January 27, 1975, will be the second anniversary of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring the Peace in Vietnam. The signing of that document marked a turning point in this seemingly endless war. Direct American involvement was finally ended and a framework was created for the achievement of a genuine peace through a political settlement.

The world has undergone tremendous changes in the two years since then, but Vietnam has experienced only one constant reality -- unabated war. Over 100,000 Vietnamese have died since January, 1973. Over 200,000 have been wounded. Make-shift camps are still swollen with refugees, and overcrowded hospitals daily receive the newest victims of this very old war.

Peace has been postponed in Vietnam because the Paris Agreement has not been implemented. A political settlement requires political freedom. But today the most basic human rights are being trampled upon in South Vietnam. The peace agreement guaranteed "freedom of the press". But newspapers opposing the Thieu regime are now routinely confiscated and burnt in the streets of Saigon. The peace agreement guaranteed "freedom of movement" and "freedom of residence". But peasants are now being herded into city slums and forcibly prevented from returning to their land. Tens of thousands who have dared to speak out against this oppression now languish in Thieu's jails. War and repression are everywhere.
The reality of continued war in Vietnam has led many to discount the Paris Agreement as a serious factor in ending the fighting. Such would probably be the case if one assumed that the Vietnamese were primarily responsible for the war. The countless violations of the Agreement and its apparent failure to bring peace, however, can be traced to the disregard of its most essential article: "The U.S. will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam."

During the two years since the signing of the Agreement, the Vietnam war has been fueled by American tax dollars -- almost four billion of them, according to a report recently released by Rep. Les Aspin of Wisconsin. That is enough money to create approximately 500,000 public service jobs for unemployed Americans.

The Vietnamese may be doing the fighting, but Vietnam is still America's war.

**Vietnam Today**

Recent events in South Vietnam underscore the urgent need to understand the importance of the Paris Agreement. Intense fighting has once again thrust Vietnam onto the nation's front pages. Reports of U.S. Naval movements and of emergency White House meetings have filled the news. It is essential to view these dramatic developments in light of the Agreement and especially the upcoming "emergency" aid requests to Congress.

Phuoc Long Province, scene of the most intense fighting, is a poor agricultural area, providing only a meager existence for its peasants. In 1965, the province became a strike base for the U.S. 1st Air Cavalry Division. Later, as the war turned against the U.S., it became a buffer zone, taking the brunt of extraordinarily heavy bombing. Since the signing of the Agreement, however, it had seen relative peace for the first time in decades. According to reports, a subsistence economy was developing, families were being reunited, schools, hospitals and roads were being rebuilt, and, at long last, it appeared that political stability was being reestablished. Since the cease-fire, most of the province has been governed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (P.R.G.).

Why has this province, which is neither militarily or economically strategic, suddenly become a major news item? Why has Phuoc Long Province re-emerged as a battleground? The reason strikes at the very heart of the Paris Agreement and its ideal of reconciling all elements of Vietnamese society. The Agreement formally recognizes that two governments do exist within South Vietnam, that both have substantial military forces, that these facts must be accepted, and that the conflict can be transferred from the battlefield to the political arena, each administering the areas it controls.
General Thieu has not accepted this basic premise of the Paris Agreement. And that, in fact, is the reason for the continued fighting. Thieu has refused to recognize P.R.G. control over its zone (such as Phuoc Long Province) and has violated a basic clause of the Agreement -- a cease-fire in place -- by continually attacking P.R.G. administered areas. For evidence, one needs only to turn to an arch-conservative, former Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen, who reported on a study mission he made to South Vietnam last summer:

The Government of Vietnam has fared well during the post-ceasefire maneuvering: Since January, 1973, it has added 770 hamlets to the list of those over which it has dominant control, and it has reportedly reduced the number of disputed hamlets by well over a third.

On the other hand, the P.R.G. has perceived its interests as implementing the Agreement to the utmost. Journalists who have secretly visited P.R.G. zones --in violation of General Thieu's restrictions-- have written that the P.R.G. feels it has a vital stake in the integrity of the Agreement because it promises them free and open political participation. One correspondent wrote in the respected British newspaper, the Manchester Guardian, on August 31, 1974:

Through the year since the ceasefire the Communists had pursued a policy of comparative restraint as they tried by diplomatic means to put pressure on Saigon to accept the political provisions of the Paris Agreement.

