

"...America's fastest growing freedom newspaper"

The Rising Tide

An official publication of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Copyright ©1972 by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc.

Vol. II, No. 19

November 20, 1972

Price: 25¢

Philippines Land Reform: Will It Work? **FLF Urges President to Negotiate Enforceable Indochina Agreement**

by Dan Fefferman

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos' October 21 dual declaration of land reform and martial law has sparked a variety of responses. All parties (except probably the Marxists) agree, however, that his program is "radical" in the sense that it attempts to deal with the root causes of major Philippine problems.

If effectively implemented, the land reform will distribute up to 12.5 acres of land to each tenant farmer family in the rice and corn growing area of the Philippines. Landowners will be limited to 17.5 acres. Approximately 3,750,000 acres will be redistributed, and compensation for redistributed land will be made directly from the ex-tenant to the landlord.

The Philippine government hopes the land reform will "remove the social roots" of the Communist rebellion which threatens the islands' security, and official surveys show that 97 percent of the population favors the martial law Marcos proclaimed last month in order to stop terrorism, weed out corruption and insure the implementation of the land reform.

Martial Law

The motives for the declaration of martial law have been the subject of substantial controversy, especially in the West. It is obvious that the declaration strengthened the hand of Marcos. *Time* magazine claimed in its November 20 issue that "Marcos' harshest edicts have been reserved for the press and his political opponents." It nevertheless went on to report that he "has also made some powerful enemies...including 4,500 civil servants who were fired from their jobs on charges of corruption and disloyalty, and wealthy oligarchs who were financially hurt by the President's economic measures."

Marcos' willingness to provoke this kind of opposition makes his sincerity more credible. Land reform has long been the goal of the Philippine government, but opposition from the landowners, who hold considerable sway in Manila, has prevented the reforms from being realized. The implementation of martial law bypasses this opposition.

In addition, a government amnesty for persons turning in illegal firearms during the period of martial law has resulted in nearly 300,000 guns and 1.5 million rounds of ammunition being turned in to military authorities. The



A school which was 'liberated' by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. Will the Indochina ceasefire agreement give adequate assurances of the survival of non-Communist Indochinese nations? See analysis, pages 4-5.

homicide rate has declined by 90 percent. Hundreds of gambling houses, brothels or pornographic theatres have been shut down.

The army, moreover, has clamped down on subversives, move which has the support of the vast majority of Filipinos. Flareups between Marcos' forces and Marxist revolutionary groups have continued, but their infrequency and intensity has decreased.

The cities, especially Manila, See REFORM, page 6.



MARCOS

WACL Prepares to "Tell the People"-- Stewart-Smith Chairs

Preparations for an international conference to "Tell the People" about the inhumanity and dangers of Communism are under way in England as the British Preparatory Committee for the 7th World Anti-Communist League Conference met in London October 19 to arrange next year's meeting of the WACL.

Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, a member of the British Parliament and Director of the Foreign Affairs Circle, chaired the meeting. Smith has been elected by the WACL Executive Board as chairman of the 1973 Conference.

It was decided at the British Preparatory Committee meeting that the Conference will be held August 28 through September 1, in London, with a final rally the evening of Sept. 1 at the Central Hall in Westminster.

The theme of the Conference, "Tell the People," is geared toward motivating a worldwide

educational campaign in order to protect the masses of people against the deception of Communist ideology.

It was estimated that more than 400 international delegates would attend the Conference, in addition to 200 delegates and observers from Britain. The rally would be attended by a capacity crowd of 3000, Preparatory Committee sources said.

Topics to be investigated and publicized by the 1973 Conference include: the strategic nuclear balance, the present state of the Atlantic Alliance, the European Collective Security Conference, "People's War," terrorism and guerilla warfare, Communist political and psychological warfare techniques, Chinese involvement in heroin production, the persecution of religious and political dissenters in the Soviet bloc, and the

See WACL, page 2.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation has launched a multifaceted campaign to urge President Nixon not to sign the Vietnam ceasefire agreement as proposed by Hanoi and has asked the President to negotiate a settlement which ensures the viability of a non-Communist South Vietnam.

After studying the 9-point ceasefire plan broadcast by Hanoi, the FLF research staff immediately began a detailed analysis of the proposal to be submitted directly to the President and the National Security Council, as well as to the American people and congressional leaders.

The analysis was released at a press conference November 6, the day before the Presidential elections, at which time a copy of the FLF analysis was sent with a covering letter to President Nixon, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Kissinger's Senior Staff Assistant for Southeast Asia John Holdridge, South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, and Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong.

Public speaking activities were immediately launched throughout the Washington D.C. area by FLF campus chapter members, arousing a considerable uproar from radical students, particularly at the University of Maryland campus.

Petition

A petition and letter-writing campaign has been launched nationwide (see page 6), and FLF is urging all Tide readers to circulate the petition and send it to FLF Headquarters as soon as possible.

FLF President Neil Salonen and Research Coordinator James Cowin appeared recently on the nationally syndicated radio program of Fulton Lewis III to discuss the proposed agreement.

They said it was "inadequate" for the following reasons:

- The agreement was negotiated without adequate consultation with the Thieu government, which was described in the document as

See FLF, page 6.

This Issue...

Ceasefire Analysis...pages 4-5
ROTC.....2
Capitol Report.....3
Base and Superstructure.....7
American Indians.....3
Underground.....3

and more!!!

Agronsky Challenged On Program Balance

WASHINGTON--Martin Agronsky, host of the WETA-TV program, Evening Edition, has taken strong exception to a statement released to the press by Accuracy In Media on September 29. AIM Executive Secretary Abraham H. Kalish had stated that AIM was trying to insure that an Agronsky program on the subject of the Vietnam bloodbath question was balanced.

Kalish was concerned about the fact that when he had first heard that this subject was to be discussed on the program, the producers had not scheduled anyone to appear who took the view that there had been a serious bloodbath in North Vietnam after the Communists took over that country. Agronsky had invited D. Gareth Porter, the author of a study which contended that there had been no bloodbath. Kalish said that he had reminded the producer of his obligation to provide balance in discussions of controversial issues. Kalish also said that he had been concerned about the lack of balance on the Agronsky programs for some time.

AIM took credit for having brought to the attention of the producer two experts, Max Friedman and Mrs. Anita Lauve Nutt, who were well qualified to

balance the anti-bloodbath views of Porter and Richard Dudman, who had also been invited to participate in the program.

On October 5, Agronsky called Kalish with the charge that Kalish's statement had been inaccurate in several respects. Agronsky claimed that he had arranged for the appearance of Friedman and Mrs. Nutt on the program quite independently of AIM. The fact is that Mr. Friedman called the producer of the program and volunteered to appear at the suggestion of Mr. Kalish. Mrs. Nutt, who resided in Florida, was contacted by AIM, and she flew to Washington at her own expense with the hope that she might be permitted to participate in the program.

