

THE RISING TIDE

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"R.D." CADRES:

The REAL Vietnamese Revolution

by Gary Louis Jarmin

Today in Vietnam, probably the most outstanding accomplishments in the Pacification program are the projects and activities of the Revolutionary Development Cadres. The "R.D." Cadres are fighting one of the most important struggles of the war, that of defeating the Communists ideologically and bringing democracy and development to the people of Vietnam.

The R.D. program was begun in 1961 by Col. Nguyen Be, who reminds one of a spiritual leader, as much as a political or military one. Col. Be had been a commander of anti-French Viet Minh forces in the 1940's, but when Ho Chi Minh showed his true Communist colors—by liquidating the non-Communist elements of the Viet Minh—Col. Be was among the many who in desperation rallied against the Communists. Originally just a handful of people, the R. D. movement has now grown to over 150,000 volunteers. The young men and women who join up to become R.D. Cadres go through a period of intensive moral, political, and military training for approximately 3-6 months. Upon graduation, the R.D. Cadre returns to his former village to begin implementing the Pacification Program, of which there are three strategic phases.



Col. Be lectures on problems of de-Americanization to FLF-Vietnam delegation, 1970.

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Phase one calls for the "Elimination of the Communists by our own action." To do this the R.D. Cadre assists in the political and military training of the Popular Self-Defense Forces (P.S.D.F.). The P.S.D.F.'s are an all volunteer people's militia who wage counter-guerilla warfare against the Viet Cong. The military-strategic thinking behind this has been to serve two functions: (1) To give the people an opportunity to defend themselves against the Viet Cong and (2) to force the Viet Cong out of the village into larger combat units. Once this happens, the Communists can no longer hide among the people and will be forced into *conventional warfare* where they can be defeated more easily. In the past, the Communists were fighting with the two hands of conventional and guerilla warfare. The success of the R.D. program has reversed the tables, and now the South Vietnamese are striking back with both guerilla and conventional warfare. This has left the Communists with only the one hand of conventional warfare with which to pursue their objectives. The result is that the local Viet Cong guerrillas are no longer a serious military threat to be reckoned with. This has forced the North Vietnamese to launch a large scale invasion of the South, without which the Communists would have no hope whatsoever of victory over the South Vietnamese people. If the North Vietnamese are defeated, then it will be the "Sovietization" of North Vietnam that will be recognized as having been a reckless and bankrupt policy. We should point out, however, that the strategy behind the entire pacification program assumes a commitment from the U.S. to provide adequate assistance in military equipment and general technology.

Phase two of the R.D. program is the "Defeat and Annihilation of the Communists by a Social and Political Revolution." The strategy of this phase is designed to restore autonomous village democracy, eliminate corruption and war profiteering, and "to win the hearts and minds of the people." Probably the most important aspect of this phase has been the defeating of Communism ideologically. Thus, no longer are the

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freedom in the struggle against communism. Comments are welcomed; articles may be reprinted if attribution is given. Please address all correspondence to the Office of Publications, FLF Headquarters.

The Significance of Ideology

by Dan Graydon Fefferman

A prominent belief in Western academic circles is that ideology has recently become much less important as a policy-determining factor in the Communist world. In fact, the supposition that we are entering the age of the "End of Ideology" prevails among a large proportion, perhaps even a majority, of those responsible for providing American decision-making personnel with research, analysis and advice on the crucial questions of American foreign policy.

The belief is that with the fragmentation of the world Communist movement and undeniably obvious gaps between classical Marxist theory and the historical reality of the Communist experience, ideology has been replaced by old-fashioned geopolitics as the primary factor in Communist international policy formation. Moreover, Communist and non-Communist political elites, it is said, are becoming essentially similar in educational background, life style and intellectual attitudes. Especially as Communist leadership moves into its second and third generations, Communist governments tend to become less revolutionary and more conservative-bureaucratic. In the ultimate sense, say the "end of ideologists" we are locked in a geo-political battle, not primarily an ideological one. Our main opponent is the Soviet Union, whose avowed Marxist-Leninist goal of a unified world under Communism is becoming increasingly impossible to attain, and in any case must now be accomplished through diplomatic, political and conventional military means rather than world popular revolution.

These things considered, it is argued, our main thrust in foreign policy should be to counterbalance the Soviet diplomatic, political and military advances, play the Russians off against the Chinese and reconcile ourselves to our inability to do much at this point to foster the growth of freedom within the Communist camp. In addition, due to domestic priorities, the tremendous strain of substantial foreign involvement, and the "changing international situation," the United States must now begin to withdraw its direct military support from nations engaged with or threatened by Communism; these nations must now rely on the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" for their security.

This is a sincere analysis made, by and large, by people with an honest desire to protect the interests of the United States and maintain a "realistic" humanitarian commitment to the world. But there are several important things wrong with this analysis.

First, and here there is genuine concern among those arguing for the above position, the credibility of the U.S. nuclear umbrella as a genuine deterrent against Communist aggression is tenuous, to say the least. In this context, our performance in Vietnam is critical.

