



# International Herald Tribune

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**Cycle of violence** A Palestinian man surveying his brother's destroyed bedroom after an Israeli airstrike in the Gaza Strip on Monday. The cross-border hostilities, which started with Israel's killing of a top militant leader on Friday, continued for a fourth day. Israeli airstrikes killed two militants and a teenage boy, according to officials.

## Democracy, his way, for influential Egyptian

CAIRO

**Brotherhood's leader is consolidating power by brooking no dissent**

BY DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

For more than a dozen years, Khairat el-Shater guided his family of 10 children, his sprawling business empire and Egypt's largest Islamist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood, all from a prison cell. Each week, he held court behind prison walls as young Muslim Brothers delivered to him dossiers about the organization that sometimes were as long as 200 pages. His corporate employees paid regular visits for strategic advice about his investments in software, textile, bus manufacturing and furniture companies and other enterprises.

And before consenting to the marriages of his eight daughters, he met in prison with each of their suitors. Some of the grooms were prisoners with him, others made the pilgrimage, and five said their vows in his presence, behind bars.

Now Mr. Shater, 62, commands far wider influence. One year after the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak brought Mr. Shater freedom, he has emerged as the most decisive voice in the leadership of the Brotherhood, the 83-year-old fountainhead of political Islam, at the moment when it has established itself as the dominant power in Egyptian politics.

With firm control of Egypt's Parliament, the Brotherhood's political arm is



Khairat el-Shater will wield tremendous influence over the next Parliament in Egypt.

**The new Islamists**  
*The Brotherhood's way*

holding talks to form the next cabinet while Mr. Shater is grooming about 500 future officials to form a government-in-waiting. As the group's chief policy architect, Mr. Shater is overseeing the blueprint for the new Egypt, negotiating with its current military rulers over their future role, shaping its relations with Israel and a domestic Christian minority, and devising the economic policies the Brotherhood hopes will revive Egypt's moribund economy.

With power he could only dream of when he padded around Mubarak's prisons in a white tracksuit, Mr. Shater meets foreign ambassadors, the executives of multinational corporations and Wall Street firms, and a parade of U.S. senators and other officials to explain EGYPT, PAGE 5

## U.S. actions jeopardizing its plans for Afghanistan

WASHINGTON

**Soldier's deadly rampage and burning of Korans likely to buoy Taliban**

BY DAVID E. SANGER

The outrage from the back-to-back episodes of the burning of Korans and the killing of at least 16 Afghan civilians imperils what the Obama administration once saw as an orderly plan for 2012: to speed the training of Afghan forces so

NEWS ANALYSIS

that they can take the lead in combat missions, all while drawing the Taliban into negotiations to end more than a decade of constant war.

President Barack Obama and his aides had once hoped that by now they would have cemented the narrative that the Taliban were a spent force being pounded into peace negotiations and recognizing that they could never retake control of the country.

But in conversations on Sunday, both in Washington and Kabul, some U.S. military and civilian officials acknowledged that the events would embolden the hard-liners within the Taliban, who oppose negotiations with a force that is leaving the country anyway and who want to use the next two years to appeal to the understandable national allergy to foreign occupation.

The latest incident, in which a U.S. Army sergeant is said to have methodically killed at least 16 civilians, 9 of them children, in a rural stretch of southern Afghanistan on Sunday, provoked a threat of vengeance from the Taliban, who in a statement Monday denounced the killings, saying they were the latest in a series of humiliations against the Afghan people and denying that any Taliban fighters had been in the area.

Early Monday, with the sergeant in the custody of the U.S. forces, the public mood in Kandahar and Kabul seemed subdued with no immediate sign of protests on the streets. But social networking sites like Facebook and Afghan blogs were filled with angry postings, some of them accompanied by graphic photographs of what appeared to be children killed in the attack. Most of the dead were buried Sunday, with the final funeral scheduled for Monday.

"The fear" one U.S. military official said, "is that all these incidents, taken together, play into the Taliban's account of how we treat the Afghan religion and people. And while we all know that's a false account — think how many the Taliban have killed, and never once taken responsibility — it's a very hard perception to combat."

