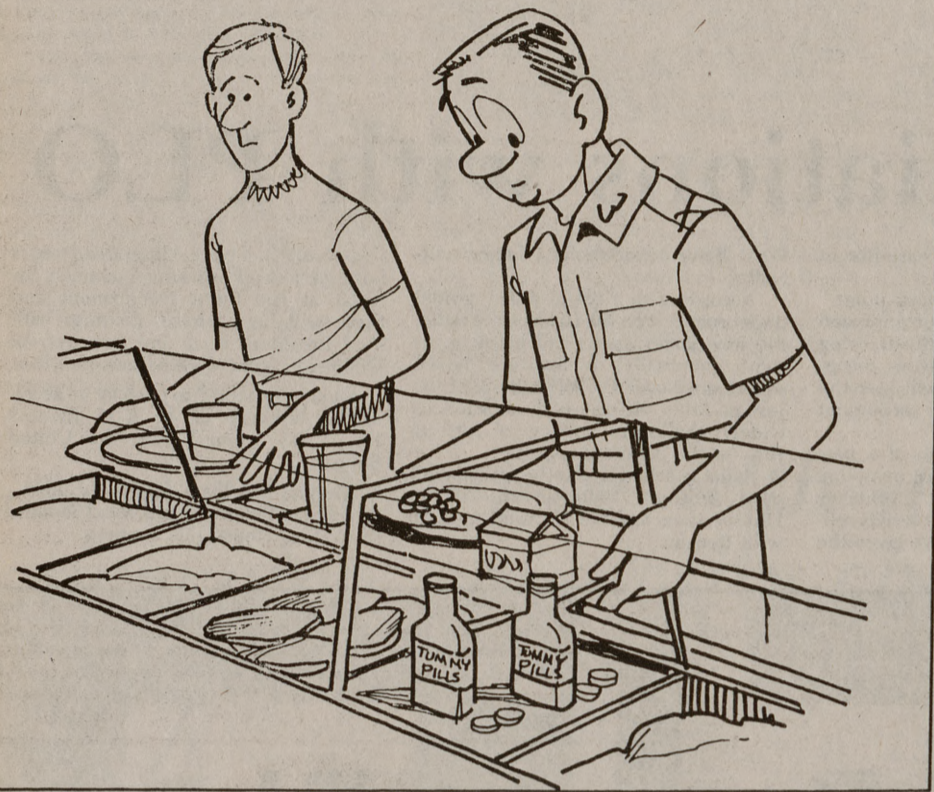


Slouch By Jim Earle



Tax cuts reverse 50-year poli

By DAVID S. BRODER

ATLANTA — Last Wednesday was a historic day. The television spectacular was the magnificent royal wedding, but American history books will probably record as more significant that this was the day that almost 50 years of Democratic-dominated economic and social policy came to an end. The budget and tax victories won by President Reagan on both sides of the Capitol reversed the policies Congress had followed under every President from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Jimmy Carter.

By coincidence, at the same time that the House of Representatives was preparing to give Reagan the tax-bill victory that sealed his domination of that nominally Democratic body, a panel at the National Conference of State Legislatures here was discussing the question of the role of party discipline in legislative bodies.

The only conclusion a person could reach from that panel is that the conservative policy and political power so spectacularly displayed in Washington is no surface phenomenon, but a pattern that extends across the country and into the reaches of state government as well.

There were four speakers on the panel. The three Democrats all said — in plain and sometimes almost cynical terms — that if you wanted to invoke party loyalty in defense of Democratic goals, forget it. The lone Republican, William Polk, the speaker of the state of Washington house of representatives, was also the lone exponent of the view that party discipline can be used to achieve party objectives.

Despite the fact that Washington state has no party registration for voters and a "blanket primary" that encourages ticket-

splitting, Polk said, "the Republican Party has become a very important force, at least among members of the legislature." "It's become an election machine," he said, and, largely as a result of the funds and services the national and state GOP provides legislative candidates, "we have a strong caucus."

The testimony of the three Democrats was dramatically opposite. State Rep. George Fettinger of New Mexico explained why he and 10 other conservative Democrats had broken party ranks in 1979 and again this year to form a conservative coalition with 26 Republicans that elected a renegade Democrat as speaker, against the Democratic caucus choice. "The Democratic Party in New Mexico," Fettinger said, "is completely out of touch with the electorate. No Democrat can run for office in my part of the state on its platform — and still be elected."

Assemblyman Willie Brown then detailed how he had been elected as the first coalition speaker of the California assembly last winter, by exploiting a split in the Democratic caucus and cutting a deal in which Republicans supplied 28 of the 51 votes that he received. Brown is a black legislator who describes himself as "one of the most liberal Democrats in existence." He said he had no trouble dealing with "20 to 25 Republicans who come from districts where white sheets are regarded as formal attire... They made certain requests. They were relatively modest. They wanted everything except speakership."