She had had no contact with anyone associated with the Agronsky program until after she arrived in Washington. AIM said it had not been able to get any commitment from the producer that Mrs. Nutt would be allowed to participate, and various objections were raised to having her. One was that it would be extra expense. AIM countered this by pointing out that she was paying her own expenses. It was objected that an extra chair would have to be used! And finally those in charge said that they would have to talk to her to make sure that she was

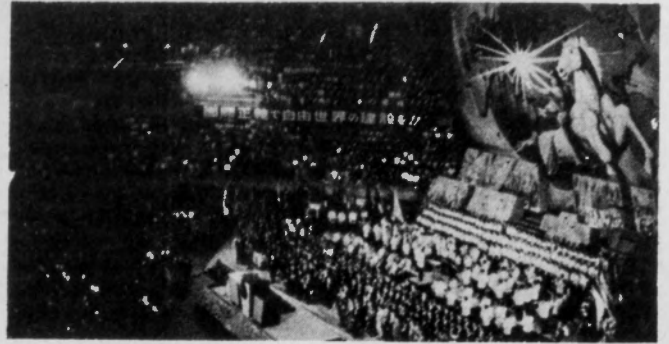
articulate, not being willing to accept AIM's assurances on this point. It was at this point that AIM issued its release saying that it would insist that Mrs. Nutt be used on the show. She was.

Agronsky's other complaint was that Kalish had erred grievously in suggesting that many of the Agronsky programs lacked balance. AIM, however, has tabulated the guests on the Agronsky show during the period from June 13 through September 12, 1972 and found significant imbalance. There were 62 programs broadcast in this period, and in 48 of these AIM was able to identify the political tendency of the guests as liberal or conservative, pro- or anti-Nixon Administration. In 58 per cent of these programs, AIM said the guests were all liberal or anti-administration. In another 21 per cent, two of the three guests could be so classified. This adds up to 79 per cent of the programs being unbalanced on the liberal side. AIM found that only 10 per cent of the programs were evenly balanced. Only 8 per cent of the programs had all conservative or pro-administration guests, and a mere 2 per cent had 2 conservatives to 1 liberal.

At the request of Agronsky, AIM sent him the above information for any comments

he might wish to make prior to its release to the press. AIM said it called Mr. Agronsky's Washington office three times since mid-October and been

assured that a comment was going to be made or was already in the mail. No reply was received from Mr. Agronsky by November 14.



Huge rally at 1970 Conference in Japan.

WACL Adopts "Tell the People" as 1973 Theme

WACL, from page 1.

state of opposition movements within the captive nations.

It was emphasized that the best available speakers would be sought from every country in the non-Communist world. Prospective speakers included NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns, former West German Foreign Minister Franz Joseph Strauss and Juanita Castro, sister of the Cuban

ruler. The WACL is a well-known organization in the Far East, with semi-official status in several countries. Last year's Conference in Mexico City was the first held outside of Asia, and it was felt that this year's meeting in England would greatly enhance the organization's reputation and effectiveness.

Campus ROTC Fulfills Vital Function

by James Cowin

The Reserve Officers Training Corps, long an institution on many American campuses, has come under serious attack by left-wing students and faculty. Feeling that without ROTC, the U.S. "military establishment" could not survive, they have persuaded sincere peace-seeking students to join them in demanding the expulsion of ROTC from their campuses.

The anti-ROTC forces argue that the "war-machine," designed for killing, violates the ideals of human society, which the university is trying to preserve. Also, they assert that the military can procure its reserve officers by other means. Finally, they say, the military courses are anti-intellectual and are inconsistent with the aims and methods of higher learning.

The value of the military can

best be understood by a study of international relations. Some nations, driven by a desire for power, have regarded the conquest of their neighbors as a legitimate activity for economic well-being as well as for protection. Much suffering has resulted from the wars which these aggressors have caused.

Other nations have sought to protect both their right and the right of others to self-determination. By this means they have sought to create the mutual trust necessary for international cooperation. Economic and military alliances, such as the Common Market and NATO have resulted from their efforts. The Marshall Plan and UNESCO are further examples of efforts in this area. Such nations have raised armies to protect themselves against the power-seekers. Hence, the military can be used for good as well as for

evil. The Allies in World War II and the United Nations forces in Korea serve as examples of these valuable services.

Ideological Struggle

Today, a special conflict has arisen -- a conflict of ideas -- carried out through military force. The Marxist-Leninist ideology, which professes that "capitalist" societies must be destroyed by force if necessary, has legitimized the drive for power as "revolutionary force." In Communist diplomacy the military is often used to support the propaganda campaign to gain converts for the Communist system. Harassment by Communist terrorists reinforces the idea of the inevitability of a Communist victory.

To combat the Communists, well-trained military leaders are needed. Since the Communists seek to accomplish political as well as military goals, military leaders must know the values which they are defending and should be prepared to communicate their values to others. College-trained ROTC officers are ideal for this mission. While learning military fundamentals, they can also acquire an appreciation of the ideals of Western civilization and world society in general.

A paper written by the United Student Alliance lists the technical advantages supplied by ROTC, which the armed service academies cannot match. The program is the backbone of the junior officer corps. In 1971 the army commissioned 750 West Point Cadets and 17,000 ROTC college graduates. The service academies cannot possibly expand and contract to meet the fluctuating manpower needs of the services, as can the ROTC program.

ROTC cadets obtain specialized training, such as law, science and languages, for

which the services cannot set up specialized schools because of the prohibitive cost. The training of academy graduates places heavy emphasis on discipline and loyalty, qualities highly desirable in military officers. Civilian trained officers are highly desirable, however, in situations where the military must work with civilians, such as the occupation forces did in Germany after World War II.

It may be argued that officer candidate schools can take the place of the ROTC units as the major training vehicle. But experience has proven this argument invalid. OCS graduates, not being college graduates, often lack the needed sophistication for the complex decisions which a senior officer faces. Also, the compressed training schedule often makes the OSC graduate less developed personally than his ROTC counterpart. Four years of interaction between cadets and instructors deepen a man much more than a few short months.

Also, the OCS graduates receive only military training. The advantages of the civilian university are lost.

"False Standard"

The assertion that the military courses are anti-intellectual is based on a false standard. Military training is largely technical, involving courses such as administration, tactics, leadership and other areas of military science. Emphasis is on experience--drills, cruises and maneuvers.

Prof. Frank Traeger, Director of Studies for the National Strategy and Information Center, sensing the need for a more well-rounded product, mapped out a program to expand the ROTC outlook in the Dec. 1969 issue of the *American Legion Magazine*. He recommended the interchange

of civilian and military instructors, so that each other's students might learn from their experiences. The military, for instance, could give special insights into the Vietnam War, while civilian professors could provide the cadets with sophisticated analyses of complex problems, such as the Sino-Soviet split and the factors which are helping to create the Vietnamese ceasefire agreement.

The Communists recognized this educational need long ago and have provided a totalitarian solution. Every military unit has a political officer who is responsible for the ideological outlook of each soldier. The political officers influence military decisions. For instance, Khrushchev, already a Politburo member in 1941, was commissioned a lieutenant-general as a political officer.

Education Necessary

There is a need for political education among military officers, especially about the nature of the Communist ideology and how to defeat it. In view of the spread of pro-Communist propaganda on the campuses and even among GI's, such knowledge will be extremely useful. The best place for this type of education is in a civilian university, where ROTC cadets can take advantage of the professors' expertise.