The United States discovered as much in Iraq, where in 2005 U.S. marines killed 28 unarmed Iraqis, many of them women and children, in Haditha, a remote city in Anbar Province. That episode

AFGHANISTAN, PAGE 4  
**KILLINGS ADD TO CONCERNS AT U.S. BASE** U.S. soldiers awaiting deployment said the killings in Afghanistan could jeopardize their mission there. PAGE 4

## Republicans in loyal but unpredictable territory

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

BY CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

They stood beneath a Saturn V rocket, baby-carrying mothers, cross-armed men, workers in coveralls and financial planners, listening as Rick Santorum told them who they were and why they mattered.

"Red Alabama," he said to the crowd on Thursday at the U.S. Space and Rocket Center in Huntsville. "Conservative Alabama. The heart of conservatism." Along with his rivals Newt Gingrich

and Mitt Romney, Mr. Santorum is pressing hard in Alabama and in Mississippi before a vote on Tuesday that could narrow the field in the Republican nominating contest or help prolong it to the coming weeks and months. But a victory is about more than just delegates — it will give the winner a claim on the Deep South, or as Mr. Santorum described it, the heart of conservatism. But the Deep South base is not as predictable as it once was. National polling companies have found a volatile contest in Alabama and Mississippi, a near toss-up among the three leading candidates.

**The Deep South is seen as a test of the candidates' conservative bona fides.**

Indeed, the primaries represent a rather neat slicing of the Southern electorate at the current moment. "The base is split all over the place on this," said Mike A. Ball, a Republican state legislator in Alabama. Is this fertile ground for Mr. Santorum, whose commanding victory in Tennessee last week was largely attrib-

able to evangelical Christian voters? Or are Alabama and Mississippi voters more like those in South Carolina, who relished Mr. Gingrich's fire-breathing style?

Or will voters, particularly evangelicals, do what may have been unthinkable just years ago and support a Mormon from a Northeastern state who sells his corporatist approach to fixing the economy and claims he is the most electable? Mr. Romney's promising poll numbers should not come as a shock in the South of today, Mr. Ball said. REPUBLICANS, PAGE 5

## For the South Korean judiciary, slings and arrows of all sorts

SEOUL

BY CHOE SANG-HUN

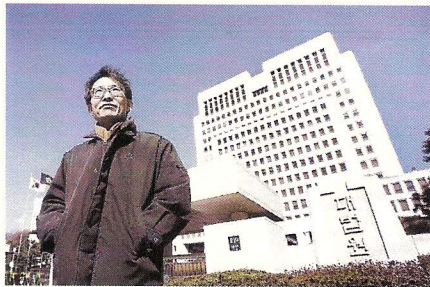
The image on the cover of Kim Myung-ho's self-published book neatly captures his attitude toward the South Korean judiciary. It shows the former mathematician standing defiantly, law book in one hand and crossbow in the other.

The title reads: "Judges, Who Do You Think You Are?"

If what he did with a crossbow to a judge five years ago stunned the country, his larger point has resonated with many. In a recent survey by The Good Law, a civic group that monitors the

justice system, 77 percent of respondents agreed that court trials were "unfair."

Mr. Kim's critics, who include editorial writers in major newspapers, have called him a "terrorist" whose "quixotic delusion" led him to shoot the judge. But there are other South Koreans who have likened him to Robin Hood, a testimony to the depth of anti-judiciary sentiment in South Korea. A movie based on Mr. Kim's clash with the justice system, "Unbowed," has attracted 3.5 million viewers since its release in January. It is the latest in a series of films that have tapped — some say stoked — mistrust of the judiciary and profited at the box office. SOUTH KOREA, PAGE 4



Kim Myung-ho, a former mathematics professor, was convicted of shooting an arrow at a judge who ruled against him. His book is called "Judges, Who Do You Think You Are?"

BUSINESS ASIA

### A cushion for China

Chinese economic leaders said they had "plenty of room" to adjust the amount that banks could loan and thus soften a slowdown. But they also signaled a tighter rein on the renminbi. PAGE 15

### U.S. to release stress tests data

The Federal Reserve will release the results this week of its latest stress tests, which are expected to show broadly improved balance sheets at most U.S. financial institutions. PAGE 15

### Pinterest takes low-key route

The Web site Pinterest has seen its traffic grow and has become the envy of other start-ups with a low-key style that focuses on the passions of even its most humble users. PAGE 16

### Attack of the clones

Imitation may be a form of flattery, but some video game makers complain that their more successful offerings are being copied down to the game design and story line. PAGE 16

PAGE TWO

### Union gives drug users a voice

The San Francisco Drug Users' Union is one of several groups in the United States and Canada that seek to represent the political interests — and practical needs — of chronic drug abusers.

