

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 79SEOUL 018150

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ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2678
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 SEOUL 18150

EXDIS

E.O. 12065, RDS-3 11/29/89 (GLEYSTEN, W.H.) OR-M
TAGS: PGDV, PINT, KS, US
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S POLITICAL ASSESSMENT ONE MONTH
AFTER PARK ASSASSINATION

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY: LIKE OTHERS I AM IMPRESSED BY THE INTELLIGENCE AND COMPOSURE WITH WHICH THE SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT HAVE CONDUCTED THEMSELVES DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE TRANSITION FOLLOWING PARK'S ASSASSINATION ONE MONTH AGO. THE ATMOSPHERE IS FAIRLY RELAXED, AND THERE IS A HEALTHY DEGREE OF CONSENSUS THAT THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE SHOULD BE LIBERALIZED. BUT PARK'S DEATH HAS NOT BROUGHT A SPIRIT OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY INTO KOREAN POLITICS, AND THERE IS STILL A DANGEROUS DISAGREEMENT ABOUT HOW FAR AND HOW FAST LIBERALIZATION SHOULD PROCEED. THE FIRST SIGNS OF UNRELENTING CONFRONTATION HAVE ALREADY APPEARED IN THE FAMILIAR FORM OF EXTREMIST DEMANDS QUICKLY SUPPRESSED BY EXCESSIVELY NERVOUS POLICE.

3. ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI AND HIS INNER CABINET HAVE PRESENTED THE PUBLIC WITH A SENSIBLE PROCEDURE FOR ORDERLY REFORM WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE HAD INITIAL PUBLIC TOLERANCE

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IF NOT ACTIVE SUPPORT, BUT HE HAS YET TO DEFINE IT IN TERMS THAT WILL PREVENT SERIOUS CONTROVERSY OVER THE LONGER RUN. IF CHOI AS PRESIDENT FORMS A COMPETENT CABINET, SPECIFIES WITH SUFFICIENT CLARITY THAT HE INTENDS TO STEP DOWN ROUGHLY ONE YEAR AFTER PRESIDING OVER CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL REFORM, AND LIGHTENS THE REINS OF POLITICAL CONSTRAINT, THE ODDS ARE THAT HE AND HIS MILITARY BACKERS WILL HAVE A PERIOD OF GRACE DURING WHICH THE HARDBITTEN CONFRONTATIONALISTS IN OPPOSITION/

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Date: 4-22-93 19

DISSIDENT QUARTERS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ENGENDER MUCH PUBLIC SUPPORT. IF HE IS TOO WOBBLY AND VAGUE, THE CRIES OF FOUL PLAY BY THE DISSIDENTS AND OPPOSITION WILL BE REINFORCED BY POPULAR SUSPICION THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT WILL BY ONE OR ANOTHER MEANS EXTEND THE YUSHIN SYSTEM OF RULE. UNFORTUNATELY CHOI HAS LAUNCHED HIS ENTERPRISE IN A FORMALISTIC MANNER WHICH HAS TROUBLED PEOPLE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAVEN'T MUCH SYMPATHY FOR THE DISSIDENTS. HE WILL NEED TO BE FAR MORE VIGOROUS IF HE IS TO SUCCEED.

4. IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, CHOI FACES SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES...APART FROM A CONSTANT NEED TO DEMONSTRATE HIS CREDITABILITY AS A NEUTRAL INTERIM LEADER, HIS GOVERNMENT MUST COPE WITH THE INHERENT DIFFICULTIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN SHORT PERIOD AS WELL AS THE TRICKY PROCESS OF EASING POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS (E.G., MARTIAL LAW, EM-9, AND CENSORSHIP) WITHOUT PULLING THE PLUG. IT MAY ALSO BE ATTACKED FOR STACKING THE DECK AGAINST THE OPPOSITION IN ANY FUTURE ELECTION. CHOI AND COMPANY WILL SHARE POWER IN A COMPLEX NEW PATTERN. KIM CHONG P'IL AND THE DRP WILL TRY TO ENHANCE THEIR POSITION AND MAY WEAKEN CHOI OR CROWD HIM TO THE POINT THAT HE APPEARS TO BE A PUPPET. THE BASICALLY CONSERVATIVE MILITARY WILL

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CONTINUE TO WIELD ALMOST ALL RAW POWER, AT A MINIMUM RETAINING A VETO POWER OVER ANY DEVELOPMENT AND PERHAPS DRAGGING OUT THE PROCESS OF LIBERALIZATION -- ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT SO FAR. THE OPPOSITION, WHICH MAY DIVIDE CONFUSINGLY, WILL ALMOST SURELY PLAY A MUCH LARGER ROLE THAN DURING RECENT YEARS. THE DISSIDENTS, THOUGH THEIR NUMBERS ARE TINY, WILL BE ABLE TO USE OTHER FORCES, SUCH AS THE STUDENTS, AND WILL BE THE MOST LIKELY TRIGGER OF TROUBLE. THE U.S. AND POSSIBLY NORTH KOREA MAY ALSO BE SIGNIFICANT FACTORS.

