

Mr. Roh Moo-hyun

Presidential Hopeful of
The Millennium Democratic Party

April 2002

Sisa Journal (Korea's leading news weekly) <http://www.e-sisa.co.kr/>
<Cover Story>

Korea, Under the "Roh Storm" Influence

Opinion Polls: Broadest Support for Roh; Question: Will it Persist?

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The "Roh Storm" is sweeping the country. Roh Moo-hyun, Standing (ruling) Millennium Democratic Party Advisor (MDP) and major presidential hopeful in the nation's first-ever Presidential primaries ousted arch rival, Rhee In-je, in Kangwon Province (state) by seven votes to take top spot there March 24. By national tally, he still closely trails Rhee, but since his dramatic Kwangju triumph, he has enjoyed a "psychological lead." To top it off, Roh has outperformed Grand National Party (GNP) leader, Lee Hoi-chang, likely opposition party presidential candidate, in hypothetical two-way race polls since March 13. Roh also won in a three-way with Lee Hoi-chang and Park Guen-hye, daughter of the late general-turned President Park.

In political circles, press and pollsters are in desperate straits to find explanations for Roh's unprecedented and abrupt popularity upsurge. In a March 22 phone interview, a pollster confessed, "Some survey experts gathered yesterday to discuss the latest phenomenon but none were able to come up with clear-cut analyses." One media maven even borrowed a colloquial stock-market term to describe the "support frenzy."

All because no traditional domestic political analysis describes Roh. Because of the absence of ample campaign funds, pervasive and closed-circuit intra-party organization, regional stronghold and prestigious educational background, Roh had been merely another leading candidate and nothing more. Nevertheless, he rose to stardom as the first MDP national primary got underway, opening the door for Korea's first popular free presidential candidate nomination process. To be sure, attributions

to his remarkable race are spiky poll ramps, a dramatic Kwangju Primary victory, GNP leader Lee's luxury residence scandal, putting Lee's popularity in downward spiral, and the GNP's internal faction feuds. But, the pros point out, they are not enough to explain Roh's skyrocketing popularity, shooting up 20-30% in two and a half weeks. No wonder the pundits are in a ponder.

A joint March 22 Sisa Journal-Media Research survey reaffirmed that the nationwide "Roh Storm" was real and significant. Roh, in a hypothetical Lee vie, enjoyed a wide 16.8% lead; Roh 49.9%; Lee 33.1%. (N/A 17.0%) In a 3-way including Park Guen-hye, Roh still took a landslide 43.0%, followed by Lee, 29.8%, and Park, 16.8%. (N/A 10.4%)

Roh's supporter age bracket demographics reveal intriguing points. Against Lee, Roh earned overwhelming support from the 20s, Roh 58.5%, Lee 29.8%; 30s, 62.5%:23.4%; and 40s, 52.0%:32.1%. The 30s, in particular, threw Roh full support by a whopping 39.1%. It is worth noting that the 30s/40s public opinion shapers, whose votes are most likely to be cast come the December Presidential Election, showed explosive Roh support. One political analyst observed that the so-called 386 generation (30-something, college in the '80s, born in the '60s), who experienced volatile democracy demonstrations against a military regime, may have found a ray of hope in Roh.

Overwhelming College-educated 30/40s Support

By occupation, the self-employed, Roh 52.8%, Lee 34.0%; blue-collar 52.9%:31.8%; white-collar 62.3%:26.5%; and co-eds 54.8%:30.1% virtually snubbed Lee. Even college/graduate opinions lopsided in Roh's favor, 57.4%:31.9% in stark contrast to the same group in an imaginary two-way between Rhee, 34.9% and Lee, 41.5%. Pollsters analyze the survey result as indicating high expectations for a political reform Roh might bring about if he becomes President.

Roh also performed nicely in Youngnam, a traditionally solid GNP political base in southeastern Korea. Though bested by Lee, Roh managed to secure over 35% in the GNP strongholds: Daegu/North Gyeongsang Province, Roh, 36.7%, Lee, 51.7%; Pusan/Ulsan/South Gyeongsang Province: 35.8%:46.7%. Given the 11.7%-17.6% N/A, Roh garnered over 40%. No other MDP candidate ever got anywhere near that figure in the GNP's political bulwark neighborhood.

Among devout MDP supporters, 79% said they would vote for Roh, 70%, Rhee. Roh's strategy of invalidating Lee as an MDP standard-bearer (for Lee's track record of bolting from the GNP to run for President on his own in 1997 and then jumping to the MDP camp to seek presidential candidacy) and of proclaiming himself to be the only legitimate MDP mainstream backbone seems to work. The public appears to buy such merchandise. When asked who they thought the most legitimate MDP Presidential candidate, 50% chose Roh; 24.9%, Rhee. When the same question was asked on January 31, the result conversed with Rhee winning 40.8%, dwarfing Roh's 13.8%.

As the Roh Storm gains momentum, public approval ratings for the MDP also rise sharply. In the survey, 29.6% supported the MDP, with 27.9% behind the GNP. Never have MDP approval ratings topped the GNP in the past year.

For example, candidates fielded by the faction in provincial and city elections for party offices are on a losing streak. The decision by 20/30-somethings, office workers and the self-employed, voted stronger support for the MDP. It is interesting to note that the self-employed used to be a traditional GNP support group. Those in Seoul, Incheon, and Gyeong-gi, Seoul Metropolitan regions, forged the public approval rating surge. This signals a come-back of the strong support the MDP enjoyed during the 1997 Presidential election in the Seoul Metropolitan region.

Roh Storm Fueled by Lee's Snafus, 46% Say

Roh's stardom surely boosted MDP popularity. But the party's self-renovation efforts also contribute to the MDP's rising popularity. "The reform efforts of the MDP generated over ten star politicians. But what about the GNP? They don't even have anyone to rival Lee for presidential candidacy in order to dramatize their primary. The MDP overtook the GNP partly because of the thrilling twists and turns of the primary elections," says a ruling party political analyst.