SPORTS

### Madness? More like blandness

The N.C.A.A. college basketball tournament has a number of strong teams at the top this year, but the rest of the field is filled with squads that fail to inspire. "All these teams are just so highly flawed," said one analyst. PAGE 13

WORLD NEWS

### Sarkozy's conservative push

President Nicolas Sarkozy, trailing in opinion polls six weeks before the French election, has given a rousing address to supporters, striking strongly conservative notes on immigration, Islam and protectionism. PAGE 5

### Defining case for chief justice

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in the upcoming case over President Barack Obama's health care law will shape, if not define, the legacy of Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. PAGE 8



REUTERS

### Syria hit with more killings

Claims and counterclaims of fresh killings in the Syrian city of Homs have re-emerged, after a weekend shelling in Idlib, above, and a U.N. envoy ended meetings with the president. PAGE 5

VIEWES

### Roger Cohen

Even though gross simplification of Africa is nothing new, a superficial movie about the African war criminal Joseph Kony has gone viral — and that on balance is a good thing. PAGE 5

### Paul Krugman

If you want to know who is really trying to turn America into Greece, it's the people demanding that we emulate Greek-style austerity. PAGE 7

ONLINE

### 'Emo killings' haunt Iraqi teens

News in Iraq that young men in tight T-shirts and skinny jeans are being beaten to death with cement blocks and dumped in the streets has threatened to overshadow any attempt at conveying progress. The "emo killings" offer a reminder that the government has been unable to stop threats and attacks against small religious sects, ethnic groups and social pariahs like gay men. global.nytimes.com/middleeast

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CURRENCIES LONDON, MONDAY LEAM

A Euro	£1 =	\$1.3130	\$1.3110
Poland	£1 =	\$1.5690	\$1.5670
Yen	¥1 =	¥82.290	¥82.420
S. Franc	FF =	SFO.9180	SFO.9190

STOCK INDEXES MONDAY

▲ The Dow Jones	12,922.02	+0.11%
▲ FTSE 100 10am	5,891.60	+0.07%
▼ Nikkei 225 close	9,888.86	-0.40%

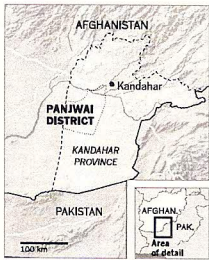
# World News



**Condolence call** Chancellor Angela Merkel speaking with German soldiers Monday in an unexpected visit to their base in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan. In a phone call to President Hamid Karzai, Ms. Merkel called the killing of 16 Afghan civilians by a U.S. soldier "a terrible deed" and told him NATO-led security forces would fully investigate.

## U.S. jeopardizes its own Afghan policy

**AFGHANISTAN, FROM PAGE 1**  
helped contribute to what became some of the worst months of the war. No one is predicting the same result from the Afghan case, in part because the United States has made it abundantly clear that it is leaving, save for some kind of smaller "enduring presence" it plans to have to keep the peace.



The speed with which Washington reacted to the news of the killings on Sunday underscored the depth of the concern that such an agreement could become harder and harder to sell to Hamid Karzai, the Afghan president. Mr. Karzai has long faced accusations of being a lap dog to the Americans.

Both Mr. Obama and the defense secretary, Leon E. Panetta, called Mr. Karzai, promising a full investigation and offering deep regrets and an assurance that anyone involved in the killings would be held to account. Mr. Panetta added in a statement that "we are steadfast in our resolve to work hand in hand with our Afghan partners to accomplish the missions and goals on which we have been working together for so long."

Residents of three villages in the Panjwai district of Kandahar Province described a terrifying string of attacks in which a soldier, who had walked a fair distance from his base, tried door after door, eventually breaking in to kill with three separate houses. The man gathered 11 bodies, including those of four girls younger than six, and set fire to them, villagers said.

