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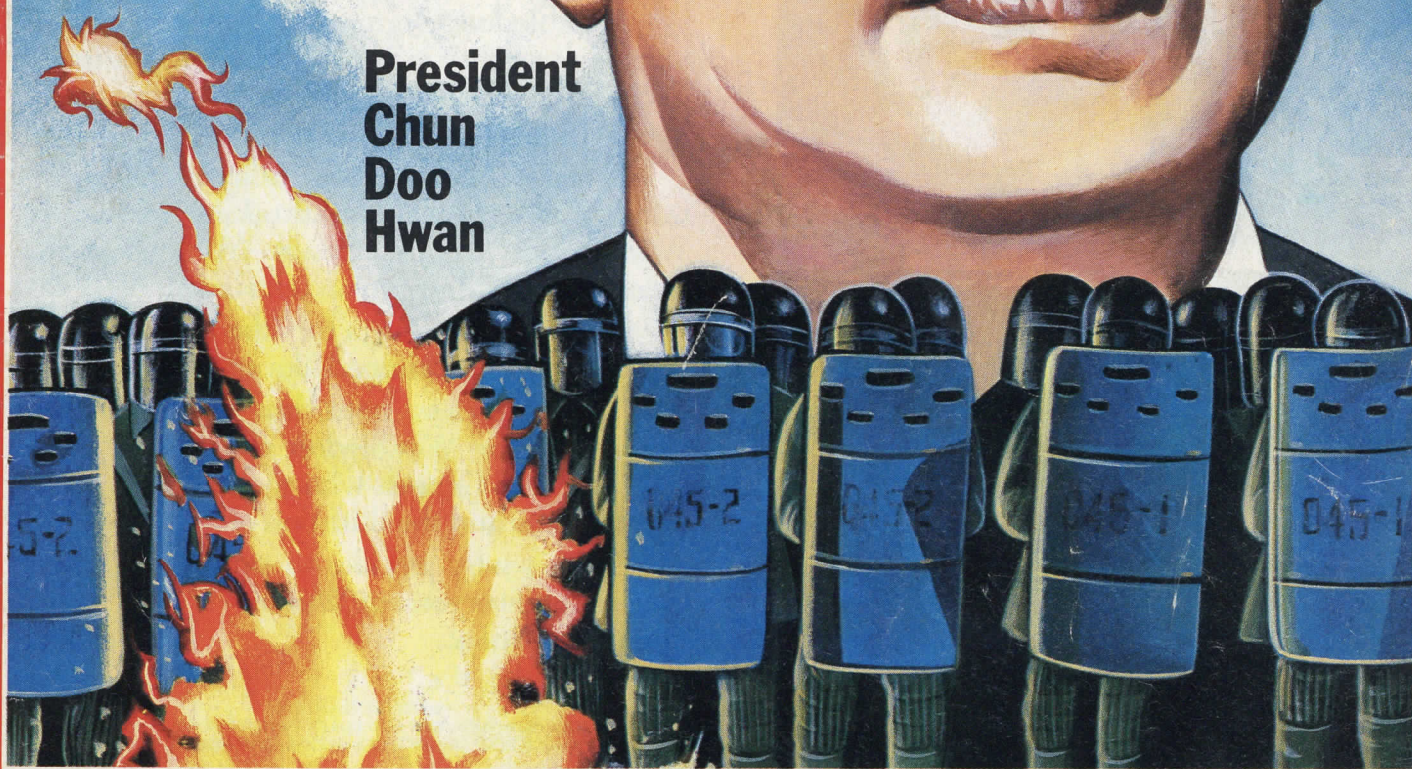
No. 26

