government to mobilize some units to quell the demonstrations. He also noted that "there was no movement of the North Korean Army nor any evidence that they would take advantage of the present situation in South Korea" (The Donga Ilbo, May 22, 1980). On the same day another DOD spokesman, Hodding Carter, issued the following statement:

The US has deep apprehensions about the disturbance in Gwangju, a city located in the south of Korea, and urges all involved parties to explore ways toward a peaceful solution through self-control and conversation. In the case that unstable conditions continue and the violence is aggravated, there is the possibility that an external power may make a dangerous misjudgment. The US government reemphasizes that it will resolutely cope with any foreign attempts to take advantage of the present situation in accordance with the obligations of the ROK-US Mutual Defense Agreement (The Donga Ilbo, May 22, 1980).

This standard diplomatic language was a reminder that North Korea should remain neutral in this situation. Commander of the Pacific Region Air Force Lieutenant General Hughes said in an interview, "If North Korea invades South Korea, the tactical aircraft stationed in Hawaii will make a sortie as soon as possible, and moreover we have enough power to beat off all assaults from the air." The same day the National Security Council's Policy Regulation Committee sent two AWAC (airborne early warning and control) aircraft to Korea from Okinawa and dispatched the aircraft carrier USS Coral Sea from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Busan. These actions could be seen as another act of deterrence, but were intended to provide logistical support during the suppression of the uprising.

# B. The Transfer of Operational Control of the ROK-US Combined Forces

The role the US played in the defeat of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising can be understood through the transfer of operational control of the 20th Division on May 16. That day Wickham approved Chief of the Army General Staff I Hee Seong's request that operational control of the 20th Division be transferred to the Koreans so they could maintain order in the Seoul area. The New Military Power also asked the Combined Forces Headquarters "if the movement of the 20th Division to Gwangju" might be permitted to quell the riot. "After discussing the matter with higher officials in Washington," Wickham approved this request as well. This was followed a week later, on the 23rd, by the transfer of an additional battalion to Lee's control.

Consequently, from that day two battalions from 101st Regiment, 33rd Division awaited mobilization orders at Seongnam Airbase, although were never deployed.

Even though the US government saw no immediate signs of interference from North Korea, they continued to warn about the threat of outside interference. By producing an atmosphere of fear among the people this helped justify the blockading of Gwangju as well as the armed suppression that followed.

# V. The Significance of the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising

## 1. The Spirit of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising

Though the streets of Gwangju appeared to return to their former tranquility, the people who had lost loved ones made it clear that the uprising was not finished. A year later they founded the May 18 Bereaved Family Association to "demand the restoration of the victims' honor and make all of their demands to the authorities through a single organization." In August 1982, eighteen people who had been injured in the uprising inaugurated the Mudeungsan Association of those Wounded During the May 18 Incident (later the Association of those Wounded in the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising). These are just two of many associations that took the initiative in memorializing the May 18th uprising every year after 1980.

At the same time Gwangju citizens and students struggled to keep the spirit of the uprising alive. Sometimes this took extreme forms. Three days after the uprising ended, Seogang University student Kim Uei Gi jumped off the Seoul Christian Association building while distributing leaflets revealing some of the truths about the uprising.

In addition, the military's brutal response to the uprising did much to feed a growing anti-US sentiment. The first protest against what was seen as either US complicity or direct support was the December 1980 arson attack on the US Information Service in Gwangju. This was followed by the burning of the USIS office in Busan in March 1982 and a sit-down strike at the Seoul branch in May 1985.

Eventually, after an uprising in Seoul in June 1987 the Fifth Republic was faced with demands for a constitutional amendment allowing for direct elections. In the end, the government had to accept democratization through Roh Tae Woo's June 29 Declaration.

The next year the opportunity to investigate the Fifth Republic and publicly disclose the truth of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising arose when the ruling party lost its majority in the 13th National Assembly and a special committee was held.

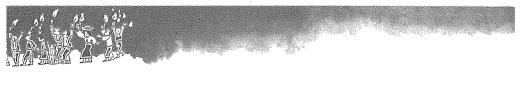
The long campaign for democratization provided an opportunity to rehabilitate the Gwangju Democratic Uprising and restore the city's honor. Thus, the New Military Power which had held back the democratization process and trampled constitutionalism came to stand trial for their crimes against the people of Gwangju and Korea.

# 2. The Significance of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising

The torch of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising was put out by the Army's Choongjung Operation. However, its spirit has remained unextinguished in the hearts of all who survived. The spirit of the Gwangju citizens did not spring from either a mere love of their own hometown or a simple rebellious spirit, but from a deep desire for democracy that even the oppression of the authorities and their distorted propaganda could not erase.

The truths of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising as the citizens of Gwangju experienced it are as follows:

First of all, all the citizens who fought did so voluntarily in the face of the cruel violence of the paratroopers. Due to the severity of the Army's





response atmosphere, it was impossible to participate in the uprising unless one was willing to risk their life. Nevertheless, Gwangju citizens resisted in the name of all Koreans, it was not just one or two individuals heroically rising up, but a whole people resisting oppression, and it brought them a priceless victory in the end. Even when they were denounced by the government as impure elements and rioters, the Gwangju citizens continued to argue that their uprising against the vio-

lence of the military was the way to defend justice and their right to live.

Secondly, during the whole period of the uprising, the people of Gwangju coped with the crisis through humanitarian cooperation. While the leadership took pains to solve some of the worst problems, people who could afford to shared their possessions and, being dependent on each other, encouraged each other in their isolated and ultimately hopeless situation. Food was shared, blood was donated, and people willingly helped anyone in any other ways necessary.

Thirdly, for six days a Citizen's Army controlled the city. During that period the Gwangju people gave full play to their moral consciousness. In spite of the complete absence of an official police force, the Gwangju citizens maintained peace and order. Even with so many firearms were in the hands of citizens, their presence was never abused. Even banks and jeweler's shops were free from any criminal act. We find no parallel to this case

in world history. Through it all, Gwangju citizens held a mature consciousness of democracy and community. The places attacked by the citizens were only the places symbolizing the government's power or the mass media's lies.