5. THE OUTCOME OF THIS COMPLEX PROCESS IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT -- EXCEPT THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE ROK WILL EITHER BE RIPPED APART BY CHAOTIC DISORDER OR BLESSED WITH AN EASY TRANSITION TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. IF CHOI CAN BE STIFFENED TO MOVE WITH SUFFICIENT SPEED AND TO PRESERVE A RELATIVELY FAIR ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES, HE MAY BE ABLE TO PULL KOREA THROUGH A VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS. SHOULD HE FAIL, THE SITUATION COULD DETERIORATE TO THE POINT WHERE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY WOULD TAKE POWER THROUGH A COUP IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SELF-PRESERVATION. SO FAR WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO FIND SIGNS OF SUCH A MILITARY MOVE AND ONE IS NOT VERY LIKELY UNLESS AND UNTIL THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL EROSION OF PUBLIC ORDER. EVEN THEN A MILITARY COUP COULD PROVE HIGHLY UNPOPULAR. IF IT WERE

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PRESIDENT PARK'S ASSASSINATION IS THAT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS IN MUCH BETTER SHAPE THAN MANY KOREANS AND OUTSIDERS WOULD HAVE ASSUMED -- A TRIBUTE TO THE SURPRISING VIGOR OF KOREAN INSTITUTIONS AND KOREAN AWARENESS OF HOW MUCH THEY HAVE TO LOSE FROM CHAOS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF THE NORTH KOREAN THREAT. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE COMMITTED TO POLITICAL COMBAT, THOUGHTFUL KOREANS HAVE BEEN QUICK TO GRASP THE CENTRAL ISSUE FACING THEM: HOW TO LIBERALIZE THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE FAST ENOUGH TO SATISFY POPULAR EXPECTATIONS BUT STEADILY ENOUGH TO AVOID THE DANGER OF OVER-REACHING THEMSELVES OR SCARING MILITARY ELEMENTS INTO A MILITARY TAKE-OVER.

7. ALTHOUGH WARNING SIGNS ARE BEGINNING TO APPEAR, THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE IS RELAXED FOR A COUNTRY UNDER MARTIAL LAW AND SO ACCUSTOMED TO POLITICAL TENSIONS. FEW, IF ANY, PEOPLE ARGUE AGAINST SOME DEGREE OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION; THE MILITARY HAVE DISPLAYED CONSIDERABLE STATESMANSHIP IN PLAYING A STABILIZING ROLE AND GOING OUT OF THEIR WAY TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF DEFERRING TO CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP; MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN CONDUCTED WITH SKILL AND A FAIRLY LIGHT TOUCH; THE CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY HAS NEVER FALTERED; THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HAS SENSED ITS GREAT STAKE IN NORMALCY; AND THE GENERAL

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PUBLIC -- SO FAR INCLUDING THE MASS OF STUDENTS AND MOST OF THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION -- HAVE ACCOMMODATED THEMSELVES TO CURRENT PLANS WITH SOMETHING BETWEEN POSITIVE SUPPORT AND TOLERANCE. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE REASSURED KOREANS AND GENERATED SOME PREMATURE SELF-CONGRATULATION ABOUT THE ROK'S "MATURITY."

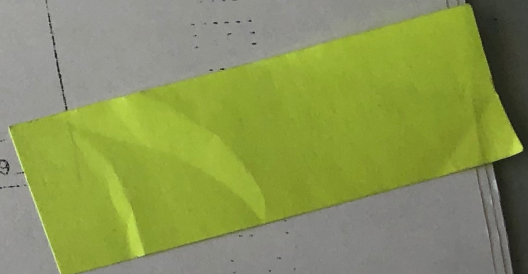
8. YET, THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN AMPLE REMINDERS THAT THIS SOCIETY OF GARLIC AND PEPPER EATING COMBATANTS HAS NOT