TIME

TENNIS
A Pair of
Aces

SOUTH KOREA'S CRISIS

President
Chun
Doo
Hwan



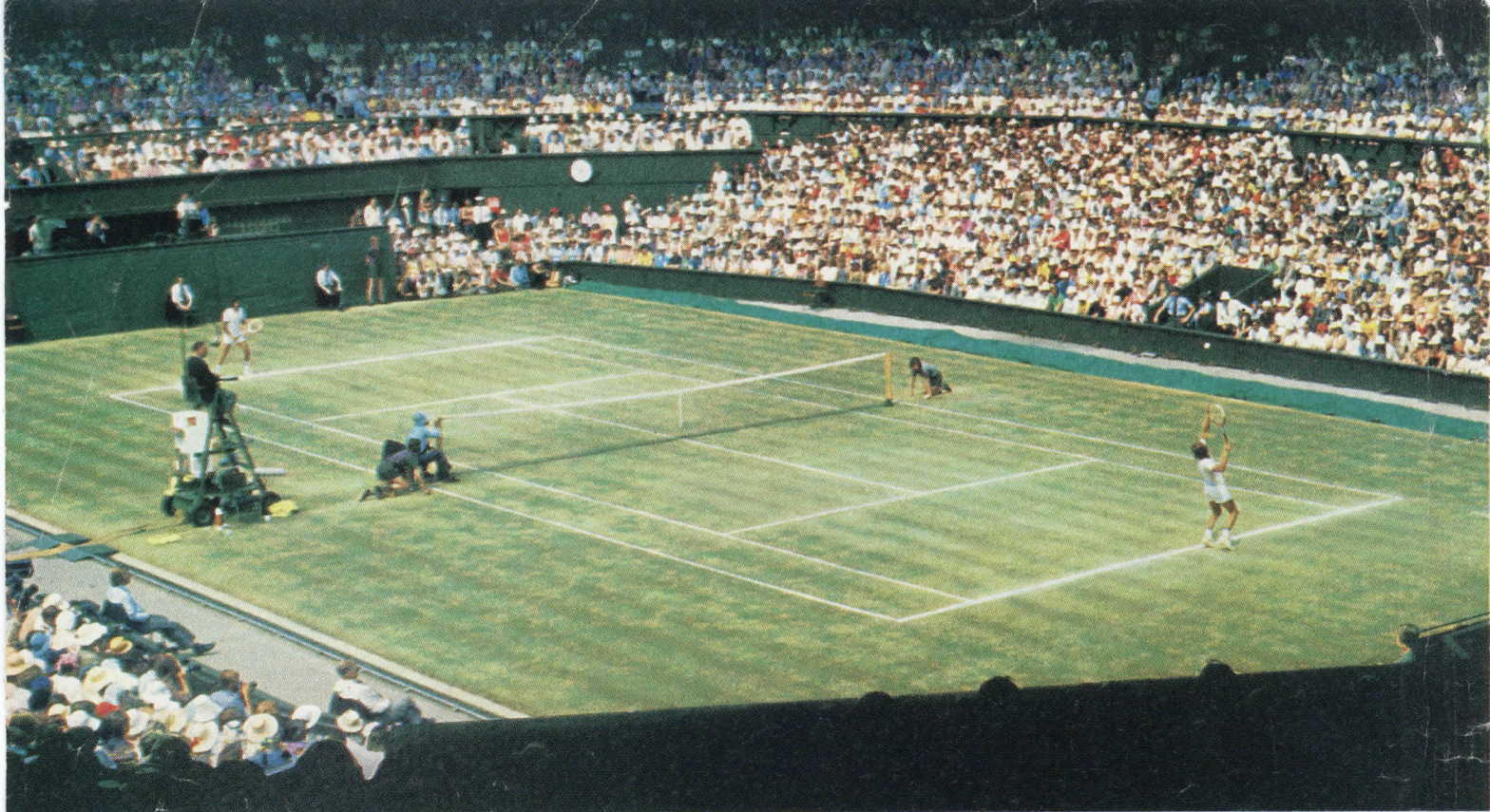
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BOTH IN STEEL AND 18CT. GOLD WITH JUBILEE BRACELETS.

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



COVER: Under siege

Unrest spreads in South Korea. ► The political opposition. ► Tear gas clouds the Olympics. ► Scenes from North Korea. *See ASIA/PACIFIC.*



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Cover: Illustration by Joo Chung

A Letter from the Publisher

Since Henry Ford Sr., Will Rogers and Heywood Campbell Broun appeared in its inaugural pages in the May 16, 1927, issue of *TIME*, the People section has consistently been one of the magazine's best-read features. "Celebrities are both role models and instant icons," says Staff Writer Guy D. Garcia, who has written the People page since 1983. "When it comes to the glitterati, I guess folks haven't changed much." As many readers will have noticed, People has a lively new look these days. The section now features a special "strip," designed by Assistant Art Director Billy Powers, to spotlight the most colorful event or personalities of the week.