However, the battle between the Citizen's Army and the Martial Law Forces was decided by physical strength, not by justice or morality. With no outside aid, the Citizen's Army, hopelessly ill-equipped and ill-trained could not hope to prevail. However, having won the battle, the Army ultimately lost in the larger struggle for freedom.

Though the uprising was initially frustrated it has not gone down in history as a failure. Rather, it shows that we should seriously think about the past to find the lessons in the history. First, after the Korean War most Koreans, excepting a few socialist groups, saw the relationship between Korea and the United States as a blood pledge. For this reason many demonstrators expected the US to openly support their demands and make diplomatic moves to help bring about a positive resolution. When that didn't happen and it was later learned the US had relinquished control of the units responsible for the massacre, many Koreans started to reassess the role the US played in their country. As a result, anti-Americanism rapidly spread.

Secondly, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising moved Korea closer to democratization. The Fifth Republic maintained an oppressive and authoritative system to first consolidate and then maintain its power, but in the end the uprising only heightened the citizens' desire for democracy. Every May after 1980, the people's desire to end the dictatorship was obvious in all the large cities. As a result, the despotic system of Chun Doo Hwan was eventually overthrown and Korea began its shift towards democracy, though



still at a slow pace.

Lastly, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising provided an opportunity for people to assert their identity as citizens with civil and political rights. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising was an unprecedented armed civil uprising which changed the direction of modern Korean history. In less than twenty years the brutality and exorbitant corruption of the Fifth and Sixth Republics has been disclosed leading to some of those responsible to be convicted of their crimes in the name of "history, justice and law."

It was difficult to prove the historical truth of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising as much evidence was destroyed during the eight-year rule of the Fifth Republic. But the truth of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising was once and for all demonstrated shown through the Gwangju Special Hearing of the National Assembly.

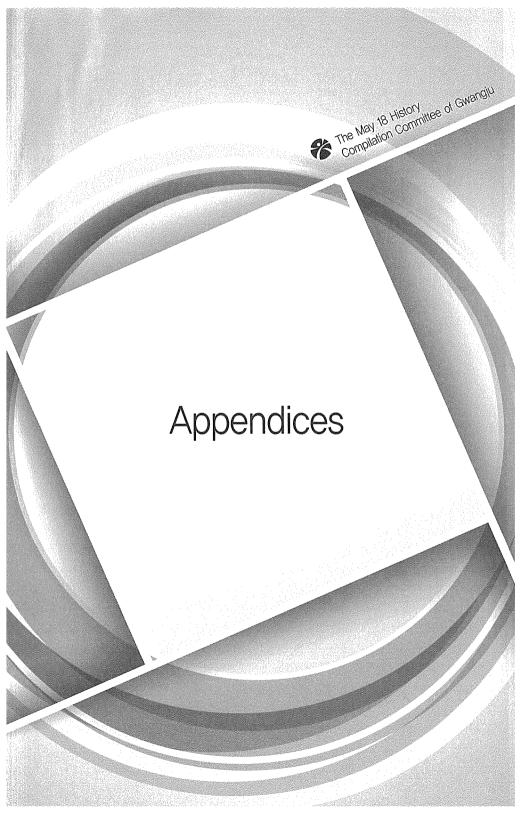
However, the disclosure of the truth was not fully satisfactory. In the course of the hearings the government skillfully glossed over many of the most sensitive issues thus protecting many participants who were linked with the New Army Power or most responsible for the military's brutality.

At the beginning of the civilian government, public prosecutors emphasized that punishment should be left to history rather than the state. But, as the national cry for the punishment of those responsible grew, a full-scale investigation was begun. They described the people involved in "the coup d'etat for the first time in the history of constitutional government." They were brought to trial for "obliterating fundamental human rights, the right to live, and the right to resist which are clearly stated in the constitution" and "judged by law and justice," not by history, attracting the attention of the whole world.

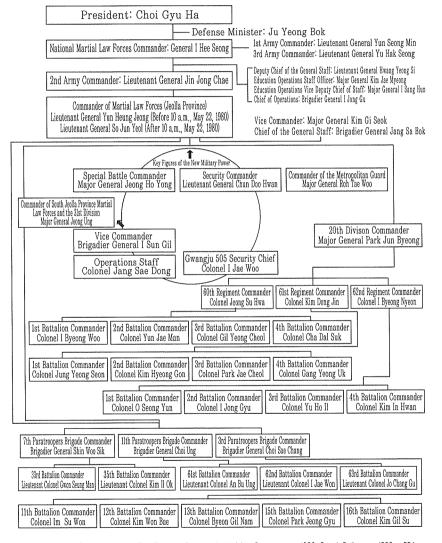
Every May 18th, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising is commemorated as a victory conquering yesterday's defeat. In as much as the present government claims to stand for a civilian role in accordance with the Gwangju Democratic Uprising and the June Uprising of 1987, now is the time to begin preparing for the next step. All the nation, as well as Gwangju citizens, should embrace the spirit of the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising and prepare for the future, rather than sticking to the past.

The 21st century will be an era of unlimited competition. To prepare for it we must continue to improve our society. Through the realization of a community spirit of selfless assistance trusts, the spirit of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising can continue to shine brightly into the future.