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CHANGED ITS BASIC NATURE. DISSIDENT ELEMENTS AND SOME OF THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION, GROOVED OVER DECADES INTO EXTREMIST PATTERNS BY CONFRONTATION WITH AUTHORITY, HAVE REJECTED THE ACTING GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED SCENARIO FOR REFORM AND REITERATED THEIR EXTREMIST DEMANDS FOR IMMEDIATE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE YUSHIN SYSTEM; SOME STUDENT ACTIVISTS, INSTEAD OF WELCOMING THE IMPENDING RETURN OF COLLEAGUES PREVIOUSLY BARRED FROM THE UNIVERSITIES BECAUSE OF EM-9 VIOLATIONS, HAVE BEGUN TO AGITATE FOR PUNISHMENT OF ACADEMIC AUTHORITIES WHO COOPERATED WITH THE PARK GOVERNMENT; ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY, POLICE, AND OTHER SECURITY AUTHORITIES HAVE RUMBLER ABOUT THE EXCESSES OF THE DISSIDENTS; THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY MADE NEW ARRESTS WHILE FREEING SOME PREVIOUS VIOLATORS; AND, FINALLY, ACTING PRESIDENT CHOI HAS GONE ABOUT HIS "CONSULTATIONS" WITH VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION IN A RATHER STILTED CONFUCIAN MANNER WHICH HAS CONVEYED UNNECESSARY OVERTONES OF THE PAST REGIME.

9. THE SCENARIO FOR THE NEXT STAGE SEEMS FAIRLY CLEAR. CHOI WILL BE ELECTED NEXT WEEK AS INTERIM PRESIDENT UNDER YUSHIN PROCEDURES, AND HE WILL THEN CARRY OUT A CABINET RESHUFFLE WHICH WILL LEAVE THE ECONOMY IN THE SAME TECHNOCRATIC HANDS THAT HAVE LONG GUIDED KOREA AND

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PRESUMABLY ELIMINATE MOST OF PARK'S BAD BOYS. THE SCHEDULE FOR POLITICAL RELAXATION IS LESS CLEAR. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DECIDED WHEN TO ACT, IT SEEMS COMMITTED TO LIFTING EM-9, FREEING POLITICAL PRISONERS (INCLUDING KIM TAE CHUNG), AND EASING CENSORSHIP-- PROBABLY IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. SO LONG AS IT IS NOT FACED WITH WIDESPREAD AND VIOLENT UNREST, IT WILL ALSO LIFT MARTIAL LAW BUT THIS NOW SEEMS UNLIKELY BEFORE NEXT YEAR. THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION, AS DISTINCT FROM DISSIDENTS, WILL PROBABLY GO ALONG WITH THIS SCHEDULE, WHILE REGISTERING THEIR OBJECTION TO WORKING UNDER THE YUSHIN CONSTITUTION.

10. AS POLITICAL COMBAT RESUMES ITS NORMAL SPIRIT, THE FIRST TEST WILL BE WHETHER THE CHOI GOVERNMENT CAN ACT WITH SUFFICIENT VIGOR TO CONVINCE THE OPPOSITION AND POPULAR OPINION OF ITS INTERIM NATURE AND LIMITED MANDATE AND THAT IT IS NOT SIMPLY A VARIATION ON THE YUSHIN THEME. THE INNATE CAUTION OF CHOI HIMSELF COMBINED WITH FEAR AMONG THE SECURITY AUTHORITIES ABOUT MOVING TOO FAST AND PRESSURE BY POLITICAL FORCES JOCKEYING FOR POSITION, COULD RESULT IN VAGUENESS WHICH COULD QUICKLY SOUR THE PUBLIC MOOD. FOR REASONS OF HIS OWN, KIM CHONG P'IL WILL PRESS CHOI TO BE FORTHRIGHT AND THERE ARE SOME OTHERS AMONG THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY HIERARCHY WITH SUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING OF POPULAR FEELING TO PUSH CHOI IN THE

PA

RIGHT DIRECTION.

11. ASSUMING THE NEW GOVERNMENT OVERCOMES THIS INITIAL PROCEDURAL OBSTACLE, THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE WILL BE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT SIDE HAS AGREED TO A CONSENSUS PROCEDURE AND 50-50 COMPOSITION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

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FOR DISARMMENT IS LIMITED. NO ONE WITH
 TRAINED ON EITHER THE GOVERNMENT OR OPPOSITION
 APPRECIATE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION
 THAT WILL BE THE FACE OF CONSTITUTIONAL
 MAY BE LONG ONE FROM THE WISDOM TO
 MANIPULATE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH
 CHANGES THAT THE WORK IS BEING DONE