Because of the nature of the Cold War, the military plays a vital role in carrying out U.S. foreign policy. To fulfill this task adequately the military officer needs a thorough knowledge and understanding of world problems. The ROTC program is a great asset providing officers who have developed this understanding. Those who argue against the ROTC are defeating their very purpose--the building of a moral civilization.

The Rising Tide

The Rising Tide is published bi-weekly by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc., a non-profit educational organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. Editor: Dan Fefferman. Four dollars yearly (26 issues) or 25¢ per copy.

Articles may be reprinted with attribution; please send copies of all publications in which *Rising Tide* material is used to FLF National Headquarters. Signed articles appearing in *The Rising Tide* do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Freedom Leadership Foundation.

President.....Neil Albert Salonen
 Secretary General.....Dan Graydon Fefferman
 Administrative Assistant.....Elena Barros
 Program Coordinator.....Gary Louis Jarmin
 Research Coordinator.....James Victor Cowin
 Treasurer.....David Hess
 Director of Public Information.....Geraldine Porcella

The Freedom Leadership Foundation is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(C)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. All contributions are tax-deductible.

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC.
 P.O. Box 678, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20004
 Phone: (202) 638-3320

Looking Ahead

by James Cowin



The election is over and it can be considered a standoff. Although President Nixon won by a huge margin, the Congress retained essentially the same balance, leaning toward moderate liberal. There was no appreciable swing toward conservatism, but the popular reaction against President Nixon predicted by the McGovernites failed to materialize. The American people demonstrated a need for a rest and for a sense of security, to recover after years of tension and struggle.

The Communist powers are seeking a rest period, too. The events of recent years greatly upset the equilibrium in both Free World and Communist blocs. While the U.S. offered its resources in Southeast Asia, the Soviets spent tens of billions to achieve military superiority over the U.S., only to suffer a disastrous crop failure which forced them to spend large foreign-currency reserves on U.S. wheat imports. The Communist Chinese, isolated diplomatically and threatened by Soviet invasion, struggled to a diplomatic triumph in the international community, only to face a continually increasing Soviet buildup on their borders. Both nations, fearing two opponents at once, have sought a detente with the US.

The nature of this detente will be a principal concern of both the President and the Congress. The Communists have never abandoned their official goal of world revolution. Their moves can therefore be interpreted as a part of the Leninist dialectical method of "one step forward, two steps back," in which a rest period is needed to prepare for a major push.

President Nixon and several senior members of both houses are aware of this and have

promoted a policy of preparedness while seeking detente. The philosophy behind the SALT talks and the Peking and Moscow trips was to offer concessions only with guarantees of reciprocal Communist actions. While the President may have conceded too much in return for too little, the U.S. response to the North Vietnamese invasion and the continued development of new weapons systems reveal that he understands that the U.S. must be prepared to cope with further tensions.

The President wishes to upgrade the weapons systems of the armed forces to continue to maintain our deterrent should the Communists again threaten a free nation, as with the Russian-inspired Syrian invasion of Jordan in 1970. Also desired is the capability for quick response to a Communist-inspired flare-up, and the power to become quickly reinvolved in a critical area such as Vietnam, if necessary.

Neo-isolationist liberals have opposed such desires in the past and can be expected to do so again. They cite the waste in military spending and encroachment upon Senatorial prerogatives as their grounds. Their hindrance of the President's power of action has blocked the effective execution of a strong U.S. foreign policy and the alleviation of suffering.

The movement within the Democratic party (led by Senators Jackson and Humphrey) against the soft foreign policy stand of the neo-isolationists is a cause for cautious optimism. Hopefully, the President and the Congress will achieve closer cooperation, which will result in a stronger U.S. foreign policy of deterrence and a greater chance of world peace.

From the Underground

Truth, Religion and Marx

by Gary Jarmin

Karl Marx made many serious errors in his economic and historical analysis, yet the greatest of these mistakes was his assertion that the *superstructure* or the values and philosophical beliefs of society were solely determined by economic forces.

This materialist conception of the origin of truth has made Communists fearful of any ideas or beliefs that do not stem from Marx, Lenin or the "infallible" Party line. Although there aren't any more Lysenko affairs taking place in the scientific realm, the mere thought of allowing non-Marxist points of view even the slightest chance of expression has Kremlin leaders shaking in their boots. The Soviets are particularly worried about the growing interest in religion, which is not only spreading among the general populace, but among Communist Party members as well. *Pravda*, the Party's official publication, has warned against these practices and demanded that Party cadres strengthen their militant atheism.

The Soviets claim religion has been able to survive merely because of traditional practices and the stubborn backwardness of rural peasants. The real reason, however, which even the Soviets are beginning to admit, is the monotony and shallowness of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Primarily based on materialistic concepts, while suppressing genuine spiritual pursuits, Communism has become unattractive and unfulfilling for many young people. Consequently, many of them are turning towards Eastern as well as Western religion.

The influence of religion has even spread to the armed services, and the Soviets now have their own *scientious objectors* to contend with! An article in the *Red Star*, the armed services daily, remarked that several members of the *Initiativniki*, an underground church of evangelical Baptists, refused to carry arms or take the military oath.

Parallel to this growing interest in religion, the intellectual community is taking a more active role in speaking out for true democratic ideals. Despite repeated attempts, the Kremlin has been unable to crush the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a publication smuggled out to

the West criticizing the regime's violation of civil rights. No matter how many are arrested, the numbers and activities of dissident intellectuals continue to increase.

The quest for a spiritual truth capable of overcoming Marxism's pseudo-religious appeal is more than a casual intellectual exercise. The foundation upon which the present religious and moral revolution is being built has been erected through the blood, sweat and tears of millions.

Time and again the underground meetings of evangelicals are interrupted by police agents who arrest and often brutally beat believers in an attempt to halt their religious activities. In addition, the children of these dedicated Christians are often taken from their parents and placed in atheistic children's homes.

Long prison terms are handed out frequently to both Christians and intellectuals who oppose the "gestapo-like" practices and policies of the Soviet regime.

Levitin, a Jew and Orthodox Christian, has long been a human rights champion for both evangelicals and intellectuals alike. Levitin spent ten years in labor camps for his religious convictions but was again rearrested and sentenced in 1969. Boris Talantov, a professor and Orthodox Christian, was also sentenced to two years imprisonment for speaking out against the persecution of the Church. Subjected to solitary confinement, he later died of a heart attack on January 4, 1971.

Even more recently, Uri Galanskov, 33, a Christian and major figure of the literary trials in the 1960's, died of an acute ulcer on November 4, 1972 while serving a seven year sentence at hard labor. In a letter smuggled out of prison just before his death, Galanskov stated: "I am dying ... They are doing everything they can to hasten my death."

Lenin once stated that the best method of arousing interest in religion is to declare war on it. Today the evidence would seem to indicate that Lenin was right. The more the Soviets attempt to hasten the death of religion, the more certainly their own ideological doom will be sealed.

Who Represents the American Indians?