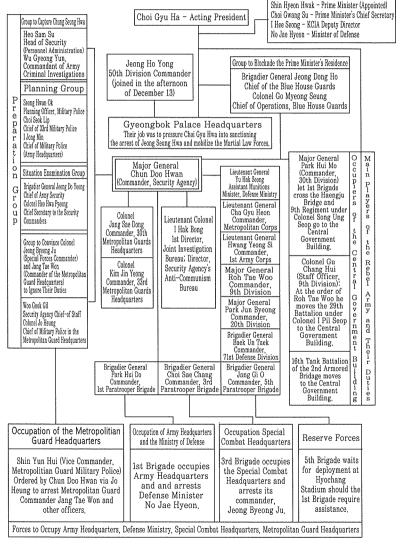


# Command Structure of the Forces Involved in the Suppression of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.



<sup>\*\*</sup> Source: Jeong, Sang Yong, et al. The Gwangju Democratic Uprising: Documentary 1980, Seoul: Dolbegae, 1990, p.354

### December 12 Coup Structure



<sup>\*</sup> Source: Jeong, Sang Yong, et al, The Gwangju Democratic Uprising: Documentary 1980, Seoul: Dolbegae, 1990, p.355,

# Chronology

# February 25, 1979 - November 29, 2012

- ▶ February 5: "An Evening for Arrested Writers (Kim Ji Ha, Song Gi Suk, Mun Ik Whan, Yang Seong Woo)" is held at the YMCA in Gwangju.
- ▶ March 1: Opposition leaders including Yun Po Sun, Ham Suk Hun and Kim Dae Jung form the National Coalition for Democracy and National Unification.
- ▶ June 1: Kim Dae Jung remains under house arrest.
- ▶June 15: Forty-eight Gwangju Prison inmates, including professor Seong Rye Woon and Reverand Go Yeong Geun, launch a hunger strike.
- ▶ August 11: Police break up a sit-in protest by around 170 workers of YH Trading Company at the New Democratic Party. Kim Gyeong Sook dies after jumping out a window.
- ▶ August 20: Cardinal Stephen Kim Su Hwan leads a march of Catholic priests toward Seoul Metropolitan Police Station.
- ▶ September 4: University students in Daegu demonstrate to demand an end to the Yushin dictatorship. Many are arrested.
- September 20: About 1,000 Seoul National University students clash with riot police during a march for political freedom.
- ▶ September 26: Thousands of students from Korea, Ehwa and Yonsei Universities stage a street demonstration.
- ▶ October 4: The Democratic Republican Party expels opposition leader Kim Young Sam from the National Assembly.

- ▶ March 29: About 2,000 Chosun University students issue a statement demanding freedom of student activities.
- ▶ April 3: Seoul National University students hold a sit-in protest to demand freedom for student activities.
- ▶ April 21: About 700 striking miners in Sabuk (Kangwon Province) clash with police.
- ▶ April 24: A total of 361 professors from 14 universities in Seoul issue a statement about the continuing campus unrest.
- ▶ May 4: The National Coalition for Democracy and National Unification demands an end to martial law and freedom at universities.
- ▶ May 14: Leaders of 27 university student councils decide to stage street demonstrations.
- May 15: About 70,000 students from thirty Seoul universities hold street demonstrations late into the evening.
- ▶May 17: Ninety-five student leaders from 55 universities are detained during a meeting.
- ▶May 18: Martial law is expanded to the entire country, political activities banned and universities shut down. Kim Young Sam is put under house arrest and Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil are detained.
- ▶May 18: The Gwangju Democratic Uprising begins. About 600 Chonnam National University students throw rocks at the 7th Special Attack Brigade.
- ▶May 19: The military sends the 11th Paratroopers Brigade into Gwangju. Protests against excessive use of force escalate.
- ▶May 20: More troops arrive from the 3rd Paratroopers Brigade and the

- 20th Infantry Division. About 200 taxis drive in procession to Geumnam Street.
- ▶ May 21: Paratroopers open fire in a coordinated fashion, making May 21 the deadliest day of the uprising. The Citizens' Army occupies Provincial Hall.
- ► May 22: Protests spread to the neighboring cities of Mokpo, Naju, Hwasun and Haenam.
- ▶ May 23: General John Wickham, commander of the Korea-US Combined Forces Command, agrees to the mobilization of Korean troops to suppress the demonstrations in Gwangju.
- ► May 24: Having declared Gwangju liberated, citizens continue to hold daily mass rallies.
- ► May 25: Martial law troops, having been pushed out of the city, impose a blockade and kill civilians.
- ► May 26: The Citizens' Settlement Committee negotiates with martial law officials
- ▶ May 27: About 20,000 troops conduct a bloody operation to take control of Provincial Hall and other parts of the city.
- ▶ August 16: Acting President Choi Gyu Ha resigns.
- ▶ August 21: Military leaders recommend Chun Doo Hwan as the next president.
- ▶August 27: Chun Doo Hwan is elected the nation's 11th President.
- ▶ September 17: A court martial sentences Kim Dae Jung to death for rebellious activities and violating the National Security Law.
- November 14: Donga and Dong Yang Broadcasting Companies are merged into KBS. Some national and local newspapers are shut down.



### The 10 Days of the 1980 Gwangju Democratic Uprising

### May 18 (Sunday, clear weather)

- 09:40: During the Meeting for National Democratization students and citizens agree to meet at the fountain in front of Provincial Hall if martial law is extended. Students on their way to the library at Chonnam University are stopped by 7th Brigade paratroopers.
- 10:00: Students demonstrate shouting "Reopen the universities!" and "End martial law!"
- 10:15: Students fall down bleeding as they are hit by soldiers' truncheons.
  - 10:20: Students move towards Geumnam Street chanting "Let's go to Geumnam Street."
  - 15:40: Paratroopers perform a suppression operation at Yudong intersection.
  - 19:02: Martial Law Headquarters advances the existing curfew to 9 p.m.

### May 19 (Monday, rain in the afternoon)

- 03:00: 11th Brigade arrives at Gwangju Station.
- 09:30: Citizens set fire to Imdong and Numundong police stations.
- 10:00: More citizens join in the protests and throw stones at paratroopers on Geumnam Street.