IN MAY WHEN THE BLUE HOUSE WAS SO DOMINATING.
 DETERMINED BY A CONSTITUTION. FIRST
 WILL BE WITH THE INTERIM PRESIDENT
 AND PERHAPS CONTROL THE CIVILIAN
 THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF CHOI'S TRYING TO
 IN OFFICE, BUT IT IS EASY TO VISUALIZE
 BY VARIOUS FORCES, PARTICULARLY
 WHO WANT TO KEEP THE SPIRIT OF
 WHO WANT TO TAKE THE SPIRIT AWAY
 THE SECOND AND BY FAR STRONGEST ELEMENT
 WHO WOULD WANT TO TAKE THE SPIRIT AWAY
 OVER MUST DEVELOPMENT. UNDER THE
 LEGISLATION. AND COLLECTIVE IN THE
 AND LIBERALISM. THERE ARE
 WILL BE EXTREMELY ACTIVE IN BRINGING
 VICTORY IN PARLIAMENTARY. IN THE

EDGE REVIEW

CHANGING POLITICAL
 SITUATION IN THE
 GOVERNMENT SIDE
 CONSTITUTIONAL
 AMENDMENT

THE SHORTEST SHORTLY IN DEMOCRATIC CLOTHING AND THE HELP
 TOWARD A MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP
 WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
 TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
 STRONG. THERE ARE
 DIVIDED. WILL BE
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EXDIS

THE POTENTIAL FOR DISAGREEMENT IS LIMITLESS. NO ONE WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED ON EITHER THE GOVERNMENT OR OPPOSITION SIDE SEEMS TO APPRECIATE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE MATTER. ANOTHER INEVITABLE ISSUE WILL BE THE PACE OF LIBERALIZATION. IN ADDITION, THERE MAY WELL BE TENSIONS FROM DRP EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE AND MANIPULATE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, LEADING TO OPPOSITION CHARGES THAT THE DECK IS BEING STACKED.

12. UNLIKE THE PAST WHERE THE BLUE HOUSE WAS SO DOMINATING, POWER WILL BE DISTRIBUTED IN A COMPLEX PATTERN. FIRST, FORMAL AUTHORITY WILL RESIDE WITH THE INTERIM PRESIDENT WHO WILL REIGN OVER AND PERHAPS CONTROL THE CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY. THERE IS LITTLE DANGER OF CHOI'S TRYING TO PERPETUATE HIMSELF IN OFFICE, BUT IT IS EASY TO VISUALIZE HIS BEING PUSHED AROUND BY VARIOUS FORCES, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITHIN THE HIERARCHY WHO WANT TO KEEP THE BRAKES ON AND THOSE WITHIN THE DRP WHO WANT TO TAKE UNFAIR ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION. THE SECOND AND BY FAR STRONGEST ELEMENT WILL BE THE MILITARY WHO HOLD ALMOST ALL RAW POWER, RETAINING A VETO OVER MOST DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE FUTURE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, AND DECISIONS ON HOW FAST AND HOW FAR THINGS ARE PERMITTED TO LIBERALIZE. THIRD, KIM CHONG P'IL WILL BE EXTREMELY ACTIVE IN BUILDING A BASE FOR A DRP POLITICAL VICTORY IN POPULAR ELECTIONS. SO FAR HE

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HAS WRAPPED HIMSELF IN DEMOCRATIC CLOTHING AND HAS HELP-FULLY PUSHED CHOI TOWARD A MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OPPOSITION. WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME, HOWEVER, HE MAY PRESSURE CHOI TO THE POINT HE IS CHARGED WITH PULLING THE PUPPET STRINGS. FOURTH, THE OPPOSITION, THOUGH PERHAPS CONFUSINGLY DIVIDED, WILL PLAY A FAR GREATER ROLE THAN DURING PARK'S TIME, IF ONLY BECAUSE SO MUCH OF THE PUBLIC FEELS THEY DESERVE A BETTER DEAL. AND, FINALLY, DISSIDENTS, EVEN WITH THEIR SMALL NUMBERS, WILL BE ABLE

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Classified by *Eliah Kelly Jr.*

Date *4-22-93*

USE OTHER FORCES SUCH AS STUDENTS AND WILL BE THE MOST LIKELY TRIGGER OF TROUBLE.