The daunting dimension of the electoral college for the MDP's primary attests to the rising popularity of the ruling party. Within two weeks of the MDP primary kick-off, the number of ordinary citizens going out of their way to sign up for party membership to cast their vote in the primary election swelled to one million. By the time the primaries are over, MDP officials expect the number to top two million. Given the nation's total electorate is 32 million, the Presidential election voter turnout rate is 80%, and, thereby, about 25 million people vote (assuming half vote MDP and the other GNP), one sixth of the MDP supporters are participating in the nomination process. MDP predictions that the popular primary elections will boost the party image are manifesting.

As the age-old entrenched elite faction within the MDP, or the so-called Dongyo-dong faction, loses ground, democratization of the party is speeding up. For example, candidates fielded by the faction in provincial and city elections for party offices are on a losing streak. The decision by President Kim Dae-jung to resign from party presidency made no longer valid the traditional equation, "MDP equals DJ (Dae-jung) Party." Against this backdrop, the MDP had already been well poised to take off.

Then why Roh and not others? First of all, he successfully appealed to public desires to put an end to political exploitation of divisive regionalism and achieve national solidarity. Absence of a strong intra-party political organization and money also improved his image. Eager cyber-community Roh supporter, Rohsamo (I love Roh), organization routed his intra-party cabal deficiencies. GNP leader Lee's "luxury villa" scandal disenchanting many commoners, who began to tilt toward Roh for his humble background.

Furthermore, primaries proceeded in his favor. Kim Geun-tae's candidacy withdrawal left Roh as the only genuine progressive reformer. Rhee In-je, on the other hand, had to take on the other six candidates as he had been believed to be a shoo-in. Rhee's defeat in Cheju and Ulsan dealt his camp a serious blow. "Three votes in Cheju put Rhee in a bind," reports one analyst. The last straw was at Kwangju where the vote for national solidarity, as opposed to regional favoritism, put Roh, from their rival region, at the top.

On a broad perspective, it was three Kims and two Lees (Lee Hoi-chang and Rhee In-je) who prevailed in recent Korean political landscapes. Voters got tired of the same old political layout. Moreover, followers of the two Lees had much weaker "loyalty" than those of the three Kims. Some base their analysis on that weak loyalty and say a 10% Lee drop and 5% Roh rise are what whipped up the "Roh Storm."

Notably, more people say that Roh's recent popularity streak is due more to Lee's snafus than Roh's exemplary performance. 45.6% cited Lee's blunders as reason for Roh's popularity as 33.8% believed Roh lifted himself up.

For those pointing their blaming finger at Lee, both GNP, 44.6% and MDP, 43.9%, supporters played similar numbers. But for others praising Roh, MDP supporters counted 40.6%; GNP, 27.4%, indicating the former's high Roh view.

For the downfall of Lee's public approval ratings, 52.4% cited internal conflicts between GNP mainstream and non-mainstream factions as reason out-numbering the 37.5% touting Lee's personal problems, such as the luxury villa scandal and a nationality issue, involving his grand daughter, disappointing the public. The timing of the survey could have had a response effect but the result showed Lee's supporters' real concerns. In the Youngnam region (or the Southeastern region of Lee's political stronghold), particularly in the Daegu/North Gyeongsang (59.2%) and Pusan/Ulsan/South Gyeongsang Provinces (60.6%), quoted were the GNP's

internal factional feuds as good reason for Lee's popularity nose-dive. GNP supporters held the same view (61.8%).

The survey results suggest that Lee is not heeding the wishes of his supporters. They also show that his stronghold in the Youngnam region was not strong enough after all. Politicos say it is not the public's disillusionment with Lee but disappointment in the GNP that is slumping Lee's ratings, therefore, leaving some room for recovery.

Then what is it that is really behind the Roh Storm? When asking those supporting Roh in the hypothetical two-way with Lee why they did, they replied, "I like him because he is humble and fresh (48.0%)" ; "because he is the strongest reformer (36.5%)" ; "because he is from the MDP (7.8%)" ; and "because he is the only candidate who can raze Lee (5.1%)." Roh's "humble and fresh" image most appealed to people in the Seoul metropolitan area (Seoul 49.6%, Gyeonggi Province 55.1%) and Pusan/Ulsan/South Gyeongsang Province (62.7%). Figures indicate that Roh is still publicly unexposed and, therefore, how well he withstands his political enemies' negative campaign will determine future ups and downs in the public support he currently enjoys.

Roh Supporters Subject to Change (50.2%)

Asked how long they have supported Roh, 68.2% of the respondents endorsing Roh answered "before the MDP primary kicked off," 14.1% "ever since the Kwangju primary," 10.2% "since Lee's luxury villa scandal erupted," and 4.9% "since Roh overtook Lee in the opinion polls." In other words, 28.6% paid closer attention to Roh after the MDP primary was set in motion. Put another way, of the 49.9% Roh obtained in the two-way virtual against Lee, 35% approved of Roh all along even before the primary and the other 15% switched their favorite to Roh after the primary kick-off. That is to say, the Roh Storm sucked in about 15% new votes.

How steadfast will Roh's current popularity front maintain as he faces close scrutiny from all sides? Of the total respondents, 50.5% claimed

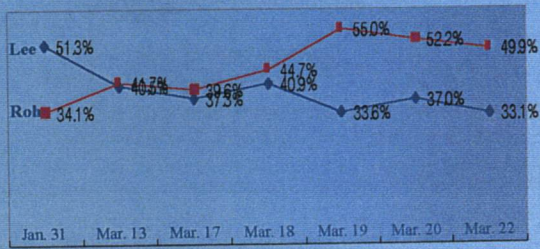
their choice of candidate today may not be their final one before the December Presidential election, meaning their mind is subject to change. In the two-way, 55.9% of Lee's supporters said they would stick to their man to the end while 50.2% of Roh's backers left their options open. As opposed to Lee, Roh may not have all his votes in pocket yet.

Political watchers and pollsters, however, agree that it will be quite long before the Roh Storm subsides, if ever. As primary elections heat up, the ruling and opposition parties will become locked in a fierce pie-cutting battle leaving no quarter. Without unexpected dramatic twists and turns, it is highly unlikely Roh's public approval rating will fall below 20%.