- 14:40: Paratroopers who had been driven from Chosun University begin a new suppression operation.
- 15:00: Leading figures in Gwangju meet and request that the Martial Law Forces stop using force.
- 16:30: When an armored vehicle is surrounded near Gaerim Police Station the soldiers inside fired on the demonstrators. High school student Kim Yeong Chon is wounded. This further incites citizens.
- 20:00: Tens of thousands of citizens shout "Out with Chun Doo Hwan!"

### May 20 (Tuesday, light rain in the morning)

- 08:00: High schools are ordered closed.
- 10:20: Thirty people of both sexes are stripped down to their underwear and beaten in front of the Catholic Center. Battles continue.
- 18:40: A procession consisting of 200 taxis lights on and horns blowing leave Mudeung Stadium for Geumnam Street.
- 20:10: Citizens moving from Provincial Hall confront paratroopers and police on Geumnam and Choongjang Streets and around the Labor Office.
- 21:05: A busload of demonstrators from the Labor Office area rushes through a police cordon killing four policemen.
- 21:50: Citizens set fire to the MBC broadcasting station in retaliation for their biased reporting.
- 23:00: Two unarmed citizens are killed at Gwangju Station.

### May 21 (Wednesday, clear)

- 00:35: Around 20,000 demonstrators fight with Martial Law forces around the Labor Office.
- 02:18: Long distance telephone service is stopped.
- 04:00: The bodies of the two citizens killed the day before are into a cart and taken to Geumnam Street.
- 04:30: KBS broadcasting station is set ablaze.
- 08:00: Demonstrators clash with the 20th Division at the entrance of the Gwangju Industrial District.
- 10:15: Fully-armed paratroopers become the official front line troops.
- 10:19: National Tax Office is burnt down.
- 11:10: A large helicopter lands in the plaza in front of Provincial Hall.
- 12:59: Citizens rush an armored vehicle from Asia Motors to near Provincial Hall.
- 13:00: The Korean national anthem is broadcast from atop of Provincial Hall and signals the paratroopers to begin firing on the crowds gathered there.
- 13:20: Converging fire from the paratroopers continues to kill and wound many.
- 14:15; Jeonnam's governor uses a police helicopter to request that the crowds disperse.
- 14:35: Citizens seize dozens more military trucks and armored vehicles from Asia Motors
- 14:40; Citizens steal TNT from a facility in Jiwondong.
- 15:48: Snipers shoot at demonstrators from roofs around Provincial Hall.
- 16:00: Demonstrators seize weapons in Hwasun and Naju while street fights erupt in front of Provincial Hall,

- 16:43: Students set up two light machine guns on the roof of Chonnam University Hospital.
- 17:30: Paratroopers withdraw from Provincial Hall to Chosun University.

### May 22 (Thursday, clear)

- 09:00: Citizens gather on Geumnam Street and in Provincial Hall's plaza.
- 10:30: A military helicopter circles the Provincial Hall area and drops leaflets entitled "Warning to Rioters,"
- 11:25: A jeep is driven around to appeal to citizens for blood donations.
- 12:00: The national flag atop of Provincial Hall is flown at half-mast along with a black ribbon.
- 13:30: Eight representatives from the Citizens' Settlement Committee deliver seven demands to the Sangmudae Martial Law Headquarters.
- 15:08: A welcoming ceremony is performed when 500 university students arrive from Seoul.
- 15:58: The bodies of 18 dead are displayed in the plaza of Provincial Hall and a Citizens' Meeting is held.
- 17:18: Representative of the Citizens' Settlement Committee publicly report the results of their visit to Sangmudae.
- 17:40: The bodies of 23 more dead arrive at Provincial Hall.
- 21:30: Prime Minister Park Choong Hoon broadcasts that Gwangju is in chaos.



### May 23 (Friday, partly cloudy)

- 08:00: Citizens voluntarily clean the Geumnam Street area.
- 10:00: Approximately 50,000 citizens hold a rally in the plaza in front of Provincial Hall.
- 10:15: The Students' Settlement Committee organizes a special attack unit and begins collecting weapons.
- 11:45: A list and description of the dead is posted outside Provincial Hall.
- 13:00: Paratroopers shoot at a mini bus outside Junam Village in Jiwondong. 17 of the 18 passengers are killed, including two wounded who are taken away and killed in the hills behind the village.
- 15:00: The first Citizens' Rally for Democracy is held. Warning leaflets are again dropped over the city by the Martial Law Forces.
- 19:40: The first 33 citizens to be released by the military arrive at Provincial Hall.

### May 24 (Saturday, rain the afternoon)

- 13:20: Paratroopers shoot boys swimming in the reservoir at Wonjae Village. Bang Gwang Burn, a first year middle school student, was shot in the head.
- 14:20: Paratroopers withdrawing from Songamdong exchange fire with another Korean unit. Afterwards, the paratroopers kill some local

citizens in revenge.

14:50: The Second Citizens' Rally for Democracy is held.

### May 25 (Sunday, rainy)

- 11:00: Cardinal Kim Su Hwan delivers a message and 10 million won in relief money.
- 15:00: The Third Citizens' Rally for Democracy is held.
- 17:00: Out-of-office democratic figures unanimously adopt Father Kim Seong Yong's four settlement proposals.
- 21:10: The Students' Settlement Committee discusses ways to maintain order, provide food to citizens and clean the streets.

### May 26 (Monday, rain in the morning)

- 05:20: Martial Law Forces advance from Hwajungdong to the Office of Rural Development,
- 08:00: Citizens' Settlement Committee members perform a Death March to prevent the Martial Law Forces from entering downtown.
- 10:00: The Fourth Citizens' Rally for Democracy is held.
- 14:00: The Students' Settlement Committee requests eight things from the Gwangju mayor including basic provisions.
- 15:00: The Fifth Citizens' Rally for Democracy is held.
- 17:00: Yun Sang Won, representative of the Students' Settlement



Committee, briefs foreign reporters on the situation in Gwangju.

