

run Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), which also took over 70 percent of Munhwa Broadcasting System stocks.²²¹

In December 1980, the government enacted the Basic Press Law which then became the legal basis for government censorship of the press and the broadcasting industry. The Basic Press Law required publishers to be licensed by the state and to submit two advance copies of their publications to the Ministry of Culture and Information.²²² Periodicals could not be edited or published at branch offices. All journalists were required to have a press card to have their works published.

Broadcasters had to submit records of broadcasts to the Ministry of Culture and Information. The Korean Broadcasting Commission, whose members were appointed by the South Korean President, had broad powers over personnel and editorial decisions.

Those who protested the government's censorship were dealt with harshly.²²³ But until early 1985, "there had been very few instances of government action against the media since 1980 for the simple reason that the media has learned the limits of government tolerance and has policed itself."²²⁴ For its part, the Ministry of Culture and Information issued hundreds of daily, written guidelines to the news media.²²⁵ The guidelines dictated which stories and photos the news media should cover or ignore and how certain sensitive stories should be treated. The practice of issuing written guidelines ceased only after Roh Tae-woo's June 29, 1987 declaration. In November 1987, the National Assembly repealed the Basic Press Law and replaced it with two new laws, one governing periodicals and the other governing broadcasts.

Broadcasting Media

There are five television channels and some 50 radio stations in South Korea. Broadcasting has been the most tightly controlled mass media, with KBS

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ "Guiding the Press," *Index on Censorship*, May 1987, pp. 28-36. See also *Human Rights in Korea*, p. 291.

having a near monopoly on the industry.²²⁶ Wholly owned and operated by the state, KBS broadcasts over three television channels and owns 25 radio stations. KBS also owns 70 percent of the stocks in the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) which has one television channel and operates 20 radio stations. A much smaller company, the Christian Broadcasting System (CBS) operates four radio stations. CBS was restricted only to religious programming until September 1987, when it was permitted to begin airing news broadcasts.²²⁷

Political control over the industry was traditionally maintained through presidential appointments to key posts. By the time Chun Doo-hwan left office, the last five presidents of KBS and MBC had been his former secretaries.²²⁸ Appointments to the chief regulatory agency of the industry, the 12-member Korean Broadcasting Commission (KBC), established in 1980, were and continue to be controlled by the President.

The November 1987 Broadcast Law ostensibly guaranteed an end to government interference in the broadcasting industry. But it retained the earlier provision empowering the President to appoint the heads of broadcast networks and members of KBC. The new law also appeared to strengthen the role of the Commission in programming and management decisions. The networks were required to submit details of daily broadcasts to the Commission and the Minister of Culture and Information. The Commission was also authorized to deliberate basic programming issues and to approve or disapprove the contents of programs.

During the upsurge of labor activism after June 1987, two large and powerful media unions emerged at MBC and KBS to challenge the Commission and the management's control over the broadcasting media. Both unions -- beginning in July 1987 at MBC and in April 1990 at KBS -- asserted their strength through a series of strikes and protests to demand fair and impartial broadcasting and editorial independence.

²²⁶ See *Freedom of Expression in the Republic of Korea*, jointly published in August 1988 by Asia Watch, International Human Rights Law Group and American Center of International PEN. For background on the 1980 media merger, see pp. 19-20.

²²⁷ *Freedom of Expression in the Republic of Korea*, pp. 19-20, p. 67.

²²⁸ *Los Angeles Times*, August 17, 1987.

Munhwa Broadcasting Company (MBC)

The union at the Munhwa Broadcasting Company (MBC) is one of the strongest in the media industry; 950 of MBC's 1,800 employees are members of the union. Beginning in July 1987, they carried out three strikes which, over the course of three years, elicited concessions from the government and management on issues of editorial independence, most notably expanding the union's role in the system of appointing high-level officials at the network.

On July 16, 1987, approximately 100 journalists staged a 12-hour stoppage of news coverage to press for their demands, including greater freedom of the press and the reinstatement of hundreds of journalists who had been dismissed from their jobs over the past several years.²²⁹ A number of photographers and journalists joined in the protest.²³⁰ The striking journalists said they would work only under conditions that allowed fair and impartial reporting. Ranking MBC executives reportedly promised that the network would devote itself to fair reporting.²³¹

The union conducted a second strike a year later. In June 1988, they began negotiations on guarantees for fair reporting, demanding the resignation of the MBC president and establishment of a system for nominating chief editors that would ensure editing functions would not be influenced by the management. In late August, after a series of unsuccessful attempts to settle, the union decided to strike. The Minister of Culture and Information accused the union of calling an illegal strike because it did not observe the 15-day "cooling-off" period mandated for a "public utility."²³²

²²⁹ Kyodo, July 16, 1987, in FBIS, same day.

²³⁰ At the beginning of February 1988, the union at MBC filed a petition with the Seoul Labor Committee protesting the management's January 29 transfer of Shim Chae-chol, a union member and staff reporter at the Foreign News Desk to the Business Department. The union alleged that the transfer was aimed at suppressing union activities. Journalists Association of Korea issued a statement demanding that management stop "intentional and systematic" activities aimed at curbing labor activities. *Korea Herald*, February 4, 1988.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1987.

²³² *Ibid.*, August 27, 1988. See Appendix 3, Trade Union Law, Article 14.

The MBC strike threatened to disrupt coverage of the upcoming Olympic Games in Seoul, and the management relented. Hwang Sun-pil, the government-appointed president (and a former spokesman for Chun Doo-hwan) submitted his resignation. In addition, 70 percent of MBC's ownership that had been previously in the hands of KBS was transferred to a newly-established, private Broadcast Culture Foundation.²³³ The Foundation's board of directors, composed of ten persons, would include one to be chosen by the union.²³⁴

In September 1989, over 80 percent of the 1,150 unionized workers at MBC voted to strike to demand a larger role in selecting key editors and program producers. The union also began talks with management on appointment procedures for directors of programming, news, and technical divisions, proposing a direct voting system for the three core directors. But management rejected the notion of a voting system and subsequently turned down a series of alternative proposals for nomination or arbitration procedures to appoint the directors. Negotiations broke down, and on September 8, the union walked out.

The next day, MBC union president Kang Song-ju and four other union officials were charged with engaging in an illegal strike. The Labor Ministry accused the workers of violating the Labor Disputes Adjustment Law by failing to observe the required 15-day cooling-off period. The government also objected to a work stoppage on August 31-September 1 by more than 700 workers who took their monthly leave *en masse*.

The strike lasted until September 19, when management recognized the workers' demand for a voice in key management appointment decisions. The staff of the three departments (news, programming, TV technical division) would vote and recommend two or more candidates for the director-level positions, with the final selection to be made by the MBC president. Furthermore, by majority vote, a panel made up of six members -- three each from the union and the management -- could request the dismissal of high-ranking officials at the network.

²³³ Kyodo, August 28, 1988, in FBIS, August 23, 1988. The other 30 percent of the stock is owned by the Chung-Soo Foundation, named for former President Park Chung-hee and his wife Yook Yong-soo. The exact nature of this foundation is not clear.

²³⁴ The remaining nine members are chosen as follows: four by the Korean Broadcasting Commission, four by the four political parties (existing at that time), and one by management.

The agreement set an important precedent for collective action in the broadcasting industry, demonstrating that a union could win significant concessions on decisions on editorial appointments from management and the government.²³⁵

Korean Broadcasting System (KBS)

Nearly a year after the MBC union formed, the KBS union was established on May 20, 1988. In contrast to the MBC union, the KBS union maintained a good relationship with the network officials, including then-network president, Suh Young-hoon. Suh was considered sympathetic to the free press movement, and the union grew rapidly during his tenure. He was forced to resign, however, in December 1989, after allegations of financial irregularities surfaced at the network.²³⁶

On April 9, 1990 Soh Ki-won was appointed as the new head of KBS by President Roh Tae-woo.²³⁷ He had close connections with the government, including a position as press secretary to former President Park Chung-hee. As president of the pro-government newspaper, *Seoul Shinmun*, he had a reputation

²³⁵ On September 21, 1990, MBC unionists staged an overnight sit-in strike to protest the company's dismissal a week earlier of two union leaders, including union chairman and city-desk reporter Ahn Song-hil. The unionists also passed a no-confidence measure against the network's president. *Korea Times*, September 23, 1990 in FBIS, September 24; *Korea Herald*, September 22, 1990. The reasons for the dismissals and the outcome of the sit-in strike are not clear.

²³⁶ The Board of Audit and Inspection announced that KBS had spent more than 4 billion *won* (US\$57,000) illegally in 1989. With fictitious documents, KBS paid 4,032 million *won* (US\$57,600) to its employees, 3 billion *won* (US\$42,900) as allowances for overtime work and 1,032 million *won* (US\$14,700) as holiday bonuses, according to the *Korea Herald*. Payments were made in line with a labor-management agreement reached in December 1989 but KBS altered the date of the agreement to December 16 from December 23 to pay 1,702.4 million *won* (US\$24,300) in special allowances to its employees from December 18 to December 31. In June 1989, it also illegally spent 1,377 million *won* (US\$19,700) in that manner. The Board findings were expected to go to the Ministry of Information for actions against the KBS president and other management officials. *Korea Herald*, February 27, 1990. We understand from our interviews in Seoul that Suh had been under pressure to resign even before the financial scandal "surfaced."

²³⁷ It was known as early as in February that Soh would be appointed as KBS president.

for union-busting and censorship and had reportedly ordered company employees to throw out workers engaged in a peaceful sit-in strike at the paper. The KBS union vigorously opposed Soh's appointment,²³⁸ viewing it as part of the government's plan to strengthen its control over the state-run network²³⁹ by revising the broadcast laws.

The appointment sparked a dramatic confrontation between the union, management and the government. There is no question that Soh's appointment was an assertion of government determination to control the media. There is also no question that the appointment of a company president *per se* would not be considered a legitimate issue for collective bargaining in many countries, including the U.S.

Ha Un-sung, a KBS union official interviewed by Asia Watch, described a sit-in strike that began on April 10 with a peaceful blockade to prevent Soh from entering the KBS building.²⁴⁰ But on April 12 Soh managed to evade the blockade and gain access to his office on the sixth floor. Some 200 surprised and angry workers went up to his office via the fire escape and tried to get in, using a rope to remove the doorknob when they found the doorway locked from the inside.

They encountered a large group of KBS officials with offices on that floor, and 20 to 30 company security guards blocking the hallway leading to Soh's office. The unionists asked all the company officials to leave peacefully in order to avoid a confrontation. When the managers refused, the workers moved them, one by one, out of the way. At the same time, several hundred riot police and *baikgoldan*, summoned by Soh, appeared and filled up the middle of the hallway, ordering the workers to disperse. The workers sat down, sang and shouted slogans, until the police after an hour began to forcibly disperse them. Some,

²³⁸ Yonhap, April 13, 1990 in FBIS, April 17.

²³⁹ We were also told that the KBS board of directors were indirectly threatened to support Soh's appointment. The KBS board of directors are chosen by the government appointed Korean Broadcasting Commission. Han Un-sa, a television and drama writer and a KBS board member, reportedly disclosed that the board was indirectly pressured and intimidated to accept Soh's selection without discussion. Han protested the closed procedure and another board member, Lee In-ho, a professor at Seoul National University, urged all the board members to resign in protest, but none did.

²⁴⁰ Interview with Asia Watch, June 8, 1990, at the KBS union office.

including Ha, were reportedly beaten. But in general the police, aware that they were being filmed by the unionists, exercised restraint. As demonstrators came down the stairway, they were forced to walk between two columns of policemen leading them to police buses. A total of 117 union members were detained and transported to local police stations.

At the police stations, the demonstrators were treated politely, according to Ha. (KBS unionists we spoke with noted that there is generally a higher level of respect in South Korea for journalists than for ordinary workers and believe that for this reason, they tended to receive better treatment by the police.)

But there were some reports of police abuse. Kim Chum-suk, editor of the union's paper, told us that the police kicked him in the shins and bent his fingers back when he was arrested on April 12. Lee Won-hu, a vice-president of the KBS union, was reportedly beaten severely on April 11 and sustained head injuries. He was hospitalized for ten days. The authorities threatened to arrest him if he returned to "Democracy Plaza," the lobby area on the second floor of the KBS headquarters where the workers assembled for protest actions.

At the police station Ha and others learned from an early evening news broadcast that other KBS employees were refusing to work in protest against their colleagues' arrests. But the 9:00 p.m. newscast was abruptly halted and replaced with another program. Only later did Ha discover the reason for the interruption: ten reporters had staged a silent strike in the newsroom to demand airing of the labor unrest at KBS, standing behind the anchorman though out of the range of the cameras. By 9:13 p.m., when major news items had all been covered and there was still no mention of the KBS strikes, the anchor and the news production people walked off in the middle of the live newscast. In fact, while Ha and his colleagues were being detained, the police intervention had prompted over 500 KBS unionists to take part in an overnight sit-in strike at the KBS headquarters to demand their colleagues' release and Soh's resignation.

On April 13, the union held a general meeting, and more than 3,000 union members from all departments except the transmission section decided to go ahead with work stoppages until Soh resigned. Some 350 managing staff members at lower levels also demanded Soh's resignation and the release of all detained union members.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Yonhap, April 13, 1990.

On April 17, the government's Information Minister, Choe Pyong-yul, ordered the KBS workers back to work:

The entire KBS staff should be enlightened to the public indignation stemming from the prolonged blockade of information and the act of holding broadcasting hostage for their struggle. The union's refusal to broadcast since April 12 is an obvious violation of the law and a virtual walkout.

Soh Ki-won had been chosen and taken office through a legal process, he asserted, and was therefore the legitimate head of the network.

The stand-off over Soh's appointment continued to generate controversy, with the government on the defensive. Home Minister An Ung-mo testified before the National Assembly's Home Affairs Committee and defended the decision to deploy -- at Soh Ki-won's request -- riot police at KBS headquarters. The Culture and Information Committee of the National Assembly also debated the KBS incident.²⁴² No one questioned the fact that the KBS strike was illegal under Korean Law: the KBS union did not file notice or wait out the "cooling-off" period, and the walk-out did interfere with normal operations. At the same time, 47 out of 72 bureau chiefs of the KBS issued a joint statement expressing full support for the efforts of the KBS workers and criticizing Soh's "rash" mobilization of the police.

KBS executives called on employees to return to work and also urged the government to revise the current system of appointing the KBS president to safeguard the independence and neutrality of the public network. "No punitive measures should be taken against employees for joining the massive walkout," they declared, adding that all bureau chiefs would resign with the normalization of broadcasting. Kang Won-yong, head of the Korean Broadcasting Commission reportedly discussed the situation in separate meetings with Soh Ki-won and KBS union representatives.²⁴³

MBC and its 19 affiliated provincial networks held an emergency meeting and decided on April 18 to stage a work boycott in support of the KBS union:

²⁴² Yonhap, April 18, 1990, in FBIS, same day.

²⁴³ Korea Times, April 18, 1990, in FBIS, same day.

The government's appointment of Soh as KBS president and Soh's resort to police force to quell the protest are an obvious sign of attempting to keep under the government control the broadcasting networks and to suppress mass media once again.²⁴⁴

But the government continued to resist the mounting pressure and criticism. On April 23, the ministers of Home Affairs, Justice, Labor and Information issued a joint statement threatening to take even tougher action:

If the KBS labor union continues to trample on the public's right to know and continues unlawful acts, the government cannot help taking all necessary measures in order to restore order at any cost....This is not a legal labor movement designed to improve working conditions. This is a challenge to the government's right to manage personnel and is an illegal collective action.²⁴⁵

They also dismissed the charge that Soh was appointed as KBS president to keep the nation's broadcast media under government control.²⁴⁶ The government referred to guidelines issued in January by the Labor Ministry. Though not legally binding, they stated specifically that unionized workers were not allowed to stage a legal strike over personnel decisions such as the resignation of certain executives or appointment of presidents or senior company officials.

A compromise agreement negotiated by KBS union leaders and management was rejected, late on April 30, by a union membership vote because it did not stipulate Soh's resignation as a precondition for ending the sit-in strike. Around midnight, approximately 2,000 riot police stormed the KBS headquarters, arresting 333 journalists, producers and other workers.²⁴⁷ The police raid -- just two days after the massive assault on striking unionists at the Hyundai

²⁴⁴ Yonhap, April 18, 1990, in FBIS, April 19. An emergency solidarity committee at CBS was also considering a production boycott to support the KBS workers.

²⁴⁵ Yonhap, April 23, 1990, in FBIS, same day. On January 20, 1990, the Labor Ministry announced new, although not legally binding guidelines restricting the scope of collective action. Specifically, the guidelines stated that unionized workers were not allowed to stage a legal strike over personnel decisions such as the resignation of certain executives or appointment of presidents or senior company officials.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Reuters, May 1, 1990; Associated Press, May 1, 1990.