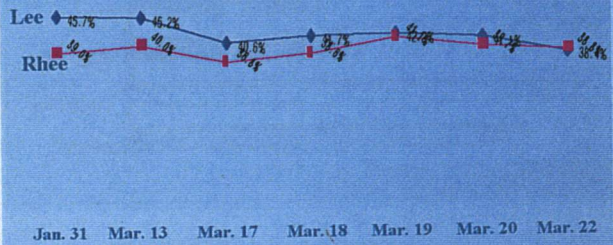
What is encouraging to Roh is his mustering of a full gamut of class, age, and geographic support nationwide. The support the Youngnam region offers to the candidate is critical. The current explosive momentum, however, is bound to taper off with time, experts say. The question is where the point of soft landing might be.

Kim Ji-yeon, Media Research manager, states, "Whether the Roh Storm will persist or not depends on how well the MDP will perform in the upcoming elections for local municipalities in the Youngnam region of GNP's traditional stronghold." Senior Manager of Hyundai Research, Yoon Ji-hwan offers, "Being fresh is synonymous with being unproven. Recklessness, radicalism, and instability, terms Roh's rivals prefer to use to negatively label him, estrange the mainstream class of our society." He added, however, "How well he tackles these accusations and political attacks will determine whether the Roh Storm will dissipate or grow even bigger."

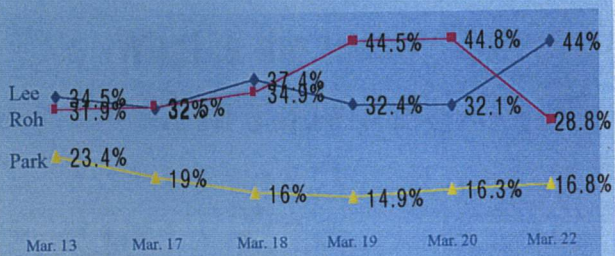
Lee vs. Roh



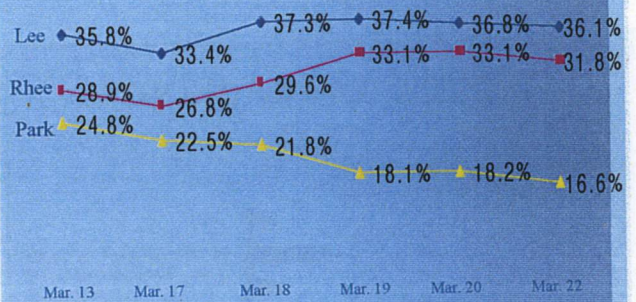
Lee vs. Rhee

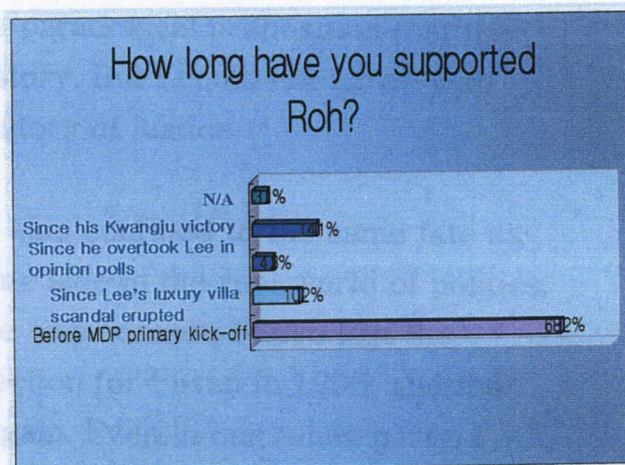
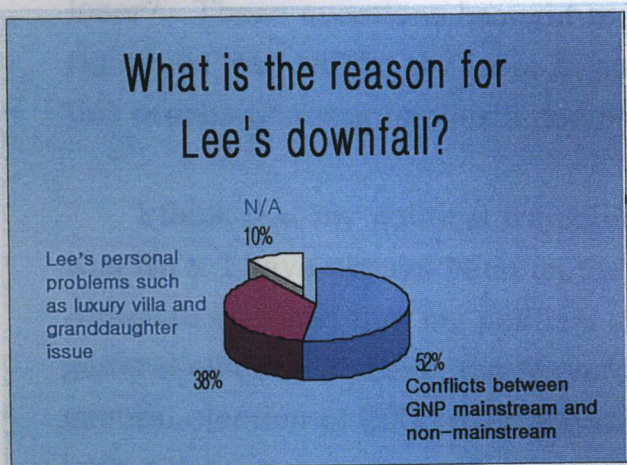
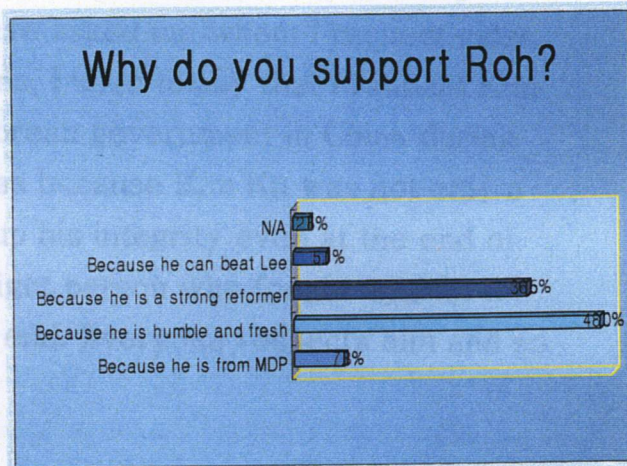
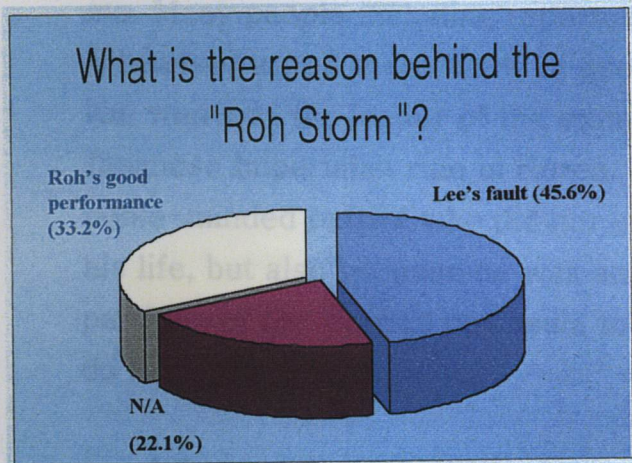
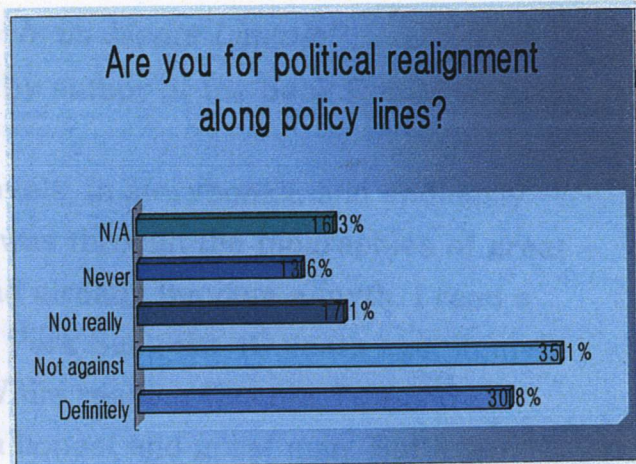
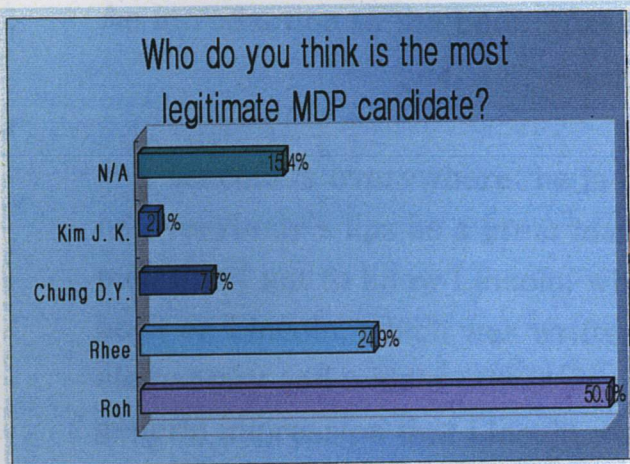