19:10: The Citizens' Army officially announces the Martial Law Forces are likely to attack in the evening. Young women and students are sent home from Provincial Hall.

24:00: Local phone service is cut off by the Martial Law Forces.

### May 27 (Tuesday, clear)

03:00: Martial Law Forces, led by armored vehicles, begin to enter the city. Two women drive through the streets broadcasting the news.

04:00: Provincial Hall is completely surrounded by the Martial Law Forces. Street fights occur around Geumnam Street.

04:10: A Special Attack Unit enters Provincial Hall.

05:10: The Martial Law Forces conclude their suppression operation. Gwangju is now occupied by the military.

07:00: The 3rd, 7th, and 11th Paratroopers hand over Provincial Hall to the 20th Division.

08:50: Local telephone services resumes.

- ▶ January 28: President Chun Doo Hwan visits the United States at the invitation of President Ronald Reagan.
- ▶ February 25: Chun Doo Hwan, of the Democratic Justice Party, is elected the 12th President.

- ► March 18: Mun Bu Sik and other university students set fire to the US Information Service building in Busan.
- ▶ April 8: Five people, including Father Choi Gi Sik, a Roman Catholic priest, are arrested for helping hide Kim Hyeon Jang. Kim was involved in an attack on the Busan US Information Service building.
- ▶ April 16: A Roman Catholic committee headed by Stephen Cardinal Kim Su Hwan issues a statement defending Father Choi's actions.
- ▶ August 10: Mun Bu Sik and Kim Hyeon Jang are sentenced to death for setting fire to the US Information Service building in Busan.
- ▶October 12: Park Gwan Hyeon, who led the Chonnam National University Student Council during the Gwangju Democratic Uprising, dies in Gwangju Prison.
- ▶ October 23: Kim Dae Jung leaves for the United States after being released from jail.

- ▶May 18: Kim Young Sam launches a hunger strike.
- September 22: The US Information Service in Daegu is damaged by a homemade bomb.
- ▶December 21: The government allows students who were expelled from universities for anti-government activities to be reinstated spring semester.

- ▶ March 24: Seoul National University allows students to form a committee to expand campus freedom.
- ▶ April 13: Students from 55 universities across the country demonstrate to demand campus freedom.
- ▶ May 18: The Committee for Promoting Democratization is inaugurated.
- ▶October 24: About 6,400 police enter Seoul National University at the request of university officials.
- ▶November 3: An official ceremony for "Students' Day" is held for the first time in eleven years.
- November 3: Student leaders from 42 universities gather at Yonsei University and form a national coalition for anti-dictatorship and pro-democracy struggle.
- November 13: A group of Seoul National University students demonstrates at Guro Industrial Complex, demanding the guarantee of labor rights.

- ▶ January 7: Ham Suk Hun, Bishop Chi Hak Soon and the Reverend Kim Jae Joon join 19 others to form a group of dissident leaders.
- February 8: Kim Dae Jung returns home and is greeted by about 50,000 supporters.
- ▶ February 25: The Catholic Committee for Justice and Peace launches a campaign against the Basic Press Act.
- ▶ April 17: Student leaders from 26 universities form the National Federation of Students.
- ► May 17: About 38,000 students from 80 universities hold a violent demonstration, demanding investigations into the military massacre of civilians in Gwangju.
- ▶ May 23: Students end the occupation of the US Information Service in Seoul.
- ►May 29: Novelist Hwang Seok Yang is detained by police over his documentary work "Beyond Death, Beyond the Darkness of the Times."
- ▶ August 1: A group of 401 writers issues a statement that demands freedom of expression.
- August 15: Labor activist Hong Gi Il burns himself to death in Gwangju.
- ▶ October 17: About 60 dissidents, including Reverend Mun Ik Hwan, form a committee on the torture of pro-democracy activists and the false charges of communism used against many.
- November 21: About 2,000 students from 10 universities in Seoul hold a rally, demanding an end to dictatorship and the repeal of the Fifth Republic's Constitution.
- ▶December 2: Ten students from Chonnam National University and

Cheonbuk National University occupy the US Information Service building in Gwangju. They demand that the United States stop pressuring Korea to open its markets

- ▶ February 11: The Korean National Council of Churches and other Christian organizations launch a campaign to boycott KBS TV's viewing fees.
- ▶ March 1: Simultaneous prayers for justice and peace are held at 125 Roman Catholic churches in Seoul.
- ▶April 7: The Korean Bar Association forms a study group that deals with the constitutional amendment and demand revision of the Constitution.
- ▶ April 16: A total of 43 Chonnam National University professors issue a statement calling for democracy.
- ▶ April 28: Seoul National University students I Jae Ho and Kim Sae Jin burn themselves to death shouting "No to war!" and "No to nuclear weapons!"
- ▶May 3: About 5,000 students and workers clash with riot police in Incheon resulting in 129 arrests.
- ▶May 8: A group of Christian ministers issues a statement demanding democracy.
- ▶May 9: A statement on democracy is released by 152 Buddhist priests of the Jogye Order.
- ▶May 10: A statement demanding democratization in education is issued by 546 members of the YMCA Secondary School Teachers' Association

- ▶ May 16: About 2,000 family members of victims of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising mark on Geumnam Street after celebrating mass at Namdong Catholic Church.
- ► May 17: University students from across the country hold demonstrations in commemoration of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.
- ▶ May 18: About 1,000 students and bereaved families hold a memorial after a ceremony at Mangwoldong Cemetery to the victims of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.
- ▶ May 18: About 1,000 young Roman Catholics march in the streets of Seoul after celebrating mass at Myeongdong Cathedral.
- ▶ May 20: Seoul National University student I Dong Su burns himself to death during a lecture by the Reverend Mun Ik Hwan. He shouted, "US imperialists go away!"
- ► May 27: The first university memorial for the Gwangju Democratic Uprising is set up at Hanshin University.
- ► May 31: About 350 teachers rally at Myeongdong Cathedral vowing to produce an educational system that is independent of political power.
- ▶June 21: A rally for democracy in education is held at the Gwangju.