Regarding ideology, however, the fact that there are obvious gaps between classical Marxist theory and historical Communist reality does not mean that Communist leadership elites are at all willing to give up

their fundamental ideological assumptions. All Communist countries and leadership groups are avowedly Marxist-Leninist, and Marxism-Leninism implies a commitment not only to world socialism under the dictatorship of a vanguard party, but to violence, terror, murder, lying, extortion, militant anti-religious activity and the long-term suppression of intellectual freedoms as justifiable and even necessary steps in achieving the goal of a "classless society."

The trend toward more "liberal" leadership, moreover, has by no means been shown to be a continuing one. On the contrary, there are strong indications that the direction of Western Communism is away from, not toward, ideological and political liberalization. Asian Communism, which is still by and large in its first or second generation of leadership, shows no conclusive tendency toward liberalization or willingness to co-exist with the West, attempts to charm the American and world public notwithstanding. Again, all Communist leadership groups are determinedly committed to Marxism-Leninism, and for the Marxist-Leninist, "co-existence" is only the period of "interpenetration of opposites," which is bound to be followed by an abrupt dialectical leap to a new form, as surely as day follows night. Knowing this, it is a dangerous assumption—a very dangerous assumption—to say that ideology no longer plays an important role in Communist international policy formation.

If the Communists really intend to live together with us in peace, they are NOT "Communists" as they themselves define the term. Thus, the ideological war must continue. The people who now call themselves Communists must eventually admit that Communism is wrong. A lasting peace otherwise is impossible.

Finally, what about the importance of ideology for the *people* of Communist countries? Communist international policy aside, ideology is still used in every Leninist country as the chief means of weeding out opposition and justifying the totalitarian means by which unity is enforced. Ideology penetrates to every level of Communist society. Children spying on parents, strict control of public information, state sanctioned terrorism, rigid adherence to dogma in education, and forced participation in state sponsored ideological indoctrination activities—these things are *realities*, not myths, as some "liberals" would like to think.

Ideology is important to Communists—in policy formation, in policy justification and to the lives of the people in Communist lands. Communism is *wrong*, not only in practice but in theory as well. If peace is to prevail, we cannot approach the coming age as the age of the "End of Ideology," rather as the age of Liberation, for which ideological victory over Communism is a prerequisite.

Book Review:

The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperatives

by Leopold Tyrmand
287 pages, MacMillan, \$5.95

Reviewer: Neil Salonen

To: All those who have experienced the frustration of arguing with the campus revolutionaries whose tortuous pre-occupation with sterile Marxist theory so limits communication as to preclude resolution.

I recommend that you *run* to find a copy of Leopold Tyrmand's *The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperative* for rejuvenation. Tyrmand was born and educated in Warsaw. During WWII, he was jailed by the Russians in Lithuania and put in a concentration camp by the Nazis in Norway. He then lived under Communist "freedom", but in comparing the two systems he finds Communism "the worst plague that ever befell mankind." I found it immensely refreshing to be reminded again that it is, after all, *they* and not we who are crazy.

Many have long recognized the irony of contrasting the unsubstantiated vision of Marxist promise with the evolving, but still imperfect reality of the Free World. This unethical comparison has thus far helped generate enough self-doubt to stall our social momentum, thereby becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy of stagnation and

moral decay. Tyrmand provides exactly what is needed to regain our perspective—namely a simple series of first-hand insights into the absurdities of life in a Communist country.

Tyrmand believes that "Democracies lack a system of reference for so many of the phenomena that are commonplace in Communism, that talking about the adequacy of social or ontological processes, which is so fashionable in the West, is simple intellectual gibberish in the ears of people living under Communism . . . my attitude toward Communism is the outcome of my life under (it)."

In the guise of a primer for life in a Marxist society, Tyrmand reflects on the insanities confronting an individual from life until death—most of which are so incredible, yet comic, that they numb the tragedy they depict. How to communicate important information by leaking it to the telephone wire-tapper—why every school child must be persuaded that all socialist schools except the one he attends are of the highest quality—how women, in achieving superficial equality, are actually more role-imprisoned than in the West. From the incidents recounted, a view of the values of the whole system emerges. The Communist system, in tapping phones and censoring mails seeks more than information; it seeks to eliminate the whole concept of privacy. One does not have the right even over his own thoughts, which Tyrmand calls the "rule over the soul." Above all, Tyrmand reveals how it doesn't matter whether anyone believes in the ideology, they all *use* it to achieve their own goals.

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Speaking Campaign Grown in Scope, Intensity

More than 40 FLF youth cadres mobilized for an intensive afternoon speaking campaign in Washinton's Georgetown district April 15, drawing considerable flak from street people and other supporters of an anti-war demonstration sponsored by the Trotskyist-led National "Peace" Action Committee (N-PAC) earlier that morning.

Several newly-trained FLF recruits made their debut street speeches, and great enthusiasm to continue and intensify the program was unanimously expressed later that evening at a post-mortem seminar. Activities included speaking, petitioning for ideological victory over Communism, leafletting and mobilizing attendance for an ideological workshop, which was held the next weekend at George Washington University.