Shipyards -- made international headlines and conveyed the image of a government determined to maintain control over the media at virtually any cost.

On May 1, over 100,000 workers affiliated with Chonnohyop (the "illegal" national union federation) staged strikes at more than 50 work places, in part to protest the police raid on KBS strikers.²⁴⁸ The Korean Federation of Press Unions, composed of unions in print and broadcasting media, called for an unprecedented industry-wide work stoppage in solidarity with the KBS workers and the jailed KBS staff members. Both the MBC and CBS unions launched sympathy strikes.²⁴⁹ Editorials by most major newspapers generally supported the workers and criticized the government for its use of the riot police to break up labor disputes. The government responded by threatening to arrest 30 more KBS staff workers on charges of "interference with business."²⁵⁰

By May 3, most of the 6,500 KBS workers had returned to work. But about 1,000 union members stayed away, and there were continuing reports of brief skirmishes with a force of 2,000 riot police deployed at KBS headquarters. Pak Chu-sang, head of the Management Workers Association, joined other KBS union leaders in an agreement on May 11 to drop Soh's resignation as a precondition to returning to work.

Normal operations at KBS resumed on May 18, but hundreds of riot police remained stationed in and around KBS headquarters as a visible reminder of the state's tough anti-labor policy. In mid-June, the Asia Watch delegation observed heavy anti-riot equipment, police buses, barbed wire barricades, and a fenced-off field with tents and other supplies in an area adjoining the KBS building.

In addition, we were told that security agents tapped the phones at the KBS union office (situated in the basement of the broadcasting headquarters), and subjected the office to constant surveillance. We also heard reports that the telephone conversations of unionists' relatives were monitored by the police as

²⁴⁸ Reuters, May 1, 1990.

²⁴⁹ Yonhap, May 3, 1990 in FBIS, same day.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

part of their search for union leaders whom they sought to arrest or wanted for questioning.²⁵¹

Print Media

Journalists at *Hanguk Ilbo* were, in October 1987, the first to form a union at a newspaper. Workers at other newspapers followed suit after the repeal of the Basic Press Law in November 1987. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted:

As if to shake themselves loose from the trauma of the past, journalists took to celebrating their new freedom with a vengeance. Strikes, protest marches, newsroom sit-ins and even scuffles with riot policemen all marked the drive to unionize the profession.

As a result, militant trade unions have been organized at almost every newspaper and television company. The few newsrooms that have held out against unionization have done so only with the consent of their employees.²⁵²

In April 1988 a consultative body of press unions was formed with 14 trade unions represented. An industry-wide federation, the Korean Federation of Press Unions (KFPU), was established in November 1988 with membership of 13,000 media workers from 41 member unions. KFPU's primary goal was to "contribute to social democratization through achieving perfect editorial freedom."²⁵³ It designated 1989 as "The Inaugural Year for Press Liberation" and dedicated itself to press liberalization, including advocacy of editorial independence and

²⁵¹ The police raids on April 12 and April 30 resulted in the arrest of over 500 KBS union members. Most were released after a short period of detention. Union leaders were also subsequently arrested or placed on wanted lists. See Appendix 3 for names of those being held as of October 1, 1990 on charges of "obstructing business." KBS trials were scheduled to begin in early July.

²⁵² Shim Jae-hoon, "Watching the Watchdog," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 23, 1990, p. 24.

²⁵³ Interview with Lee Seh-yong, Director of Domestic and International Relations, KFPU, in Seoul, June 1990.

democratization in the media.²⁵⁴ As of October 1990, KFPU had approximately 16,000 members from 53 affiliated-unions.

"Democracy in the newsroom" was a chief objective of KFPU member unions, as reporters demanded a greater voice in the selection of editors. At *Hankyoreh Shinmun* the editors are elected directly by the newsroom employees. After one or two years, newsroom staff can choose to veto their continued tenure in editorial positions. The staff at *Chungang Ilbo* also elect their managing editors.²⁵⁵ In 1989 at least one business newspaper closed down rather than agree to union demands for control over all newsroom appointments.²⁵⁶

Other press unions also demanded, through collective actions, the right to have a say in the selection of editors. As the following cases indicate, the results have been mixed:

-- The union at *Hanguk Ilbo* and its seven sister newspapers and magazines went on a six-hour strike on June 16, 1989 after failing to reach agreement with the management.²⁵⁷ The union demanded the right to elect managing editors and editorial executives of each publication, plus increased wages and bonuses. Only through direct elections of the managing editors by the staff, the union said, would the publications have editorial independence.²⁵⁸ The company agreed to most of the union's demands. The management currently selects the editors but the union must ratify appointments.

-- The union at *Seoul Shinmun*, a newspaper owned jointly by the Finance Ministry and the state-run Korean Broadcasting System, went on strike at midnight on September 22, 1989 upon expiration of the mandatory 10-day "cooling-off" period. The management and union had been negotiating since July over the key demand of the union for the right of the staff to approve or reject the appointment or dismissal

²⁵⁴ See "Activity of the KFPU: Media Labor Union Movement and Democracy," *Inha Times*, September 10, 1990.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ "Watching the Watchdog," p. 24.

²⁵⁷ Yonhap, June 16, 1989, in FBIS, same day.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

of managing editors.²⁵⁹ The strike ended on October 19 with a compromise agreement; the company managers agreed to inform the unions in advance of editorial appointments.

On October 8, more than 500 non-union workers at *Seoul Shinmun* held a rally in support of management, vowing "to protect the company and continue to produce newspapers despite the labor union-called walkout." (Of 1,400 employees at the paper, 730 belonged to the union.) The day before the rally, some 300 non-union members, including company executives, reportedly stormed the paper's newsroom and drove out about 100 members on strike, using force. Seven workers, including Kim Yong-won, the union's vice-president, were attacked and injured. Company president, Soh Ki-won, filed complaints with the police against seven union leaders for "obstructing company operations." The union, in turn, protested against the company president and executives for ordering what they called illegal anti-labor acts.²⁶⁰

-- In October 1989, a year after a union was formed at the Yonhap News Agency, members voted to go on an indefinite strike after failing to settle disputes with the management. One of the central issues was the independence of editors from the management.²⁶¹ The strike lasted for nearly three weeks and ended with a compromise agreement acceding to the workers' demand for a voice in choosing editors, though a procedure for doing so reportedly has not yet been established. Yonhap is structured as a cooperative with member companies represented on the board of directors. The board chooses the president of the company who, in turn, selects the editors.

²⁵⁹ *Korea Herald*, September 24, 1989.

²⁶⁰ *Korea Times*, October 10, 1989, in FBIS, October 17, 1989.

²⁶¹ *Korea Herald*, October 13, 1989.

VIII. ORIENT ELECTRONICS

"If this problem [with mercury poisoning] is not solved, it will affect the next generation. We must do something about it or the health of the next group of workers will be threatened in the same way. We have to draw the line..."²⁶²

--Orient Electronics worker

In May 1990, workers in a legally recognized union at Orient Electronics, Ltd., a small company in Seoul, went on strike over issues of worker health and safety related to alleged mercury poisoning. The resulting labor dispute, which ended with an agreement in July, illustrated the narrow range of permissible issues over which workers can engage in collective actions. Complaints about violent attacks on the strikers by company officials were ignored by the police.

Background

The Orient Electronics Company was founded in 1971 with U.S. investment to manufacture mercury switches used in telephone exchange devices. Since 1987, the company has been owned and operated by a Korean-American, Kang In-ho.

A union was organized at Orient in March 1989, affiliated with the Korean Metalworkers Federation; as of June 1990 most of the work force (34 out of 55 persons) were members. Most of the production workers were young single women in their 20's, some as young as 18 years of age. High school students, we were told, were employed by the company on the night shifts. There was no safety committee at the plant; such a committee was reportedly not required by law in factories with fewer than one hundred employees.

The workers we spoke with said that when they were hired, no one explained to them the risks and hazards entailed in handling a dangerously toxic substance, nor were they properly trained or provided with protective clothing.

²⁶² Interview in Kuro, June 1990.

There has been a constant turnover of personnel at the plant; none of the current employees had worked there for more than two years.²⁶³

The workers experienced apparent symptoms such as pain in the eyes, difficulties in breathing, headaches, memory loss, and insomnia, which they suspected might be connected with the hazardous substances in the factory. Two workers underwent medical tests at their own expense. One of them was Han Young-kwon, 23 years old, the vice-president of the union. His test results and that of his colleague indicated high levels of mercury in the urine and blood.²⁶⁴ Han worked in the "activating room" where mercury is activated by heat and is often scattered in all directions when a glass is broken. (Mercury is injected into the glass in the previous step of the production process.) Workers do not wear special suits and are reportedly exposed directly to the mercury vapors. When we visited in June, Han was seriously ill, suffering from high blood pressure and other maladies.

In April 1990, alarmed by the implications of these results for the rest of the work force, 11 workers underwent tests with expenses shared between themselves and the union. Nine of the 11 were told their levels of chronic mercury poisoning were far above international standards for mercury exposure; five of them tested above South Korean standards, which allow for a greater level of exposure.²⁶⁵ In May, two of the workers were acknowledged by the

²⁶³ On June 13, the Asia Watch delegation interviewed a group of 20 Orient employees (19 women and one man). The president of the union was reportedly too ill to meet with us.

²⁶⁴ Han's initial test results: 77.02 mg/l of mercury in urine, 11.72 mg/100 ml in blood.

²⁶⁵ The World Health Organization (WHO) has recommended a standard of 0.05 mg/m³ of mercury vapor in the air, as have the American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists and others. Mercury in its vapor form is extremely easy to inhale and absorb and can be quickly absorbed through the skin. Medical consultants for Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) (Dr. Howard Hu, professor of Occupational Medicine at Harvard School of Public Health and Dr. Michael Kosnett, Clinical Instructor of Medicine at the University of California at San Francisco) reviewed records provided to them by Asia Watch about the Orient Electronics case. Based on the data provided, they concluded that it is likely that at Orient the levels of exposure to mercury vapors in the air exceeded this standard. PHR's consultants also noted that the current Korean Ministry of Labor air exposure standard of 0.1 mg/m³ permits exposure twice as high as the standards recommended by WHO and enforced in the U.S. by the U.S. Occupational

Ministry of Labor to have an occupational disease and thus became eligible for compensation and free medical care.

Issues in the Labor Dispute

This revelation set off a series of labor disputes which pitted the workers against management over occupational health and safety issues.²⁶⁶ The outcome has potentially profound implications for the health and safety of the workers, as well as the union's ability to effectively agitate on their behalf within the framework of existing labor laws.

The workers' right to freedom of association was violated initially when the company refused to recognize the results of a union election on March 22, 1989. The government did nothing to protect the workers' rights to carry out collective actions, as guaranteed by Korean law and conventions of the International Labor Organization, or to stop the company from intimidating and harassing Orient's striking employees. Asia Watch was particularly concerned about allegations of beatings by the company's directors, and the failure of the police to investigate and prosecute those responsible even after official complaints were filed by the workers and union.

The Orient workers went on strike on May 15, 1990 to demand medical testing, compensation for those injured by mercury poisoning, improved working conditions, increased wages, and an inspection of the plant environment by occupational and medical specialists. In advance of the strike, they complied with legal requirements for the filing of a notice of dispute and a mandatory 10-day "cooling-off" period.²⁶⁷ Shortly before the strike began, there was a union election, but the company refused to recognize the newly-elected union leaders. In mid-May, two employees were hospitalized for symptoms of mercury poisoning and treated at the expense of the Ministry of Labor. The remaining workers refused treatment as a way of pressuring the company to cover the costs of testing all of the employees for mercury exposure.²⁶⁸

Safety and Health Administration. "Permissible Exposure Limits for Hazardous Substances," Ministry of Labor Notice 88-69, effective from March 1, 1989.

²⁶⁶ *Dong-a Ilbo*, May 10, 1990

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1990. (The article was entitled: "Their Complaint Is: 'Shaking Our Fists We Demand Environmental Improvements.'")

²⁶⁸ Interviews with Orient workers in Kuro, June 13, 1990.

On May 15 the workers set up eating and sleeping accommodations inside the factory, in accordance with the Labor Dispute Adjustment Act prohibiting strikes outside the concerned place of business. But they were informed by a police officer from the Kuro South (Nambu) Station that it was illegal for them to sleep in the plant or to use a butane gas burner for cooking. The workers then conducted a sit-in strike inside the plant. On the second day of the strike, while they were singing and banging drums, they were evicted by the company managers, who reportedly beat them as they left the factory. The beatings continued outside. One of the injured women said she required two weeks of treatment in the hospital for injuries to her eye.²⁶⁹ Han, the union's vice-president, complained to us of continuing problems with his legs as a result of the beatings.

The pattern of beatings at the hands of the company managers continued, with the last such incident reportedly taking place on June 8, 1990. Throughout the strike the union said it tried to negotiate with management, but the president of the company refused to meet with them. Instead, they said, he ordered his managers and directors to beat and harass them to discourage them from continuing the strike. Towards the end, more sophisticated tactics of violence were utilized: the workers allege they were kicked in the abdomen in order to avoid leaving easily detectable marks of abuse.

Complaints were filed by the workers with the police, naming the persons responsible for the violence, but no investigations were undertaken or arrests made.²⁷⁰ In addition, on one occasion, a plainclothes police detective from the Seoul South Station intelligence section reportedly witnessed a beating but did not intervene to stop it.²⁷¹

Meanwhile, the ill workers were plagued by continuing health problems. At one stage they were sent to a clinic recommended by the Labor Ministry, but the

²⁶⁹ Medical diagnoses of those injured in the beatings indicated multiple contusions, abrasions, and conjunctival hemorrhage — issued by Kuro Clinic, May 16, 1990.

²⁷⁰ Charges of physical violence were filed with the Seoul District Police Headquarters, South Section Branch, on May 21, 1990, naming the company managers involved: Koh Kyung-il, Bae Jung-hee, and Oh Pyong-am.

²⁷¹ A separate complaint was filed by the union on May 20, 1990 against a police officer, Mr. Choi, alleging misconduct and abuse of power to forcefully stop a legitimate strike.

union did not feel confident in the clinic's diagnoses or in their ability to be impartial and independent.²⁷²

Government Response

Asia Watch raised the Orient Electronics case with the Labor Ministry and with U.S. embassy officials in Seoul. We were assured that the allegations of abuse by the management and the role of the police in the dispute would be investigated. To date, we have received no response from either South Korean or U.S. officials.

On July 9, 1990 an agreement was reached between Orient and the union, providing for special diagnostic tests of the workers to be conducted by the Korean University Environmental Medicine Research Institute (recommended by the company), an inspection of the work place to be carried out by the Seoul National University Graduate School of Public Health (recommended by the union), and some wage increases.²⁷³

²⁷² According to Pak Suk-un, director of the Labor Human Rights Center, Seoul, "Doctors belonging to an institution recognized by the Labor Ministry have been suspected of unfairness by the workers...[because] these doctors tend to acknowledge a worker's occupational disease only when the results of blood or urine tests exhibit a level beyond the criteria fixed by the Ministry....In some cases, therefore, they do not acknowledge an occupational disease even when the worker has clear symptoms of it. Moreover, workers think that these physicians are strongly influenced by the Ministry of Labor or companies, which do not want the problem of occupational disease or unsanitary working environment to be publicized widely." Report to Physicians for Human Rights, July 18, 1990.

²⁷³ Before the agreement, the workers told us they earned 6,400 won (US\$9.15) per day and were requesting an increase of 1,700 won (US\$2.43). They also were seeking an increase of 3,000 won (US\$4.29) in their monthly travel allowance of 7,900 won (US\$11.29). According to the *Korean Times*, October 21, 1990, the Ministry of Labor recognized that four more workers had an occupational disease including the union's vice-president. The *Hankyoreh Shinmun*, September 21, 1990, reported that 24 other workers had examinations. None were found to have the degree of mercury poisoning necessary to be judged to have an occupational disease and thus to be eligible for compensation and medical treatment from the Ministry of Labor. Four were to be monitored because they might develop an occupational disease. As of mid-October, the inspection of the work place had not taken place. A labor activist assisting the union noted that this is the second time the company has failed to keep its agreement to have an environmental

The Labor Ministry and the police have a responsibility to protect the rights of workers, including their right to engage in labor disputes and collective actions free of harassment or physical violence. Asia Watch has urged a thorough, independent investigation into the complaints filed by the Orient employees against the company management and police, and has recommended prosecution of those responsible for any physical violence committed against the strikers.

survey conducted. The Minister of Labor referred the Orient case to the prosecution which levied a fine on September 17, 1990 of 300,000 won (US\$429) against the company in a summary proceeding under the Industrial Safety and Health Law for failure to examine the work place environment and failure to have the workers examined.