  Catholic Center by 229 members of the Honam YMCA

  Secondary School Teachers' Association.
- ▶ August 12: About ten bereaved family members of activists who killed themselves form an association.
- September 7: About 2,000 Buddhist monks of the Jogye Order demonstrate at the Haein Temple.
- ▶October 28: About 2,000 students from 26 universities found a national alliance and begin a sit-in protest at Konkuk University.

- ▶ January 14: Seoul National University student Park Jong Cheol is tortured to death during a police investigation.
- ▶ February 7: Across the country 799 demonstrators are arrested for defying a ban on memorial services for Park Jong Cheol.
- ▶ April 10 : Kim Dae Jung is placed under house arrest.
- ▶ April 13: In a special address, President Chun Doo Hwan says he would hand over power under the current Constitution instead of electing the next president in a direct vote.
- ▶ April 14: Stephen Cardinal Kim Su Hwan criticizes Chun Doo Hwan's April 13 address in his Easter message. The Korean National Council of Churches also criticizes Jeon's decision not to amend the Constitution.
- ▶ April 21: Thirteen Roman Catholic priests in Gwangju start a hunger strike, demanding a constitutional amendment allowing for direct presidential elections.
- ▶April 27: About 40 Catholic priests in Seoul, 19 Protestant ministers in South Jeonnam Province and about 80 Catholic nuns in Gwangju join the hunger strike.
- ▶ April 29: A total of 193 writers and critics issue a statement demanding the next president be elected through a direct popular vote. Sixteen Catholic priests also issue a statement.
- ▶May 17: Ceremonies and memorial services marking the 7th anniversary of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising are held at Mangwoldong Cemetery and 62 universities nationwide.
- ▶May 20: About 90 Buddhist monks and laypeople hold a sit-in demonstration at Gaeun Temple to protest against the police raid of Wongak Temple in Gwangju.

- ▶ May 27: A total of 2,191 people, including members of the Democratic Party and dissidents, launch a coalition for the direct election of the next president.
- ▶ May 27: The Seoul National University Student Council boycotts classes to demand an investigation into Park Jong Cheol's death and calls for the withdrawal of Jeon's April 13 announcement not to amend the Constitution.
- ▶ May 30: Eighteen women's groups form an association to protest KBS TV's mandatory viewer fees and announce their refusal to pay.
- ▶June 10: Police detain 3,851 students after pro-democracy demonstrations sweep through 18 cities. The demonstrations became known as the June 10 Pro-Democracy Movement.
- ▶ June 11: About 350 demonstrators who participated in the June 10 Pro-Democracy Movement continue to protest at Myeongdong Cathedral.
- ▶ June 18: A national pro-democracy alliance holds rallies in major cities to demand an end to the use of tear gas.
- ▶June 20: A statement demanding democracy in education is released by 105 teachers from 51 middle and high school in Seoul.
- ▶June 22: About 70 professors from 30 universities form a national association.
- ▶ June 26: Demonstrations in 37 cities draw the largest number of people since June 10. Police arrest 3,467 demonstrators.
- ▶ June 29: Roh Tae Woo, executive chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, issues the June 29 Declaration promising the direct election of the next president, amnesty to Kim Dae Jung

- - and six other democratic reform measures.
  - ▶July 5: Yonsei University student I Han Yeol, who was hit by a tear gas shell during the June 9 demonstration, dies.
  - ▶July 10: President Jeon steps down as president of the Democratic Justice Party.
  - ▶July 21: About 80 professors from 28 universities launch a national alliance.
  - ▶August 19: About 3,500 students from 95 universities form a national coalition.
  - ▶August 22: I Seok Gyu, who worked for Daewoo Shipyard on Geoje Island, dies after being hit by a tear gas canister
  - ▶October 27: A constitutional amendment allowing for direct presidential elections is approved in a referendum with 93.1 percent of voters in support.
  - ▶October 28: Kim Dae Jung announces his presidential bid and his plans to create a new political party.
  - ▶November 18: About 700 students from 16 universities hold a rally at Konguk University to thwart Roh Tae Woo's move to succeed Chun Doo Hwan as president.
  - ▶December 16: Voters cast ballots for the nation's 13th president.

- ▶ February 25: Roh Tae Woo is inaugurated as the nation's 13th president.
- ▶April 1: About 9,000 workers at Daewoo Shipyard go on strike for higher pay.
- ▶ May 15: Seoul National University student Cho Seong Man jumps to his death at Myeongdong Cathedral. He had demanded the

- immediate release of dissidents.
- ▶May 16: A committee devoted to the creation of a memorial to and proper commemoration of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising issues a statement demanding investigations into the suppression of the uprising and for special legislation restoring the victims' honor.
- ► May 29: Human rights lawyers launch the Lawyers for a Democratic Society.
- ▶ June 10: Police thwart a meeting between North and South Korean students.
- ▶ June 14: About 1,200 students from three universities, including Korea University, hold a unification rally at Imjingak in Paju.
- September 8: Twenty-one teachers in Yeosu form the nation's first association of primary school teachers.
- ▶ October 25: A committee on Samchung Education Camp demands the appointment of an independent panel to investigate the operation of this prison-like social rehabilitation program.
- ▶October 27: A group of Buddhists marks the 8th anniversary of a demonstration that had been forcefully broken up by police. They demand investigations and punishments for the responsible officials.
- November 17: About 10,000 farmers demonstrate in Youido, Seoul, against the opening of the domestic farm market.
- November 21: About 10,000 teachers hold a rally in Youido, Seoul, demanding a democratic revision of education laws.
- ▶November 26: Gwon Yeong Gil is elected the first president of the National Union of Media Workers, which comprises the labor unions of 41 news media companies.