U.S. officials in Kabul were scrambling to understand what had happened and appealed for calm. "You call that an army staff sergeant who acted alone and then survived. 'The initial reporting that we have at this time indicates there

was one shooter, and we have one man in custody," said Lt. Col. Jimmie Cummings, a NATO spokesman. A senior U.S. military official said Sunday evening that the sergeant was attached to a unit based at Joint Base Lewis-McChord, a major army and air force installation near Tacoma, Washington, and that he had been part of what is called a village stabilization operation in Afghanistan. In those operations, teams of Green Berets, supported by other soldiers, try to develop close ties with village elders, organize local police units and track down Taliban leaders. The official said the sergeant was not a Green Beret himself.

In Panjwai, a reporter for The New York Times who inspected bodies that had been taken to the nearby U.S. military base counted 16 dead, including five children with single gunshot wounds to the head, and saw burns on some of the children's legs and heads. "All the fam-

ily members were killed, the dead put in a room, and blankets were put over the corpses and they were burned," said Anar Gula, an elderly neighbor who rushed to the house after the soldier had left. "We put out the fire."

The villagers also brought some of the burned blankets on motorbikes to display at the base, Camp Belambay, in Kandahar, and show that the bodies had been set alight. Soon, more than 300 people had gathered outside to protest.

At least five Afghans were wounded in the attacks, officials said, some of them seriously, indicating the death toll could rise. NATO said several casualties were being treated at a military hospital.

Mr. Obama's deputy national security adviser for strategic communications, Benjamin J. Rhodes, acknowledged in an interview Sunday that events like the killings were "heart-wrenching, very difficult moments, and they take a lot of time and effort for both sides to move beyond." But he added that the United States had learned during the aftermath of the Koran burning that "if you respond appropriately, you can actually build trust with the Afghans."

Mr. Rhodes noted, for example, that shortly after the Koran burning and the retaliation, in which several Americans were killed, the two countries reached an agreement on the transfer of detainees to Afghan control over the next few months, an effort to show "that we are serious about a steady handover of all authority."

But to many Americans — even one-time supporters of the Afghan mission in both parties — these episodes and the inevitable reaction they prompt only underscore the need to hurry to the exits in a war whose outcome, some military officials say, now seems less cer-

tain than at any time since Mr. Obama took office.

As a practical matter, there are two major concerns that grow out of these episodes and that make some in U.S. officials wonder whether Mr. Obama's speeded-up pullout plan should be hurried even more.

The first has to do with the training mission. After the Koran burning, there were fears in the military that it would become harder for U.S. or NATO military trainers to move freely among an Afghan Army force of 350,000 troops, most of whom are poorly trained. Fearing for their own safety, the trainers will bring along larger security details, to assure they do not fall under attack.

But the second concern is even harder to assess: that the Taliban will conclude that events like this, in the end, only increase the pressure on the United States to get out quickly. So far, the efforts to bring the Taliban to the table in Qatar, where Ambassador Marc Grossman and other U.S. diplomats are seeking to arrange talks, have gone painfully slowly. The first steps — a confidence-building prisoner exchange that would require moving some detainees from the prison in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to Qatar — have taken months. It is episodes like this, one American official said, "that create an instant windfall for the Taliban," at just the moment that the United States is trying to persuade them that their cause is all but lost.

Taimoor Shah contributed reporting from Panjwai; Graham Rowley, Sharifullah Sahar, Kod Nordland and Matthew Rosenberg from Kabul; Eric Schmitt from Washington; William Kowaly from Tacoma; James Dao from New York; and Iside Raftery from Seattle.

## Worries increase at a troubled base

**JOINT BASE LEWIS-MCCHORD, WASHINGTON**

**After killings, U.S. troops expecting greater risks in Afghanistan deployments**

BY WILLIAM YARDLEY

It has been just four months since a military jury on this military base convicted the ringleader of a rogue army unit that shot Afghans for sport. In 2011, at least 12 soldiers here committed suicide. Last week, Senator Patty Murray criticized a military hospital here for overturning 285 diagnoses of post-traumatic stress disorder.

And then came Sunday and the news that a 38-year-old staff sergeant based at Lewis-McChord, a married father of two children whose name the army had not released, was believed to have shot and killed 16 Afghan civilians in an assassination-style ambush.

"I heard something on Facebook about a soldier killing civilians," said a corporal with the Fourth Stryker Brigade who would give only his first name, Tyler. "It's horrible, but I guess I've almost become numb to it."

He was one of several soldiers at Lewis-McChord who said Sunday that the steady stream of negative headlines surrounding the base had raised alarms and sometimes put them on the defensive at home. But they also expressed a greater concern: that recent actions by Americans in Afghanistan would put them at greater risk during their pending deployments to that country.