13. FROM THE OUTSIDE, THE U.S. WILL ALSO PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE. DURING THESE PAST WEEKS OUR INFLUENCE HAS NEVER BEEN HIGHER BECAUSE KOREANS, CONSCIOUSLY OR OTHERWISE, HAVE BEEN REACHING FOR THEIR AMERICAN SECURITY BLANKET AND HAVE BEEN PLEASED BY THE INITIAL COMFORT THIS HAS GIVEN THEM. AS THE SENSE OF CRISIS PASSES, OUR INFLUENCE WILL DIMINISH WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WE WILL BE ASKED TO DO CONTRADICTORY THINGS BY THOSE WISHING TO USE US. FURTHER ALONG THERE MAY BE THE DANGER OF AMERICAN ACTIONS THAT COULD PROVOKE AN UNHEALTHY REACTION WITHIN A SIGNIFICANT SEGMENT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE. ALSO FROM THE OUTSIDE NORTH KOREA HAS THE POTENTIAL OVER THE LONGER RUN TO EXERCISE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE COHESION OF ROK'S BEHAVIOR DEPENDING ON HOW HARD OR SOFT THE LINE IT ADOPTS.

} *

*past few wks -
US influence never higher*

14. GIVEN THE COMPLEXITY OF THE TASK AND THE NUMBER OF ACTORS, IT IS FUTILE AND PROBABLY DANGEROUS TO INDULGE IN MUCH PREDICTION. I FEEL REASONABLY CONFIDENT WE WILL NOT SEE EITHER CHAOTIC DISORDER OR EASY ACHIEVEMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE. THE POLITICAL COURSE IS LIKELY TO WOBBLE BETWEEN THESE TWO EXTREMES WITH AN ALMOST INFINITE

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VARIETY OF POSSIBILITIES. THE CHOI GOVERNMENT MAY PRESIDE FAIRLY SUCCESSFULLY OVER A PERIOD OF CONSTITUTIONAL BICKERING WHICH MAY BE MORE OR LESS TOLERABLE TO THE OPPOSITION, OR THE CHOI GOVERNMENT MAY PROCEED SO INEFFECTIVELY THAT THE OPPOSITION WILL BE DRAWN INTO GREATER AND GREATER CONFRONTATION BY POPULAR DISSATISFACTION. EVENTUALLY THE SITUATION MAY DETERIORATE TO THE POINT WHERE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY TAKE POWER THROUGH A COUP D'ETAT IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SELF-PRESERVATION. SO FAR WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS OF SUCH A MILITARY MOVE AND ONE IS NOT VERY LIKELY UNLESS AND UNTIL THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL DETERIORATION IN PUBLIC ORDER. EVEN THEN A MILITARY COUP COULD PROVE HIGHLY UNPOPULAR. IF IT LED TO A CONTEST IN THE STREETS, IT WOULD POSE THE MOST SERIOUS KIND OF DANGER FOR KOREA--AND FOR OURSELVES.

15. WHILE I AM MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE ROK'S POLITICAL FUTURE THAN I WAS DURING THE LAST MONTHS OF PARK'S BEDEVILED RULE, I AM ALSO MORE DISCOURAGED THAN I WAS TWO WEEKS AGO, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE EXTREME WING OF THE DISSIDENT/OPPOSITION WHO SEEM UNWILLING TO EXPERIMENT WITH COMPROMISE, CONTINUE TO LEAN INTO THE WIND WHEN IT MAY NO LONGER BE BLOWING, AND CHARACTERIZE THE SITUATION TO THEIR FOLLOWING IN WAYS THAT MAY PROVE A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. AT A MINIMUM THESE OBSTRUCTIONISTS MUST SHARE BLAME WITH THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT WHO ARE

"extreme wing"

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RELUCTANT TO RISK SOME LOSS OF INFLUENCE THROUGH MORE
GENEROUS TREATMENT OF THE OPPOSITION. NEVERTHELESS, IF

CHOI FORMS A COMPETENT
CABINET, SPECIFIES WITH SUFFICIENT CLARITY THAT HE INTENDS
TO STEP DOWN ROUGHLY ONE YEAR AFTER PRESIDING OVER CONSTI-
TUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL REFORM, AND LIGHTENS THE REINS OF
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INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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EXDIS

FACES. MOST KOREANS SEEM TO SEE THE NEED FOR AN ORDERLY
PROCESS OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION, AND THEY APPEAR
PREPARED TO GIVE A NEUTRAL GOVERNMENT ROUGHLY A YEAR OR SO
TO DEMONSTRATE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD THIS OBJECTIVE.
THE OBVIOUS SPOILERS ARE THE HIGH QUOTIENT OF IMPATIENCE
AND COMBAYZIVENESS AMONG KOREANS, THE POSSIBILITY OF A BAD
ECONOMIC BREAK, THE POSSIBLE REAPPEARANCE OF CORRUPTION
AND OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE AILMENTS IN THE ABSENCE OF A
STRONG PRESIDENT, AND, FINALLY, THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER IN
THE HANDS OF THE DISSIDENTS--AND DISGRUNTLED MILITARY
ELEMENTS. GLFYSTEEN

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