BY DAVID WYNN

Washington--The recent action here by a group of self-styled Indian revolutionaries who caused in excess of \$2,000,000 damage to the building which houses the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) seems painfully familiar.

It was a situation we have witnessed so often over the past turbulent years of radical violence--that is, a minority group which has within it its own minority group, which resorts to negative radical action such as violence and destruction, which only brings more grief upon the whole minority.

In this case the minority group is the Indian people and the radical minority group within it is the American Indian Movement (AIM). (This group should not be confused with the organization *Accuracy In Media*, which goes by the same acronym -ed.)

"Spokesmen"

AIM members came to Washington as self-appointed spokesmen for all Indians. In reality the Indian people democratically elect their own leaders and spokesmen. Official Indian representatives belong to the National Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA). AIM professed to be standing up for the rights of Indians. In fact, it has grossly violated and abused their rights by its illegal actions and wanton destruction.

"Progress"

AIM claimed that it stood for the progress of the Indian people. Yet, AIM members stole or destroyed files and documents which are vital to the very survival of Indian tribes in America. Files containing real estate agreements, lease terms, credit standings, school and federal aid program enrollments, land and water rights, fishing and hunting rights are among those missing.

Also, during AIM's week-long occupation of the BIA, from 600 to 700 paintings by Indian artists were stolen. The value of each painting has been placed at \$1,000. The theft and vandalism done to the paintings and other art objects has destroyed the greatest collection of Indian art in the world.

Official U.S. Government estimates reveal that damage done to the BIA building is the worst ever committed by U.S.

citizens to public property.

The AIM takeover of the BIA building involved about 500 Indians who stayed in the building for seven days. Harrison Loesch, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for public land management described AIM leaders as "bloody revolutionaries who came here for physical confrontation," and stated "there was not a single tribal leader in the building during the occupation."

Press Conference

On Friday, November 10, the NTCA Board of Directors held a press conference at which their position paper was read. It deplored the activities of AIM and called for prosecution of all those involved in the destruction of the BIA.

However, a group of AIM radicals showed up to disrupt the NTCA action. AIM agitators insulted, mocked, and cursed the NTCA Directors. In denying the NTCA the right to speak for Indians, (because of their conservative dress!) one AIM leader demanded "How can you dress like that (suits and tie) and claim to represent Indians? When this writer turned to view the agitator, I beheld an Indian male wearing long greasy hair, sun glasses, and a motorcycle style jacket. Other AIM agitators attempted to take over and dominate the press conference. At this point, it was learned that AIM members had previously threatened the lives and safety of the tribal leaders.

The use of force and suppression is contradictory to the peaceful and orderly way that the elected tribal leaders have been guiding the progress of Indian affairs. This latest episode of violent, destructive activity has simply become the latest example of the fruits of radicalism.

It is unknown if the dissident AIM has any concrete ideology, but its tactics are distinctly Leninist. They have appointed themselves spokesmen for people whom they do not represent, convinced that only they possess the true interpretation of history and that they therefore have the right and responsibility to lead "the people" into revolutionary consciousness by any means necessary. In the end, they only harm those whom they claim to be helping.



Russian children who were taken from their mother because she "poisoned their minds" with Christian religious concepts.

ANALYSIS OF PRO

The Freedom Leadership Foundation is a movement of young people who are dedicated to the extension of the American ideas of universal freedom and justice and to ideological victory over Communism. We have manifested our support for a strong Vietnam policy on several occasions. In November, 1969 we initiated the first pro-Vietnam student activity in Washington--a three day "Fast for Freedom in Southeast Asia." When the Cambodian Incursion resulted in a massive anti-war lobby on Capitol Hill in May, 1970, members of FLF from across the nation came to Washington and organized an ad-hoc committee against the Cooper-Church and McGovern-Hatfield amendments and in support of the U.S. commitment to Southeast Asia. In the fall of 1971, we

staged a one day demonstration and a three day fast in support of the free people of Asia. When the President announced the blockade of North Vietnam last May, FLF held a 7:00 a.m. prayer vigil in front of the White House to support his action.

FLF delegations have visited Vietnam on three occasions and have met with a wide spectrum of labor, educational, religious and political leaders, including a five-hour visit with President Thieu. We have maintained close contact with student groups in South Vietnam and played a leading role in the defeat of the "People's Peace Treaty" at the University of Saigon. FLF student members have also put on many rallies and exhibits on campuses in support of a strong U.S. Vietnam policy.



FLF members meet with Indo-Chinese student leaders.

The recent Hanoi version of the ceasefire agreement sparked both hope and controversy among the American people. Critics asserted that the North Vietnamese were making one last effort to obtain at the negotiating table what they failed to win on the battlefield. The critics counseled that the U.S. should refrain from signing, in hopes of getting a better agreement. Most Americans, however, applauded the President for his desire and commitment to achieving peace; and they recognized his willingness to try to achieve a negotiated ceasefire as quickly as possible.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation shares that desire and commitment to peace. We recognize that the road to peace is a hard one, and that the President has been torn between the desire to arrange a ceasefire and save American lives on the one hand, and the knowledge that thirty million Cambodians, Laotians and South Vietnamese will suffer greatly if America withdraws in a manner which leaves these nations vulnerable to Communist aggression on the other.

We also share the concern of the President that the ceasefire must be sufficient not only for a temporary truce but for a lasting peace. Dr. Kissinger's statement that the U.S. would not be "stampeded" into an agreement until it contains the "right" provisions is, to us, a real key to a successful ceasefire and to a stable peace. The question remains, however, as to what are the right provisions.

We recognize that Dr. Kissinger has worked hard to obtain significant concessions from the North Vietnamese. On October 8 the North Vietnamese accepted the U.S. position that a military ceasefire be concluded first, and that

the South Vietnamese and the Viet Cong work out a political settlement afterward. Previously, the North had insisted on a simultaneous political and military settlement.

The North had also dropped its demand for a coalition government and had settled for a three-segment "National Council of Reconciliation and Concord," which was to supervise administrative procedures in preparation for a general election. The council would obviously be limited in effectiveness, as its measures have to be adopted by a unanimous vote, a near impossibility considering the hostility of the Communist and anti-Communist segments toward each other.

These concessions have led many Americans to believe that "Peace Is At Hand." We believe that the evidence does not support this conclusion. There are at least five critical shortcomings which must be resolved in order for a viable accord to be reached. We will now present an analysis of these shortcomings.

1. Inadequate Participation of the South Vietnamese Government

Although the ceasefire agreement was still in draft form, the text broadcast by Radio Hanoi was generally regarded as close to the final agreement. The Communists deliberately promoted the misinterpretation by reporting that "by October 22, 1972, the DRVN side and the U.S. side had agreed both on the full text of the agreement on ending the war...and on a schedule to be observed for the formal signing of the agreement on October 31, 1972." If this is true, then President Thieu was presented with a *fait accompli* agreement which, if

carried out, would have been an extremely serious threat to the security of South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese have fought a long war for their homeland and have suffered enormous hardships. They obviously have the right to be full partners in the negotiations of the substance of the ceasefire agreement. President Thieu was presented with a text which contained three major objectionable points: the failure to specify that the North Vietnamese withdraw their troops from South Vietnam; the creation of the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord, which Thieu feels gives the Communists undeserved legitimacy; and the nature of the ban on arms shipments, which he believes cannot be adequately enforced.