- ▶ January 16: Choi Yeong Sin, a sergeant in the Special Attack Forces during the Gwangju Democratic Uprising, makes a "declaration of conscience" which discloses the brutality of the military.
- ▶January 18: About 50 Chonnam National University students raid the US Information Service while about 200 Chosun University students raid the local prosecutors' office.
- ▶ January 21: The National Alliance for National and Democratic Movement is launched.
- ▶ February 23: The National Federation of University Student Councils announces its plan to participate in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang.
- ▶ March 1: The National Federation of Farmers' Movement is launched.
- ► March 25: The Reverend Mun Ik Hwan makes a surprise visit to North Korea.
- ▶May 3: Six riot policemen are killed while suppressing a student demonstration at Dongeui University in Busan. The university is shut down.
- ▶May 10: Chosun University student I Cheol Gyu is found dead.
- ▶May 18: A total of 854 professors from 7 universities in Gwangju and South Jeolla Province demand punishment for those responsible for the 1980 massacre in Gwangju.
- ▶May 28: The Korean Teachers and Education Workers' Union elects Yun Yeong Gyu, a physical education teacher at Chonnam Physical Education High School, as its first president. 26 leaders launch a hunger strike at the Democratic Party office to demand legalization of the union and the release of detained

teachers.

- ▶ June 21: About 200 people, including film directors and actors, hold a rally on Daehak Street in Seoul to protest the direct distribution of US films by the UIP.
- ▶June 24: About 400 Chosun University students raid the local prosecutors' office in Gwangju, demanding an investigation into Cheol Gyu's death.
- ▶ June 30: Lim Su Gyeong, a representative of the National Federation of University Student Councils, arrives in Pyongyang to participate in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students.
- ▶ July 7: Lim Su Gyeong and Kim Chang Ryong, chairman of the North Korean Student Committee, issue a joint statement.
- ▶ July 19: About 30 Buddhist monks, including the Reverend Jinwan, form a committee against the suppression of Buddhism and demand the release of the Reverend Jiseon and other Buddhists taken into police custody.
- ▶July 20: About 15,000 students from 23 high schools in Gwangju join teachers for rallies at Chonnam National University and Daedong High School to protest the disciplinary actions taken against members of the teachers' union.
- ▶ July 26: Father Mun Gyu Hyeon, a Roman Catholic priest, arrives in Pyongyang to escort Lim Su Gyeong back home.
- ▶ August 1: The Doctors for Humanitarianism claims that residents in Yeonggwang were contaminated by radiation that leaked from a nuclear reactor.
- ▶ August 5: Byun Hyeong Yun and 46 other Seoul National University professors demand the government not to oppress the Korean Teachers and Education Workers' Union.
- ▶ August 15: Lim Su Gyeong and Father Mun Gyu Hyeon return to South Korea via Panmunjom.



▶ August 30: The trade unions of KBS, MBC and CBS broadcasting networks form a committee to repeal existing broadcasting laws.

## 1990

► May 18-27: Forty-one organizations hold events commemorating the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.

#### 1991

- ▶ April 26: Myeongji University student Gang Gyeong Dae is killed by riot police troopers during a demonstration.
- ▶May 26: About 200,000 people attend the funeral of Park Seung Hee, a Chonnam National University student who burned himself to death. Twelve other people die during pro-democracy demonstrations and incidents in May including Gang Gyeong Dae, Kim Yeong Gyoon, Chun Sae Yong, ParkChang Su, Kim Gi Seol, Yun Yong Ha, I Jung Soon, Kim Cheol Su, Jung Sang Soon, Kim Gwi Jung, I Jin Hee, and Seok Gwang Su.

- ▶May 19: Kim Young Sam is selected as the Democratic Liberal Party's presidential candidate.
- ▶ May 26: Kim Dae Jung is selected as the Democratic Party's presidential candidate.

- ▶ February 25: Kim Young Sam is sworn in as the nation's 14th president. He launches the "Civilian Government."
- ▶ March 18: Demonstrators block President Kim Young Sam from visiting Mangwoldong Cemetery. The protesters were angered by his comment: "Let the truth stay in the care of history."

#### 1994

- ▶ A campaign is launched to indict those responsible for the military massacre of civilians during the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.
- ▶ June 30: The May 18 Memorial Foundation is established.
- ▶October 19: Lawmaker Kim Sang Hyeon and 22 bereaved family members of Gwangju victims ask prosecutors to investigate Chun Doo Hwan, Chun Doo Hwan Woo and eight others, charging them with mutiny, treason and murder.

- ▶July: A committee is formed to seek justice against those who played leading roles in the Gwangju massacre. About 150 people participate in a sit-in protest at Myeongdong Cathedral in Seoul. The Lawyers for a Democratic Society files perjury charges against 7 people, including Chun Doo Hwan and I Hee Seong.
- ▶July 24: Jeong Dong Nyun asks the Constitutional Court to make a judgment on the prosecution's decision not to indict Chun Doo Hwan and Chun Doo Hwan Woo.

- - ▶ August: A campaign is launched to collect signatures for the enactment of a special law that aims to indict those responsible for the May 18 massacre.
  - November 24: President Kim Young Sam orders the Democratic Liberal Party to seek passage of the May 18 Special Act.
  - ▶December 3: Former President Chun Doo Hwan is arrested in connection with the December 12, 1979 military coup and the May 18 massacre after rejecting a summons by the Seoul Prosecutor's Office.
  - ▶December 5: The Supreme Prosecutors' Office indicts Chun Doo Hwan Woo on charges of receiving 290 billion won in illegal funds from various businesses.
  - ▶December 12: President Kim Young Sam issues a special statement calling the investigations of Chun Doo Hwan and Chun Doo Hwan Woo "righting the wrongs of history," and calling for the elimination of the legacy of military dictatorship and coups.
  - ▶December 19: The National Assembly passes the Special Act on the May 18 Gwangju Democratization Uprising.