Three way, Lee-Roh-Park



Three way, Lee-Rhee-Park





An introduction to the book *'Roh Moo-hyun Meets Lincoln'* -written by author of the book Roh Moo-hyun

Lincoln is everywhere: he is in novels, in storybooks, and endlessly on everybody's lips as a great man. It was through the biographies of great men that I got to know Lincoln, who had already become a myth. I read a book on Lincoln, which was written by Park Sung-ha 40 years ago, in my elementary and middle school years. While reading Lincoln, I gained a general impression that Lincoln was an honest and great man. But even after those days, my understanding of Lincoln was a general one.

It was after I entered politics that Lincoln took on a new meaning for me. Many people including reporters have asked me whom I respect most. Whenever asked these kinds of questions, I used to say that I respect Kim Ku, who was the leader of the exiled Korean government in China during Japanese Imperialist rule in Korea. It was because Kim Ku was not only a noble-minded patriot who did not give up his integrity even at the end of his life, but also because he was an upright person who fought against the partition of the Korean peninsula to the end. Everyone respects him and so do I.

Whenever I think of Kim Ku, however, I wondered why only the righteous but failed are respected in our modern history, I asked questions such as, "Why did Kim Ku fail?" Will the righteous man always be a loser? These questions brought to me a paradoxical proposition that the righteous man will be the loser in our history. But I could not agree with this proposition that implies a doomed history of justice.

I think that my political trajectory is also confined to the same fate as Kim Ku's. I have always been on the losing side in the real world of politics. Although it is said that my political choice was correct, I have lost the general election of 1992, the Mayoral election for Pusan in 1995, and the general election of 2000 over and over again. Even in our ruling party, I have not been a member of the power group. So, I returned to my original

intention and asked, how hollow would it sound if I told my children that they should follow the righteous path and justice to defeat injustice, although in reality the just would repeatedly be doomed to defeat.

I finally met Lincoln in the middle of these self-interrogations. In history, there are many people, say, Genghis Khan and Napoleon, who conquered others or who won wars with overwhelming power. In addition, there are quite a few people who passed their lasting achievements over to the next generations. However, it is hard for me to agree with their thoughts and behaviors if I see them from the perspective of today. Then, whom can I respect? I thought that the respectable person must be someone who set a just course and becomes a winner with undeniable philosophy of justice for all ages and countries; someone who cultivated fields of history with seeds of justice that flourishes even after 1000 years; someone who has given mankind the hope that justice will eventually prevail.

It is Lincoln who was successful in these respects. It is not Kim Ku, but Lincoln who showed that the paradoxical proposition that justice will be defeated is wrong and who changed people's conflicted attitude toward the truth. I learned from Lincoln that we deserve self-confidence and courage to create our own history. The Korean history after the liberation from Japanese Imperialism has forced people to distort their ideals and make compromises in the name of unyielding reality. Thus, we have to suggest an alternative that can transcend Kim Ku in order to overcome an era in which the ideal is consumed by the exacting reality and the reality is suppressing the ideal.

I came to have new interest in Lincoln. Although the books on Lincoln have been focused on Lincoln's personal history, we have to understand the historical circumstances in which Lincoln was involved so as to appreciate Lincoln's greatness. It has been difficult for me to find books on Lincoln that truly convey his vision.

I came to know several interesting facts in *The Introduction to American History* by Lee Bo-hyung (Published in 1993, Il Cho Gak). I thought that Lincoln was the first President of American from a common class who lived in a log house, but Andrew Jackson (the Seventh President of the U.S.: 1767-1845) was the first one. I came to understand the meaning and context of the Lincoln era, and Lincoln's ideas on the postwar plan and on making reconciliation after the Civil War. I also found out that Lincoln was not just an Abolitionist, but he also had reasonable and realistic perspectives based upon political and legal theory.

