



## U. S. entrapped in S. Korea?

By EDWARD P. MORGAN

The United States government has entrapped itself in South Korea. Figuratively speaking, it is as much a prisoner of circumstance as some hapless Korean clapped into jail and tortured as a "subversive" by President Park Chung Hee's own KCIA — Korean Central Intelligence Agency, which is patterned, somewhat, after our own.

There is even the torture of anguish and anxiety in the picture, for if war flared again between North and South Korea, the U. S. would become instantly involved. There are some 40,000 American troops "guarding" the boundary of the 38th parallel. There has been a substantial U. S. military presence in South Korea for more than a quarter of a century.

When I was in Seoul three summers ago, the U. S. command, when pressed, said it might be able to

spare a little manpower here and there, including anti-aircraft battery crews — after South Koreans had been trained to take over. But there was no indication of any real pullout imminent. Indeed, now that we are out of Vietnam, the Pentagon reportedly considers our Korean commitment more important than ever, to display a "presence" in Asia.

But where is all this leading? When will the U. S. commitment end? These are elements of the entrapment. It would be folly to phase out our Korean command now. Or would it? President Park has become an increasingly cruel and ruthless dictator since he junked the constitution and improvised his own in 1972. A recognized Asian specialist, Professor Frank P. Baldwin, Jr., who has been teaching in Japan, suggested in Washington recently that there may be relatively more overt repression in South Korea than in North Korea, strongly presided

over by another dictator, Communist Premier Kim Il Sung. And this, Baldwin said, brought up in Seoul, Tokyo and elsewhere the quivering question of the South Korean army's will to fight. The "ROK" forces, as they were called, fought well in Vietnam and are supposed to be, along with the KCIA, Park's main support.

But reforms that affect the poor, including land reform, have been minimal under Park. Ironically, Marxist regime though it is, Kim has given the north, Professor Baldwin said, relatively better social justice than the South. There has of course been land reform, and basic human needs are being met.

With Park becoming increasingly ruthless — the Washington Post recently had a long report on how the KCIA was spreading fear and tightening its grasp on national life — why indeed should the peasant-class South Korean soldier be raring to fight to protect what is becoming tyranny?

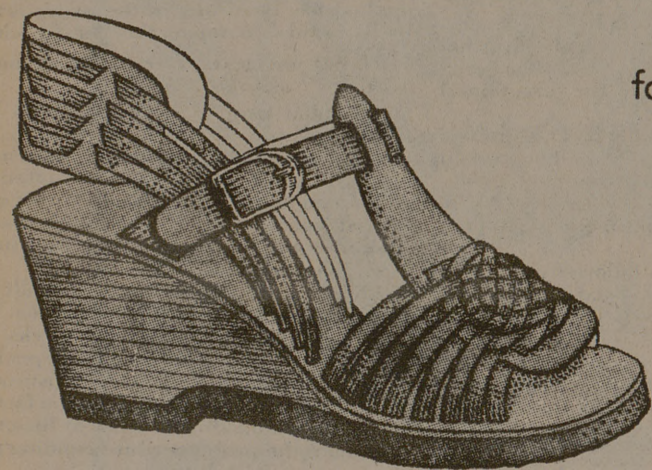
And what is the United States doing supporting that tyranny? What but the military mind could justify intervening on behalf of one tyranny to fight another? A recent military mission from Seoul to Washington indicated South Korea should be strong enough to stand on its own feet by 1980. Providing of course a revolt against cruelty doesn't try to stand Park on his head in the interim.

Morgan is the chief correspondent for *In The Public Interest*, a press service of the Fund for Peace.

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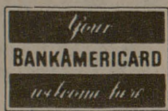
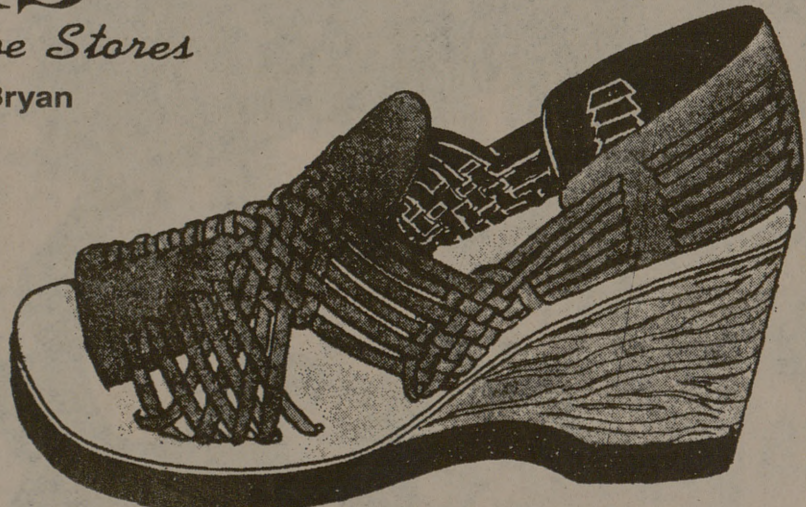