Witness this issue's special People coverage of the charity knockout joust held by Britain's royal family, in which the Windsor children displayed a decidedly unstately yen for slapstick. As is often the case, eye-catching photography was crucial to the choice of the subject. "The strength of a picture will often make or break an item," says Picture Researcher MaryAnne Golon. "We want the usual suspects doing unusual things."

For Garcia and Reporter-Researcher David Thigpen, the People beat provides unusual private glimpses of the most public figures. Thigpen has interviewed a disparate constellation of



TIME's People people: Powers, Garcia, Golon and Thigpen

celebrities, from ex-President Jimmy Carter ("He was a lot shorter than I expected") to Basketball Great Julius Erving ("He wasn't"). Garcia's favorites have included Actress Daryl Hannah ("very sweet and unpretentious") and Singer-Songwriter Sting ("amazingly thoughtful for a rock star").

Mostly, though, the job entails just plain hard work. Each week Garcia, Golon, Thigpen receive a flood of invitations to celebrity-packed events, most of which they are forced to skip in order to meet their deadlines. Beginning early in the week, the trio pores over story suggestions from *TIME's* foreign

and domestic bureaus, as well as stacks of newspapers and publications, picking out the dozen or so timeliest and most colorful items. Says Writer Garcia: "At this point, we pretty much know a People item when we see one. Generally, it's going to be a snappy story about a prominent person, something that's informative but with a light touch and maybe a little bit of irony." So far, that approach has withstood the test of time, and our guess is that it will continue to do so.

Robert L. Miller

TIME/JUNE 29, 1987

COVER STORIES

Under Siege

As unrest spreads, South Korea faces a crisis of Olympic proportions



Charging into a crowd of several thousand protesting students one night last week in the huge square in front of the Bank of Korea, a unit of 80 riot police suddenly found themselves cut off from reinforcements. A sea of chanting demonstrators quickly surrounded the police, who had already used up their supplies of pepper gas, a concentrated and

particularly painful form of tear gas. Outnumbered and overwhelmed, the police, many of them young conscripts, knelt in terror behind their riot shields, trying to fend off a torrent of rocks and gas canisters thrown by the students. The protesters began beating the police, then confiscating shields, helmets and other equipment. As the police were finally escorted to safety by student leaders, the

crowd set fire to two piles of the collected gear.

The scene was rich in symbolism: instruments of authoritarian control put to the torch, while their former wielders cowered in fear. Was it, spectators may have wondered, a preview of South Korea's future? Throughout the country last week, students erupted in a frenzy of defiant marches and demonstrations to pro-



test the six-year rule of President Chun Doo Hwan. Night after night they battled with tens of thousands of police, militia and plainclothes officers, who sought to break up the crowds with judo punches, shields and the virulent pepper gas, whose acrid fumes lingered for hours over the scenes of combat.

As the week of violence wore on, more than two dozen police outposts were reportedly destroyed or damaged, and hundreds of people on both sides were injured. On Friday a policeman died after being run over by a commandeered bus in the central city of Taejon. A student in Seoul was in a coma, near death, after being struck in the head by a rifle-fired gas canister. In a country where student-led protests have become a tradition, last week's disturbances were the most serious in seven years.

The latest wave of demonstrations broke out two weeks ago to protest the selection of Roh Tae Woo, chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, as its nominee for President in the national elections scheduled for later this year. But in contrast to the first disturbances, which involved only a few thousand students



and were primarily limited to Seoul, the capital, last week's demonstrations drew crowds as large as 50,000 and flared in more than two dozen cities. In the southern port of Pusan, according to some reports, protesters burned five municipal buses and seized a garbage truck as a makeshift barricade. In Taejon a crowd of 6,000 marchers fire-bombed two police

stations. On Wednesday night alone, crowds laid siege to 17 police outposts, two Democratic Justice Party district offices, and two buildings of the state-run Korean Broadcasting System.