IX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The South Korean government, despite its promised reforms, continues to deny the fundamental rights of workers, labor organizers, writers, publishers, opposition leaders and others. It punishes many of those who attempt to exercise freedoms of expression and association guaranteed to them under domestic and international law. Its crackdown on labor has been particularly severe, as the administration of President Roh has attempted to blame economic difficulties on labor unrest and agitation. There are strict limits on the rights of workers to organize unions and engage in peaceful collective action and collective bargaining. Efforts to reform Korea's labor laws have been resisted by Roh's government.

Asia Watch recommends to the South Korean government the following urgently needed measures and reforms:

1. All persons being detained under the National Security Law or the Law on Assembly and Demonstration solely for the exercise of the peaceful expression of their beliefs, such as Kim Keun-tae, Hong Song-dam, and Kim Hyon-jang, should be promptly and unconditionally released.
2. The vaguely-worded National Security Law should be amended to prevent its frequent use to punish or prevent peaceful expression and dissent. Police and prosecutors should cease abusing the Law on Assembly and Demonstration to restrict free expression by preventing or suppressing peaceful protests.
3. The practice of pressuring prisoners sentenced under the National Security Law to sign "conversion" statements should be abolished.
4. Trade unionists and labor activists detained solely because of peaceful trade union activity, including those on trial or imprisoned charged with "third-party interference," "interfering with ordinary business," or violations of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, should be released. Among those who should be released are Jang Myung-guk, Kwon Yong-mok and Dan Byong-ho. Allegations of mistreatment of arrested workers, such as those held at the Ulsan police station and Pusan Pretrial Detention Facility, should be fully

investigated and steps should be taken to ensure they are not subjected to beatings, harassment or other forms of ill-treatment.

5. The labor laws should be reformed to bring them into line with international standards and South Korean constitutional guarantees of workers' rights to independent association, collective bargaining and collective action. The Trade Union law should be amended to allow independently-formed trade union federations, such as Chonnohyop, to freely function. Provisions of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and Trade Union Law prohibiting "third party interference" should be abolished; workers should have the right to associate freely and seek assistance from labor educators, advisors, lawyers and others. The laws governing public sector employees should be changed -- specifically the National Civil Service Act, Trade Union Law, and Private School Law -- in order to recognize the right of both public and private teachers to form their own trade unions.
6. The South Korean government should undertake a thorough, public and independent investigation of the violent activities of the *kusadae* (company goon squads). Where such squads are found to have engaged in assaults on workers seeking to carry out peaceful trade union activity, they should be disbanded.
7. The practice of using *baikgoldan* (teams of special non-uniformed police) to break strikes should be ended. Allegations of police or company violence -- as in the case of Orient Electronics Ltd. -- should be fully investigated and prosecuted by the authorities, as vigorously as they prosecute workers engaged in alleged acts of violence. This is crucial to restore the role of the government as a neutral mediator in labor disputes.
8. The South Korean government should refrain from interfering with the internal operation of legally elected unions, by using arrests of union leaders as a pretext for dismissing them from their jobs, thus rendering them ineligible for union positions, or employing riot police and the threat of violence to suppress peaceful trade union activities. The rights of workers in the broadcast and newspaper industries to express their views and carry out peaceful collective actions in accordance with international standards should be fully respected and upheld by the government.

X. U.S. ROLE AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

As a military and political ally, trading partner, and major investor, the United States has played a crucial role in the Republic of Korea since before its foundation. The U.S. could bring significant pressure to bear on the government to protect freedom of expression, freedom of association and other basic human rights and to fulfill the promises of reform made in 1987.

U.S. Government Policy

The U.S. State Department *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1989*, published in February 1990, praises South Korea for "moving away from its authoritarian past" and for "making great strides towards attaining full democracy." It points to releases of some political prisoners in 1988 and a "boisterous free press" as examples of such progress, while at the same time it criticizes the increasing use of the National Security Law and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration to repress dissidents. It also notes the failure of the government to implement promised reforms in these laws. (As noted in chapter 2, the Law on Assembly and Demonstration was amended in March 1989, but abuse of the law continues.) Despite these, and other continuing human rights violations, the State Department concludes that "on balance Korea remains a much more tolerant and open society" than in the past.

In view of the massive crackdown on trade unions, stalling of promised legal reforms, and continued restrictions on free expression, these conclusions seem overstated.

On the question of trade union rights and the right of association, the report describes the lack of progress towards reform of the Trade Union Law and Labor Dispute Adjustment Act, noting that President Roh had vetoed several amendments. Most significantly, the report comments only very briefly on the government's crackdown on trade unionists, with a four-sentence reference to the Hyundai strike, the Seoul subway strike,²⁷⁴ and the teachers union dispute. It

²⁷⁴ A Seoul taxi company employee was reportedly killed by company goons, or by "anti-union workers," as the Korean authorities concluded. *Department of State Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1989* (February 1990), p. 897.

provides no details on the massive use of force to suppress strikes or on the number of arrests of trade unionists (with the exception of noting that 40 teachers had been arrested as of early September). It concludes with the ambiguous statement that in 1989 "the Government began to take a more active role in labor-management disputes."

In surveying South Korea's observance of the right to organize and bargain collectively, the State Department says that "many major employers are strongly anti-union" and mentions that in several cases company goon squads have been used to beat up union organizers and intimidate workers. The State Department observes, correctly, that the authorities have "not been effective in investigating such incidents," but again the report provides no specifics.

The Asia Watch mission, in discussions with U.S. embassy officials in Seoul, raised several of the cases documented in this report, including those of Kwon Yong-mok, Cho Chu-nam, and Kim Nam-suk, as well as the plight of the Orient Electronics workers. The embassy's first secretary in the political section and its part-time labor attache agreed to make private inquiries about the cases with relevant government officials and said that the embassy had an "active interest" in bringing up incidents of abuse at every opportunity. As of November 1990, we had not been informed of the outcome of any such inquiries.

The embassy also acknowledged that the South Korean government's policy on labor issues was headed in the "wrong direction." However, U.S. government officials in Seoul stated it was current U.S. policy to raise human rights concerns only through quiet diplomatic channels. These officials firmly rejected the notion that the U.S. embassy should be publicly outspoken about human rights abuses or that it should demonstrate its concern about detainees subjected to abuses by seeking to visit them. We specifically asked for review of the existing stated policy of refraining from visiting any political prisoners.²⁷⁵

Finally, the embassy was reluctant to consider sending observers to political trials or trials of trade union leaders as a way of indicating U.S. concern that trial procedures are fair and legal according to international standards.

²⁷⁵ Asia Watch made this request earlier in a letter to Mr. Raymond Burghardt, Deputy Chief of Mission, on April 9, 1990 following a meeting with him in Washington, D.C. on March 11, 1990.

Asia Watch suggested that the U.S. government's restriction of its comments on human rights problems to "quiet diplomacy" might be a factor contributing to rising anti-Americanism -- marked, for example, by violent attacks on the U.S. Cultural Center in Seoul in May 1990 and a firebomb attack on the U.S. cultural center in Kwangju on June 11, 1990. Although the first secretary, who described himself as the embassy's anti-Americanism specialist, conceded that the failure of the U.S. government to speak out publicly about human rights at the time of the Kwangju massacre in 1980 was a major cause of the rise of anti-American feelings in the 1980's, he rejected the argument that continuing this approach was a mistake. He insisted that a more vocal, public policy would ostensibly reinforce the perception that the U.S. government is "omniscient" and "omnipotent" and should be responsible for solving South Korea's problems. A State Department official in Washington, D.C. defended existing policy with a different argument: It is a "new day" in South Korea and "we can't interfere with their problems."²⁷⁶

This policy is politically short-sighted. It ignores the fact that the U.S. is widely perceived in South Korea as firmly aligned with the government of President Roh Tae-woo and its policies, and this perception contributes significantly to anti-American feelings. (This has made the U.S. a ready target for so-called "extremist violence," which in turn has provided a pretext for further repression.) Such an approach also fails to express what should be unequivocal U.S. government policy of support for democratic reform and the protection of basic rights of freedom of expression, association, and free trade union activity. Governments change their policies not only through private pressure but through public stigmatization. At a time when Korea is seeking to become a member of the United Nations, the U.S. should use Korea's desire for international acceptance to publicly press for improvements in the human rights situation.

The attitude of U.S. officials in Seoul reflects the overall Bush administration policy toward human rights in South Korea. Throughout 1989 and 1990 the Bush administration stated that it was committed to human rights and democratic reforms in South Korea. But its failure to comment publicly and

²⁷⁶ Interviews with Lynn Turk and Jeffrey Goldstein, U.S. Embassy, Seoul, June 14, 1990; Roberta Chew and Spence Richardson, U.S. State Department, Office of Korean Affairs, May 16, 1990.

forcefully when the number and severity of human rights violations increased sent the opposite signal to the South Korean government and people.²⁷⁷

The administration repeatedly failed to take advantage of strategic opportunities to comment publicly on specific human rights abuses, such as the meetings between President Bush and President Roh on February 27, 1989, and the visit to Seoul by Vice-President Quayle on September 19, 1989. On June 6, 1990, another meeting between President Roh and President Bush took place at a particularly opportune moment, following Roh's "summit" meeting in San Francisco with Soviet President Gorbachev, at which there were discussions of steps towards reunification and improved relations between North and South Korea. It was also shortly before a special legislative session was due to begin in Seoul during which reforms in the National Security Law, the labor laws, the broadcasting commission, and various other laws relating to human rights were reportedly scheduled to be taken up. Asia Watch publicly urged the administration to use the occasion to press the South Korean government to implement legal reforms, including revisions of the National Security Law, and to release those imprisoned for non-violent political activity. No reference whatsoever to human rights was made by President Bush or the State Department as far as could be determined from the published accounts of the talks.

U.S. Trade Policy and Labor Rights

Legislation enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1984 links certain U.S. trade benefits to the recipient governments' respect for internationally-recognized labor rights. Section 502 (b)(8) of the Trade Act denies a recipient country preferential treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) if that country "has not taken or is not taking steps to afford internationally recognized workers' rights." In addition, Congress made observance of internationally recognized rights, such as the rights of association, organization and collective bargaining, a condition for insurance and investment guarantees provided to U.S. companies investing abroad under the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). In addition, OPIC is mandated by Congress to "take into account...all available information about observance of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" in countries receiving OPIC assistance.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Human Rights Watch, *The Bush Administration's Record on Human Rights in 1989* (December 1989), pp. 243-8.

²⁷⁸ Section 239(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act.

In 1988, imports from South Korea into the U.S. totalled \$20.2 billion. In 1989, \$19.7 billion worth of goods were exported to the U.S., making this country one of South Korea's most important trade markets.²⁷⁹

Asia Watch presented testimony on South Korea before the U.S. Trade Representative during the review of GSP in October 1987. At that time, following an Asia Watch mission to South Korea from June 27 to July 14, we were encouraged by indications that labor reform might be promoted by a program of government liberalization, but we also expressed the concern that "such reform will have negligible impact on labor rights in the absence of an official, and continuing, commitment to end abusive and illegal practices."²⁸⁰ Asia Watch's testimony urged the U.S. Trade Representative to assess progress in the implementation of a number of measures to determine South Korea's eligibility under the GSP law. These included reforms in the Trade Union Law and Labor Dispute Adjustment Law; an end to the official harassment, intimidation and mistreatment of labor organizers; and no further prosecutions of workers and labor groups for exercising their rights to peaceful expression and association.

South Korea graduated out of the GSP program on January 1, 1989 due to the increase in trade volume beyond the legal limit entitling South Korea to GSP benefits and not because of any improvement in the treatment of workers. However, OPIC continues its program in South Korea, notwithstanding the labor rights abuses.²⁸¹

Role of the U.S Congress

The South Korean government's suppression of trade unionists and denial of their human rights has been a matter of concern for many members of the U.S. Congress, despite the erroneous assumption on the part of some that the human rights situation has improved dramatically under President Roh and does not require close scrutiny.

²⁷⁹ The U.S. exported \$10.6 billion to South Korea in 1988 and \$13.5 billion in 1989, *Official Statistics*, U.S. Department of Commerce, July 26, 1990.

²⁸⁰ Asia Watch testimony, p. 3.

²⁸¹ In 1989, over \$80 million in OPIC guarantees were given to U.S. investors in South Korea. This declined steeply in 1990 due to a ceiling imposed by the OPIC board of directors, which was recently lifted.

Congressional offices have been active on behalf of trade unionists in South Korea. On March 9, 1990, the Congressional Working Group on International Labor Rights, a bipartisan group of 50 U.S. senators and representatives, wrote to South Korean officials about the deterioration of labor rights in South Korea. They expressed concern about restrictions on Chonnohyop (Council of Korean Trade Unions) and arrests of its leaders, and they urged an end to the government's crackdown "which clearly violates the rights of Korean workers to participate in peaceful union activities."

A separate letter signed by ten U.S. senators²⁸² was sent to President Roh on June 14, 1990. In particular, they criticized the government's infringement of the basic right of unionists to take collective action in the cases of Hyundai Heavy Industries and the Korean Broadcasting System. Furthermore, they warned, "Regulations to limit or prevent the formation of trade unions or restrict collective bargaining... may contravene laws requiring countries receiving loan [guarantees] from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to extend to their workers internationally recognized worker rights." The appeal was covered in the Korean press.²⁸³

Congressional hearings on democratization in South Korea and the status of North-South relations were held on July 26, 1989, before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. At that hearing, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, William Clark, Jr., said, "While there remain some elements of the past to be overcome...the American people can and do warmly applaud the progress which has been made" towards democratization.

The Role of U.S. Investors and Companies

American companies and direct investors are heavily involved in the South Korean economy, taking advantage of low wages, high productivity, high skill levels, high profits,²⁸⁴ and an anti-union environment. While Japan is the

²⁸² Senators Kennedy, Leahy, Harkin, Levin, DeConcini, Mikulski, Kerry, Burdick, Conrad, and Akaka.

²⁸³ *Hankyoreh Shinmun*, June 16, 1990.

²⁸⁴ Ogle, *South Korea: Dissent within the Economic Miracle* Remittances in 1986 to U.S. businesses from Korean operations were approximately \$368 million, according to the U.S. embassy.

largest foreign investor, the U.S. comes second with total investments of \$1.9 billion in 1989.²⁸⁵ The infusion of American capital and technology has been crucial to South Korea's economic growth. U.S. investors thus should be able to play an important role in promoting respect for labor rights.

U.S. companies operating in South Korea are most active in the heavy-industries manufacturing sector.²⁸⁶ Many started in the 1960's as small operations, as in the electronics field, with 100-200 employees. According to a representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Seoul to whom we spoke, approximately 200 of the 348 member companies in the Chamber are U.S. companies, including the largest and most powerful.²⁸⁷ The balance are Japanese, South Korean and European. He said that 90 percent of U.S. companies are now unionized. The Chamber has a labor committee, and the organization sees its role as explaining labor standards and obligations under South Korean law to U.S. companies, assisting in the development of positive labor-management relations, and lobbying on behalf of business interests.²⁸⁸ The Chamber's representative characterized unionization as a "fact of life" which companies should accept and said that labor relations at U.S. companies in South Korea were "for the most part, relatively smooth." (We asked for statistics on the number of strikes and disputes at U.S. companies, but he was unable to provide that information.) He acknowledged, however, that there have been "problems" and alluded specifically to the 1987-88 strike against Motorola Company²⁸⁹ and to the Pico Korea Ltd. dispute.²⁹⁰

approximately \$368 million, according to the U.S. embassy.

²⁸⁵ Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, statistics for year-end 1989.

²⁸⁶ Ogle: These include automobile, transportation equipment, machinery and chemicals.

²⁸⁷ Among the Chamber's members are: Westinghouse Electric (Asia), AT&T Far East, Bank of America, Citibank, Goodyear Korea, Litton Korea, Texas Instruments Korea. *1990 American Chamber of Commerce Directory*.

²⁸⁸ According to the Spring 1990 Introduction to the *American Chamber of Commerce Directory*, its aims include activities to "represent and relay the opinions and positions of the American business community to the Korean government...[and] to U.S. government officials." The U.S. ambassador is the Chamber's honorary president; he meets monthly with the organization's board of governors, p. 3.

²⁸⁹ Repeated attempts to organize a legal union at Motorola, a major U.S. company with over 5,000 employees, were resisted by the company and ended tragically with the self-immolation of a worker.