The impression that the agreement was a final draft and that the U.S. was supposed to win South Vietnamese support for it in its present form placed undue pressure on leaders of both nations.

The South Vietnamese Government should be given a definite role in the negotiation of any agreement. The Communists have repeatedly tried to establish the Provisional Revolutionary Government (which must use force to control even ten percent of the population) as the equal of the legitimate government in Saigon. They have also attempted to portray Saigon as a subordinate of the U.S.

President Thieu, sensitive to any Communist attempt to take over legitimate authority, has condemned the National Council on Reconciliation and Concord because it gives the Viet Cong equal standing with the South Vietnamese government. To prevent an erosion of legitimate governmental authority, Thieu has demanded and should be granted full participation in the negotiation of any agreement. We believe that such participation is mandatory from both a moral and political standpoint.

2. Inadequate Acknowledgement of North Vietnamese Responsibilities

Restraints necessary for the winding down of the fighting should apply to all, yet the United States appears to bear the brunt of these restraints. The U.S. must cease all military activity and must withdraw its troops from South Vietnam. We would also be barred from upgrading the weaponry of the South Vietnamese army once the ceasefire takes effect, and from "intervening" in the internal affairs of the country.

The North Vietnamese have refused to acknowledge the presence of their troops on South Vietnamese soil and North Vietnamese forces are not mentioned in any clause pertaining to South Vietnam. Hence, not only are the troops not required to withdraw; the limitations on their movements and on their being resupplied become impossible to enforce.

The presence of the NVA troops constitutes a great interference in the internal affairs of the South. The dispersal of fourteen divisions throughout the contested areas, especially after the U.S. troop withdrawal, would make free and democratic elections virtually impossible. Confirmed reports of mass murders of village officials, teachers and soldiers' families is evidence of a Communist campaign to wipe out all opposition.

The North also refuses to acknowledge the presence of its troops in Cambodia and Laos. North Vietnamese

promises to respect national rights" of the Laotians are meaningless. North acknowledges and withdraws its troops from these countries.

One party cannot make the peace while his opponent breaks it. The final draft of the agreement contains a clause which calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and which names the occupying armies.

3. Inadequate Provisions for the Enforcement of the Ceasefire

The provisions of the agreement make no specific provision for the enforcement of the truce. The ban on arms shipments and the authority of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and of the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord are not spelled out. The provisions mentioned in the ceasefire agreement are international conference agreements, signing of the agreement, and guarantees of enforcement.

In view of the situation in the South, the ceasefire period may be a period of hope and despair for the South Vietnamese. The North has intensified its efforts to take as much territory as possible. A ceasefire takes effect, but the North has thousands of troops, equipped with modern weapons, which have been infiltrated into the South to be used in the attack.

In Cambodia and Laos, the presence of Communist forces is much better. The North Vietnamese, in the Washington Statement, mentioned enemy documents in Cambodia, which in the ceasefire agreement, the documents instruct the North Vietnamese to continue military operations in 1973, when Prince Sihanouk is expected to return from exile.

Although the agreement calls for "foreign countries to cease all military activities in Cambodia" and shall withdraw their troops, there is no provision for the North Vietnamese.

The "foreign countries" specified by name, before, the North Vietnamese troops on foreign soil.

The Communist treaties and agreements



FLF members in Phnom Penh. Vietnamese w

POSED CEASEFIRE

the "fundamental Cambodians and Angkors until the presence of troops from these

Divisions Against

the draft as written proposal for the en- up withdrawals or ments. The powers joint military com- international com- and supervision are only definite step paving of an in- 30 days after the ment to discuss ment.

present military this 30 day grace path blow to the dependent South Vietnamese army campaign to capture possible before the It has been repor- North Vietnamese th heavy artillery from Cambodia to ks.

Laos the assuran- compliance are not *altimore Sun* and *-News* have men- cements captured by orm the NVA that ns nothing. The the NVA to con- ditions until April Sihanouk is sup- n Peking.

ment declares that all put an end to in Laos and Cam- draw from these loophole for the

countries" are not and, as mentioned ill claims that no troops are fighting

cord on upholding ents leaves almost

no room for optimism. The Soviets made a treaty with Czechoslovakia in mid-August 1968 and invaded that nation a week later. They began violating the Suez cease-fire of August, 1970 within hours after the document was signed. The North Vietnamese, after signing the Geneva Accords of 1954 and Laotian agreement of 1962, ignored the provision calling for the withdrawal of military forces into their own zone. In Laos, for instance, they reportedly withdrew only one hundred men out of six thousand. While the International Control Commission sat back helplessly, the North Vietnamese built the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In South Vietnam, in 1968, the NVA used the Tet holiday cease-fire to surprise the ARVN with a massive offensive which spread throughout the country. The March, 1972 invasion also violated the 1968 agreement made with the U.S. in which, in return for a halt to the bombing of the North, the North Vietnamese pledged not to send troops across the DMZ.

Also, it is impossible to police adequately the thousands of square miles of Indochinese jungles, where whole divisions can slip through unseen.

Kissinger noted these difficulties in his press conference of October 26, when he said that "We would like to avoid the dangers of the loss of life... even of the massacre that may be inherent in this (the last NVA effort to seize as much territory as possible), and we, therefore, want to discuss methods by which the international supervisory body can be put in place at promulgated." The Administration's stand that the supervisory commission be operational on the day of the cease-fire is very sensible.

The agreement should also include a clause which provides that if one side violated the terms of the cease-fire agreement, the other side has the right to take action necessary for its enforcement.

Finally, it must be written that the new supervisory commission must have unrestricted freedom of movement throughout South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and must have the police power necessary to enforce its authority. The old International Control Commission often could not report violations because the North would not allow it complete freedom of movement.



and Cambodian student volunteers after digging trenches outside of the proposed ceasefire agreement leaves the question of North withdrawal from Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam extremely vague.



FLF President Neil Salonen and wife Rebecca talk with a South Vietnamese official (left) and FLF delegation sings for Catholic Vietnamese war orphans. If the Communists take over in South Vietnam, what would happen to these children?



4. Partiality of the Tone

The language of the cease-fire document is phrased to imply much guilt on the part of the U.S. while North Vietnam emerges completely guiltless. While the North is committed only to "respecting the national rights" of the Cambodians and Laotians, the U.S. has many obligations to fulfill. We must cease military operations and withdraw; we must not intervene in Vietnamese internal affairs; we cannot be committed to any "political tendency" in South Vietnam; and we will contribute to the rebuilding of all of Indochina.

The Vietnam War is regarded by the Communists as a model of struggles to come. It contains both military and psychological factors, with the psychological playing a leading role. For instance, no modern military commander would sacrifice his main forces as did the North Vietnamese and VC during the 1968 Tet Offensive, if thinking strictly in military terms. But the psychological damage to the U.S. was probably greater than the military losses to the Communists.