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## Reagan's boo-boo buoys Ford chance

WASHINGTON — This political year, which has had almost everything, now has its classical political blunder. Ronald Reagan's choice of Sen. Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania as his running mate seems certain to be recorded in the annals of presidential campaign boo-boos, along with George McGovern's \$1,000-plan and "1000 per cent" endorsement of Tom Eagleton, Ed Muskie's speech in the snow, Barry Goldwater's Social Security and TVA comments and other great gaffes of history.

It's always fascinating to go back and replay such moves, trying to figure where the fatal miscalculation arose and why it was not perceived. In the case of Reagan's gamble, there were at least three misjudgments which compounded the costliness of the Schweiker caper.

The first misreading was the standing of Schweiker in the Pennsylvania Republican party. The obvious test of the wisdom of Reagan's move was the ability of Schweiker to dislodge uncommitted and Ford delegates in Pennsylvania.

Schweiker has failed with the Ford delegates because he is only a junior partner in the liberal Republican leadership of his state. Sen. Hugh Scott, former Gov. (and now UN Ambassador) William Scranton, and fund-raiser and former gubernatorial candidate Drew Lewis are the heavyweights of that wing. Schweiker concealed his deal from them, and they, in turn, clubbed him among the Ford loyalists.

When this reporter called the uncommitted delegates in Pennsylvania immediately after Reagan's announcement, it became clear that there was an equally serious misreading of Schweiker's standing with them. Those uncommitteds — and there were more than 20 of them — were conservative Republicans who had resisted the pressure from the pro-Ford liberal leadership of their state. But their views on Schweiker bordered on the unprintable.

Schweiker's success in two Pennsylvania Senate races has depended on his ability to draw independent and Democratic votes. But among conservative Republicans, his pro-labor record, his high rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, and his well-publicized opposition to the last two Presidents of his own party has marked Schweiker as a political pariah. They excoriated him — and damned Reagan for allying himself with Schweiker.

That was miscalculation number one. The second was the failure to recognize that among the ideological conservatives around the country who form the hard core of Reagan's support, nothing is more



David S. Broder

important than the question of presidential succession.

Clarke Reed of Mississippi and his counterparts in other states have been fighting to make the Republican party a vehicle for conservatism for most of the last 20 years. They always look beyond the confines of a single campaign to the long-term picture.

In 1968, their main demand on Richard Nixon was that he not choose a liberal like John Lindsay as his running mate. Having beaten the Eastern establishment in 1964, they did not want it sneaking back into power through the vice-presidential back door. Spiro Agnew suited them fine, but when Nixon and Agnew were both removed, they were mortally offended that Jerry Ford put Nelson Rockefeller in the line of succession.

The vice-presidential choice is especially important to them this year, because of the calendar. Ford, if elected, could not constitutionally serve beyond 1980. Reagan, if elected, might well step down that year, because he would then be 69.

For months, the conservatives pressured Mr. Ford to drop Rockefeller and put no other liberal Republican into the line of succession, all the time assuming that Reagan was safe, because he had vowed to guarantee ideological compatibility in his running mate. When he chose the most liberal Republican in the Senate, Schweiker, the denunciation was automatic. As Reed said, the vice presidency was "too great a price" — even for Reagan's nomination.

The final and most important miscalculation was the failure to see that the fervor of those conservative purists was Reagan's best — and only real — hope for nomination. As one senior Ford aide said, with a sigh of relief, "The people who would have gone up Cemetery Ridge with Reagan are the ones whose hearts he broke — even if he didn't lose their votes."