The Pico dispute has followed a pattern similar to other disputes involving foreign investors who have responded to labor unrest by pulling up stakes and leaving the country without fulfilling their legal obligations in the process.²⁹¹ During wage negotiations in February 1989, Pico Korea (a subsidiary of a Pico Products, a cable T.V. component manufacturer headquartered in Syracuse, New York) closed down its South Korea operations and left the workers empty-handed, without back pay and benefits to which they were entitled. According to Pico workers interviewed by Asia Watch, on March 22, 1989 about 300 people went to the American Chamber of Commerce's offices in Seoul to ask their assistance in contacting the president of Pico Korea, Ltd., although Pico is not a member of the Chamber. The police came in to remove them. Workers were repeatedly beaten, and 17 were ultimately hospitalized. This violent incident was heavily covered in the media.

Trade unions in the U.S. have taken an active interest in the case. Several U.S. unions supported a tour of Pico workers in the U.S. and organized a picket line at the convention of national cable TV in Atlanta, Georgia. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, on April 25, 1990, condemned Pico's violation of workers' rights and wrote to the South Korean government urging the Labor Ministry to initiate a lawsuit against Pico in South Korea. Meanwhile, the Pico workers union filed a suit in a U.S. court alleging that the president of Pico Products in the U.S. interfered with the operation of Pico Korea and was responsible, by ordering the dissolution of the company, for the company not complying with its legal contract with the union. The suit also alleges that Pico Products failed to comply with the so-called "Plant Closures Act" (Worker Adjustment and Retraining Adjustment Act) requiring that notification of intent to close the plant be given to the workers 90 days in advance.²⁹²

The role of U.S. companies in South Korea, despite the Chamber's claims, remains controversial. This is due to the mistreatment of workers by managers

²⁹⁰ Interview with Jeffrey Jones, attorney and a vice-president of U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Seoul, June 14, 1990.

²⁹¹ See e.g., the 1982 case of Control Data Company, Asia Watch, *Human Rights in Korea*, (January 1986), pp. 197-199.

²⁹² On August 12, 1990, the Center for Constitutional Rights, representing the Pico workers' union, filed a suit in U.S. District Court for the Northern New York District, under the Labor Relations Management Act (301). The union is seeking over \$1 million in damages.

of U.S.-owned or U.S.-invested companies, as in the case of Orient Electronics cited in this report, coupled with the manner in which some U.S. companies have withdrawn from South Korea.²⁹³

The American Chamber of Commerce should take a direct interest in the development and application of South Korean labor laws as they affect the work force and the country's business climate as a whole. To promote the protection of basic human rights for workers and the observance of international labor standards and principles, it should use its formal and informal channels with the government, its prestige and its substantial economic leverage.

The only sanction currently available for use against companies engaged in particularly egregious behavior would be a vote by the Chamber's board of governors to expel them. At the very least, the Chamber's labor committee should explore the establishment of an internal mechanism for monitoring the protection of basic human rights by its member companies. It should also take steps to more forcefully distance itself from U.S.-invested companies like Pico and Orient Electronics which do not respect workers' rights. Finally, the Chamber does not have a code of conduct for member companies, which could be developed with strict guidelines for respecting workers' right of freedom of association, including the right to form trade unions and engage in collective action.

Role of the U.S. Labor Movement

Since 1971, the AFL-CIO has maintained an office in Seoul. The Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) receives U.S. government funding as well as support from the AFL-CIO member unions.²⁹⁴ It operates in South Korea at the invitation of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), which

²⁹³ Orient Electronics was not listed as a member of the Chamber of Commerce in its 1990 directory.

²⁹⁴ AAFLI was established in 1968. It lists as funding sources: the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, labor groups in Asia and the Pacific, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the National Endowment for Democracy (which receives annual appropriations from the U.S. Congress), and the U.S. Information Agency. Its stated aims are "to cooperate with trade unions in the region in a wide range of educational, organization, and membership services activities." Pamphlet: AAFLI - Questions and Answers.

is the South Korean member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). With the permission of the Seoul government, AAFLI provides labor education and training to FKTU affiliates. It is therefore not viewed legally as a "third party" under the South Korean labor laws. AAFLI sees its role as contributing to the development of long-term trade union institutions, within a legal framework and provisions of the South Korean Constitution guaranteeing workers rights of free association and collective bargaining. AAFLI is in a strategic position to be a positive force and catalyst for change in official policies and practices, both within the FKTU and with the South Korean government. It can do this, for example, by encouraging reforms in the labor laws, as well as taking up cases of independent trade union educators or organizers who are arrested or detained for peaceful union activities. Within the U.S., the AAFLI can assist in educating and mobilizing AFL-CIO affiliated unions to become actively involved in campaigns in support of repressed South Korean workers.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has adopted public positions critical of the Korean government's crackdown on labor. In May 1990 it adopted a resolution condemning the repression of the Hyundai strikes and "attacks on freedom of expression as evidenced by the police breaking a strike at KBS." The council called on the Bush administration to show "as much concern and effort in the field of worker rights as it has shown in pressuring Korea on beef import quotas..."²⁹⁵

Within the ICFTU, the AFL-CIO has aligned itself with efforts at the international level to support trade union and human rights in South Korea. For example, at its executive board meeting in Brussels on May 9-11, the ICFTU adopted a resolution condemning the South Korean government's "restrictive and oppressive policies on industrial relations." The resolution praised the "determination and courage of the Korean workers and the spontaneous upsurge of their actions which led to the establishment of many new unions." At the same time, it expressed support for the FKTU and urged "the release of detained trade union activists, continuing dialogue between the trade unions and the authorities, and the revision of labor and trade union legislation in line with ILO standards and principles."

²⁹⁵ AAFLI News, June 1990.

The International Metalworkers Federation (IMF), representing 13 million workers in North America, Europe and Asia, met in Seoul on June 7-8, 1990. At the conclusion of a meeting of its 150-member Central Committee, the IMF general secretary issued a statement condemning the South Korean government's "totalitarian attitudes towards individual trade unionists" and said that IMF affiliates in 70 countries would be given the names of arrested South Korean trade unionists and asked to launch local campaigns for their release. An IMF resolution adopted at the conference said trade union rights were "lagging far behind the rapid economic development" of South Korea and criticized existing Korean labor laws which denied workers "any genuine right of association."²⁹⁶

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on Asia Watch's ongoing research and on-site investigations, we believe that much more could be done, privately and publicly, by the U.S. government and by corporate and trade union representatives to promote human rights in South Korea.

The U.S. government should be more energetic on behalf of the right to freedom of expression. The Bush administration should publicly oppose the arrest and imprisonment of South Koreans for expressing opinions on reunification with the North or for making contact with the North. Steps toward opening a dialogue with the North and U.S. encouragement of such steps should not be allowed to obscure delays in the process of democratization in South Korea or blunt U.S. efforts to promote reforms there.

It is clear that Congressional concern and the active involvement of the American trade union movement -- in conjunction with international trade union bodies -- have a significant impact in South Korea which should be enhanced and expanded. Congress should challenge the State Department to provide an in-depth assessment of the state of human rights and labor rights and should consistently press U.S. officials in Seoul and Washington D.C. to speak out, privately and publicly, about specific human rights cases and concerns.

Finally, the insurance guaranteed to U.S. investors in South Korea provided under the Overseas Investment Corporation should be ended, in compliance with U.S. legal conditions on the observance of internationally recognized worker

²⁹⁶ Press statement by IMF, June 8, 1990.

rights. The South Korean government must not be allowed to view U.S. trade and investment as an endorsement of anti-union policies that violate workers' rights.

APPENDICES

- I. Statement of the Republic of Korea Ministry of Justice
- II. Terms and Laws Cited in this Report
- III. List of Jailed Unionists and Labor Activists
- IV. List of Publishers and Others Jailed in Connection with their Publishing Activities, 1989-90.

**APPENDIX I. STATEMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE**

Statement signed by the Minister of Justice Lee Jong-nam and read by Prosecutor Lee Sun-woo, Director of the Human Rights Division, to the Asia Watch Mission at the beginning of a discussion on June 15, 1990.

In launching the Sixth Republic the government has resolutely promoted policies of democratization, autonomy, and liberalization so that the authoritarianism of the old era could be liquidated and the true flower of democracy might bloom in this land. Thus in every segment of our society democratic systems and practices are being firmly established.

However, it is true that the process of promoting democratization has given us many trials and troubles. Before the new democratic order could completely send down its roots, the variegated demands of various sectors of the society which had been suppressed have exploded all at once and all the hidden problems have broken into the open.

In the midst of this, in order to achieve unreasonable objectives which are entirely their own, some people who lack discretion devoted themselves completely to illegal collective action. Moreover, left-wing violent revolutionary forces began to abuse the government's democratic measures and reveal machinations aimed at destroying the liberal democratic system.

Confronted with this situation the government patiently hoped that law and order would be obeyed and established through self-regulation. That is to say, recognizing that a truly democratic society maintains law and order through self-regulation, the government restrained itself from using public power in relation to repeated lawlessness and disorder which occurred in the early stages of democratization.

Nevertheless, some people lacking in discretion, starting with the left-wing violent revolutionary forces, have become more radical day by day. Thus, lawlessness and disorder which had not been seen in our society before became rampant and the worry and unease of the citizens increased daily.

Finally, it reached such an extreme situation that there was a worry that, if we continued to ignore their illegal collective actions and machinations to destroy the system, not only would it be impossible for democratization itself to progress but it also might endanger the very existence of the state.

In this kind of situation, the government, while, on the one hand, promoting democratization continuously, on the other hand was compelled to

take stern legal action against the forces which were impeding democratization. No matter what sacrifice must be suffered, in the future the government must without fail have a policy -- based on the citizens' common feeling that the illegal collective action and the left-wing violent revolutionary forces must be eradicated -- of exerting its best effort to establish legal order in our society.

Nevertheless, this kind of effort to establish law and order is being distorted and propagandized by some at home and abroad as the suppression of democratic figures, and there are also even cases of falsely conveying examples of human rights abuses in the judicial process as if they were common.²⁹⁶ This is very regrettable and distressing.

By all means I earnestly hope that this pamphlet will help in the understanding of the government's effort to promote democratization and establish law and order and will help to some extent in achieving a truly democratic society.

Lee Jong-nam
Minister of Justice
July, 1990²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ The "and abroad" was written in by hand on the copy from which Mr. Lee read to us.

²⁹⁷ Note that the reference to a pamphlet, the date, and the Minister of Justice's title and name were not read at the time. This statement was apparently prepared for publication by the Ministry, perhaps as the preface of a pamphlet.

APPENDIX II. TERMS AND LAWS CITED IN THIS REPORT

Frequently used terms about legal authority, and excerpts from the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, the Trade Union Law, and the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. The terms and laws are cited from Labor Laws in Korea, Ministry of Labor, Republic of Korea, 1989.

TERMS

Administrative Authority: The governmental authority to which unions and employers must submit all required documents and notifications. The proper administrative authority depends upon the location of the union's membership. In case the union's membership is spread to more than one province, the Minister of Labor is the proper administrative authority. In other cases, the Mayor of Seoul Special City, Mayor of Pusan City, Taegu City or Governor of Provinces serve as the administrative authority to the unions within their geographical jurisdiction. (Art. 13(1), Trade Union Law) All these officials, except the mayor of Seoul, are appointed by the President.

Labor Relations Commission: There is a Central Labor Relations Commission established in the Ministry of Labor and Local Labor Relations Commissions established in each city and province. Each commission is composed of equal number of persons representing the workers, the employers, and the public. The appointments to and functions of the Labor Relations Commissions are governed by the Labor Relations Commission Law, which was promulgated in 1953 and most recently amended in 1984.

LAWS

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea (amended October 19, 1987)

- Art. 21 (1) All citizens shall enjoy freedom of speech and the press, and freedom of assembly and association.
- Art. 31 (6) Fundamental matters pertaining to the educational system, including...administration, finance, and the status of teachers, shall be determined by law.
- Art. 33 (1) To enhance working conditions, workers shall have the right to independent association, collective bargaining and collective action.

(2) Only those public officials who are designated by law shall have the right to association, collective bargaining and collective action.

(3) The right to collective action of workers employed by important defense industries may be either restricted or denied as prescribed by law.

Trade Union Law (promulgated March 1953, amended most recently November 28, 1987)

Art. 3 (Definition of Trade Union): "The trade union" mentioned in this Law shall mean an organization or a federation of the organizations, which is voluntarily formed at the initiative of laborers for the purpose of maintaining and improving working conditions and enhancing welfare and socio-economic status of the workers.

However, in the cases falling under the category of the following items, the definition made in this Article shall not be applied:

(5) When the subject of the organization membership is the same as the already existing trade union, or the purpose of the organization is to hamper the normal operation of the already existing trade unions.

Art. 8 (Restriction on Formation and Membership of Trade Union): Workers may organize or join trade union at liberty. In case of public officials, however, the right shall be stipulated separately by Law.

Art. 12 (Prohibition of Political Activities):

(1) A trade union shall not be allowed to conduct any act, in the election of any public office, in order to support a specific political party or have specific persons elected.

(2) A trade union shall not be able to collect political funds from its members.

(3) Funds for a trade union shall not be diverted to political funds.

Art.12-2 (Prohibition for Interference by a Third Party): Persons other than a worker who has actual employment relations with the employer, or concerned trade union, or other persons having legitimate authority under law shall not engage in an act of interference for the purpose of manipulating, instigation, obstructing, or any other act to influence the concerned parties in an establishment or dissolution of a trade union, joining or disjoining a trade union, or in collective bargaining with the employer.

But the federation of unions or the industrial federations affiliated by concerned unions shall not be regarded as the Third Party.

Art. 13 (Establishment of a Trade Union):

1. Any person who intends to establish a union, must submit a report including the statements specified hereunder, and the charter attached thereto, to the federation to which the union is affiliated....

(1) Name of the union.

(2) Address of the principal union office.

(3) Number of membership....

(4) Names of the officers and their addresses.

(5) Names of industrial federation to which a union is affiliated.

(6) In case of a federation of unions, names of member unions, number of membership, address of the principal office and names of officers and their addresses.

2. "The federation to which union is affiliated" mentioned in Paragraph 1 shall mean, the federation of unions by industry whose membership consists of unit trade union of the same kind, or a national federation whose membership consists of unit trade union by industry on a national scale.

Art. 14. (Charter):

1. In order to secure democratic and autonomous operation of the organization, a trade union shall specify in its charter the following contents.

(1) Name;

(2) Purpose and undertakings;

(3) Address of main office;

(4) Matters concerning union members;

(5) Name of the federation to which the union is affiliated;

(6) In case there is a council of delegates, matters concerning thereof;

(7) In the case of a trade union which is a federate organization, matters concerning its constituent organizations;

(8) Matters concerning conferences;

(9) Matters concerning its representative and executive members;

(10) Matters concerning union fees and accounting;

(11) Matters concerning changes of charter;

(12) Matters concerning dissolution;

- (13) Matters concerning representatives of labor-management councils;
- (14) Matters concerning labor disputes;
- (15) Matters concerning impeachment of representatives and executive members for violation of the charter;
- (16) Matters concerning election procedures of executive members and convention delegates; and
- (17) Matters concerning rules and regulations.

Art. 15. (Certificate of Report):

1. Upon receipt of a report of establishment prescribed in Paragraph 1, Article 13, the Administrative Authority shall issue a certificate of report in accordance with the provisions of the Presidential Decree within 3 days.

Art. 16. (Amendment of, or Supplementation to, the Charter): In case any provision of the union charter conflicts with labor-related law and decree, the Administrative Authority may, with the approval of the Labor Relations Commission, order the amendment, or supplementation to the charter.

Art. 30 (Submission of the Documents): When it deems necessary, the Administrative Authority may have the accounting status or other necessary documents of the trade union be submitted for investigation.

Art. 34 (Drawing Up of a Collective Agreement):

3. Administrative Authority may order change or nullification of a term in collective agreement when the term is improper in violation of laws, after obtaining resolution of the Labor Relations Commission.

Art. 38. (Regional Binding Force):

1. In case two-thirds or more of the laborers of the same kind who are engaged in a business in an area come under the application of a collective agreement, the pertinent Administrative Authority may, through the decision of the Labor Relations Commission, at the request of one party or both parties to the collective agreement or *ex officio*, decide that the same collective agreement shall be applied to the other laborers and employers of the same kind engaged in the same area.

Art. 47 (Penal Provision): Any person who, in violation of the provisions of Article 30, fails to submit the required documents or files false reports, or who

refuses, obstructs or obviates investigation, shall be subjected to an imprisonment for the term not exceeding three months or a fine for the amount not exceeding 200 thousand won.