A broader view of what is happening in South Vietnam must not be lost in a rush of battlefield news. It is particularly important for Americans not to succumb to the media frenzy of an "ultimate struggle" between "Thieu and the Communists." As we have seen in recent months, the opposition to Thieu extends far beyond military battles with the P.R.G. In Saigon, Buddhists, the press, and even many anti-Communist Catholics, formerly Thieu's main base of support, are now calling for his ouster as the necessary first step for achieving reconciliation among all elements of Vietnamese society.

Except for his Washington defenders, Nguyen van Thieu is now completely isolated politically.

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**Congress: The Final Judge**

It is now more than ever clear that the only way to end the bloodshed in Vietnam is to implement the Paris Agreement. Whether or not this is possible, however, depends as much on events in this country, particularly in the US Congress, as on events in South Vietnam.

No one is more aware of this than Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his national security establishment. The key factor in their design for Indochina is the extent to which Congress is willing to subsidize the Thieu regime. Kissinger, therefore, has embarked upon an extraordinary campaign in recent weeks to convince Congress and American public opinion of the need for increased aid. The most insidious aspect of this campaign is a deliberate attempt to manipulate opinion by distorting and over-dramatizing the fighting. According to a January 12, *Washington Post* article,

"If the fall of Phuocbinh (capital of Phuoc Long Province) surprised anyone, it was only the public. Strategists in Saigon and in Washington virtually had written off the whole province in advance... Now Phuocbinh, a military debit, is about to be converted into a political asset by allied planners. They are displaying Phuocbinh as a grim example of the fate that awaits more important South Vietnamese towns, cities, and provinces unless the new Congress provides more aid."

Another Administration tactic has been to portray a request for increased aid as the "lesser evil" by contrasting it with the possibility of American military re-intervention. It was no coincidence that the rumor that the USS Enterprise was sailing for the Vietnamese coast originated in the American embassy in Saigon. It was later revealed that, if Kissinger had had his way, the fleet would, in fact, have been directed toward the Gulf of Tonkin in order to create some kind of "psychological impact".

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It is now certain that the Administration will make its formal request for supplemental military aid for South Vietnam and, possibly, for Cambodia soon after the 94th Congress convenes on January 14th. Floor votes may be expected sometime in February or early March. We cannot over-estimate the importance of this upcoming vote.

Last year a similar request was rejected by a 177-154 margin. Nonetheless, there have been dramatic changes in Vietnam in the year since then, largely as a result of Congressional action. The way in which Congress interprets these changes will determine the prospects for a genuine peace in Vietnam in 1975.

The national security managers are now planning their next move in Indochina. And we must be prepared to respond to it.
Coalition to Stop Funding the War
Action Agenda: January 14, 1975

SAVE THE PEACE AGREEMENT...

For the past thirty years the Vietnamese people have struggled to bring a genuine peace and independence to Vietnam. For the past ten years millions of Americans have shared that struggle. Now, that peace is finally in sight.

On January 25, 26, and 27, people from every part of the country will gather in Washington to celebrate the Second Anniversary of the Paris Agreement and to renew their commitment to see that it is implemented. THE ASSEMBLY TO SAVE THE PEACE AGREEMENT will feature workshops on the strategy to end the war and will include presentations by personalities such as Senator George McGovern, Bella Abzug, I.F. Stone, Tom Hayden and distinguished Vietnamese leaders. The program will culminate in a candlelight walk to the White House on Sunday night, to be followed by a day of lobbying on Monday.

This is an extremely critical period in Vietnam. It is essential that we demonstrate, through a large and visible presence in Washington, D.C., that Americans still do care about peace and the provisions of the Agreement. YOUR PRESENCE IN WASHINGTON CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

If you have already made plans to come to the Assembly, make sure to arrange an appointment with your Congressperson for Monday, January 27th. For more detailed information on the Assembly, please refer to the enclosed brochure.

...DEFEAT THE SUPPLEMENTAL!

An informed and vocal constituency is the only force that can offset the Administration's attempt to manipulate the media, public opinion, and the Congress. Make your views known to your Congressperson, your local press, and your community. Demand that Congress reject ANY attempt to increase military aid to South Vietnam OR Cambodia. Demand the immediate implementation of the 1973 Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring the Peace in Vietnam!