On the night of Apr. 13, 2000, when the ballot counting was going on, like Gandhi who experienced the epiphany of realizing the truth in the cold waiting room after being thrown out of his first class compartment and like Paul's dramatic vision on the hot sandy road to Damascus, I encountered Lincoln's vision. That night, I was reading Lincoln's second inaugural address in *The Great Speeches that Moved the World* (March 2000, Monthly Chosun). In the beginning of his speech, Lincoln expressed his complex feelings about an unwanted war:

"Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nations wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." (Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Speech, March 4, 1865).

I was deeply moved by Lincoln's second inaugural address, and thus Lincoln came to me with a totally new meaning. From this deep emotion, I wrote in *Sisa Journal*, the most renowned Korean weekly on current issues, about how I felt about the election I had lost:

"I wish people did not say victory or defeat about my election. I didn't fight against anybody. I didn't fight the opposition candidate, nor did the people of Pusan. I did my best to obtain the goal as a politician and just failed. Of course, I also thought that, until the day before the election, the election is a match that I should win. On the night of the ballot counting, however, I came to realize that I was wrong while I was reading Lincoln's speeches. Lincoln was reluctant to use the words such as victory or defeat even in the moment of the victory in the Civil War. He did not define the Confederate as the enemy, and he did not try to differentiate the Union from the Confederate by using terms like justice vs. injustice, or good vs. evil. He just talked about love and reconciliation among American people. I was moved by the passages 'Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other.' The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully and I even envied American history."

Many people asked me why I came to Pusan. I dare to say that I went to Pusan because I was concerned about the future of our country. We have seen many unfortunate things happen in the histories of other countries in the world; we witnessed politicians instigate distrust and animosity to promote their political interests among their people. I am concerned about the situation of our country because it could be possible that future historians may define our current political situation as a history of division and deception. I believe that politicians should prevent our history from becoming a national disaster.

After the shocking encounter with Lincoln on Apr. 13 of 2000, I was able to redefine the concept of the world. I began to realize clearly Lincoln's

true nature. That is, in the past, I used to think of Lincoln as an outstanding politician who was lucky enough to drift with the tide of his time, and who was able to overcome crisis. While reading the Lincolns speeches, however, I began to think that Lincoln was not just a brilliant politician but a great thinker and statesman.

Lincoln's eloquent expressions of his agony soothe political rivalries. Politicians employ their old tricks to agitate anger and hatred and to draw lines between friend and foe in the middle of political battle. The more he/she does battle, the better he/she can unite his/her friends and control people on the borders. With this tactic, a politician gains the confidence of victory over the enemy. Asking people to unite with him/her by instigating anger and hatred between two rival sides is the most classical method in the political game.

Lincoln was also under fire at that time. Some of his political advisers might have asked him to set up his leadership by stirring up people's conviction on victory or by propagandising his superior authority over the enemy. But Lincoln tried to avoid using terms such as justice and injustice, victory and defeat. He tried to deal with the Union and the Confederate as the members of a community. He talked about love not hatred, about tolerance not exclusion. From this point, I began to understand Lincoln's profound understanding of human beings and their way of life. I also could see Lincoln's agony in his search for a solution for human conflict and pain.

Borrowing passages from Cheungchoon Yechan (The Admiration of Youth) in the high school textbook of Korean literature: "What was Buddha suffering in the snow mountain for? What was Jesus wandering a wild plain for? What was Confucius crossing the countries for?" I felt that Lincoln was also a seeker after truth. Before the Civil War was over, Lincoln was thinking of how he could reconcile with his former enemy. While reading Lincolns inaugural address, I could understand clearly Lincolns post-war policies.

(Frederick Douglass Speaks at Dedication of the Freedmen's Monument, April 14, 1876)

In *The Great Speeches that Moved the World*, there are speeches by Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), who was an Abolitionist, on Lincoln 11 years after Lincoln's death. The speech was given at the ceremony of Dedication of the Freedmen's Monument (April 14, 1876). This speech depicted how Lincoln, surrounded by critical groups, overcame historic challenges such as the integration of the States and the Abolition of the slavery. The fact that Lincoln was surrounded by political foes exemplifies how cautious Lincoln was as a politician and how profound insight he had as an executive. Douglass testifies as follows:

"Few great public men have ever been the victims of fiercer denunciation than Abraham Lincoln was during his administration. He was often wounded in the house of his friends. Reproaches came thick and fast upon him from within and from without, and from opposite quarters. He was assailed by abolitionists; he was assailed by slaveholders; he was assailed by the men who were for peace at any price; he was assailed by those who were for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; he was assailed for not making the war an abolition war; and he was most bitterly assailed for making the war an abolition war.

His great mission was to accomplish two things; first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin; and second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery. To do one or the other, or both, he must have the earnest sympathy and the powerful cooperation of his loyal fellow countrymen. Without this primary and essential condition to success his efforts must have been vain and utterly fruitless. Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people and rendered resistance to rebellion impossible. Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined." (Frederick Douglass Speaks at Dedication of the Freedmen's Monument. April 14, 1876)

legislature in Illinois but was defeated and won only in next election. When Lincoln was not an impatient result-oriented reformist, nor did he merely follow public sentiment. Lincoln had his own solid standard of human value and the future of society. In his standard, there is not narrow-minded thinking. With strong conviction and enthusiasm for progress, Lincoln went forward step by step. He did the best he could given the reality. Although pursuing an ideal, Lincoln confronted reality and did not fret. Lincoln was a humanitarian who did not divert his attention from ideal. On the other hand, Lincoln was a strategic realist standing on rock of reality not upon airy the illusions.

Teo Zommer, the German journalist, once evaluated three German prime ministers Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967), Willy Brandt (1913-1992) and Helmut Schmidt (1918-) as follows: It is people acting in every inevitable situation who make great strides in history. I think that Zommers and statement fits Lincoln most.