Labor Dispute Adjustment Law (promulgated March 1953, amended most recently November 1987)

Art. 4 (Definition of Business of Public Interest): The terms "business of public interest" as used in this Law shall mean a business indispensable for daily public life, or the suspension or termination of which has severe impact upon national economy, and which falls under one of the following categories.

- (1) Public transportation business
- (2) Water, electricity, gas supply, and petroleum refinery business
- (3) Public hygiene and medical business
- (4) Banking business
- (5) Broadcasting and communication business

Art. 13-2. (Prohibition for Interference by a Third Party): Persons other than an employee who has actual employment relations with the employer, or concerned trade union and employer, or persons other than having legitimate authority under law shall not engage in an act of interference, in a dispute, for the purpose of manipulating, instigating, or any other act to influence the parties concerned.

Art. 14. (Cooling-off Period): No acts of dispute shall be conducted unless 10 days have elapsed in the case of ordinary enterprise and 15 days in the case of public utility after receipt of the report prescribed in the Paragraph 2 of Article 16, by the Labor Relations Commission, has been rendered.

Art. 16 (Notice on a Labor Dispute):

1. In case a labor dispute has occurred, the one of the parties concerned shall notice it thereof to the Administrative Authority and the Labor Relations Commission concerned and notify the fact to the other.

Art. 40 (Decision of Emergency Adjustment):

1. The Minister of the Ministry of Labor may render a decision for an emergency adjustment, in case an act of dispute is related to public interests, or it is of large scale or of specific character, and that, because of such act of dispute there exists the same danger which might impair the national economy or endanger the daily life of the general public.

Art. 41 (Suspension of an Act of Dispute at the Time of Emergency Adjustment): The parties concerned shall immediately suspend any act of dispute when a decision for an emergency adjustment under Paragraph 3 of Article 40 is announced, and no act of dispute shall be commenced again unless 20 days has elapsed from the date of announcement.

APPENDIX III. LIST OF JAILED UNIONISTS AND LABOR ACTIVISTS

This list was compiled by the Korea Research and Information Center, a Seoul-based labor research institute, and is updated as of October 1, 1990. We have also included information from Minkahyup's June 16, 1990 list of political prisoners, which are noted in brackets, and other sources as noted.

The job title or description following the jailed person's name and place of employment refers to his or her union role.

Some of the persons included on this list have been charged with violent offenses, such as physical assault and throwing firebombs. Their mention in the report should not be taken as Asia Watch's endorsement of such actions. Asia Watch calls for the release of only those who have neither engaged in nor advocated the use of violence.

SEOUL

KO Min-taek: Choongwon Electronics, union's education officer, [arrested March 16, 1989], charged with "third-party interference" provision of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law [and obstruction of business].

KIM Jum-soon: Choongwon Electronics, union president, charged with "third-party interference" provision of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law [and obstruction of business].

HAN Sook-woong: Chunji Industry Company, union vice-president, arrested on May 18, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KANG Keum-joo: Chunji Industry Company, union president, arrested on May 18, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

NAM Bae-hong: Daerim Plastics Company, union's cultural officer, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged under the Special Law against Firebombs and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

DAN Byung-ho: Dong-a Construction Company, chairman of Chonnohyop (Korean Council of Trade Unions), arrested on February 28, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration. [On July 13, 1990, he was sentenced to a one-and-a-half years' imprisonment. *Korea Herald.*]

CHOI Bong-young: Dong-a Construction, union's general secretary, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

LEE Tae-hyung: Dongbu Metal Company, rank-and-file worker, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged under the Special Law against Firebombs and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

YOON Kyu-hyun: Dongbu Metal Company, union's dispute officer, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged under the Special Law against Firebombs and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

KIM Il-sook: Dongsuh Culture Co., general secretary, arrested on May 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

LEE Eon-joo: Dongsuh Culture Co., president, arrested on May 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

LEE Tae-wan: Dongsuh Culture Co., vice-president, arrested on May 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

BAEK Wan-ki: Education Insurance Company, planning director, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business (Criminal Code) and committing physical violence (Criminal Code).

HONG Eon-sook: Education Insurance Company, information officer, arrested on August 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Joo-sam: Education Insurance Company, general manager, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business (Criminal Code) and committing physical violence (Criminal Code).

LEE Sang-hak: Education Insurance Company, president, arrested in September 1990 (?), charged with "obstructing business."

YANG Dal-hwi: Education Insurance Company, union executive, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business (Criminal Code) and committing physical violence (Criminal Code).

YU Jin-hee: Hanjoo Electronics, arrested on June 20, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHOI Seung-nyul: Kwangrim Electronics Company, president, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Chae-bok: Kwangrim Electronics Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KO Eun-jeong: Kwangrim Electronics Company, former general secretary, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

OH Eun-sook: Minsung Electricity Company, president, arrested on May 31, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

CHOI Yoon-cheol: Minsung Electricity Company, rank-and-file worker, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and Special Law against Firebombs.

JI Dong-hwan: Minsung Electricity Company, general secretary, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and Special Law against Firebombs. [Arrest date given as May 6.]

KIM Hyung-tae: Minsung Electricity Company, deputy president, arrested on May 4, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and Special Law against Firebombs.

BANG Seung-kwan: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, organizer, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

CHO Won-bong: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, statistics officer, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

CHOI Do-hyun: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, director, arrested on April 10, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

CHOI Ki-tae: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, officer at the Sang-won branch, arrested on May 10, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence. [Arrest date given as April 10, 1990.]

KIM Ho-kyum: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, general secretary, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

KIM Yong-koo: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, officer at the Shin-pyung branch, arrested on May 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

LEE Jung-il: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, dispute officer, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

WOO Il-do: Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, rank-and-file worker, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

YOON Tae-kyung: [noted as Mae-kyung] Nambu Mechanical and Metalworkers Union, research officer, arrested on April 6, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

LEE Eon-soon: Naewoo Precision, president, arrested on June 14, 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

CHUNG Yoon-kwang: Seoul Subway, president, arrested on March 16, 1989, and charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

DO Il-hee: Shinhan Valve Company, president, arrested on April 16, 1990, charged with physical violence and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

PARK Kwang-kook: Shinhan Valve Company, education officer, arrested on May 9, 1990, charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

YOON Myung-sun: Taepyungyang Chemical Company, director of the union's Seoul branch, [arrested in 1989], charged under the National Security Law.

EUN Hi-yul: Union of Booth Shops, education director, arrested on May 10, 1990, charged with interference of police operation (Criminal Code).

KIM Nam-soo: Yakurt Co., president, arrested on June 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHO Seon-kyung: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

CHOI Eun-seok: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

CHOI Jong-myung: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

IM Jong-myung: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

IM Young-hwan: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

JANG Myung-guk: labor movement activist, director of the Suktap Labor Center, arrested on June 19, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. [Information from *Dong-a Ilbo*, other sources.]

KIM Hyung-cheol: labor movement activist, arrested on July 20, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Keon-joo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Seon-hee: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Seon-mi: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Byung-ki: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Deok-joo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Deok-joon: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Kyung-sook: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Seong-jae: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Seong-yong: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

MIN Byung-kon: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

PARK Hyun-hee: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

PARK Moon-jae: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

PARK Nam-il: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

WANG Hae-jeon: [Bukbu Noryon], labor movement activist, arrested on February 15, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

INCHON

AHN Jae-hwan, [Inchon Puchon Workers' Center], labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Anyang].

CHOI Byung-guk: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

CHOI Keon-seop: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

CHOI Kwi-sung: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Inchon].

CHOI Nam-ki: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

HA Seong-chang: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

HWANG Soon-hyun: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

IM Jung-hwa: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Inchon].

JUNG Jong-joo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

KIM Hyung-su: labor movement activist, arrested on July 31, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM In-seon: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Jin-hee: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

KIM Jin-guk: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Joong-sung: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Neong-koo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Seong-kyun: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Inchon].

KIM So-young: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Tae-jin: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Yong-ki: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Yong-sook: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

KIM Young-min: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with the Incheon Workers' Group].

KWON Sang-man: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

KWON Woo-cheol: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

LEE Hyun-young: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Kang-seok: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Myun-jae: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

LEE Myung-hak: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Sang-joon: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

LEE Se-ran: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

LEE Tae-joo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law.

MIN Cheol-hong: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

NHO Byung-jik: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

NHO Hui-chan: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

OH Dong-ryul: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

PARK Jae-young: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

PARK Yoon-bae: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

SUH Jae-seok: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

SUH Kyung-seon: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with the Incheon Workers' Group].

SHIN Dong-soo: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

SHIN Hyun-jik: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with "Inchon Workers' College," arrested on March 17, 1990, being held in Incheon].

SHIN Joon-soo: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

SHIN Jung-ki: [Inchon Puchon Workers' Center], labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Chonju].

SHIN Nam-hee: labor movement activist, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

SON Hyung-min: [Inchon Puchon Workers' Center], labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Kongju].

YOON Cheol-ho: labor movement activist, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Seoul].

LEE Seong-yong: Colt Musical Instruments Company, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

HWANG In-beom: Daedong Chemical, acting president, arrested on July 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

IM Hye-ran: Daehan Trans. Company, organization director, charged with obstructing business, [arrested on April 26, 1990, also charged with physical violence].

IM Joon-shik: Daehan Trans. Company, cultural activities director, charged with obstructing business, [arrested on April 26, 1990, also charged with physical violence].

KIM Eon-hee: Daehan Trans. Company, general secretary, arrested on March 1, 1990, charged with obstructing business, [arrested on April 26, 1990, also charged with physical violence].

CHOI Joo-nam: Daewoo Precision Company, organization director

CHOI Seong-bok: Daewoo Precision Company, general secretary, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

HWANG In-cheol: Daewoo Precision Company, president, arrested on June 4, 1990.

JUNG Kwang-hoon: Daewoo Precision Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Mi-ja: Daewoo Precision Company, vice-president.

IM Myung-seon: Daewon Steel Company

JUNG Chan: Dongsung Enterprises Company, president, arrested on December 24, 1989, charged with violating the National Security Law, [associated with Incheon Workers' Group].

KIM Yoon-mi: Handok Watches Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE In-ja: Handok Watches Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Seong-sook: Handok Watches Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

PARK Mi-ae: Handok Watches Company, dismissed worker, arrested on April 28, 1990.
PARK Oh-soon: Handok Watches Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business.
LEE Jae-koo: Ilkoon Counseling Center, charged with violating the National Security Law.
MOON Jin-hyun: Ilkoon Counseling Center, charged with violating the National Security Law.
PARK Kwi-young: Ilkoon Counseling Center, charged with violating the National Security Law.
JUNG Chang-kyo: Incheon Trade Union Council, statistics officer, arrested on January 31, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. [Law on Assembly and Demonstration, not the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.]
CHO Tae-cheon: Incheon Trade Union Council, vice-president, arrested on May 19, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.
LEE Sang-mok: Incheon Labor Counseling Center, [arrested April 13, 1989], charged with violating the National Security Law.
YANG Jae-deok: Incheon Labor Counseling Center, president, [arrested April 13, 1990], charged with violating the National Security Law.
CHANG Il-su: Jindo Co. (Metal), convention delegate, arrested on July 20, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.
OH Hye-ran: Jinsung Electronics Company, educational director, arrested on May 13, 1990, charged with obstructing business.
YOON Hwa-sim: Jinsung Electronics Company, president, arrested on May 13, 1990, charged with obstructing business.
CHAE Joong-young: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
CHAE Sung-choon [noted as **Sung-joon**]: Kyungdong Industry (Metal), [charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference," sentenced to three years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].
CHOI Yong-jin: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
CHOI Un-kyu: Kyungdong Industry (Metal), [charged with abetting suicide, obstructing business and committing physical violence, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].
KIM Nam-pil: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
KIM Sang-yong: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
LEE Jae-kwon: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
LEE Jae-min: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
LEE Kun-tak: Kyungdong Industry (Metal) Union, charged with obstructing business, [also charged with "third-party interference," sentenced to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].
LEE Young-hwan: Kyungdong Industry (Metal), [charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference," sentenced to two years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].

LEE Young-sik: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
OH Dong-jin: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
PARK Ji-hoon: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
PARK Sun-tae: Kyungdong Industry (Metal), [charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference," sentenced to four years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].
PARK Young-oh: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
SUH Kwang-il: Kyungdong Industry (Metal)
WON Hong-sik: Kyungdong Industry (Metal), [charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference," sentenced to two years' imprisonment, being held at Youngdungpo].
YOON Pil-koo: Kochang Industry Company, president, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.
AHN Joong-joon: Kyungdong Industry Company, charged with abetting suicide (Criminal Code) and committing physical violence. [Kyungdong Industrial Union, arrested on February 21, 1990, charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference," being held in Incheon.]
CHOI Sung-choon: Kyungdong Industry Company, charged with abetting suicide (Criminal Code) and committing physical violence.
AHN Sun-ha: Myungsung Electronics (Metal), education officer.
KIM Ki-ja: Myungsung Electronics (Metal), president.
PARK Sun-sook: Myungsung Electronics (Metal), general secretary.
CHOI Dong-sik: Namil Metal Co., president.
IM Nak-bin: Samwon Plastic Company
SEOK Jung-nam: Sunmi Industry Company, female affairs director.
LEE Eon-young: Union of Construction, president, arrested on June 30, 1990, charged with obstructing business.
LEE Hyung-jin: Workers' Center, manager, [arrested on April 13, 1990], charged with violating the National Security Law.

SEONGNAM CITY

YANG Hee-soo: Rank-and-file worker, charged with technical interference with police operations.
KANG Kwan-hoi: Changsung Precision Company, rank-and-file worker, charged with technical interference with police operations.
KIM Hyun-joong: Hanyang Rubber, education director, [charged with obstructing business and forging private documents, being held in Sungdong].
YOON Yong-joo: Kookdong Company, deputy president, charged with falsification of private document (regarding his educational background) [Criminal Code].
LEE Joo-wan: Nassau, education director, [charged with forging private documents].
LEE Yong-keun: Nassau, dismissed worker.
SON Kil-soo: OPC (Metal), president [and chairman of the Sunnam Noryon, charged with "third-party interference," being held in Suwon].

JUNG Doo-wan: Pongkook Company, former dispute officer, charged with obstructing business and technical interference with police operations. [Charges listed as obstructing business, violating Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and forging private documents; being held in Sungdong.]

OH Haeng-seon: Pongkook Company, former general secretary, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, [being held in Sungdong].

BAE Dae-yul: Shani Cake Bakery (Chemical), arrested on May 1, 1989, charged with deprivation of arms, [being held in Anyang].

HAN Kang-sik: Sung Ji Precision, president.

JUN Dong-woon: Samho Company, president, arrested on May 9, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SEO Hee-young: Samho Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SOH Jae-bong: Samho Company, arrested on June 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

YOON Sang-son: Samho Company, arrested on June 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

MYUNG Sung-kyu: Sungnam Bags Workshop Area Trade Union, rank-and-file worker, charged with technical interference with police operations.

PARK Jin-koo: Sungnam Bags Workshop Area Trade Union, president, charged with committing physical violence and technical interference with police operations.

PARK Jin-hyun: Sungnam Workers' House, education director, arrested on February 27, 1990, charged under the National Security Law.

YOO Hwan-rae: Sungnam Workers' House, education director, arrested on March 1, 1990, charged under the National Security Law.

KYUNGKI-NAMBU

PARK Chul-min: labor movement activist, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and deprivation of arms.

KIM Jong-wan: Ansan Workers' House, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

KIM Jong-kwan: Ansan Workers' House, arrested on November 23, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Phan-doll: Ansan Workers' House, officer.

LEE Si-jung: Anyang Electronics, [charged with "third-party interference"].

BAEK Da-rye: Anyang Electronics, president, [charged with obstructing business].

LEE Hee-jung: Anyang Trade Union Center, general secretary, arrested on November 23, 1989, charged with "third-party interference."

OH Byung-chan: Baejoo Industry Co., rank-and-file worker, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and deprivation of arms.

KIM Tae-yeon: Baemyung Metal Co., president, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and abetting suicide.

CHOI Sook-joo: Chonnohyop, officer for the Ansan District, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and deprivation of arms.

KIM Ki-whan: Chonnohyop, officer for the Ansan District, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and deprivation of arms.

KANG Yun-hee: Daesin Electronics, rank-and-file worker, [charged with obstructing business].

LEE Young-hee: Daewoo Electronics, president, arrested on January 23, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHUN Kyei-ryong: Dukboo Jinheong Co., president, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and abetting suicide.

YOO Mi-kyung: Haetae Dye Works, president, charged with obstructing business.

JOO Sel-lak: Hanchang Co.

LEE Jae-hee: Hanchang Co.