"A couple of individuals are messing things up for the rest of us and putting us in danger," said Joan Aratjo, a private from New York who said he was in an infantry division at Lewis-McChord and expected to deploy to Afghanistan soon. "The people who are burning Korans and killing innocent people are making it harder to do our job."

Lewis-McChord, one of the largest military bases in the United States, with about 40,000 soldiers, has been the subject of repeated scrutiny in recent years. With the military in conflicts overseas for more than a decade and soldiers constantly being redeployed, the bases have been criticized both for how its units have operated overseas and for how it treats soldiers at home. Critics cite high rates of deployment and what they say are related high rates of mental illness,

suicide, domestic abuse and other social troubles among soldiers.

"They're being constantly used up," said Jorge Gonzalez, a former Stryker soldier and the executive director of Coffee Strong, a nonprofit coffee shop that serves as a support group for soldiers and veterans. "Nobody can take that much conflict. Nobody can take that much stress."

Madigan Army Medical Center on the base has repeatedly been criticized for its handling of mental health issues.

The Seattle Times reported that hospital employees who screened for post-traumatic stress disorder had been removed from that duty last month while an army inquiry investigates the changed diagnoses. Soldiers with the disorder can receive better medical benefits and a pension after they leave active duty.

In November, Staff Sgt. Calvin Gibbs of the base's Fifth Stryker Brigade was convicted of leading several other sol-

**A steady stream of negative headlines surrounds the base.**

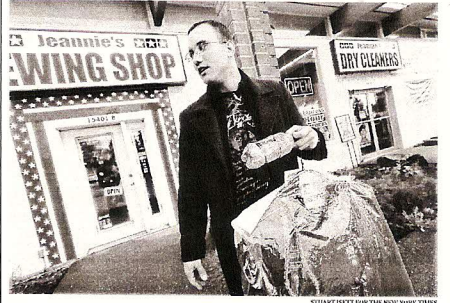
diers in his unit to stage combat situations so they could kill Afghan civilians near Kandahar. A dozen soldiers in the unit faced charges of some kind.

"These crimes, in which soldiers took photographs of the bodies holding up the heads of those they had killed, alarmed army leaders and increased tension between U.S. and Afghan officials. But the violence that has broken out in Afghanistan more recently has stunned soldiers at Lewis-McChord, including those facing their first deployment.

"It's a terrifying thing to think of the blowback that's going to happen," said one private first class with a Stryker brigade who is to be deployed next month for the first time.

The private and a fellow soldier, both of whom spoke Sunday on the condition of anonymity out of concern their unit leaders would not approve, dropped off their backpacks at Jeannie's Sewing Shop across from the base. They were having new name patches sewn on them before they deploy. Both had enlisted within the past year, when they believed the conflict in Afghanistan would be quieting down.

"It was closing down, they said," the second soldier said. "But these last couple of months it's just been escalating and escalating and escalating. We really don't want to be the bad guys."



Joan Aratjo, a private based at Joint Base Lewis-McChord who is expected to deploy to Afghanistan soon. "A couple of individuals are messing things up for the rest of us," he said.

## Crossbow saga symbolizes public mistrust of South Korean courts

**SOUTH KOREA, FROM PAGE 1**

"To those who call me a terrorist, I ask: 'Was the French Revolution terrorism?'" Mr. Kim, 54, said in an interview. "What I did in 2007 was righteous rebellion."

In 2007, an appeals court judge named Park Hong-woo rejected Mr. Kim's claim that Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul had wrongfully terminated him in 1996. After the ruling, which followed months of one-man picketing outside courthouses and hundreds of letters of complaint to the Supreme Court, Mr. Kim said he lost all hope of justice and decided to deliver the judge "a shock."

So, three days later, on the evening of Jan. 15, 2007, Mr. Kim confronted Judge Park as he was about to take an elevator to his apartment in Seoul. "You call that a verdict?" Mr. Kim said, aiming his loaded crossbow at the judge.

Mr. Kim was sentenced to four years in prison for shooting an arrow at Judge Park. Headlined across the country as "Crossbow Terror," the case drew attention both for its drama and the issues it raised. Even before the trial opened, the South Korean Supreme Court released a statement calling Mr. Kim's action "terror against the rule of law" and vowing "stern punishment."