After the Schweiker boo-boo had defanged Reagan, Ford strategists admitted what many of us outsiders had believed all along — that they were worried that the fervor of Reagan's troops would overcome Mr. Ford's narrow mathematical edge in delegates, in the superheated atmosphere of the Kansas City convention hall.

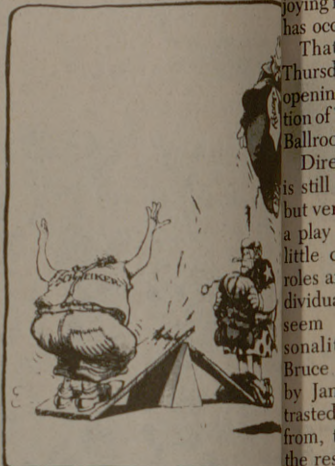
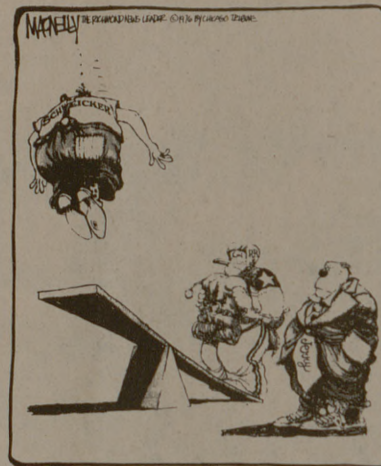
A platform or rules fight — or anything else — could easily have triggered a tactical setback to the Ford forces from which they might not have recovered. That moral fervor was thrown away when Reagan picked the liberal Schweiker, and it can hardly be recaptured now.

The story of how Reagan and his strategists, John Sears and Paul

Laxalt, came to make this moment is another matter.

For now, let it just be noted once again, Jerry Ford has himself one of the luckiest citizens in America. Bad things happen to those who stand in his way. I were Jimmy Carter in Plains, I'd watch out for all.

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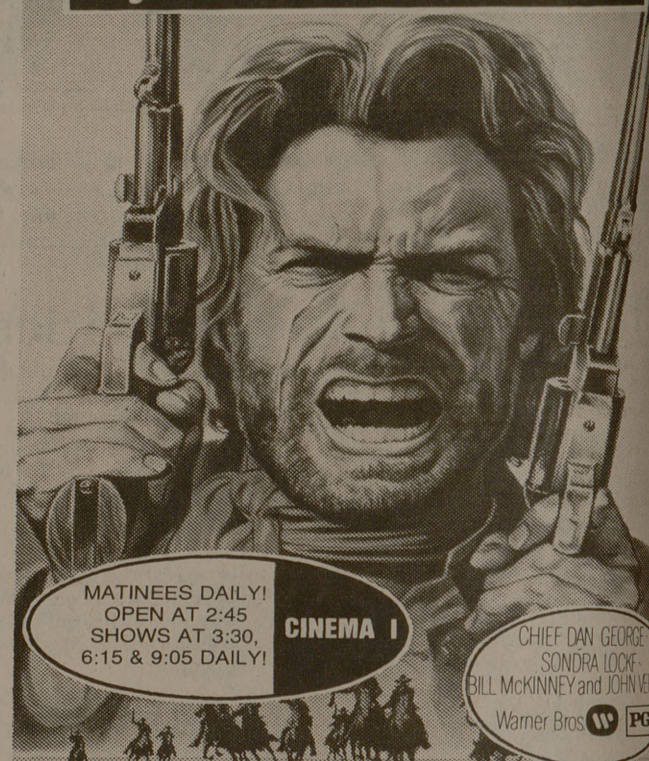
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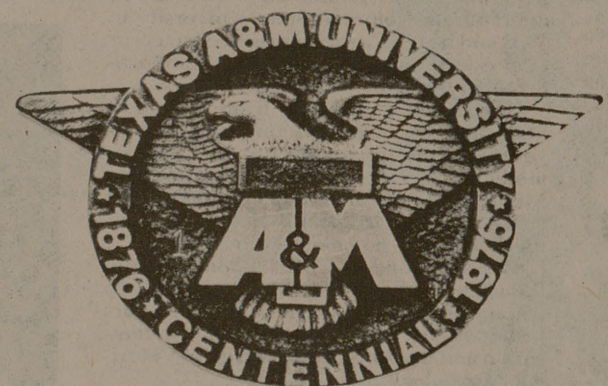
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