KIM Hee-sung: Kyungwon, arrested on October 17, 1989, charged with technical interference with police operations.

CHOI Yoon-bong: Kongyoung Engineering Company, president, charged with obstructing business.

KANG Woo-pil: Kongyoung Engineering Company, arrested on April 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business, [and committing physical violence, arrested on April 25, 1990].

KIM Ho-joong: Kongyoung Engineering Company, arrested on April 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business, [and committing physical violence, arrested on April 25, 1990].

KIM Man-il: Korea-Seakrit Co.

LEE Si-jeong: Kyungki Province Union Center, general secretary, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Doh-kil: Kyungwoo Leather Co., president, arrested on September 14, 1990, charged with technical interference with police duties, Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and abetting suicide.

KIM Mi-sook: Oslo Electronics Company, dispute officer, arrested on May 2, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence. [Arrest date listed as May 4.]

KIM Ok-soon: Oslo Electronics Company, president, arrested on May 2, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence. [Arrest date listed as May 4.]

SHIN Hyang-kyung: Oslo Electronics Company, rank-and-file worker, arrested on May 2, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence. [Arrest date listed as May 4.]

WHANG Dae-hyun: Samjung Pulp Co., president, arrested in June 1990 (?), charged with obstructing business.

Name unknown: Samjung Pulp Co., organizing officer, charged with obstructing business.

CHOI Young-soo: Samryuk Machinery, president, [charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, being held in Suwon].

PARK Kong-woo: Samsung Electronics (Metal), dismissed worker, [charged with "third-party interference"].

LEE Mi-sook: Sankyo Precision (Metal), president, arrested on December 21, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Seong-ok: Shinho Paper Mill, vice-president, arrested in June 1990 (?), charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and obstructing business.

KIM Boon-jong: TND Company (Metal), president, [charged with obstructing business].

KANG Young-joo: Won Electronics, organization director.

CHUN Sam-soo: Won Electronics, president, charged with obstructing business. [Also on the list as **JUN Sam-soo**, additionally charged with committing physical violence.]

BAEK Sung-hwa: Won Electronics (Metal).

KWON Yong-ho: Yoosin Heavy Electrical, general secretary, arrested on November 23, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

PARK Jong-won: Yakurt Company, director of the Pyungtaek branch, charged with obstructing business.

PUCHON

CHOI Mi-ja: Bosung Electronics, information officer, arrested on July 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Soo-wah: Bosung Electronics, dispute officer, arrested on July 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Mi-ja: Bosung Electronics, inspector, arrested on July 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

PARK Young-mi: Bosung Electronics, vanguard director, arrested on July 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SUH Soon-lim: Bosung Electronics, information officer, arrested on July 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHO Sung-wook: Cerart Company, education director, arrested on June 7, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

HAN Hoo-ja: Cerart Company, vice-president, arrested on June 7, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

JEON Mal-jin: Cerart Company, president, arrested on June 7, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHA Kyu-keon: Cerite Company, general secretary, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

LEE Jang-han: Cerite Company, general secretary, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

WON Young-han: Cerite Company, cultural activities officer, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

HAN Kyung-suk: Chonnohyop, president, arrested on June 14, 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and Law on Assembly and Demonstration and committing physical violence.

LEE Byung-chul: Doosung Industry Company (Metal), rank-and-file worker, [charged with committing physical violence, obstructing business].

YOON Ki-soo: Doosung Industry Company (Metal), auditor, [charged with committing physical violence, obstructing business].

SON Eun-hyun: Doosung Industry Company (Metal), president, [charged with committing physical violence, obstructing business].

OH Hyun-jin: Dukchang Industry Company

CHA Nam-hong: Dukchang Industry Company, director.

LEE Soo-chan: Dongyang Elevator Company, general secretary, arrested on May 9, 1990, charged with Special Law against Firebombs.

PARK Seong-kyu: Dongyang Elevator Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

PARK Seong-ryong: Dongyang Elevator Company, education director, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

SO Soon-hong: Dongyang Elevator Company, rank-and-file worker, arrested on May 9, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

PARK Jong-moon: Hanyang Precision Company, general secretary, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

CHEON Young-sin: Heungyang Company, dispute director, arrested on May 24, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

JUNG Kyung-hwa: Heungyang Company, vice-president, arrested on May 24, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

IM Mi-ran: Heungyang Company, general secretary, arrested on May 24, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

PARK Mi-kyung: Heungyang Company, president, arrested on May 24, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Yong-keon: Puchon Dismissed Workers' Association, president, arrested on May 24, 1990, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Sang-bin: Puchon Labor Institute, arrested on May 9, 1990, charged with violating Special Law against Firebombs.

CHOI Deok-hee: Poongwon Electronics Company, education officer, arrested on May 10, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Cheol-young: Sejin Communication Company, president, arrested on June 7, 1990, charged with falsification of public documents (Criminal Code).

HONG Kyung-ho: Yoosung Company, general secretary, arrested on May 21, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Dong-am: Yoosung Company, president, arrested on May 21, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

TAEJON

LEE Dong-ho: Daesung Traffic Service Company, arrested on March 28, 1990, charged with committing physical violence.

MIN Byung-soo: Daesung Traffic Service Company, arrested on March 28, 1990, charged with committing physical violence.

CHEONAN

SONG Nam-ki: Cheonan Dye., vice-president.

CHUNGJU

PARK Mi-soon: AMK Company, union activist, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

PARK Pil-soon: AMK Company, vice-president, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

JEONPUK

LEE Seon-jae: labor movement activist [Jeonpuk Labor Association Preparation Committee], arrested on February 1, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

CHO Sung-hoon: Hyundai Motor Service, president. [Also listed as Jo Seong-ho, arrested on February 1, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.]

JIN Doo-hwan: Plant Company, vanguard team member, arrested on January 23, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and committing physical violence.

BAEK Nam-soo: Sun Electronics, [charged with obstructing business].

CHOI Ki-hwa: Sungil Manufacturing Company, president, arrested on May 23, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KWANGJU

KIM Doo-hwan: Daewoo Carrier Company (Metal), president [Chunbok Noryon, plant].

LEE Sang-hoe: Daewoo Carrier Company (Metal), president.

LEE Seung-hui: Daewoo Carrier Company (Metal), president.

PARK Jong-hyun: Daewoo Carrier Company (Metal), president, arrested on December 27, 1989, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [charges listed as obstructing business and physical violence, being held in Kwangju.]

JUNG Soon-mi: [also listed as Soon-im], Kemsung Alps Company, vice-president, arrested on April 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violation of Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

KIM Cheon: Kemsung Alps Company, general secretary, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Soon-im: Kemsung Alps Company, president, arrested on December 27, 1989, charged with obstructing business, violation of Law on Assembly and Demonstration, and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

OH Yeo-ok: Kemsung Alps Company, education officer, arrested in April 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violation of Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

TAEGU

SHIN Ki-bok: Daedong Industry Company (Metal), president.

LEE Beom-kyu: Daeha Dyeing Company, vice-president,

PARK Soon-deok: Daeha Dyeing Company, general secretary, arrested on May 14, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

PARK Young-bae: Daeha Dyeing Company, president, arrested on May 14, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

HONG Seong-koo: Daesung Precision Company, president, arrested on May 14, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SEOL Tae-koo: Dongsan Bearings Company, president, arrested on May 7, 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and obstructing business.

KIM Hyun-cheol: Dongwon Metal Company, president, arrested on April 10, 1990, charged with violation of Law on Assembly and Demonstration and Special Law against Firebombs. [Minkahyup lists his charges as violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and committing physical violence and his arrest date as April 14.]

LEE Yu-whung: Kangjin Manufacturing Co.

YOO Young-yong: Korea M.B.I. (Textile), president, arrested on February 26, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. [Mingahyup identifies the company as L.B.I., the arrest as February 8, 1989, and the charge as committing physical violence.]

PARK Min-ho: Namyong Textile, president.

CHOI Byung-won: Namseon Manufacturing Company, vice-president, arrested on May 30, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHOI Han-soo: Namseon Manufacturing Company, acting president, arrested on August 31, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

CHUN Sung-tae: Namseon Manufacturing Company, dispute director, arrested on August 31, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

HONG Hoo-ki: Namseon Manufacturing Company, director, arrested on May 30, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KOH Tae-kwon: Namseon Manufacturing Company, president, arrested on July 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business, and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

LEE Jae-yeol: Namseon Manufacturing Company, director of branch, arrested on July 17, 1990, charged with obstructing business, and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

LEE Jung-rim: Namseon Manufacturing Company, director, arrested on May 30, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Sung-hae: Namseon Manufacturing Company, education director, arrested on August 31, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Wol-nyeo: Sangkong Electronics Company, organization director, arrested on April 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business. [Arrest date given as April 28, being held in Taegu.]

AHN Byung-man: Taehwa Dyeing Company, general secretary, arrested on May 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

KIM Joo-kap: Taehwa Dyeing Company, dispute officer, arrested on May 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Joon-tae: Taehwa Dyeing Company, auditor, arrested on May 14, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Tae-ki: Taehwa Dyeing Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 14, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KWON Seok-ho: Taehwa Dyeing Company, vice-president, arrested on June 1, charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Myung-hwa: Taehwa Dyeing Company, female affairs director, arrested on May 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and physical violence.

LEE Myung-jae: Taehwa Dyeing Company, vice-president, arrested on May 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SEO Choong-jin: Taegu Workers Association, director, arrested on May 19, 1990, charged with violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

KUMI

KIM Jung-won: Pohang Dongjin Manufacturing Company, former president, charged with obstructing business [and "third-party interference," arrested in April 1990].

JANG Mi-jung: Hankook Sinix Company, arrested on May 8, 1990, charged with falsification of private documents (educational background).

CHO Myung-rae: Pohang Saehan Electronics Company, statistics director, arrested on May 8, 1990, charged with falsification of private documents (educational background).

POHANG, KYUNGJU

HUH Young: labor movement activist, charged with interference with police operations.

LEE Hee-chang: Chosun Ceramics Company, dismissed laborer, charged with violation of Special Law against Firebombs.

BAE Young-jin: Daedong Steel Company, education officer, charged with technical interference with police operations, [arrested on April 9, 1990, being held in Taegu].

KIM Chan-soo: Hyosung Textile, auditor.

KIM Kyo-jung: Hyosung Textile, auditor.

LEE Byung-soo: Hyosung Textile, auditor, ["third-party interference," being held in Taegu].

PARK Joo-chul: Hyosung Textile, auditor.

JOO Sang-joon: Heunghwa Manufacturing Company, rank-and-file worker, arrested on November 1, 1989, charged with falsification of public documents, [being held in Taegu].

HAN Eu-keun: Hyundai Metal Complex Company, charged with falsification of public documents, [arrested in March 1990, being held in Taegu].

JANG Young-tae: Jecheol Facilities Company, president, charged with violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, obstructing business and "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [arrested on June 5, 1989, being held in Kangteung].

KWON Oh-man: Kangwon Industry (Metal), president, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

CHOI Young-min: Kangwon Industry (Metal), acting president, charged with obstructing business.

JUNG Kwang-soo: Kangwon Industry (Metal), education director, charged with obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Yoo-hyung: Kwangjin Enterprise Company, president, charged with violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, [arrested on April 9, 1990, being held in Taegu].

JUNG Tae-young: Kyungjoo Daeha Taxi Company, former president, arrested on May 28, 1990, charged with interference with police operation and violation of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

KIM Chang-joo: Poongsan, welfare officer.

KWON Young-kook: Poongsan, education director, charged with committing physical violence and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. [Arrested on January 2, 1989, being held in Jangheung, charges listed as obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.]

CHUNG Jong-kil: Poongsan Metal Industry, president, charged with committing physical violence and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law. [Arrested on January 2, 1989, being held in Andong, charges listed as obstructing business and violation of the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.]

KIM Doo-seong: Pohang Boiler Company, president, arrested on June 4, 1990, charged with committing physical violence and obstructing business.

PARK Chang-ho: Pohang Workers' House, director, charged with interference with police operations.

JO Myung-lae: Sanhan Electronics

CHANG Young-tae: Sujin.

CHOI Jin-shik: Sujin, president.

CHOO Yun-man: Sujin.

KIM Byung-koo: Sujin.

LEE Sang-mo: Sujin.

LEE Sun-hee: Sujin.

PUSAN

LEE Sung-do: Chonnohyop, chairman, arrested on June 12, 1990, charged with "third-party interference."

CHOI Nak-yoon: Copart Company, acting president, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHOI Sang-kook: Copart Company, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

IM Chul-jin: Copart Company, director of the vanguard team, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

JOO U-jong: Copart Company, officer of the vanguard team, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

JUNG Dae-shik: Copart Company, general secretary, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KANG Sun-jin: Copart Company, president, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Sung-tae: Copart Company, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SONG Wang-joon: Copart Company, dispute director, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

YU Choong-ki: Copart Company, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

PARK Tae-chun: Copart Company, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

YU Choong-ki: Copart Company, arrested on August 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHA Sang-keun: Dongsin Chemical Company, president.

IM Yo-taek: Dongsin Chemical Company

LEE Sang-kyu: Haehan Shipbuilding Company, arrested on May 1, 1990, charged with violating the Special Law against Firebombs. [Charge listed as violating the Labor Disputes Adjustment Law.]

LEE Mi-kyung: Hwasung (Textile), president, arrested on January 29, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law. [Arrest date noted as February 1990, charged with committing physical violence, being held in Pusan.]

KIM Dae-keon: Hyosung Taxi Company, president, arrested on June 5, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Sung-hee: Ilkook Workers' Library, arrested on January 29, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

PARK Hyun-yul: Ilsong Precision Company, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with violating the Special Law against Firebombs. [Charge listed as violation the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.]

KIM Young-joon: Manho Steel Mill, president, [charged with committing physical violence].

KIM In-kyu: Poongsan Metal Industry, delegate, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Jin-hak: Poongsan Metal Industry, organizing director, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Kook-kyung: Poongsan Metal Industry, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Myung-sil: Poongsan Metal Industry, delegate, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Young-il: Poongsan Metal Industry, vice-president, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KWAK Sung-il: Poongsan Metal Industry, culture director, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Ho-woo: Poongsan Metal Industry, delegate, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Jin-soo: Poongsan Metal Industry, delegate, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Sang-woon: Poongsan Metal Industry, delegate, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Yang-soo: Poongsan Metal Industry, communication director, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SHIN Gil-whu: Poongsan Metal Industry, athletic director, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

SONG Woon-jin: Poongsan Metal Industry, arrested on September 11, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Jin-sook: Pusan Workers' Association, president, arrested on June 1, 1990, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

NHO Chang-kyu: Samsung Industry Company, president, arrested on May 31, 1990, charged with obstructing business and violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

ULSAN

(excluding Hyundai Workers, who are listed separately below)

CHO Yoo-shik: labor movement activist, charged with violation of the National Security Law, arrested in January 1990 and sentenced in September to two years' imprisonment.

CHUNG Dae-hwa: labor movement activist, charged with violation of the National Security Law, [arrested in January 1990], sentenced (date unknown) to 24 months' imprisonment.

KIM Jong-seop: labor movement activist, charged with violation of the National Security Law.

KANG Bong-jin: Daesung Development Company, arrested on May 2, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operation.

JUNG Ho-young: Dongyang Nylon Company, former education director, [arrested in August 1989, charged with obstructing business and being held in Pusan].

LEE Yong-ryul: Dongyang Nylon Company, former president, [arrested in August 1989, charged with obstructing business, being held in Pusan].

KWAK Tak-sung: Sejong Industry, rank-and-file worker, charged with falsification of private documents (educational background), [arrested in February 1990].

YANG Dong-joo: Yooil Manufacturing Company, former president, charged with falsification of private documents (educational background).

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KIM Seon-joong: charged with falsification of private documents (educational background), [arrested in March 1990].

IM Chae-jung: labor movement activist, arrested in January 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, [arrested on March 8, 1990, affiliated with the Kyungnohyop].

PARK Chang-seok: Association of day laborers, president, arrested on July 26, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operations.

KIM Ki-chul: Booyoung Engineering.

PARK Eun-tae: Booyoung Engineering.

YOO Byung-tae: Booyoung Engineering.

SEONG Myung-heon: Bong-am Company, arrested on March 3, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

SON Taek-man: Bong-am Company, arrested on March 5, 1990, charged with committing physical violence, [being held in Masan].

LEE Bong-joo: Carbreaker Company, president, arrested in July 1990 (?), charged with obstructing business.

SHIN Yong-jung: Carburetor Company, dispute officer, charged with violating the Special Law against Firebombs, [arrested on May 3, 1990, in connection with the Lee Yong-il funeral rally].