But Mr. Kim told the court that he intended not to hit, but just "frighten," Judge Park with the crossbow. He insisted that the arrow was released accidentally during a scuffle and missed the judge. Accusing Judge Park and the prosecutors of "fabricating" evidence,



Kim Myung-ho in the elevator where he pointed his crossbow at Judge Park Hong-woo five years ago. He accused prosecutors of "fabricating" evidence in his subsequent trial.

Mr. Kim seized on what he considered crucial gaps in the case: Prosecutors never submitted to the court the arrow that Judge Park said had struck him. The court also did not authorize a blood test to see if the blood found on Judge Park's clothes was indeed his own.

"We advise judges to consider seriously why so many people who have been mistreated by the courts call Professor Kim Myung-ho a '21st-Century Robin Hood' and a 'real hero of our

time,' and why an increasing number of people want to attack them with real crossbow terror," a dozen civic groups said in 2008 in a joint statement released after Mr. Kim's conviction. "They must have decided that they could not maintain their authority without a severe verdict in a case that has become a symbol of popular dissatisfaction."

Four years later, the film has revived the controversy surrounding the crossbow incident. It depicts the judge in that

case as high-handed and prejudiced — qualities many South Koreans, according to opinion surveys, associate with the country's judiciary as a whole. "It was like setting a match to gasoline," said Kim Dae-in, president of The Good Law. "Mistrust of the judiciary has reached an explosive point. Actions like Mr. Kim's can happen again any time."

The Supreme Court lamented that a "fictional" movie "made with a box-office hit in mind" was "inciting unfounded mistrust of the justice system." The conservative "Daily Dong-a Ilbo said in an editorial: "Moviegoers flocking to a film that glorifies a character like him raises concerns about the dignity of our society."

But the Korean Bar Association said, "The fact that, within a week of its release, a million people went to see a movie that encourages resistance to the judiciary calls for soul-searching and a change in attitude."

Kim Do-hyun, a law professor at Dongguk University in Seoul, said that, while he found it difficult to dispute the verdict against Mr. Kim, "The problem was the way the trial was handled. Judges are so disconnected from the rest of the public that they live in their own world. They often make rulings that people just can't understand."

"Judges are so disconnected from the rest of the public that they live in their own world."

Kim, the Dongguk law professor, found that 82 percent of people implicated in civil lawsuits were not represented by lawyers, many because they could not afford them.

"People here say that if you have money, you're not guilty, but if you don't, you are guilty," said Moon Heung-soo, who worked as a senior judge until 2004. "There's a good reason why people believe that our judicial system catches minnows but misses whales."

Legal experts also trace the growing public resentment to what they call the highly insular and hierarchical culture of the justice system. Until this year, all judges were selected by their scores on an annual written examination, regardless of formal education, and then prepared for the bench at a government training center.

Judges who are passed over for promotion are expected to retire early, giving them an even greater incentive to please their superiors. Mr. Moon said. Former judges tend to find work as lawyers, and collusion between them and their former colleagues on the bench is so widely suspected that, under a new rule, a judge-turned-lawyer is barred for the first year from taking any cases that will be tried in his former court.

Meanwhile, overworked judges em-

phasize expedience in handling cases, often leaving litigants feeling they were given short shrift, said Mr. Kim, the Dongguk professor.

"Because judges aren't elected and we don't have a jury system, the public has no power of oversight," said Mr. Kim, the Good Law president. "The whole system is vulnerable to corruption and mistrust."

Amid simmering discontent, the judiciary has begun experimenting with trials by jury. It is also phasing out the old hiring system, replacing it with formal law schools and a new bar exam. In February, a court sentenced a former chairman of the Taekwang business group to four and a half years in prison for embezzlement, an unusually harsh sentence for a white-collar crime in South Korea and one that commentators said could herald tougher punishments for convicted business leaders.

Mr. Kim, the crossbow-wielding mathematician now out of jail and still out of a job, remains as defiant as ever. His book — published last month by his own company, Crossbow Kim Myung-ho, because no mainstream publisher would take it — contains language like "Judges, if you screw up like that, you may get whacked."

"What I did was not a crime," he said in the interview, declaring that he would continue to campaign for changes to the judicial system. "I am filled with hatred for judges who are worse than gangsters or the Mafia. I will continue to work to reveal what they really are."