We can evaluate Lincoln as a human being in many ways. First of all, Lincoln was a successful man in life. As many Koreans made success by selling papers and performing manual labor in our old times, Lincoln made a success from opportunities and reputation based upon his honesty, and faithfulness, and endless challenges. However, if that is everything of Lincolns success story, it is not a special one since there are many people who achieve this kind of success story. But the fact that Lincoln had a who warm heart is very important because a warm-hearted man's success makes us happy rather than depressed or deprived as hard-hearted some people's success stories do. In addition, Lincoln was a wise man; he got the judgment to know how to solve the problems and to tell right from wrong. He had a correct judgment of the political situation, an insight into history, and a conviction to what he believed. His courage, convictions and insight led him to fight to save the Union and to abolish slavery. However, we should also remember that Lincoln experienced many failures and had many weak points. At the age of 23, he ran for the

legislature in Illinois but was defeated and won only in next election. When he ran for the Congress at 36, he could not get his party's nomination and the same thing happened 2 years later. But in 1846 Lincoln ran for the United States House of Representatives and won after many ups and downs. Lincoln's political challenges after he finished the term of office till he was elected as the President were totally unsuccessful. In 1849 he applied for an executive appointment, the commissionership of the General Land-Office in President Taylor's administration. In 1855 he made an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate; in 1856 he lost the nomination for the Republican Vice-Presidency; in 1858 he lost the election for the Senate again.

Until he got elected the 16th President in 1860, he did not have enough experiences in federal politics except for the two years as a Congressman. In his personal life, Lincoln also had experienced many frustrations and sorrow. At 26, Lincoln was bereaved of his first lover and suffered from depression. At 40, Lincoln lost his second son; at 50, his third son. In the Civil War, his wife's family worked for the Confederate; his brother-in-law and the husband of his wife's sister were killed in the war. What does the phrase, Great man's flaw (weakness) is ordinary man's comfort, mean? In my young days, while reading Buddha's biography, I was impressed and pleased by Buddha's weakness as a human being; in the middle of sermon, Buddha once told his disciples that he would take a rest because of the pain in the back. Likewise, I felt the same comfort from young Lincoln who did not attend the wedding ceremony though scheduled. I have deep affection for Lincoln's weakness since we common people can find some similarities from Lincoln's character.

Even after he became the President, things were not that different. In the wartime, Lincoln went to Gen. George B. McClellan's (1826-1885) barracks and waited for him for 2 hours even though the General had already gone to bed but Lincoln returned without seeing him. This episode has been cited to exemplify how generous and wonderful Lincoln was. But it is not the truth. Rather, it reflects how powerless Lincoln was. The

Lincoln's administration was not powerful enough to dismiss his cabinet members and generals although Lincoln appointed them. I learned what the supreme leader of a country should be and do from Lincoln who fought a war for the integration of the Union and the Abolition of slavery with an administration attacked endlessly from its political opponents. Although pretty weak in the exercise of power, Lincoln strongly demonstrated his ability in executing policies with his determination and tolerance.

In Korea today, there are people arguing that we need strong leadership. Some of them feel nostalgia for the former dictator-President Park Jung-hee's times. Even some others think that the former general-turned dictator Chun Doo-hwan's execution of power was an example of strong leadership. But we are living in a totally different time because if a regime wants to execute the power as the dictators did, the regime will be doomed right away. A strong leadership does not mean a forceful leadership. A strong leadership comes from the leadership of integration based upon the public's faith and the democratic process. It also means a horizontal, open-minded, and autonomous leadership. Only this leadership can overcome the division between the North and South Korea, and cure our chronic crippling social problems such as the regional conflicts (regionalism) and class confrontations.

Lincoln had a good grip of tasks that should be solved in an era and society. He challenged with insight and overcame obstacles with conviction and courage. But he did not yield to the temptation of power. President Lincoln was a humble leader. A humble leader's humble exercise of power saved America and finally made it a strong country. Comparing Lincoln with his predecessor President James Buchanan (1791-1868), Frederick Douglass commented as follows:

"The tremendous question for him to decide was whether his country should survive the crisis and flourish, or be dismembered and perish. His predecessor in office had already decided the question in favor of national dismemberment by denying to it the right of self-defense and self-

preservation a right which belongs to the meanest insect. Happily for the country, happily for you and for me, the judgment of James Buchanan, the patrician, was not the judgment of Abraham Lincoln, the plebeian. He brought his strong common sense, sharpened in the school of adversity, to bear upon the question."

I dare to say, if there had not been Lincoln who had a well-balanced common sense trained in adversity, the history of American politics would have been changed. It is Lincoln who invented a model by which he showed how to create a strong country with humble character and power. He followed the right path. He makes us think that our dream will come true because he achieved a success through honesty and faithfulness. In our history, we have had wrong ideas such as, "to succeed you have to take a wrong road" and as "if you are honest you cannot succeed." Without changing this consciousness and culture, we cannot upgrade our social and historical development to a higher level. Now we have to build a new society where honest, faithful, and fair people could succeed. We have to create and pass down a new society where the dignity of human beings can be fully developed, and a new history in which people with principle can be winners for generations to come. These are my ardent desires and the reasons why I've been in politics.

I wanted to finish my assignment on Lincoln. I shared my thoughts on Lincoln with my aides, gathered materials on Lincoln and polished my writings. After the spring of 2001, the first draft was completed. In the fall of 2001, I came to realize that I should not leave my writing untouched. Our era is very similar to that of Lincoln's since we, Koreans, are still divided between the North and the South as a whole and, because of regionalism, between East and West within the South. Lincoln used to quote a passage from the Bible: "If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. If a house is divided against itself, that house cannot stand" (Mark 3: 24-25). My statement—"without regional integration between East and West, there will be no reform and reunification on the Korean peninsula,"—could be understood in the same

context.

This book consists of my reflections on Lincoln's life. It struck me that I have to publish the book though the book has some limits. The readers that I have on my mind are as follows: those who comment on politics easily, those who deal with the politics lightly, those who are not serious about what they are doing in politics, those who criticize the reform process, and those who want to do something through politics. There is no better text than Lincoln for them. I sincerely recommend people who are skeptical about politics to meet the 16 President of America. They will have different perspectives on politics and history as I already experienced.