- ▶ January 8: The Seoul Prosecutors' Office announces the discovery of about 10 billion won hidden by Chun Doo Hwan.
- ▶ January 12: The Seoul Prosecutors' Office says that Chun Doo Hwan amassed a total of 950 billion won in illegal funds during his term in office. About 215.9 billion won of it was bribes.
- ▶ January 17: The Seoul Prosecutors' Office seeks arrest warrants for five people for their roles in the December 12, 1979 coup: Yu

- Hak Seong, Hwang Yeong Si, Jang Sae Dong, I Hak Bong and Choi Sae Chang.
- ▶ January 23: The Seoul Prosecutors' Office indicts Chun Doo Hwan and Chun Doo Hwan Woo on charges of mutiny and treason.
- ▶ January 30: The prosecution seeks arrest warrants for three lawmakers on treason charges: Jeong Ho Yong, Heo Sam Su and Heo Hwa Pyeong.
- ► March 11: The "Trial of the Century" begins at the Seoul District Criminal Court with a first hearing on Chun Doo Hwan and Chun Doo Hwan Woo.
- ▶ March 18: A second hearing is held. Chun Doo Hwan testifies that he arrested Army Chief of Staff Chung Seong Hwa without authorization from President Choi Gyu Ha.
- ▶ August 5: The Seoul Prosecutors' Office demands the death sentence for Chun Doo Hwan and life imprisonment for Chun Doo Hwan Woo.
- ▶October 7: The Los Angeles Times reports that the United States authorized the mobilization of military units under the Korea-US Combined Forces Command to quell the Gwangju Democratic Uprising. The report also says that President Jimmy Carter sent a special envoy to Chun Doo Hwan to express his support for the plan.
- ▶November 11: The Seoul High Court issues an injunction to summon former President Choi Gyu Ha, after refusing to testify on the December 12, 1979 coup and the Gwangju Democratic Uprising,
- ▶ December 23: Chun Doo Hwan and Chun Doo Hwan Woo decide not to appeal to the Supreme Court.

- ▶ April 17: Chun Doo Hwan receives a sentence of life imprisonment and Chun Doo Hwan Woo is sentenced to 17 years for amassing illegal funds.
- ▶ April 29: May 18 is designated a national commemoration day.
- ▶ May 16: The completion ceremony for the new May 18 Cemetery is held in Unjeongdong, Buk-gu, Gwangju.
- ► May 18: The first official commemoration ceremony of the May 18 Democratic Uprising is nationally observed.
- ▶December 20: President Kim Young Sam and President-elect Kim Dae
  Jung agree to pardon Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae
  Woo and work together in having smooth transition of
  power.
- ▶December 22: President Kim Young Sam pardons Chun Doo Hwan, Chun Doo Hwan Woo and 17 others who had been serving prison terms in connection with the December 12, 1979 coup, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising and slush funds

#### 1998

February 25: Kim Dae Jung is sworn in as the nation's 15th president.

He launches the "Government of the People."

## 1999

▶May: The May 18 Freedom Park is opened.

- ▶ May 18: President Kim Dae Jung attends the ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of the May 18 Democratic Uprising.
- ▶ June 15: After a summit in Pyongyang, President Kim Dae Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong II sign the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration.
- ▶December 10: President Kim Dae Jung wins the Nobel Peace Prize.

## 2001

- ▶ May: The May 18 Memorial Center is opened.
- ▶ December 21: The government drafts a special act to compensate and restore honor to the victims of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.

#### 2002

▶ July 27: The May 18 Cemetery becomes a national cemetery under the Special Act for the Victims of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising.

#### 2003

February 25: Roh Moo Hyun is sworn in as the nation's 16th president.

He launches the "Participatory Government."



▶January 20 : A preexisting law concerning the honorable treatment of "people of merit" connected with the May 18 Democratic Uprising is revised. The law came into effect March 27, 2004.

#### 2006

▶May 8, 2006: 'The house for the May Mothers' opened

## 2007

▶May 2007: The Prize for Mothers created

▶July 2007 : A movie titled 'Brilliant holiday' released

# 2008

- ▶2008 : A book titled May 18th democratic movement approved as a "government-recognized" textbook by Gwangju Education Department
- ▶The conflict over the retention of the annexe to Jeollanamdo provincial government building continued for over 3 years while the design plan for the national Asia cultural center was developed

# 2009

▶May 18, 2009: The absence of President Yi Myeongbak at the memorial ceremony of 'May 18th democratic movement' continued since 2009

► May 18, 2010: The 30th memorial ceremony of 'May 18th democratic movement' held

## 2011

- ▶May 25, 2011: Human Rights Documentary Heritage 1980 Archives for the 'May 18th Democratic Movement' included in the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register
- November 2011: The contents of the May 18th Democratic
  Movement deleted based on the writing standards
  for the middle school history text book by the
  government
- ▶ December 2011: The writing standards for the May 18th Democratic Movement on the high school text books clarified

- ▶ April 20, 2012 : Settled to hold the 11th IAC for UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in Gwangju city in 2013
- ▶November 2011: The May 18th Democratic Movement and the inclusion of Human Rights Documentary Heritage 1980

  Archives for the May 18th Movement in the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2011 included in the middle school text book of 2013
- November 29, 2012: A movie titled '26 Years' released

- ▶1. 30 : Visiting of Gwangju, Suji, Mt. Awoong
- ▶5. 15~18: Holding of 2013 Worldwide Human Rights City Forum
- ▶5. 18:5 · 18 33th Anniversary Ceremony
  - · Particular event of group in May to sing marching songs for King
  - · Participation of anniversary ceremony of president, Park Keunhye
- ▶6. 18~21 : Holding of the 11st worldwide heritage international counseling conference
- ▶6. 20 : The first assembly conference for establishing the center of Korean democracy
- ▶7. 23 : Establishment of "5 · 18 historic distortion denying behavior"

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Kwangju May 18 Democratic Uprising Archive

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