The government responded by shutting down more than 50 major universities two to three weeks before summer vacation was to begin. But many students refused to accept the chance for an early holiday, remaining on or near the campus for nightly antigovernment rallies. In perhaps the most momentous development, the protests for the first time received the support of segments of South Korean society other than students. Housewives, businessmen and assorted onlookers shouted encouragement and occasionally joined the marchers, who in many cases were their sons and daughters. In Pusan, the country's second largest city and the scene of a demonstration involving 50,000 people, Presbyterian Minister Cho Chang Sop, 60, proudly reported that both of his college-age children had joined the protest. Said he: "Nowadays most of the parents support the kids." In Songnam, ten miles south of Seoul, a protest march led by a group of about 100 elderly people was



■ A scene rich in symbolism: riot police, outnumbered and overwhelmed, cower as chanting demonstrators put helmets, shields and other instruments of authoritarian control to the torch

■ The problem that was waiting to happen: "Tokchae Tado!" (Down with the dictatorship!)

■ A change in the weather: for the first time frustrated and angry students are joined by housewives, businessmen and elderly people



joined by some 5,000 Koreans. "People are angry and disgusted," said a Seoul businessman. "They are willing to risk a bit more now than before."

If that is so, it could be bad news indeed for Chun and Roh at a time when their political scenario calls for nothing but happy headlines. South Korea is enjoying a period of spectacular economic growth, which has averaged about 8% annually over the past 20 years and is currently surging at 15.7% (vs. about 4.8% for the U.S. and 1.2% for Japan). Though South Korea lacks a democratic tradition, Chun's plan to turn over power next February to Roh, a longtime friend and fellow army general, would mark the first orderly presidential succession since the country became a republic in 1948. Finally, South Korea hopes that its being host of the 1988 Summer Olympics, scheduled to begin just 15 months from now, will serve as evidence of a new national maturity, much as the 1964 Tokyo Games ratified Japan's arrival as a world power.

One consequence of prosperity has been the emergence of a sizable middle class. In opinion surveys, as many as 80% of South Koreans describe themselves as members of that group. While the middle class embraces a work ethic that naturally abhors instability, it has begun to chafe under the strict, sometimes repressive rule of South Korea's military-dominated government. Last week's convulsions did not amount to a full-scale rebellion or draw a massive government crackdown. But the disturbances recalled the fate of South Korea's first President, Syngman Rhee, who was unseated by massive student demonstrations in 1960. The virulence and ubiquity of the protests were enough to give South Korean leaders a first-rate scare. Said Hyun Hong Choo, a Democratic Justice Party member of the National Assembly: "If the violence continues, it threatens the economy, the national security, the nation. We are very concerned."

So are many non-Koreans, including officials of the Reagan Administration. The U.S. maintains 40,000 troops in South Korea, a military presence that has persisted since the end of the Korean War in 1953. With the heavily armed Soviet- and Chinese-backed Communist dictatorship of North Korea just across the Demilitarized Zone, South Korea serves strategically, along with West Germany, as a kind of point man for the non-Communist world. Instability in Seoul could tempt Communist North Korea, governed by the less than predictable Kim Il Sung, 75, to launch a military adventure that could draw the U.S. into another Asian war. Though U.S. leverage in South Korea is limited, its stake in the country's future is considerable. Writing in the *New York Times* last November, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer and Edward J. Baker, a Harvard Asian-affairs specialist, declared, "Next to the Middle East, South Korea is probably the part of the world where American interests and world peace are most threatened."

■ **Shoulder to shoulder:** a recent poll taken for the government indicates that 65.2% of respondents are either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with the Chun regime

■ **Shades of Manila:** although church participation is evocative of the People Power revolution in the Philippines, many of the factors that contributed to Marcos' ouster are absent

■ **The President and his anointed successor:** though Roh's selection was hardly a surprise, the ceremonial neatness and finality of the act struck many South Koreans as arrogant



The U.S. has been following the South Korean crisis closely in the hope that Washington can somehow help bring it to an end. Among other statements last week, the State Department counseled against any attempt to forcibly dislodge a group of 500 students who took refuge in Seoul's Myongdong Roman Catholic Cathedral. The protesters eventually left of their own accord. Secretary of State George Shultz, who was attending an ASEAN foreign ministers' conference in Singapore, declared, "Our advice is somehow to resume the process of dialogue between the government and the opposition so that a method of establishing a democratic tradition can be worked out in a mutually agreeable way." Even President Reagan felt obliged to add his concern. According to the *New York Times*, the President sent a letter to Chun urging him to reopen talks with the opposition aimed at reaching a compromise. But Washington seemed reluctant to acknowledge that its own close association with the Chun regime over the years was no small part of the problem or that its historic failure to apply skillful pressure for democratic reforms threatens to worsen an already widespread atmosphere of anti-Americanism in South Korea.