I want to add that this book is published with several peoples help. It is no exaggeration to say that my contribution to this book was the sharing of the moving communion with Lincoln. I want to thank Kim Dae-young and Lim Sang-hun for classifying Lincoln's biography based upon the discussion with me. Without them, this could not be published. I also thank Bae Ki-chan for setting up the project of publishing this book; Ahnyun Hong-kyun for polishing my final draft. Finally, I want to thank Wu Chan-kyu, the president of Hak Ko Jae Press, and the editorial staff. President Wu read my draft and gave his approval to publishing this book wholeheartedly, and the editorial staff in Hak Ko Jae made this work a meaningful one with all their hearts.

In November, 2001 at Yo Yi-Do, Seoul, Korea, in a freezing wind.

Roh Moo-hyun wrote.

The Story of Mr. Roh, Moo-Hyun
Standing Advisor to the Millennium Democratic Party
September 2001

Mr. Roh who is well famous as a star on the Congressional hearing

During the National Assembly's hearing on the corrupt activities of former President Chun Doo-Hwan's military regime in 1988, a novice lawmaker stood in the spotlight. It was then that Roh Moo-Hyun of Pusan first caught the nation's attention. He was steadfast and determined against those who were allegedly involved in the corruption and refused to cooperate with the investigations by only responding, "I cannot remember" or "I don't know", when being questioned. Roh astutely pointed out the inconsistencies in their testimonies. Through his resolute will to search for truth and pursue logical inquiry, he rose to be a prominent statesman, a man the Korean people were taking more and more notice of.

A self-made man

Roh, a successful lawyer, graduated only from a vocational high school, unlike most other Korean lawyers who graduated from prestigious universities or got their degrees from foreign schools. Aside from his activity during the hearing, Roh continued to gain the public's attention with his dramatic life.

His political opponents claimed that the rise in his political popularity during the hearing was due to his articulation and narrative skills. In actuality, his true value stemmed from his political activities.

Roh was born as the youngest son of a family from Jinyoung, a small town in Kyung-Sang Province. Following the typical path of bright but poor students of those times, he went to a vocational school and got a job after graduation. But he was disappointed with his meager salary which was below minimum wage, so he decided to challenge himself and took the

national bar exam, an exam only the elites of Korea were known to be able to successfully tackle. Despite his poor formal education, he passed the bar exam in 1975.

A lawyer of principle

After establishing a career as a judge, he opened his own law firm. He was a successful lawyer and demonstrated a special talent for tax law, gaining more prominence in the legal circles of Pusan. He could have easily accumulated personal wealth and secured a comfortable life. However, he could not turn a blind eye to the brutality of the military regime that reigned over the country.

A leader in the Democratic Movement

He saw the reality of the injustices that bright students were facing if they dared to protest against the military regime. They were being unjustly arrested and tortured. Rather than ignoring the dire situation his country faced, Roh opted to fight for social justice and exposed himself to a life filled with suffering and difficult times due to his deep involvement with the democratic movement. During the movement, he suffered from the military regime's oppression and was stripped of his license to practice law. As Chairman of the Association of Democratic Citizens of Pusan, he played a major role in the democratic movement of Pusan. He was one of the pivotal leaders that ignited the Great Democratic Movement in June, 1987.

After the Movement, he decided to run for the National Assembly, seeking a legitimate means of power to continue his fight for democracy. He joined the Unified Democratic Party led by Mr. Kim Young-Sam, the leader of the opposition party based in the Southeastern part of Korea who later became President. Roh ran against a member of the military elite in the ruling party and won the election.

Becoming a National Assemblyman

The National Assembly served as Roh's stage for demonstrating his true talents. He made his mark through his parliamentary activities, playing a major role in not only the hearings of the former military regime's crimes, but also in the labor committee of the National Assembly.

But what lay ahead was a very challenging period in Roh's life, the intensified regional conflict between the eastern and western part of Korea. The regional conflict took center stage in the political arena, overshadowing the activities of the military regime's dictatorship. In 1990 Kim Young-Sam, President of Unified Democratic Party, and Kim Jong-Phil, President of New Democratic Republic Party based in Chung-Cheong Province, announced a merger of their two parties with the ruling Democratic Justice Party. The so-called "Three Party Merger" was the start of many trials and tribulations for Roh, who adamantly denounced the merger as a political collusion.

He refused to follow his party leader and did not join the Three Party Merger. Together with other lawmakers who refused to join the newly founded Party, he strived to build a unified opposition party named the Peace Democratic Party based in Cholla Province which was led by Kim Dae-Jung.

A politician for the regional integration with faith and principle

He again ran in the general election of 1992 in the city of Pusan. However, Pusan was still very much a political stronghold of Kim Young-Sam. It was impossible for Roh, a candidate of the new opposition party based in Cholla Province, to win in Pusan. Although Roh could have easily run for office in the Seoul Metropolitan area and secured political office, he was determined to confront the issues of regional antagonism by attempting to reform the political atmosphere of that area. Despite his loss in that election, he persisted and ran for political offices in the district

of Pusan as a means of trying to combat regional strife and discord.

After President Kim Dae-Jung came into office, he asked Roh to run as a candidate in a special election of Seoul. Roh won the election but in the next general election he ran again in Pusan and lost. Even though he lost the election by a narrow margin, he built a solid political base through the election. In the process of his courageous political experimentation, Roh has gained a reputation as a statesman who is looking to revolutionize the political atmosphere of the nation, ridding it of its regional strifes.

A mediator making reasonable solutions

Even though he did not have the opportunity to serve Pusan in the capacity of a lawmaker or Mayor, he contributed to solving the economic problems that plagued the city with his excellent skills in public policy-making. A prime example of Roh's competence was the sale of the bankrupted Samsung Auto industry based in Pusan. Utilizing his already acknowledged negotiation skills with the labor union, owner and government, Samsung Auto was restructured and sold to Reno. During his term as Minister of Maritime Affairs, he exemplified his administrative ability to motivate and lead government officials.