Response to the demonstration was mixed, but FLFers felt they succeeded in opening many formerly closed young minds to the reality of the historical and theoretical evils of Communism.

University of MD-FLF Hassled.

The public speaking campaign ran into trouble at the University of Maryland as violent anti-war demonstrators tried day after day to shout down FLF speakers and otherwise keep them from presenting the FLF perspective to the student body. Interviewed by ABC News and several Maryland newspapers, FLF activist Travis Jones said he had originally been promised to speak to the crowd by rally organizers, but had gathered too much support and was physically prevented from speaking when he approached the microphone. Jones said that a student (not an FLF member) was beaten so badly by a "peace" demonstrator that he required stiches. The student had yelled, "you hypocrites! Let them (the FLFers) speak!" FLFers resorted to a bullhorn after being refused use of the microphone and often attracted crowds almost as large as the radicals. The speaking coninues daily.

Miscellaneous D.C. Action

FLF Research Coordinator James Cowin appeared on the television forum "Open End" to debate the amnesty issue and also spoke out against North Vietnamese aggression after the crowd at a George Washington University anti-Vietnam demonstration demanded that he be allowed to speak. FLF cadres walked into a planning meeting of the N-PAC the previous night at Georgetown University and began to speak to committee members about their experiences in Vietnam. The result: the meeting was called off!

BOOK REVIEW:

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The author concludes that "In America a lot of books are written about how bad things are in America . . . they constitute a powerful guarantee that regardless of how good things are, they will one day be better." But, he continues, the Communists also write a lot of books about how bad America is, and even more about the wonder of Communism. His book is an effort to restore the balance. This he does in a powerful, simple, and authoritative way. Beneath his humor and satire, there is a desperate hope that perhaps in this way he can communicate what has long been known but disregarded in the West. I fervently share that hope.

C.A.C.A. Banquet

The Council Against Communist Aggression held its annual Awards Banquet April 28. Cited for outstanding contributions to the cause of freedom were Rep. Philip Crane (R-III.); Ambassador James Shen of the Republic of China; former Marine Commander in Vietnam, General Lewis Walt; exiled leader of Bulgarian freedom fighters Georgi Dimitrov, who has the distinction of being sentenced to death or life imprisonment by both the Nazis and the Communists; academy award-winning USIA filmmaker Bruce Herschensohn, who sacrificed his professional position in order to speak out against the "naive and stupid" views of Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright; and David Martin, Senatorial aide responsible for the excellent "Human Cost of Communism" Senate study series. (Mr. Martin has also been a trusted adviser to the FLF and has contributed much to our success.)

FLF staff members were introduced to the more than 200 in attendance at the banquet by Council Chairman Reed Irving, who cited FLF for its "excellent work" in grass roots ideological warfare in the Washington area.



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THE REAL VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

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South Vietnamese people deceived by the lies and false promises of the Communists. Part of this counter-ideological warfare has also been aimed at the Communist guerilla himself. This program, known better as the Chieu Hoi (Open Arms) program, has resulted in the defection of over 190,000 former Communists to the government side. The Communist guerillas can no longer exist as a "fish in the water" among the people but now must fear for his own life whenever he attempts to infiltrate a village. The Viet Cong can barely survive any longer, because the people are now armed with the ideological, political, and military means to defeat them.

Phase three calls for the final "Eradication of the Communists through the economic-cultural revolution." To fulfill the goals of this phase the R.D. program states it "must wed, the East with the West, harmonizing the scientific inventiveness of the West with the profound doctrines and beliefs of eastern society." Thus, through the union of technical modernization with the cream of Vietnamese culture the R.D. Cadres hope to revitalize their society.

Much of their effort is directed at building and improving the Vietnamese educational system. In addition to educating greater numbers of people, their goal is to rid Vietnam of counter-productive foreign ideas and to restore the pure aspects of Vietnamese culture. Also, due to the R.D. training program and government reform, a much larger percentage of

funds coming from Saigon is administered by local councils rather than the Saigon bureaucracy, thus helping to eliminate financial waste and corruption.

To carry out the current Land Reform program the R.D. Cadres help to oversee the redistribution of land to the peasants from their previous landlords. This has given a tremendous boost to the morale and economy of the people. As a result, over 50% of the people now own their own land and many more soon will.

Even more outstanding than the tremendous accomplishments of the R.D. Cadres is the sincerity and sacrificial dedication they demonstrate in doing their work. They make little or no money but at the same time have the highest percentage of casualties of any organized group in Vietnam. Because of their effectiveness, they are a major target of Viet Cong assassination and terror.

It is most unfortunate that the heroic exploits of these courageous young men and women are not known by more Americans—for if there was any group that ever deserved to be called "progressive" or "revolutionary" it would undoubtedly be the R.D. Cadres. If only more Americans, especially young Americans, knew this, perhaps it would be under the banner of the R.D. Cadre—not the Viet Cong—that young Americans would march for a true and lasting peace in Vietnam.

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