The Communists emphasize psychological warfare. Hence, the ceasefire agreement has a two-fold purpose: to remove the U.S. from Indochina and to show the world the invincibility of the "people's war." Without clauses which specify the existence of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, thereby assigning the North Vietnamese some responsibility for the situation, the world can only regard the document as a U.S. *mea culpa*.

Much of Asia looks to the United States as its only hope of defense against Communist encroachment. Thailand, for instance, has a guerilla problem, and Communist terrorism in the Phillipines was a major factor in the declaration of martial law by President Marcos last September. Lack of faith in the U.S. commitment was also a factor in South Korean President Park's decision to suspend the constitution of his country.

If, in spite of seven years of hard effort and 46,000 dead, the United States leaves South Vietnam an easy prey for a Communist takeover, and at the same time implies regret or guilt about its involvement, no nation can again be sure of the American response to a Communist threat.

5. Abandonment of Political Commitment

A question must be raised as to why the U.S. allowed itself to be forbidden to support "any political tendency" in South Vietnam. Our nation has always advocated the building of free, democratic societies, and has supported those leaders who have stood for the same ideals. The original purpose of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam was to provide an environment in which freedom and democracy could grow.

U.S. abandonment of political support may mean that such an environment may never be given the chance to develop. To declare ourselves "not committed to any political tendency" in South Vietnam is to declare the defeat of our original purpose for involvement.

CONCLUSION

The Freedom Leadership Foundation supports the idea of a negotiated settlement of the war, and we are as eager for peace as any Americans. However, we recognize that there can be no lasting peace, unless it is accompanied by freedom, justice and enforceable sanctions against parties who would disrupt the peace.

After years of aggression and intransigence, the North Vietnamese in recent weeks have demonstrated a willingness to negotiate. There is good reason to believe that, with tough bargaining, they will make even more concessions. They have taken huge losses in their recent offensive, without achieving any of its major political objectives. The continued U.S. bombing and mining in response to the North Vietnamese invasion has crippled their ability to import sufficient war material. They are also receiving strong pressure from Moscow and Peking to negotiate, since both Communist superpowers are interested in achieving detente with the U.S. at this time.

The agreement as it stands is grossly inadequate to achieving the peace we all desire. We strongly urge that the following conditions be provided for:

1. Adequate participation of all parties involved.
2. Preferably, the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, or, at least, the recognition of the North Vietnamese as a belligerent in those countries and assurances that the agreement's restraints apply to North Vietnamese as well as PRG forces.
3. Enforcement procedures, specifically regarding the police power and freedom of movement of the international supervisory commission.
4. A more balanced tone, placing fair responsibility for the war with the North Vietnamese, and not implying guilt only on the part of the United States.
5. A continued U.S. commitment to freedom and democracy in Southeast Asia, without precluding the possibility that the U.S. form military alliances there.

The U.S. must play a vital role in defending freedom throughout the world. At this time of increased challenge, many nations look to the United States to see if our commitments and ideas are still viable. We must maintain our integrity now.

FLF Urges President Nixon to Negotiate 'Enforceable' Ceasefire

FLF, from page 1.

one of the principal parties.

• It does not recognize the North Vietnamese as a belligerent in South Vietnam, even though it is well known that they have from 100-150 thousand troops there. These troops are not required to withdraw.

• There are inadequate guarantees that the provisions of the agreement will be implemented or enforced.

• The tone of the document implicates the United States as the primary guilty party and does not place proper responsibility for the war with the North Vietnamese.

• Under the terms of the proposed agreement, the United States is "not committed to any political ten-

dency...in South Vietnam."

This provision essentially negates the original purpose of the U.S. commitment and involvement in Vietnam--to provide an environment in which freedom and democracy could grow...This would be, in effect, an admission of defeat.

Salonen suggested that no agreement should be signed until these areas of inadequacy are resolved.

He said he was encouraged by recent administration statements that the United States will not be pressured into an unacceptable agreement, but he added that "the American people, and the people of the world, need more explicit assurances that the U.S. will not abandon South Vietnam to the Communists."



FLF Research Coordinator James Cowin (left) discusses ceasefire analysis with President Neil Salonen and Rising Tide editor Dan Fefferman.

Marcos Reform Would Remove 'Social Roots' Of Communism

REFORM, from page 1.

have taken on a cleaner tone, both morally and physically. *Time* reports that "there is a note of hope in the city (Manila) and an apparent willingness on the part of Filipinos to suspend judgment, at least temporarily, in order to give the President a chance to work things out."

Response in the West, however, has not been so generous. Left and Right alike have accused Marcos of executing an extremely subtle power play, placing special emphasis on his arrest of political opponents, media controls, and his pushing through a constitutional amendment which removes the limitations on the number of terms he may serve.

One conservative writer, John Yench, wrote in *Human Events* that Marcos has surrounded himself with many advisors who are "radical leftists of the most repellent sort--at best, anti-Americans; at worst, Marxist-Leninist doctrinaires."

Not Communist

The fact remains, however, that the Marcos land reform is a far cry from those used by the Communists. It is essentially similar to the successful reform implemented by Taiwan, but with even less government control, since the government will not act as the middle-man in tenant-landlord transactions. In contrast to Communist (Marxist-Leninist) land reforms, which take the land forcibly from the owners without compensation, as often as not killing the landlord, and forcing the farmers into an even more oppressive relationship with the state, the Philippine reform would let the landlord live, compensate him for his property and encourage the individual initiative of the farmers. If followed by adequate government programs of educational and technological assistance, the reform could go a long way toward "removing the social roots" of Communism in the Philippines.

Marcos has initiated a very strong program. Such strength is the mark of the despot and the truly great moral leader alike. The world, like the Filipinos, will have to wait and see what the fruits of the program are before it can adequately judge its ethical, economic or political value.

News Conference Covered by Overseas Press

Washington area news media all but ignored the FLF press conference at which the ceasefire analysis was released. UPI did cover the story, however, and FLF received confirmation from overseas that the story had been picked up.

Yoji Hirota, a former member of the Japanese diplomatic corps, cabled his support for the analysis, which had been reported in the *Japan Times*. *Tide* readers who saw the story elsewhere are asked to inform FLF headquarters. Thank you.

PETITION FOR A JUST PEACE IN INDOCHINA!

MR. PRESIDENT:

We, the undersigned Americans, who want peace as earnestly as any of our countrymen, deeply appreciate your conscientious efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement for a just peace in Indochina. We believe, however, that the proposed ceasefire agreement which was broadcast by Radio Hanoi on October 26 is inadequate to insure the lasting peace we all desire--most especially because (1) it does not specifically arrange for the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, (2) it does not provide for concrete enforcement procedures in case of violations and (3) it forbids the United States from being committed to "any political tendency" in the South, thus negating the purpose of our involvement to aid the growth of democracy and freedom in Southeast Asia. Therefore, we strongly urge you to negotiate steadfastly for a settlement which will give more adequate assurances of the viability of the non-Communist Southeast Asian nations.

1.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
2.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
3.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
4.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
5.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
6.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
7.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
8.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
9.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
10.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
11.	_____	_____
	Name	Address
12.	_____	_____
	Name	Address

Circulate this petition, clip it, and send it in to FLF Headquarters as soon as possible. Attach extra signature sheets if necessary. We will send the petitions en masse to the President.