Now Roh, a standing advisor to the ruling party, is emerging as the most promising candidate for the next presidential election. According to public opinion polls, he has the broadest base of support in the Seoul Metropolitan Area which incorporates almost half of all the country's voters. In terms of his ratings as a recognized new leader and his approval ratings, he is the leading candidate.

Roh's continuous fight for the establishment of legitimate political principles and his vision to solve politics problems, including regional conflict, has won him the national recognition and reputation of an innovative politician firmly grounded in integrity. Roh has now come to the crossroads of a new stage in his political career.

Curriculum Vitae of Roh Moo-hyun

■ Date of Birth : August 6th, 1946

■ Present Address : # 302, Hyundai Villa, Myung-Ryun 1 ga, Chongno-gu, Seoul

■ Party : Millennium Democratic Party

■ Education

1996. 2. Graduated from Pusan Commercial High School

■ Career

2001. 3. Standing Advisor to the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP)

2000. 8. Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries

2000. 2. Supreme Counsel, Millennium Democratic Party

1998. 7. Elected to the National Assembly, 15th session (Chongno-gu, Seoul)

1998. 2. Chairman of the Special Committee for the Prevention of Exploitation of Workers

1997. 11. Vice-president of the National Congress for New Politics

1993. 10. Director of the Institute for Municipal Administration Research

1992. 3. Vice-president of the Democratic Party

1991. 10. Spokesperson for the Democratic Party

1988. 4. Elected to the National Assembly, 13th session (Dong-gu, Pusan)

1978. 5. Began to practice at the bar

1977. 9. Judge in the Taejon Regional Court

1975. 4. Passed the state-administered bar exam (National Judiciary Exam)

The Korea Times (April 7, 2002)

Roh Wins 3 Consecutive MDP Primaries to Consolidate Lead

Roh Moo-hyun, a presidential frontrunner of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP), held a winning streak in the so-called three super primaries held from Friday to Sunday, maintaining a lead in the neck-and-neck nomination race.

At the North Kyongsang Province primary held in the southeastern industrial city of Pohang yesterday, Roh received 1,246 votes, or 59.4 percent of the total 2,111 votes, while Rhee In-je, the runner-up, grabbed 668 votes, or 31.9 percent.

Rep. Chung Dong-young, an anchorman-turned-presidential hopeful, came in a distant third by winning only 183 votes, or 8.7 percent.

In the combined tally so far, Roh has received a total 8,018 votes, or 47.6 percent, while Rhee has won 7,002 votes, or 41.6 percent. Chung has a total 1,817 votes, or 10.8 percent.

The Incheon primary, the tenth out of 16 total primaries on Saturday, is significant as it could serve as an indicator for the upcoming primaries in Kyonggi Province and Seoul scheduled to be later this month, as it is the first primary to be held in the metropolitan area.

The two areas, which account for about 40 percent of the 70,000 strong electoral college, could help make or break the presidential bids of either Roh or Rhee.

Against this backdrop, Roh's strong performance in the Incheon primary touched off speculation that the tide of the nomination race has already turned in favor of Roh.

Roh's strong performance in the three primaries has also given ample credence to the idea that the so-called Roh Wind could continue to sweep across the nation, including metropolitan areas.

The Roh Wind, which refers to Roh's surging public support rating, began to blow across the nation in earnest after he outperformed Rhee and the leading opposition presidential candidate Lee Hoi-chang in a series of opinion polls, with his upset victory in the primary in the southwestern city of Kwangju last month.

Roh's victory in the Kwangju primary was significant as he received ringing endorsements from the southwestern Cholla Provinces, despite hailing from the traditional rival Kyongsang Province.

The outcomes of the three consecutive primaries also demonstrated that despite the latest ideological offensives from Rhee's camp about Roh's allegedly controversial remarks concerning the media, voters, including those in metropolitan areas, are lending overwhelming support to Roh.

``It is fair to say that metropolitan areas are also under the sway of the Roh Wind," said officials of Roh's camp after his strong showing in the Incheon primary.

Last week, Rhee claimed that Roh said during a dinner with five reporters last year that he would call for the nationalization of major newspapers and the closure of the Dong-a Ilbo should he take office.

Meanwhile, Rhee's camp has put on a brave face despite his relatively poor performance in the first Seoul metropolitan primary, claiming that the outcome of the Incheon primary was relatively good considering the primaries were being conducted under unfair circumstances.

``The influence of the Roh Wind is tapering," argued an official of Rhee's camp, adding that any interpretation of the outcome of the Incheon primary as a reflection of the voice of the voters in Seoul metropolitan areas is incorrect.

As things stand, Roh's strong performance in the primaries has undermined the ground on which Rhee depends, with Rhee arguing that the ``prevailing sentiment" will ensure he will win the MDP nomination for the presidential election. <By Kim Kwang-tae ktkim@koreatimes.co.kr 2002/04/07 21:00>

The Korea Times (April 8, 2002)

No Differences Exist Between President Kim, Roh Over US Policy'

A spokesman for Roh Moo-hyun, a leading presidential candidate of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP), said yesterday that there are no differences between President Kim Dae-jung and the presidential aspirant over policies toward the U.S. and North Korea

``The foreign media's interest in Roh is increasing," Yoo Jong-pil, a spokesman for Roh, said, adding that the U.S. also appears keen to know what kind of person Roh is.

Yoo's remarks apparently came in response to a recent comment by James Kelly, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs.

``A new generation of leaders with new visions for Korea's future are coming forward," Kelly said, delivering a speech at a conference in Washington, D.C., last week. ``Democracy develops unpredictably, and we need to remind ourselves that Korea's next leadership may seek to redefine the nation's relationship with the U.S. in ways that may challenge our traditional role in Korea."

Yoo said that foreign media seems to have a keen interest in whether Roh has any significant differences with President Kim over policies toward the U.S. or North Korea

He told reporters that Roh envies the U.S. for its development of many values, including democracy and human rights, adding that Roh's book on former U.S. president Abraham Lincoln demonstrates his interest in democracy and national reconciliation after Civil War.

2002/04/08 19:15