For years South Korea has been a problem waiting to happen. Chun seized power in 1980, moving into the vacuum

created a year earlier by the assassination of President Park Chung Hee, his longtime mentor. The product of a modest rural background, Chun was graduated from South Korea's military academy in 1955, and is a combat veteran of the Viet Nam War. Chun consolidated his hold in a 1981 presidential election that was conducted under martial law and excluded all but token opposition candidates. Even by South Korea's standards of political legitimacy, the former army general was widely regarded as a usurper. In 1980 Chun was among those in the South Korean high command who ordered heavily armed troops to quell a popular uprising in the city of Kwangju, resulting in at least 180 deaths. He has been blamed for, though he was not personally involved in, a series of financial scandals, including several that implicated members of his family. "Because Chun lacked legitimacy, he had to build power through money and through violence," said a South Korean university economist. "This has brought on corruption and the use of the police and security forces to secure his position."

What legitimacy Chun does possess he owes in part to solid support from the Reagan Administration. In 1981 Chun became one of the first foreign heads of state to be received by the new U.S. President. Richard Walker, a former U.S. Am-



H. EDWARD KIM



bassador to Seoul, recently described the 1985 South Korean parliamentary elections, which were criticized by many observers as having been weighted in the government's favor, as "generally free and fair." The current U.S. ambassador, former CIA Official James R. Lilley, testified at his Senate confirmation that he regarded South Korea's national security as more important than democratic reforms. The Reagan Administration, its critics say, urges Chun to move toward democracy but fails to complain when he refuses to budge. Said a student in Seoul: "If America does not change its attitude, the anti-Americanism here will grow."

Chun promised from the outset that he would serve only a single seven-year term as President. He agreed to open negotiations on a series of constitutional and electoral reforms. The parliamentary opposition, led by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam (see following story), had as its main goal the abolition of South Korea's electoral college, a panel of more than 5,000 elected delegates that chooses the President. Instead, the opposition wanted direct elections for a chief executive. The electoral-college system favors the ruling party, according to its critics. Since an elector is allowed to change his announced vote at the last minute, they say, the government

can easily get its way through bribes and the promise of favors.

The Democratic Justice Party, on the other hand, preferred a parliamentary rather than a presidential form of government. Looking ahead to the possibility that they could become a minority in the next election, party leaders decided a parliamentary system could still allow its leaders to retain control of Parliament. One method: the government party can buy off minor parties to get enough votes to counter a split opposition. One segment of the opposition was amenable to the parliamentary idea, but negotiations dragged on for months without reaching a compromise, and both sides can be blamed for obstinacy. But Chun angered the opposition when, on April 13, he abruptly announced that bargaining on the reforms would cease until after the Olympic Games. By that time, conveniently for the government, the new President scheduled to take office next February will have been long since installed, with a mandate to serve until 1995. "Chun mistakenly defined democracy as the transfer of power from one authoritarian military man to another," says a South Korean academic.

The student protest movement, meanwhile, was in the throes of reorganization. In their demonstrations last fall, the marchers had been discredited in the

eyes of many South Koreans by their use of ultra-radical slogans, which the government shrewdly equated with support for North Korea. But over the winter the students toned down their rhetoric. The two most popular slogans currently in use are "*Tokchae Tado!*" (Down with the dictatorship!) and "*Hohun Tado!*" (Down with the decision not to amend the constitution!). The latest scandal in the confrontation belongs to the government: police admitted they had tortured to death a Seoul University student during interrogation and then tried to cover up the incident, prompting Chun last month to shake up his Cabinet.

The culmination of Chun's missteps was his decision to anoint his successor, a classmate at the military academy, before some 7,000 delegates at a Democratic Justice Party convention in Seoul on June 10. Though Roh's selection was hardly a surprise, even to the opposition, the ceremonial neatness and finality of the act, represented by the self-confident, almost cocky, scene of the two men with hands raised high, struck many South Koreans as extremely arrogant. Complains a 24-year-old medical student at Seoul National University: "The Korean people want a President who is elected by the Korean people."