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC.
P.O. Box 678
Ben Franklin Station
Washington, D.C. 20044

On the Relationship of Base and Superstructure

from Communism:
A New Critique
by Dr. Lee Sang-Hun

According to Marx, society is composed of the *base* and the *superstructure*. The base is the *production relationship* and the superstructure consists of *views and institutions* based on political, legal, religious, artistic, and philosophical ideas. The superstructure is the product of the base and the progress of the superstructure corresponds to that of the base. As the progress of the base is accomplished through contradiction and struggle, the progress of ideas and institutions is also accomplished by contradiction, argument and struggle. Such contradiction and struggle, according to Marx, is the reflection of the conflict of social interests originating in the base. Stalin said that the superstructure is a product of the age in which the base lives and operates. Therefore, the superstructure does not persist long, but is exterminated and extinguished with the extinction of the economic base.

Let us examine the Marxist view. First we will examine the point that the "superstructure" is the product of the "base". This means that the various views and institutions of society are established through production relationship; they are terminated with the termination of production relationship; and the appearance of a new production relationship causes the appearance of new views and institutions. Views and institutions are thus entirely and exclusively dependent on production relationship. Marx developed the theory of the base and the superstructure in this way, and Stalin shared his emphasis. Their historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism, which maintains that spirit is the product of matter. Marx and Stalin cannot but draw the inference that superstructure is the product of the base. In truth, however, the progress of history does not support his theory.

Let us take some examples in law and art. For instance, the law of the Roman age of slavery is still preserve in the age of capitalism. Greek art is highly esteemed even today. Still more conspicuous is the example of religion. Ancient religions such as Christianity, Buddhism, and Confucianism persist even today. How can one deny the sober fact that thought the old production relationship has long since disappeared, the ideas and views did not die out, but have flourished.

Marx' followers would ex-

plain this as follows: The views of a past age are sometimes preserved and utilized if they are useful to a later time. The reason Roman law was preserved in bourgeois law is that it is expedient to the bourgeoisie. Greek art is still highly esteemed because that art expressed universal and human aspects which are common to all societies. Engels said that though views and institutions are generally the product of economic conditions, the definite form taken by a certain state in a particular age cannot be explained by the economic conditions of that stage or age alone. On the contrary, the



ENGELS

form any view or institution takes in a given age is conditioned by various elements unique to that state. These elements can be, for instance, the national character, the personality of the state leader, or the past history of the country.

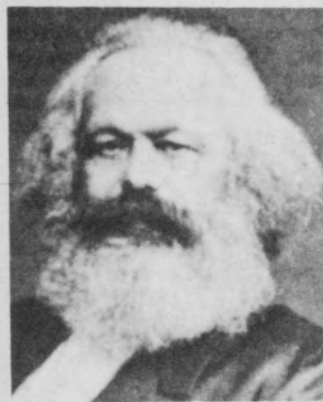
Marx asserted that views and institutions progress along with the progress of production relationship. In Marx's view this was a law. But in actuality it is not always so, as Engels admitted. This is a confession of self-contradiction. If the bourgeois take advantage of Roman law it is because there is something in common between their legal view and that of the Roman age. If Greek art has a common value to all societies, it means that people of all ages, including the Greeks, have artistic sensibility and attitudes in common. When production relationship is changed entirely, why is there no change in such legal, artistic views? Marx did not resolve this contradiction between his theory and fact, nor did his followers.

Marxism asserts that the contradictions and struggles within the superstructure are the reflection of those of the base. This expression is also ambiguous. If Marxists were to say that the motive of argument between views is derived from conflicting economic interests, there may be some truth in it. But it is completely erroneous

to say that the content of such disagreement is the accurate reflection of economic struggle. The advanced nations of the free world have very similar production relationships. But the views and content of argument between views and thoughts differ in each country.

Our View

Then what is the position of the Unification Ideology regarding the production relationship and views and institutions? According to the Unification Ideology, views and institutions are not the product of material conditions, such as the production relationship, alone, but the product of a com-



MARX

bination of human will (desire) and material conditions. It would be difficult to engender views and institutions without material conditions, but even more difficult in the absence of human will (desire).

Views and institutions--"the superstructure" -- are the product of the spiritual factor of man's desire and God's will and the material factor, such as economic and social conditions. Between these two, the most important is the spiritual factor. Marx' assertion that the superstructure was a product only of the production relationship was a biased view. Consequently, his proposition

"social existence determines man's consciousness" is also erroneous, being merely another way of saying that production relationship determines superstructure.

Man's realistic desire changes according to society and environment. The desire behind it, however, the basic desire for good life, does not change, regardless of time or place. Thus, realistic desire is specific and temporary; but basic desire is permanent and universal. Accordingly, man's everyday desire has two aspects: the temporary, specific aspect and the permanent, universal aspect. Therefore, views and institutions, as the product of this desire, will also have these two aspects. For instance, in looking at Congress or Parliament, insofar as they are legislative institutions according to democratic formula they are temporary and specific. But as institutions to satisfy human desire to live peacefully by law, they are permanent and universal. These two aspects exist in all forms of ideas: law, politics, religions, and philosophy. Between these two aspects, the temporary, specific one changes with time and place, but the universal, permanent aspect is changeless. Roman law is applied and preserved in bourgeois law because it has this permanent aspect. Greek art is still highly esteemed because it too has a permanent, universal aspect transcending time or place.

Though views and institutions which are primarily temporary in character may terminate with the extinction of production relationship, those richer in permanent elements may continue regardless of the change in production relationship. Religion has much that is permanent and universal within it. Therefore it has persisted and expanded for a long time.

Next let us examine the idea that views and institutions progress by contradiction and

struggle and that progress is the exact reflection of the "base" -- of contradiction and struggle within the economic sphere. Though material conditions become the base of man's conscious activity, they cannot determine the content of man's consciousness any more than food, which gives man energy to think, can provide the content of his thought. Consequently, views and institutions are based on economic conditions, but are not the exact reflection of such conditions.

Let us take the example of the Protestant Reformation as the struggle between opposing views. Though it is true that the reformation came about on the ground of economic and social conditions of the time (the decay of feudal power through the Crusades, the emergence of the middle class, and the spread of humanistic thought) the content of Martin Luther's 95 Theses was the explosion of his indignation toward the corruption of ecclesiastical power and injustice. It was not merely the reflection of the production relationship of that time, but an outburst of man's basic desire for freedom and justice.

Views and institutions are rooted in economic conditions (production relationship) but are not its exact reflection. They are rather the reflection of consciousness. Consequently, the contradiction and struggle between different views is the reflection of contradiction and struggle in human consciousness (desire). Development of views and institutions is the reflection of development of consciousness (desire) based on material conditions. Unless countries which base their political systems on Marxist assumptions recognize this basic principle, they will never attain the liberation to which they claim to aspire, but will only continue to repress those who seek the true path.