He had no trouble accommodating them, he said, and his GOP friends had no trouble with his liberal positions. The reason is simple: "Seldon will you find me using the office of speaker to enhance the position of

the Democratic Party."

Richard M. Scammon, the election analyst and political commentator was the third self-identified Democrat on the panel. He explained that in "parties are big empty shells. You throw up with anything. The basic principle in a party caucus in Congress is that any party is mush, mush and more."

Scammon said that Ronald Reagan had been elected in 1980 largely on his personality, not his policies, and added that because of the "flexibility" of political parties, "it is almost impossible to maintain discipline in a party caucus in Congress."

Scammon did not explain how, as he spoke, Reagan and the Republicans were about to reverse 50 years of policy and put through the biggest change in history by maintaining almost no party discipline in the House and Senate.

My own reaction to the discussion and the news from Congress is a so-called disarray of the Democrats goes far deeper than most of its leaders in Washington will admit. The level of government, Democrats as well as Brown, as conservative as Fettinger as smart as Scammon have become, is inventing political and intellectual justifications for rejecting the cloak of loyalty.

At the same time, they have made themselves obsolete from their consciousness of a generation that Republicans have never the utility of a political party means, not just for gaining office, but for remaking policy — in very large ways.

That is an epochal development, one that is likely to shape, not just this era of American politics,

U.S.-South Korean ties in 'best shape ever'

By JOHN NEEDHAM

United Press International

SEOUL, South Korea — The Carter administration and its human rights policy are gone from the White House and South Korean officials say relations with the United States are better than ever.

"I certainly think our relations with the United States currently are in far more satisfactory shape than they were earlier," said a senior adviser to President Chun Doo Hwan in an interview.

"Some of the people I have spoken with on both sides — professionals, academics — seem to agree U.S.-Korean relations now are in the best shape ever compared with any earlier period in our bilateral relations."

The most spectacular sign of the closer links occurred when Chun became the first head of state to meet with President Ronald Reagan following the Republican's move into the White House.

The two presidents' joint communique following the February meeting produced a pledge that U.S. troops, now numbering 39,000, would remain in South Korea. It said not a word about human rights.

By contrast former President Jimmy Carter, in his July 1979 visit to Seoul, publicly called on President Park Chung-hee, who was assassinated nearly four months later, to match his nation's giant strides in economic development with progress in human rights.

Chun came to power after a December 1979 military mutiny and in the months that followed Washington expressed its displeasure over political repression, arrests, silencing of opponents and allegations of torture in South Korea.

A major problem in U.S.-Korean relations last year was the sedition trial on what the State Department called "farfetched charges" of Kim Daejung, the country's foremost dissident.

Kim was convicted and condemned to death. Chun commuted the sentence to life imprisonment just before receiving his invitation to Washington.

The diplomat denied there was a trade-off involved but said, "Everyone knew Chun would not have been invited if Kim would have been killed."

Because of dissatisfaction with South Korean domestic repression, the United States in 1979 called off meetings about security, economic matters and policy planning. They have been resumed this year.

In addition, the Reagan administration held up publication of its report on human rights in South Korea until after Chun left Washington so he wouldn't be embarrassed. It will also sell the South Koreans F-16 fighter planes and used tanks.

The Reagan administration's choice as the next ambassador to Seoul, Richard Walker, said in his July 13 confirmation hearings that Reagan has "restored warmth and personal trust to U.S.-Korean relations."

The senior adviser to Chun, who played the same role for Park and who declined to be further identified, said that historically in South Korea, "There has been a tendency to assume that the United States would play the role of messiah and Santa Claus and any other agency of grace and good gifts you could think of. Events tended to buttress this."

"The United States, after all, made it possible for Korea to win independence from Japan. The United States made it possible to preserve our independence against North Korea. The United States made it possible to launch the process of economic recovery and growth."

He said both sides were inevitably disillusioned last year, with some South Koreans wanting more U.S. pressure on Seoul "to do what they themselves could not achieve" in winning more domestic freedom, and others criticizing Washington for "meddling too much in our internal affairs."

He said the Carter administration, in promoting human rights, was "trying for an authentic expression of its own (American) values, a reflection of its own history."

But "how many people can you expect to be aware of American history" in South Korea? We perceived this as interference."

He credits the Reagan administration, which insists it will still promote human rights in a quiet way, with a "new maturity which recognizes the fact that constant and noisy protestation of one's ideals and policies is not the most responsible way of realizing one's goals."

