

of Government.” He exposes the growing federal regimentation of the schools, both public and private.

National security issues comprise the last section of this well-documented book. Congressman David Treen of Louisiana outlines a foreign policy which will place the just interests of the United States first on our agenda while a veteran member of the Armed Services Committee, Congressman Floyd Spence of South Carolina, gives facts and figures to back up his assertion that the United States, if present trends continue, is in real danger of falling behind the Soviet Union in the military balance.

The Case Against the Reckless Congress deserves to be widely read; in 248 pages it amounts to a thorough indictment of the failures of liberalism in recent years. Congresswoman Holt and her colleagues have marshalled fact after fact to present an iron-clad case for a revival of conservatism as a driving force in American life.

PEARSON, ROGER (editor)

Korea In The World Today

Council on American Affairs, Wash. D.C., 109 pp., \$5.00, 1976.

CLOUGH, RALPH N.

Deterrence and Defense in Korea

The Brookings Institution, Wash. D.C., 1976.

The two books under review here, just recently published, both strongly recommend that the United States retain its troop commitment to South Korea for the foreseeable future. Coming at a time when the voices for disengagement and withdrawal are heard more often, these two volumes are at once timely and authoritative. The Pearson volume contains nine articles by specialists on US foreign and defense policies, including Senator Jake Garn (R-Utah) and Representative John M. Murphy (D-New York), two U.S. legislators with defense expertise and past military experience in Korea itself. Ralph Clough is a consultant with the Brookings Institution and has written two previous books on U.S. foreign policy in Asia. Taken together, the two books present scholarly and articulate viewpoints on the necessity for a continued American military presence in South Korea. By the weight of their combined arguments they should go far toward dispelling the illusion that the United States, having lost in Vietnam, can conveniently pack up and leave the rest of the Asian world to the next most powerful bidder.

Korea in the World Today has three articles addressed exclusively to the

defense question. One deals with the military balance between the two Koreas, another describes South Korea's role in the Northeast Asian balance of power while the third (by Congressman Murphy) analyzes the military preparedness of the Republic. The Clough book is one in a series of Brookings studies on defense issues, and examines in detail the political and military problems of South Korea for the short, medium and long terms. Clough, who is also a Professor of international relations at American University, concludes that an immediate withdrawal of American forces would serve no interest except North Korea's. Because the consequences of a renewed conflict in Korea would be so serious, he notes, the United States should avoid taking any action (such as withdrawal) that might weaken the deterrent against an attack from the North. In the short run, Clough supports the presence of an American military force sufficient to remind North Korea of the dangerous implications of another war. Over the long run, he favors a phased withdrawal, but only under conditions that would absolutely guarantee the continued preservation of the integrity and security of the south. Tension between the North and the South, he writes, can only be lessened if Kim Il-Sung becomes convinced that his current hard-line policy cannot succeed. That can only come about, Clough believes, through a patient and resolute demonstration of American and South Korean will and through a step-by-step establishment of genuine relations between North and South. Such a change cannot be expected soon, hence the United States must have a policy concerning its forces in South Korea that will be tenable for a number of years: no withdrawals for the immediate future, and possible phased withdrawals only after substantial political progress has been worked out between Seoul and Pyongyang.

The authors of the Pearson study are in substantial agreement with Clough's assessment. The commitment to the presence of U.S. forces for the near future weaves through all of the articles. In some cases it is stated explicitly. Congressman Murphy (himself a Korean War veteran), for example, writes that the United States cannot leave the ROK under the existing circumstances and, for the future, the United States must bring the ROK army to parity with the North Korean armed forces in terms of sophisticated weapons and weapons systems. When parity is reached, he maintains, the United States will have to carefully watch and react appropriately to any further escalation of arms in the North, whether it comes internally or from outside. Senator Garn, in his article entitled "Conclusions and Recommendations for the Future," warns specifically against the possibility of another attack from the North, especially in light of the recent border incidents and

the military tunnels that the North has been digging under the Demilitarized Zone. Senator Garn has inspected these tunnels himself and has concluded with a message that should serve as a sober reminder to all those who have, in the past, dismissed the possibility of another Korean War. "I earnestly hope," the Senator wrote, "that the United States Congress will learn from history and will steadfastly support policies which will avoid a repetition of the devastating 1950-53 war that cost the people of both Koreas immense suffering and that cost the United States 53,000 men . . . the best way of avoiding a war in Korea or anywhere else is by being prepared . . . better prepared than any potential aggressor."

Although a majority of the articles in Pearson's book are concerned with security issues, a number of them address other topics of importance to readers interested in Korean affairs. There is an analysis of the Korean economy, for instance, which points out how the South Koreans have achieved their own economic "miracle" over the past few years. If South Korea continues her spectacular growth and becomes less dependent upon foreign imports and capital, she may become, within two decades, one of the richest Asian nations. Another article deals with Korea's role in world history, while still a third analyzes the political situation that South Korea faces in an increasingly hostile United Nations. Finally, there is a selection which confronts openly the difficult and complicated issue of human rights and democracy as they exist in the government of Park Chung Hee. Taking into consideration Korea's history plus the existence on South Korea's border of an enemy military force, the article concludes that the range of opportunities for dissent and the degree of political liberty are actually much broader than would be expected from a reading of the diatribes against South Korea that have become fashionable in some U.S. journalistic circles. Certainly, as is the case of other nations that have been divided between communist and non-communist governments, there is absolutely no comparison in the field of human rights and the development and potential for the growth of political liberty in the Park government versus the totalitarian regime in the North.

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Peter C. Hughes is a Ph.D. candidate in International Relations at the Catholic University of America, currently employed as Special Assistant to Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (Ind.-Va.) for military and foreign affairs. Mr. Hughes has written widely on U.S. foreign policy, national defense, and other public policy issues. His studies have appeared in, among other publications, *Modern Age*, *Academic Reviewer*, *National Review*, and the *Ripon Forum*.

John M. Murphy is a Democratic Congressman from Staten Island, New York. He studied at Amherst College and graduated from West Point, after serving in World War II. During the Korean conflict, he served with distinction in the 9th Infantry Regiment, receiving the Purple Heart, Distinguished Service Cross and other decorations. He was first elected to the 88th Congress in 1962 and is chairman of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal. Mr. Murphy is head of the Association of Korean War Veterans of the U.S. Congress and is co-author of *Korea in the World Today*, published by the Council on American Affairs.