HUH Tae-kwan: Changwon Air Conditioner Company, arrested on March 5, 1990, charged with committing physical violence, [being held in Masan].

CHOI Je-woo: Daelim Automobile Company, arrested in June 1990 (?), charged with committing physical violence and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

HONG Ji-wook: Daelim Automobile Company, arrested in August 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

JO Hyun-joon: Daelim Automobile Company, organization officer, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

KIM Yoon-soo: Daelim Automobile Company, communication director, arrested on March 16, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KO Young-tae: Daelim Automobile Company, education director, arrested on August (?) 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Seung-pil: Daelim Automobile Company, president, arrested on March 8, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration. [Minkahyup listed charge as violating the National Security Law.]

SHIN Duk-woo: Daewon Company (Metal), president, [arrested on May 26, 1989, being held in Andong].

JOO Yun-ok: Dongkyung Electronics Company, president, arrested on March 13, 1990, [being held in Masan].

KIM Jung-ja: Dongkyung Electronics Company, vice-president, arrested on March 13, 1990, [being held in Masan].

CHOI Mi-yang: Dongyang Metal Company, arrested on March 12, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KIM Pil-hyun: Dukyang Industry Company

BYUN Hwa-seok: Goldstar (Metal), branch director, arrested on June 8, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and committing physical violence, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Andong].

HA Tae-wook: Goldstar (Metal), [arrested on June 8, 1989, sentenced to a two-year prison term, being held in Mokpo].

KIM Hyun-shik: Goldstar (Metal), rank-and-file worker, charged with violating the National Security Law.

LEE Kyun-ha: Goldstar (Metal). [Arrested on May 26, 1989, sentenced to a two-year prison term, being held in Soonchun].

PARK Won-joo: Goldstar Industrial Elec. Company, dismissed worker, arrested on February 5, 1990.

KIM Heong-suk: Hankook Hotcoil Company, convention delegate, charged with violating the National Security Law.

HONG Yeo-po: Hyosung Heavy Industry, branch director, arrested on July 5, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and committing physical violence, [being held in Pusan].

PARK Sang-oh: Hyosung Heavy Industry, [arrested June 30, 1989, being held in Pusan].

SUH Woo-keun: Hyosung Heavy Industry, arrested on June 30, 1989, charged with violating the National Security Law, [being held in Pusan].

LEE Chang-sub: Hyosung Machinery, [arrested in September 26, 1989, being held in Mokpo].

JOO Jin-sung: Hyundai Precision Company, arrested on August 30, 1990, charged with committing physical violence.

KIM Je-kab: Hyundai Precision Company, arrested on August 30, 1990, charged with committing physical violence.

KIM Jung-myung: Hyundai Precision (Metal) Company, organizing director, arrested on August 30, 1990, charged with "third party interference."

KIM Kook-han: Hyundai Precision Company, arrested on September 21, 1990, charged with "third-party interference."

KIM Sang-hap: Hyundai Precision (Metal), arrested on June 2, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and committing physical violence, [sentenced to a two year jail term, being held in Mokpo].

LEE Jung-ho: Hyundai Precision (Metal).

LEE Jae-koo: Ilkook Labor Center, director, arrested on March 5, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law [and committing physical violence, being held in Masan].

MOON Jin-hun: Ilkook Labor Center, director, arrested on March 5, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, [arrest date as April 4].

PARK Ki-young: Ilkook Labor Center, director, arrested on March 5, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, [and committing physical violence, being held in Masan].

KIM Hong-joon: Ilsun Industry Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 3, 1990, [in connection with the Lee Yong-il funeral rally].

KIM Yong-sook: Ilsun Industry Company, convention delegate, arrested on May 10, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

PARK Young-soon: Joongchun Company, general secretary, arrested on December 18, 1989, charged with obstructing business, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term].

JUNG Kwang-sik: Kia Manufacturing Company, rank-and-file worker, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

CHUN Doll-ja: Korea Star (Electronics, Japanese-owned), arrested on August 29, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHUN Yoon-hee: Korea Star (Electronics, Japanese-owned), ex-president, arrested on August 29, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing violence.

MIN Jung-sook: Korea Star (Electronics, Japanese-owned), general secretary, arrested on August 31, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing violence.

SON Sung-ran: Korea Star (Electronics, Japanese-owned), president, arrested on August 29, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing violence.

CHOI Dae-won: Korea Takoma (Shipbuilding), president.

LEE Chang-hoon: Korea Takoma (Shipbuilding), rank-and-file worker, charged with violating the Special Law against Firebombs.

LEE Heung-suk: Korea Takoma (Shipbuilding), president, Ma-chang, arrested on April 27, 1989, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [being held in Hongsung].

CHUNG Min-soo: Korex Sports Company, arrested on July 26, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operations.

JUN Chang-hyun: Korex Sports Company, dismissed worker, arrested on April 1, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

SON Soon-do: Korex Sports Company, disputes director, arrested on August 16, 1990, charged with obstructing business and "third-party interference."

JUNG Sang-cheol: Machang Council of Trade Unions, acting president, arrested on May 22, 1990, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Jong-yup: Machang Council of Trade Unions, acting president, arrested on March 31, 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and obstructing business. [Minkahyup lists his charge as violation of the National Security Law.]

BAEK Seung-man: Pusan Industry Machine.

CHO Kwang-hyun: Pusan Industry Machine.

KIM Sung-bae: Poongsung Electricity Company, arrested on June 8, 1990, charged with falsification of private documents (educational background).

PARK Hee-keun: Sammi Metal Company

SUH Il-bum: Sebang Electronics.

YOO Eun-soon: Soyo Enterprise, president.

KIM Jung-im: TC Company, president, arrested on December 1, 1989, charged with committing physical violence, [being held in Masan].

LEE Yon-sil: TC Company, vice-president, arrested on December 1, 1989, charged with committing physical violence, [being held in Masan].

CHUNG Ki-ho: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker, arrested on October 31, 1989, charged with obstructing business, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Masan].

IM Jong-ho: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), convention delegate, arrested on April 24, 1989, charged with arson, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Andong].

IM Soo-kwan: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), arrested on August 22, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law and obstructing business.

JIN Soon-chan: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested).

JIN Young-kyu: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), acting president, arrested on October 18, 1989, charged with committing physical violence and violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to two-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Masan].

LEE Bong-woo: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested).

LEE Ho-sung: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), arrested August 22, 1990.

LYU Hae-choon: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker, arrested on September 21, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a two-year prison term, being held in Masan].

MOON Sung-hyun: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker and former president, arrested on April 22, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term].

PARK Choon-yul: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker, arrested on September 21, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a two-year prison term, being held in Masan].

SHIN Chun-sub: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker, arrested on October 31, 1989, charged with obstructing business, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Masan].

SHIN Sang-hwan: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), organization director, arrested on October 31, 1989, charged with obstructing business, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Masan].

SONG Min-seok: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), organizational director, arrested on September 21, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a two-year prison term].

YANG Eon-cheol: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), organization officer, charged with violating the Special Law against Firebombs.

YEO Young-guk: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), dismissed worker, arrested on November 1, 1989, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year prison term, being held in Masan].

YOO Soo-jong: Tong-il Company (Unification Church-invested), general secretary, arrested on October 31, 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, [sentenced to a one-year prison term, being held in Masan].

JANG Suk-kyo: Wooyoung Industry Company, [arrested in March 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, associated with the Nodong Danche Shilmuja (Workers' Group Affairs), may have been released in June].

KEOJE ISLAND

IM Bok-je: Daewoo Shipbuilding Company, union activist, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Myung-ha: Daewoo Shipbuilding Company, union activist, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

SHIN Yoo-sik: Daewoo Shipbuilding Company, union activist, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

SOH Soon-sam: Daewoo Shipbuilding Company, union activist, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

BYUN Sung-joon: Samsung Shipbuilding Company, arrested on June 21, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

KO Jae-kwun: Samsung Shipbuilding Company, arrested on June 22, 1990, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

LEE Kyo-woo: Samsung Shipbuilding Company, president, arrested on June 21, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law.

TAEBAEK

KIM Chang-wan: Dongwon Coal Mine, [charged with violating the Kuangsan Security Law and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and obstructing business].

YOO Sang-yul: Dongwon Coal Mine, [charged with violating the Kuangsan Security Law and the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and obstructing business].

BAEK Hyung-keon: Hanbo Mine, arrested on July 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

CHANG Sung-ku: Hanbo Mine, dismissed worker, arrested on July 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

CHO Sung-koon: Hanbo Mine, arrested on July 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

CHOI Heong-kyung: Hanbo Mine, arrested on July 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

LEE Mok: Hanbo Mine, arrested on July 25, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

BAE Jin: Miners' Association, president, arrested on August 13, 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, obstructing business, and committing physical violence.

CHUNG Moon-ho: Miners' Association, member, arrested on August 6, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, obstructing business, and committing physical violence.

KIM Hong-dae: Miners' Association, member, arrested on August 8, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, obstructing business, and committing physical violence.

CHO Yong-il: Miners' Association, charged with violating the National Security Law.

JUN Mi-young: Kuangsan Miners' Association, charged with violating the National Security Law.

CHANG Dong-chul: Kyungdong Mine, arrested on July 24, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHUNG Woon-hwan: Samchuk Coal Mine.

WON Ki-joon: Samchuk Coal Mine, [charged with violating the National Security Law and the ban on "third-party interference"].

CHUNKYOJO

(Korean National Teachers and Educational Workers Union)

AHN Jong-bok: Masan Vocational High School, arrested on March 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

CHOI Yun-ho: Taegu Shimin Middle School, arrested on April 27, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration and committing physical violence.

KANG Sin-oh: Incheon Myungsin Female High School, arrested on April 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business and committing physical violence.

KIM Bang-sik: Incheon Myungsin Female High School, arrested on April 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM In-kyo: Suhsan Seopo Middle School, arrested on July 15, 1990, charged with interference with police operation.

KO Heung-deok: Incheon Myungsin Female High School, arrested on April 12, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KWON Bok-kyung: Pusan Branch, arrested on May 11, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

KWON Kyung-bok: Pusan Sungdo High School, arrested on May 12, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.

LEE Young-joo: Sachun Seopo Middle School, arrested on March 27, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

LIM Il-taek: Masan branch, arrested on May 11, 1990.

PARK Jung-keon: Kyungki Province Branch, director, arrested on May 11, 1990, charged with violating the Law on Assembly and Demonstration.
SHIN Hyen-kyung: arrested May 11, 1990.

KOREAN BROADCASTING SYSTEM (KBS) UNION

AHN Deok-sang: emergency committee member, charged with obstructing business.
AHN Dong-soo: former president, charged with obstructing business.
CHA Hyung-hoon: planning officer, emergency committee, arrested on August 14, 1990, charged with interference with police operation and physical violence.
CHOI Chang-hoon: dispute director, charged with obstructing business, [arrested May 7, 1990].
JUN Young-il: director, charged with obstructing business.
JUNG Hee-chun
KIM Cheol-soo: president, charged with obstructing business.
KIM Jung-yuk
KIM Man-seok: reporter, charged with obstructing business, [arrested May 2, 1990].
KIM Young-dal: organization director, charged with obstructing business.
KIM Yu-young
KO Beom-joon: general secretary, charged with obstructing business, [arrested May 7, 1990].
LEE Hyung-mo: emergency committee director, charged with obstructing business.
LEE Im-ho: director of the fair broadcast committee director, charged with obstructing business, [arrested May 2, 1990].
LEE Kyung-hee: director of female affairs, charged with obstructing business, [arrested May 2, 1990].
LEE Yang-hoon
OH San-keon
PARK Chan-uk
PARK Myung-chul
WHUN Chun-gun

KOREAN FEDERATION OF HOSPITAL WORKERS' UNIONS

CHA Soo-ryun: Hanyang University Hospital, president, charged with "third-party interference."
KIM Jin-han: Pohang Seonlin Hospital, director on industrial disputes, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law and obstructing business.
KIM Yoo-mee: Seoul National University Hospital, president, arrested on October 4, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

HYUNDAI WORKERS (ULSAN)

BAE Man-soo: Hyundai Automobile Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with interference with police operations and arson. On trial.

JUNG Kap-deuk: Hyundai Automobile Company, vanguard team member, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with interference with police operations and arson. On trial.

KIM Jong-jin: Hyundai Automobile Company, president, democratic association, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with interference with police operation and arson. On trial.

KIM Kang-hee: Hyundai Automobile Company, management committee member, arrested on May 3, 1990, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

KIM Sung-eon: Hyundai Automobile Company, convention delegate, arrested on June 3, 1990, charged with interference with police operations. On trial.

LEE Soo-won: Hyundai Automobile Company, union specialist, arrested on May 18, 1990, charged with committing physical violence. Sentenced in September to six months' imprisonment.

KANG Seong-cheol: Hyundai Heavy Equipment Company, organization director, arrested on May 23, 1990, charged with obstructing business.

KIM Hak-doo: Hyundai Heavy Equipment Company, president, arrested on May 15, 1990, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

CHOI Jung-ho: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, arrested on April 28, 1990, charged with technical interference with police operations. On trial.

CHOI Kap-yong: Hyundai Heavy Industry, rank-and-file worker, charged with technical interference with police operations. On trial.

CHUNG Young-min: Hyundai Heavy Industry (also listed as Young-bin), charged with obstructing business and violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law.

JANG Moon-ho: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

JO Don-hwui: Hyundai Heavy Industry, cultural activities officer, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

CHO Chu-nam: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

JUNG Young-bin: Hyundai Heavy Industry, female affairs officer, charged with committing violence and obstructing business.

KANG Seong-man: Hyundai Heavy Industry, arrested on May 7, 1990, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

KIM Nam-suk: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with violation of the National Security Law, sentenced to one years' imprisonment.

KIM Sang-hoon: Hyundai Heavy Industry, planning officer, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

KIM Won-pil: Hyundai Heavy Industry, dispute officer, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

KOO Young-sik: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

KWON Yong-mok: Hyundai Heavy Industry, chairman of Council of Hyundai Unions, arrested on March 1, 1990, charged with violating the "third-party interference" ban in the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, sentenced in September to two years' imprisonment.

LEE Bong-soo: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

LEE Jae-kwan: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, arrested on May 16, 1990, charged with obstructing business, sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

LEE Jung-seop: Hyundai Heavy Industry, rank-and-file worker, charged with technical interference with police operations. On trial.

LEE Kap-yong: Hyundai Heavy Industry, general secretary, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

LEE Won-kap: Hyundai Heavy Industry, former dispute director, charged with obstructing business.

LEE Won-keon: Hyundai Heavy Industry, strike leader, charged with committing physical violence and obstructing business, arrested in April 1989, charged with violating the Labor Dispute Adjustment Law, sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

LEE Young-hyun: Hyundai Heavy Industry, president, arrested in February 1990, charged with obstructing business, sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment.

PARK Dae-yong: Hyundai Heavy Industry, planning officer, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

PARK Seong-woo: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

SEO Pil-woo: Hyundai Heavy Industry, convention delegate, charged with obstructing business. On trial.

SEOL Nam-jong: Hyundai Heavy Industry, planning director, arrested in March 1990, charged with obstructing business, sentenced in September to one year's imprisonment.

WOO Ki-ha: Hyundai Heavy Industry, vice-president. On trial.

YOON Jae-keon: Hyundai Heavy Industry, organization director, charged with obstructing business, sentenced in September to one year's imprisonment.

KOO Ja-choon: Hyundai Wood Complex, former statistics director, arrested in February 1990, charged with violating the National Security Law, sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

LEE Young-do: Hyundai Wood Complex, president, arrested in March 1990, charged with obstructing business, sentenced in September to one year's imprisonment.

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF PUBLISHERS AND OTHERS JAILED IN CONNECTION WITH PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES, 1989-90.

This information was compiled in Korean by the Korea Publishing Culture Movement, a Seoul-based organization of publishers, for their May 1990 list and June 1990 report on the state of publishing in South Korea during President Roh's tenure. Additional names have been noted and the source is as cited. Unless otherwise specified, all persons named on the list were arrested or charged under the National Security Law.

1989

January 19:

CHOI Pil-seung: A representative of the Han Madang Publishing Company, he was sentenced on April 3, 1989 to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and Choi was released.

BAEK Yong: A representative of the Shinhak Munsa Publishing Company, he was sentenced on April 6, 1989 to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and Baek was released.

BAE Jung-kyu: Representative of the Daedong (Korea) Publishing Company, he was sentenced on April 6, 1989 to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and Bae was released.

February 9:

KIM Sung-jac: Head of the Hyungnungsa Publishing Company, which published *Biography of Kim Il-sung*, he was sentenced on May 24, 1989, to a one-year jail term and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

February 18:

KOH Kyu-tae: 30, a poet and representative of the Indong Publishing Company, he was sentenced on May 23, 1989, to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for three years, and he was released.