Another important test of the new Congress' policy for Indochina will be the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, expected in late January or early February. This bill contains economic aid for Vietnam and Cambodia. Urge your Congressperson to use this opportunity to define his/her position on all forms of Indochina aid.
FORD SAID TO SEEK EXTRA SAIGON AID

$1.6-Billion in New Military Help is Called Essential for Next 1 1/2 Years

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8—Administration officials say that President Ford has decided to ask Congress for at least $300-million in military aid for South Vietnam in the current fiscal year in addition to the $700-million already appropriated.

Officials said further that the president's budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, to be submitted to Congress next month, would include a proposal for $1.3-billion in military aid for the Saigon Government.

As an added briefing today about possible responses by Washington to calls for help from Saigon, a State Department spokesman, Robert Anderson, said: "I can only say with respect to possible additional assistance that the President and the administration have under intensive consideration the question of going forward with a supplemental request."

A number of officials maintained that the supplemental request for this year—exact figure for which, they said, was still being worked out in the Pentagon—was related only in part to Communist offensives under way in South Vietnam.

They cited the fact that when President Ford signed and approved legislation for this year, he stated that $700-million was inadequate.

These officials expressed confidence that with the proposed additional and, the Saigon Government could survive without renewed American military intervention. They refused to speculate about what Washington might do if their judgments proved wrong.

Aspin Estimated $3.7-Billion

Secretary of State Kissinger, they said, had made clear his view that Congress should provide sufficient funds for the war or accept responsibility for the loss of South Vietnam.

This year the Administration asked for $1.63-billion. Congress authorized the Administration to spend $1-billion but appropriated only $700-million. The authorization and appropriation were handled in separate legislation.

South Vietnam is also scheduled to receive about $400-million in economic aid in the current fiscal year.

Based on Pentagon-supplied figures, Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, has estimated that Washington has provided South Vietnam with $3.7-billion in all forms of aid since the cease-fire of January, 1973. Mr. Aspin also estimated all aid to Indochina since the cease-fire at $3.2-billion.

Several Administration officials said that they did not expect Congress to approve the entire request for supplemental military aid to South Vietnam, but to approve a sizable part of it.

Pentagon memorandum written several weeks ago called for a broad publicity campaign to convince congress and the public that an emergency effort was needed or the Saigon government would run out of ammunition in 30 days.

Senators and Congressmen were to be encouraged to visit South Vietnam, reports and assessments from the field were to be shown to them, material was to be leaked to reporters and certain Congressional committees were to receive special attention.

When asked about the memorandum, a ranking Pentagon official responded that it had "no calculated campaign, but one may develop."

Cambodia Given Priority

Administration officials acknowledged that they had talked to lawmakers, and Congressional staff aides about problems in South Vietnam. The officials said, however, that they had not informed Congress that the decision to request supplemental aid had been made.

Some officials said that Congress would be informed when the amount to be requested had been firmly established. Others hinted, however, that decisions about supplemental aid for Cambodia and how to present the request to Congress had to be made before any announcement would be forthcoming.

The New York Times reported yesterday that the Pentagon considered the immediate situation more critical than the year. Cambodia than in South Vietnam and was planning to ask Congress for supplemental military aid for Cambodia.

Pentagon officials previously told reporters that current military aid for South Vietnam was within the $700-million limit, and that any new decisions would depend on Communist offensives now in progress.

One high Administration official speculated that public knowledge of the supplemental request "might serve as a useful signal to Hanoi."

On a request for $1.3-billion for the next fiscal year, the Administration may be in a stronger-than-expected position. Under a 1973 law, consideration of military aid for South Vietnam was to be transferred from the Senate Armed Services Committee, where it had received favorable attention, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where it presumably would be treated more harshly.

But when the Senate debated the new-friend-aid bill several weeks ago, Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, who is slated to become chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, offered an amendment to delay the transfer for another year. The amendment was passed by the Senate without debate and was later accepted by the House of Representatives.

According to an authoritative source, Mr. Sparkman submitted the amendment at the personal request of President Ford.

Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, was reliably reported to have acceded to this arrangement reluctantly.