NPAC To Continue Push For Withdrawal

The National Peace Action Coalition, a Trotskyite-dominated "peace" group, held a press conference on November 9 to announce its upcoming demonstrations on November 18. The speakers, NPAC National Coordinator Jerry Gordon, SMC Coordinator Fred Lovgren and Women's Strike for Peace activist Ruth Gainer, berated the President for "stalling" on the signing of the cease-fire agreement and vowed new militance in campaigning for a total U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

The NPAC, while claiming to work for peace, is campaigning for a Communist victory in Southeast Asia, responding in perfect concert with the priorities of the enemy in Hanoi. Led by its Trotskyite-controlled youth arm, the Student Mobilization Committee, it has campaigned for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied military forces from South Vietnam and only thinly disguises its desire for a speedy

victory for the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong.

"Snag"

Its pro-Communist publicity campaign hit a snag, however, when the North sent 14 divisions rumbling across the DMZ and the Cambodian border into South Vietnam. The media was full of reports of Communist artillery blasting columns of fleeing refugees, and of massacres of civilians in Communist occupied areas. The South Vietnamese army, which many thought would collapse, resisted heroically at An Loc and fought its way back into Quang Tri.

A Harris poll taken in September, 1972 revealed that a substantial majority of U.S. voters supported the bombing and mining of North Vietnam and agreed that "it is important that South Vietnam must not fall into the hands of the Communists."

The proposed ceasefire agreement appeared to dampen NPAC hopes even further, as

the North Vietnamese, their troops exhausted and their Russian and Chinese allies courting the U.S., seemed to settle for a standoff instead of pressing for immediate victory.

NPAC speakers emphasized three points:

---The war will end when the U.S. totally withdraws from Southeast Asia. Then the Vietnamese people will overthrow their hated government and the fighting will be stopped.

---President Nixon has been lying about his desire for peace. He and Kissinger concluded the agreement in time for the election, then refused to sign it in order to "wrench more concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces."

---There will be a "social explosion" if President Nixon fails to sign the agreement. The "peace forces," (led by NPAC) are still strong, and as the "conscience of the

See NPAC, page 8.

page 7

SUBSCRIBE TO

The Rising Tide

--See page 8

Give the 'Tide' as a Holiday Gift!

Still in its first year of publication as a tabloid-size newspaper, *The Rising Tide* has been reaching a steadily growing readership throughout the United States. However, to insure the *Tide's* continued expansion and success, its number of regular subscriptions must be greatly increased.

With the Holiday season approaching, why not subscribe to the *Tide* for your friends? What better way to express the Holiday spirit than to introduce your friends to "America's fastest growing freedom newspaper?" For America, the Holiday Season symbolizes hope and good will; and at a time when many despair that hope is lost for America and world freedom, *The Rising Tide* provides a glimmer that can grow quickly into a powerful beacon — but only with your support.

TRT's effectiveness among the young people of America has already been proven. Today's youth are hungry for a positive alternative to the violence and radicalism which too often characterize the scene. Distribution of the *Tide* is therefore so important!

Thus, you can help not only by subscribing for your friends, but also by contributing to FLF's PROJECT TIDAL WAVE, the purpose of which is to distribute the *Tide* for free on campuses in every state.

Will you help? Fill out the attached coupon and send it in to FLF Headquarters today. Your contribution is tax-deductible, and every subscription really helps. As always, we are counting on your support.

- Please enter a gift subscription in my name for the attached list of people. Enclosed is \$_____, for _____ subscriptions at \$4.00 per year (student subscriptions: \$2.00).
- I would like to support PROJECT TIDAL WAVE. Please find enclosed my tax-deductible contribution of \$_____, to be used to increase free *Tide* distribution on campuses.
- I would like to renew my own *Tide* subscription. Enclosed please find \$4.00 for one year's subscription.

name _____
 address _____
 city _____
 state _____ zip _____

I would like to help support the cause by selling the *Tide*. Please contact me.

T219

NPAC Loses Strength

NPAC, from page 7.

nation" will continue to prick President Nixon until he gives in.

Not True

The evidence, however, reveals the NPAC declarations to be simple pro-Communist propaganda.

The North's Hitler-like invasion and the desperate South Vietnamese resistance showed most Americans that the South Vietnamese knew who the hated enemy was. Even opposition senators and congressmen supported President Thieu, as the South Vietnamese Lower House voted 125-11 in favor of his resolution denouncing the ceasefire agreement.

The perhaps overly generous concessions allowed the North Vietnamese in the proposed ceasefire agreement clearly show President Nixon's eager-

ness for peace. Most Americans realize that the President has not signed the document because he knows the record of Communist treaty violations and desires adequate provisions for its enforcement. There has therefore been no public outcry for the President's quick signature.

Finally, as mentioned before, the September Harris poll reveals that the majority of Americans support the President's firm policy. If anything, the consciences of many Americans have been pricked by the continued reports of North Vietnamese terrorism and the exposure of the Communist plans to exploit or ignore the ceasefire.

The speakers declared that NPAC would hold demonstrations in twenty cities, including Washington, D.C. They hedged on declaring what they

felt would constitute a successful turnout, however, saying that any visible sign of resistance on the streets would be a success.

The numbers involved in the NPAC demonstrations have declined rapidly over the past year and a half. While the April 1971 demonstration attracted an estimated 350,000 people, the demonstration the following spring attracted only 10,000.

The NPAC campaign, nonetheless may have its effect. NPAC's position on the war was supported, with only minor differences, by a major Presidential candidate. If Nixon now yields to the pressure and signs an agreement which gives the Communists enough to achieve dominance in South Vietnam—regardless of from where the pressure comes—then the Trotskyist-led NPAC can claim it has done its job.

The Rising Tide
 P.O. Box 678 Ben Franklin Station
 Washington, DC 20044

Nonprofit Org.
 U. S. POSTAGE
 PAID
 Permit No. 44294

address correction requested

advertise in
The Rising Tide!!!

The Story of DAN LYONS, S.J. by John D. McCallum

For years, perhaps, you have been reading the columns of Father Dan Lyons, editor-at-large of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REGISTER. He is the best known priest journalist in America. But what about him as a person? What about the family whence he sprang? What does he do besides write a column?

This book is about the man himself. It is full of human interest anecdotes. It is full of interesting people. But it is much more than that. It is a mirror of the times in which we live, a reflection of the problems facing the Church, society and the world.

In this biography you see behind the columns, as Father Dan covers the trouble-spots of the world from Sydney to Damascus, from Capetown to Laos.

His is the voice of the grass-roots majority that refuses to be silent, debating with the Left and challenging the Berrigans and Jack Andersons. There are no holds barred, he takes them head-on!

All told by John McCallum, one of America's finest biographers, who previously authored the story of the Eisenhowers, the Grace Kelly family, Ty Cobb, the Americans who first climbed Mount Everest, and a dozen more thrilling biographies.

The facts, the humor, the wit and wisdom surpass any novel. The book is loaded with interesting pictures. When you thumb through the pages, you won't want to stop!

Send the coupon below to:

GUILD BOOKS

86 Riverside Drive
 New York, N.Y. 10024

TRT219

Enclosed is my check for \$7.95.
 Kindly send my copy of the biography of
 DAN LYONS, S.J. (hardback)
 (Please print:)

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____