The students have found influential allies for their cause in South Korea's reli-

■ **Builder of both ships and cars, Hyundai has shaken the U.S. auto industry with its Excel, which has sold 168,800 units since first appearing in the U.S. last year**



gious communities, including the Buddhists and the large Protestant denominations. The Roman Catholic Church, though it accounts for only about 5% of the country's 42 million people, has also grown increasingly outspoken in its calls for reform. Following the voluntary evacuation of Myongdong Cathedral by 500 student occupiers last week, Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou Hwan, the Archbishop of Seoul, offered a Mass for the nation there. Some 3,000 people, many of them middle class and middle aged, filled the church to overflowing. At least 5,000 others remained outside despite a late spring cloudburst. Said Cardinal Kim: "The government must return to the negotiating table after retracting the April 13 decision to postpone the debates on democratic constitutional reform."

The Catholic connection is often cited by South Korean dissidents as one of several similarities between their movement and the church-aided People Power that swept Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos out of office 15 months ago. Other alleged parallels include U.S. backing for the Chun government and the high level of moral outrage that animates the opposition. But the two cases are hardly comparable. South Korea's highly disciplined army is considered unlikely to defect to the opposition side, as its counterpart did in the Philippines. In addition, many of the economic and social factors that contributed to the Philippine revolution—the wide disparities in wealth, the parlous state of the economy, the inextinguishable Communist insurgency—are absent in South Korea. Wrote Reischauer and Baker: "In the Philippines . . . the political situation was more confused and power was less concentrated on one group."

Even though People Power may not be about to triumph in South Korea, the

popularity of the Chun government, never very high, is dwindling fast. According to Selig Harrison, a Korea scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a recent poll taken for the government by the daily *Kyunghyang Shinmun* indicated that 65.2% of respondents were either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with the Chun regime; only 21.7% described themselves as "satisfied." Like most other news that portrays the government in an unflattering light, the survey was suppressed.

Those high levels of discontent are remarkable in a society that has progressed from poverty to prosperity in just over a generation. The country boasts a literacy rate of 98%, one of the world's highest, and one-third of its high school graduates go to college. More than 80% of South Koreans are city dwellers, up from 43% in 1963. Per capita income has risen from \$105 a year in 1965 to \$2,300 today. Though that is about \$1,000 less than the level achieved by Taiwan, which has reached a roughly comparable stage of development, South Koreans are generally well off by Asian standards.

The economy's current boom is fed by a burst of exports. During the first four months of 1987, shipments of South Korean electronics, textiles, automobiles and other products soared by 37.2% over the same period last year. The Hyundai Excel, introduced in the U.S. last year, sold an astonishing 168,800 units, twice the original projection, to become the most successful new car import in U.S. automotive history. Last week General Motors introduced its new Pontiac LeMans, a model manufactured for the Detroit carmaker by the giant South Korean conglomerate Daewoo. Ranked as Washing-

ton's seventh largest trading partner, South Korea last year registered a \$7.6 billion trade surplus with the U.S. as well as its first positive overall trade balance.

Despite such success, the South Korean economy faces some enduring problems. The country financed its industrial explosion with \$43 billion in foreign borrowings, up from only \$8.4 billion a decade ago. That is the fourth largest debt burden of any developing nation. So far South Korea has had no difficulty meeting its interest payments, unlike some other heavy borrowers, but critics of the country's high-debt strategy charge that it will keep Seoul dependent on ever expanding export markets. Moreover, much of South Korea's manufacturing output relies on technology and parts imported mostly from Japan and assembled in Korea to take advantage of low labor costs (average hourly wage for autoworkers: \$2.50, vs. \$12.50 in Japan). Imports of foreign manufactured parts do little to develop South Korea's technological base.

South Korean officials worry that the dizzying rise in imports may be too much of a good thing. Domestically, the spurt in overseas sales threatens to set off an unwelcome and potentially dangerous round of inflation, which is running at a low 2% annually. Overseas, South Korea's rising trade surpluses with the U.S. and other countries have prompted calls for protectionist countermeasures. Many of the proposals are motivated not simply by economic considerations but also by distaste for the Chun regime. Last week bills were introduced in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives calling for the elimination of \$2.2 billion of duty-free and preferential trade benefits for South Korean products unless the country makes solid gains in democratic reforms and the protection of human rights.