THE COLUMBUS DISPATCH © 1981 BY ONYX/TORRINE-N.Y. NEWS SERVICE



Mr. Sam, Tip — some comparison

By ARNOLD SAWISLAK

United Press International

WASHINGTON — Last week, when the roof was caving in on Speaker Tip O'Neill for the third time in this session of Congress, someone said, "This never would have happened to Sam Rayburn."

Wrong. Sam Rayburn got whipped all the time when he was Speaker of the House. The difference between the legendary Texan and the battered Massachusetts speaker is that Mr. Sam's defeats were not quite so public as O'Neill's.

In addition, the only opposition president Rayburn had to deal with was the moderate Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had to be reminded from time to time that he was a Republican and who usually was willing to compromise with Rayburn and a Senate Democratic leader named Lyndon Johnson.

O'Neill has to cope with Ronald Reagan, who seems just as intent on building his adopted Republican Party as he is in making a record for his administration. His idea of compromise is to invite the Democrats to surrender in the White House.

O'Neill's real problem, however, is that he hasn't got the alibi Rayburn had when he couldn't deliver Democratic bills. The present Speaker has control of, or at least cooperation from the key House commit-

tees, such as Ways and Means, Budget and Rules.

When Rayburn was speaker, the committee chairmen could and did simply refuse to deal with bills they didn't like. The seniority system was absolute and junior members of the House had practically nothing to say about its governance.

That was especially true of the House Rules Committee, which was ruled during the last years of Rayburn's speakership by "Judge" Howard Smith of Virginia, a courtly old gentleman and a rigid right wing reactionary.

If a liberal bill slipped through one of the House committees, Judge Smith would stall it in Rules, or write a special rule for its consideration that would just about assure passage of a conservative substitute.

That's how the Landrum-Griffin Act became law. It started out as a union-backed measure — the Senate version originally was sponsored by Sen. John F. Kennedy — and ended up as a conservative piece of legislation organized labor hated almost as much as Taft-Hartley.

But most of the time, Rayburn couldn't get bills liberal Democrats wanted out of committee even when he wanted to. Committee chairmen like Smith, Graham Barden of Education and Labor, Clarence Cannon of Appropriations, John McMillan of

District of Columbia and Wilbur Mills of Ways and Means killed them off.

Several things have changed that the conservative southerners who ruled the House committees generally are gone and one-party domination of the South ended.

Second, the House breached the seniority system by giving rank and file members a vote on committee chairmanships, put a leash on the tyranny of Rayburn. The House also opened the committee process to public scrutiny. No important bill can be killed in a closet.

And third, O'Neill and his liberal friends were able to stack the key committees with enough liberals to assure that the bills they wanted would get to the House floor.

But O'Neill could do nothing to stop the southern, and some northern, states sending conservative Democrats to the House. They don't have the power to process that conservatives had in Rayburn's day, but they still have a vote when they get to the House floor.

The result has been public humiliation for O'Neill. His committees send him a Democratic bill and the House votes for a Republican bill. It is true that didn't happen to Mr. Sam, but that was because the defeats were occurring behind closed

THE BATTALION

U S P S 045 360

MEMBER

Texas Press Association
Southwest Journalism Congress

Editor Angelique Copeland
City Editor Jane Brust
Photo Editor Greg Gammon
Sports Editor Ritchie Priddy
Focus Editor Cathy Saathoff
Make-up Editor Greg Gammon
Staff Writers Bernie Fette, Kathy O'Connell,
Denise Richter,
Scott McCullar

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Battalion is a non-profit, self-supporting newspaper operated as a community service to Texas A&M University and Bryan-College Station. Opinions expressed in The Battalion are those of the editor or the author, and do not necessarily represent the opinions of Texas A&M University administrators or faculty members, or of the Board of Regents.

The Battalion also serves as a laboratory newspaper for students in reporting, editing and photography classes within the Department of Communications.

Questions or comments concerning any editorial matter should be directed to the editor.

LETTERS POLICY

Letters to the Editor should not exceed 300 words in length, and are subject to being cut if they are longer. The editorial staff reserves the right to edit letters for style and length, but will make every effort to maintain the author's intent. Each letter must also be signed, show the address and phone number of the writer.

Columns and guest editorials are also welcome, and are not subject to the same length constraints as letters. Address all inquiries and correspondence to: Editor, The Battalion, 216 Reed McDonald, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843.

The Battalion is published Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday during Texas A&M's summer semesters. Mail subscriptions are \$16.75 per semester, \$33.25 per school year and \$35 per full year. Advertising rates furnished on request.

Our address: The Battalion, 216 Reed McDonald Building, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843.

United Press International is entitled exclusively to the use for reproduction of all news dispatches credited to it. Rights of reproduction of all other matter herein reserved. Second class postage paid at College Station, TX 77843.