March 3:

KIM Yon-in: A representative of the Him (Power) Publishing Company, he was sentenced on June 22, 1989, to a one-year prison term; on October 19, his sentence was suspended, and he was released.

March 29:

JUNG Ji-suk: A representative of the Baekdu Publishing Company, he was sentenced on June 16, 1989, to a one-year prison term and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for three years, and he was released.

KANG Byung-sun: A representative of the Pulenseup Publishing Company, he was released on June 29, 1989 after receiving a suspended sentence.

April 7:

LEE Choon-ho: The police raided the Noon Publishing Company's offices and confiscated 4,000 copies of books. The authorities took Lee, a representative, and **SO Jung-chul** and **KIM Eun-kyo**, editors of the publishing company, for questioning. The next day, So and Kim were released, but Lee was formally arrested. The confiscated copies of the "Tong-il Shisunjib" were returned. Lee was released on June 22, 1989 after being given a suspended sentence.

May 2

PARK Kang-hui: Investigators of the Agency for National Security Planning raided the Nonjang Publishing Company's offices, confiscating nearly 2,000 copies of books. Park was apprehended as he was leaving his home for work; he was formally arrested on the next day. On July 10, the publishing company's offices were searched, and 3,000 copies of a book on Marx and Engel were seized. The next day, the police searched Park's home. On October 30, 1989, he was released on bail.

May 4:

CHOI Kwang-ryul: Investigators of the Agency for National Security Planning apprehended Choi, a representative of the Galmuji Publishing Company, as he was leaving his home to go to work. The investigators raided the publishing company's offices and confiscated nearly 1,000 copies of books. Choi was indicted on September 27, 1989. On October 24, Choi was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civil rights; the sentence was suspended for three years, and Choi was released.

May 26:

KIM Sa-in and IM Kyu-chan: An editor and a representative (respectively) of the Labor Literature Company, Kim and Im were taken in for questioning. Investigators attached to the Agency for National Security Planning raided the publishing company's offices and confiscated the June issues of the *Labor Liberation Literature* magazine and documents. Kim and Im were formally arrested on May 29. On September 18, they were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civil rights. Their sentences were suspended for three years, and they were released.

May 30:

PARK Jong-kyu, YU Hwan-ok, and LEE Sang-dong, representative, business manager and editor, respectively, of the Baek Book Publishing Company, they were taken in for questioning after police raided the company's offices. On June 1, the three men were booked on charges without physical detention.

June 7:

KIM Jae-wan: A representative of the Ohweol (May) Book Publishing Company, Kim was taken in for questioning after police raided the company's offices. The authorities confiscated publications and documents belonging to the company. Kim was formally arrested the next day. On September 22, he was released on a suspended sentence.

June 22:

KIM Sun-ho: A representative of the Yul Salam Publishing Company, he was taken in for questioning along with ten other employees of the publishing company. Kim was formally arrested the next day; the rest were released. The publishing company's offices were also raided and books confiscated. Kim was released on October 6, 1989 on a suspended sentence.

June 23:

NOH Seung-il: A representative of the Geunal (Some Day) Publishing Company, Noh was arrested for publishing the books, *Reform and Reunification* and *Present Society and New Understanding*. On June 23, police also raided nine Seoul bookstores, and 196 copies of books were confiscated. Noh was found guilty.

June 26:

KIM Chun-ki: Publisher of the *Together with Farmers* magazine, Kim was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law because the magazine contained articles on North Korea's agricultural policy. He was convicted in late 1989 to two years' imprisonment and was jailed.

LEE Sam-haeng: a writer for the *Together with Farmers* magazine, Lee was arrested along with Kim Joon-ki and was later released on a suspended sentence.

YU Si-keun: A representative of the Arirang Publishing Company, Yu was taken in for questioning and formally arrested two days later. The publishing company's offices were raided, and 1,700 copies of two books were confiscated. On October 12, 1989, he was given a suspended sentence and released.

July 4:

IM Seung-nam: A representative of the Dolbaegae (Stone Pillow) Publishing Company, Im was taken in for questioning. On October 11, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights; his sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

KIM Yong-hang: A representative of the Onnuri Book Publishing Company, Kim was taken in for questioning. In the afternoon the publishing company's offices were raided, and 623 copies of *Bukhan Tongil Jungchaek Byunchunsa* were confiscated. Kim was formally arrested on October 5. On October 17, he was sentenced to a one-year prison term and one year's deprivation of civil rights; the sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

July 5:

JUNG Dong-ik: A representative of the Achim (Morning) Book Publishing Company, Jung was taken in for questioning following police raids of Achim and other publishing companies' offices which resulted in the confiscation of over 4,000 copies of North Korean books. Jung was formally arrested on July 7. On October 25, Jung was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights; the sentence was suspended for three years, and Jung was released.

July 7:

LEE Seung-chul: The authorities had raided the Hwangto Publishing Company's offices on July 5, and confiscated copies of the *Flower Selling Maiden*, a North Korean book. Lee was formally arrested on July 7. On October 20, 1989, he was sentenced to a three-year jail term, which was suspended for three years.

August 1:

KIM Yong-hwan: A representative of the Manduri bookstore in Incheon, Kim was arrested for allegedly continuing to sell North Korean books. On November 9, 1989, Kim was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights; the sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

August 4:

CHO Nam-il: A representative of the Juksan Publishing Company, Cho had been wanted for arrest in connection with his role in publishing *Celebration of Pyongyang (Pyongyang Chukjun)*. On August 6, Cho was formally arrested. On November 1, Cho was sentenced to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civil rights; the sentence was suspended for two years, and Cho was released.

August 9:

KIM Hong-jo, a representative, and **LEE Sang-woo,** an editor, of the Han Book Publishing Company were arrested for publishing *For New Life (Saesumul Wuihayul)* and *Essay on National Liberation, the Masses, Democracy and Revolution (Minjok haebang minjung minjuui hyukmyungnyon)*. On November 9, they were each sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's

deprivation of civil rights. Their sentences were suspended for two years, and they were released.

August 25:

CHO Sung-il, a representative, and **LEE Byung-hoon,** an editor, of the Namnyuk Book Publishing Company, were taken in for questioning following an August 21 raid of the company's offices. Cho and Lee were formally arrested the next day. They were released on suspended sentences. [No additional details given.]

August 29:

PARK Jong-kyu, a representative, and **LEE Sang-don,** an editor, of the Baek Book Publishing Company were apprehended at the home of the publishing company business manager's home by the investigators of the Agency for National Security Planning. Park and Lee were held for questioning and formally arrested the next day. The publishing company's offices were raided, and nearly 3,000 copies of books were confiscated. **KWAK Myung-dan,** an editor of the same company, had also been taken in for questioning on August 29 but was released the next day. Park was sentenced on December 1 to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights; his sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released. Lee was sentenced on the same day to eight months' imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights.

September 25:

CHOI Hae-sung: A representative of the Hamsung Book Publishing Company, Choi was taken in for questioning following a police raid of the publishing company's offices in which the authorities confiscated copies of *From Leningrad to Pyongyang* and company documents. **PARK Sang-sun,** an editor at Hamsung, was also taken in for questioning but released shortly thereafter. Choi was formally arrested the next day; he was released on December 29 on a suspended sentence.

October 4:

HONG Sa-yong: A representative of the Korean-American Culture Institute (Hanyoung Munhwasa), Hong was arrested for violation of the law on construction and buildings. He was released later [date not given].

October 7:

KANG Young-kil: A representative of the Taebaek Book Publishing Company and **SHIN Ha-seop,** a business manager of the Danggerae Book Publishing Company, were apprehended in front of their homes and taken in for questioning. Shin was released. Kang was formally arrested for his publishing activities on February 2, 1990, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civil rights. His sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

October 16:

LEE Jae-yeun: A representative of the Saenal (New Day) Book Publishing Company, Lee was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law following a police raid of the publishing company's offices. The authorities confiscated copies of books on Marxism and the labor movement. On February 2, 1990, Lee was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

October 23:

NAM Eun-kyung: An editor of the Daedong Book Publishing Company, Nam was taken in for questioning. On October 24, the police raided the company's offices and Nam's home and confiscated several books on reunification and people's revolution and formally arrested Nam. On February 1, 1990, Nam was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and one year's deprivation of civil rights. His sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

October 25:

KIM Young-jeung: A representative of the Sagaesul Book Publishing Company, Kim was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law after a police raid of the publishing company's offices. He was apprehended in front of his home. On January 25, 1990, he was sentenced to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment and deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

October 31:

LEE Ho-ung: A representative of the Hyungsungsa, Lee was taken in for questioning by the Inchon police. He was released on November 4, 1989.

November 17:

KWON Hyung-woo: A representative of the Maga Bookstore in Taegu, Kwon was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. He was released in February 1990 on a suspended sentence.

November 20:

LEE Wui-won: A representative of the Fiction Bookstore in Taejon, Lee was taken in for questioning after the police raided the bookstore and confiscated issues 3 and 4 of the *Working Class*. On March 3, 1990, he was sentenced to imprisonment. [No additional details available.]

November 23:

LEE Shi-young: Editor of the *Creation and Criticism* magazine, Lee was formally arrested on November 25 for his role in publishing a travelogue on North Korea. On February 3, 1990, he was released on bail.

November 29:

HA Tae-wan: A representative of Chungnyun Saedae (Young Generation), Ha was taken in for questioning after the police raided the company's office and confiscated 2,000 copies of the *Morning Sun* sixth issue. On December 2, Ha was formally arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law.

December 1:

LEE Jae-hwa: The penname of LEE Seung-hwan, the chairman of the South Seoul Munchungnyon, was arrested for various essays that he had written on Kim Il-sung and other topics. On May 14, 1990, he was sentenced to a one-year jail term and deprivation of his civil rights for one year.

December 10:

KIM Sung-jae: Editor at Hyungsungsa, Kim was taken in for questioning by the police. He was released on December 12 after a police search of the company's offices failed to turn up evidence against him.

PARK Sang-ryul: The business manager of Hyungsungsa, Park was apprehended on December 17 in front of his home and taken in for questioning. He was released after being investigated about the company's finances.

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January 6:

KWAK Han-wang: A representative of the Kwangya bookstore, he was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. On February 22, Kwak was released on a suspended sentence.

January 10:

PARK In-hae: A representative of the Hyungsungsa, Park was arrested. On April 6, he was released on a suspended sentence.

January 11:

IM Kyu-chan: An editor of the *Labor Liberation Literature* magazine, Im was taken in for questioning after a police search of his and the magazine's other staff members' homes and offices. On June 13, he was formally arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. May 1, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released. On December 18, 1989, the authorities had ordered a six-month suspension against the *Labor Liberation Literature*.

January 16:

Jun Yong-ho: An editor of the Kwangju Book Publishing Company, Jun was taken in for questioning by the police. On April 30, he was sentenced to a one-and-a-half years' imprisonment; his sentence was suspended for two years, and he was released.

January 17:

LEE Jin-kyung: Whose real name is **PARK Tae-ho**, was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law for various essays he contributed to magazines.

January 22:

KIM Sun-ho: A representative of the Him Publishing Company. The police raided the company's offices and seized 3,000 copies of the *Flower Selling Maiden*. Kim was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. On May 22, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and two-and-a-half years' deprivation of civil rights.

February 9:

KIM Tae-jong: Founder of the Labor Literature Company, Kim was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law for the May-December issues of the *Labor Liberation Literature* magazine.

February 17:

JUNG Min: A planning committee member of the *Society and Life*, a monthly magazine, was arrested for various articles he contributed on North Korea and reunification and democracy movement. On May 28, he was sentenced to a one-year prison term and one year's deprivation of civil rights. The sentence was suspended for two years, and Jung was released.

YI Tae-hak: A representative of the Him Publishing Company, Lee was arrested and later released on a suspended sentence. [No additional information.]

February 22:

SEUNG Ki-won: Representative of the Silchon Munhak Publishing Company, Seung was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. The police raided his office and home and confiscated 73 copies of the *Red Mountain, Black Blood* and copies of *Shilchun Munhak's* fall 1988 issue. **LEE Mun-ku**, also a representative of the publishing company was taken in for questioning.

OH Bong-ok: A poet, Oh was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law.

February 27:

JUNG Sung-hyun: Representative of Chungnyunsa, Jung was apprehended in front of his house and taken in for questioning. He was later formally arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. The Chungnyunsa offices were raided and books confiscated.

February 28:

CHOI Pil-seung: Representative of the Han Madang Publishing Company, Choi was taken in for questioning; the authorities raided the publishing company's offices and confiscated 3,000 copies of *Sea of Masses*. **KIM Hong-bum**,

business manager of Inkansa Publishing Company, and **CHOI Seung-bok**, business manager for the Silchon Munhak Publishing Company, were also taken in for questioning. The authorities released the three men that evening.

March 6:

JUN Young-shik: Representative of the Han Madang bookstore, Jun was taken in for questioning. The bookstore was searched by the police, who confiscated copies of books and pamphlets. Jun was released the next day. On March 1, the authorities had raided the offices of the Daedong Publishing Company and confiscated, among other items, Han Madang's magazine.

March 9:

JUNG Soo-ung: Ilsongjung Book Publishing House representative, Jung was taken in for questioning. Over 2,000 copies of books were confiscated from the offices of the publishing company. On March 10, Jung was formally arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law.

March 13:

YU Chang-sun: Representative of the Dulee Book Publishing Company, Yu was apprehended in front of his home on March 12 and taken in for questioning. The publishing company's offices were also raided that day, and 45 books and the business ledger were confiscated. Yu was formally arrested the next day.

March 21:

LEE Sang-ho: An editor at the Daedong Book Publishing Company, Lee was taken in for questioning by the authorities who raided the publishing company's offices and seized thousands of copies of several books on reunification, including *Flower of Reunification*. Lee was released later that afternoon.

March 23:

IM Sung-an: Business manager of the Hamsung Publishing Company, Im was taken in for questioning, and his office was searched. The police confiscated 900 copies of *From Leningrad to Pyongyang*, 100 copies of *Current Situation in North Korea* and documents.

YU Hwan-ok: Business manager for the Baek Book Publishing Company, Yu was taken in by the authorities for questioning. He may have been released.

April 3:

KIM Yon-in: Representative of the Him (Power) Publishing House, Kim was arrested on charges of violating the National Security Law. The authorities had raided the offices of the publishing company on March 23, confiscating a number of books published by Him. Kim was previously arrested on March 3, 1989.

April 14 or 15:

SHIN Hyung-shik: Representative of the Nokdu Publishing Company, Shin was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law. On April 13, the police raided the offices of the Nokdu Publishing Company and confiscated

over 100 copies of the *Nokdu Suhpyung* (*Nokdu Book Review*). The day before the raid, it was suspected that Shin had been taken in for questioning.

April 26:

KIM Jong-hyun: Representative of the Jipyung book publishing company was arrested for alleged violation of the National Security Law for his writings, among which are *Yungdo System* and *Yungdo Art*.

May 9:

KIM Su-kil: Penname **KIM No-bak**, he was apprehended in front of his house by the authorities who arrested him for questioning for alleged violation of the National Security Law. He had written an essay entitled "What is Marxism?"

May 23:

Park Il-tae: The authorities raided the offices of the *Nala Salang* (Love of Land) Publishing Company and confiscated 247 copies of *Marxist-Leninist Nationalism Theories* and 22 copies of *The Sino-Soviet Antagonism and North Korea*. Park was taken in for questioning.

June 11 (information from AI Urgent Action, July 13, 1990, #298-90):

KIM Myong-shik: A well-known poet and director of the Asia Africa Latin America Research Institute (AALARI) was held for interrogation in connection with a book by the AALARI. Also held were: **PUH Sah-hyon**, 34, a former philosophy student and the secretary general of the AALARI; **LEE Jae-ho**, 26, a former history student and a researcher with the Institute; and **YUH Jae-hyon**, 37, president of the Sonamu (Pine tree) Publishing Company, which is believed to have published the books of the Asia Africa Latin America Research Institute. Yuh is accused of violating the National Security Law.

August 6:

NOH Jong-sang: Noh was apprehended near his house by investigators of the Agency for National Security Planning in connection with his article that appeared in the *Sisa Journal*, a weekly news magazine. The article, entitled "Kim Bok-dong Angles for Power in Rebellion against President Roh," alleged that Kim Bok-dong, President Roh's brother-in-law, was planning an opposition party to counter the newly-formed Democratic Liberal Party. Noh had reportedly been hiding in a nearby inn for three days to evade arrest. He was released after hours of questioning. (*Korea Herald*, August 7, 1990.)