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II. OUR ACTIVITY PLANS FOR THE COMING MONTHS

~~SECRET~~
"WE MUST URGENTLY DEVELOP THE RESULTS OF THE POLITICAL REORIENTATION AND MOTIVATE THE ENTIRE PARTY, TROOPS , AND PEOPLE TO MAKE CHAIRMAN HO'S TESTAMENT COME TRUE. WE MUST BE DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE GREAT AND

OVERALL VICTORIES AND STRENGTHEN OUR FORCES THROUGHOUT THE THREE STRATEGIC ZONES IN ORDER TO FRUSTRATE THE ENEMY PLANS OF PACIFICATION AND STRENGTHENING THE PUPPET TROOPS AND GOVERNMENT. WE MUST DEVELOP OUR FORCES AND CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR CLIMAXING OFFENSIVES AND UPRISINGS AND LAUNCHING ATTACKS AGAINST THE ENEMY THROUGHOUT THE THREE AREAS, SO AS TO CHANGE THE SITUATION, AND FOR FORCING THE AMERICANS TO ABANDON THE THIẾU-KỶ-KHIÊM CLIQUE, FOR ACCELERATING THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS, AND FOR GAINING THE DECISIVE VICTORY."

It is necessary to fully understand the following principal requirements:

1. Develop the strength of the three types of forces [main, local, and guerrilla forces], strongly attack both the American and ~~Puppet~~ forces, and continue to attack the enemy rear-base areas, storage facilities, key agencies, training centers, and communication lines. Destroy a major portion of his potential and war facilities, inflict heavy losses on the U.S. and ~~Puppet~~ troops, and make the ~~Puppets~~ unable to replace the Americans. Motivate the people to rise up, kill enemy tyrants, break his oppressive control, disorganize a great part of his People's Self-Defense Force and closely coordinate with the three-pronged attack movement to encircle the enemy posts. Concentrate efforts on providing guidance for the destruction of large

chunks of enemy controlled areas and liberate a great number of villages and hamlets.

Make positive efforts to intensify guerrilla warfare in compliance with Resolution 14 of the Standing Committee of COSVN. Protect our rear areas and communication corridors while striving to develop the guerrilla organization and activities in densely populated areas. At the same time, increase the strength of our consolidated units, provide closer leadership for the province and district local force units, and do not neglect the political and ideological tasks aimed at heightening the fighting spirit, the determination to annihilate the enemy, and the sense of serving the people.

2. Provide leadership for counterpacification activities, widely expand our control, conduct more sustained and penetrating attacks, and pay attention to the coordination of attacks by local forces and guerrilla units with the three-pronged attack movement of the people. Coordinate leadership in countering enemy encroachment upon liberated areas, with leadership in intensifying our movement in areas bordering cities and weak areas; and coordinate the destruction of large chunks of enemy controlled areas with the development of the people's anti-spy movement. Kill a large number of enemy tyrants; wear down, annihilate and disorganize a great part of the enemy oppressive and pacification forces; break his control of the populace; gain control and expand liberated areas; and strengthen the revolutionary forces.

Make every effort to fulfill the following basic requirements:

Be determined to stay close to the people, organize a people's force to struggle by applying three-pronged attack tactics. This struggle is closely associated with the people's pressing needs which are : to maintain production activities, to protect lives and property, to go about their businesses freely. Strive to strengthen our Party Chapters, associations, and guerrilla and security organizations to realize the mastership of the people. In enemy relocation areas, especially along communication units, we must coordinate the requirement of killing enemy tyrants, and breaking the oppressive enemy control in strategic hamlets with the requirement of taking the people out [of relocation centers] for production and combat.

3. Provide leadership for [local] administrations in order to improve their capabilities, protect and consolidate our rear areas, frustrate the enemy schemes and tricks of intensifying air and artillery attacks, sweep operations, encroachment upon our lands, and the activities of his spies, Speical Forces, psywar and Open-Arms organizations. Protect [farm] production and improve the living conditions of the people in all fields, and mobilize the manpower and material resources to serve the frontline.

Provide closer leadership on security activities, and indoctrinate the people, agencies, and troops to counter espionage and preserve our secrecy. Closely control our hamlets and villages, educate the

politically backward people, suppress enemy spies, correct those who are forced or bribed by the enemy, and punish the reactionary elements. Kill the enemy ringleaders in their own sanctuaries.

Party Chapters and [local] administrations and associations

should pay particular attention to providing specific guidance in the production task and the improvement of the people's living conditions by intensifying cultural, educational, and public health activities and promoting mutual solidarity among the people in the hamlets. This is the most practical measure to make the people increasingly cooperative with the ~~Revolutionary~~ Administration. On the basis of this, we will indoctrinate and motivate the people to participate in the fight and to contribute their manpower and material resources to serve the frontline. In light of the people's important contribution, we cannot allow ourselves to show indifference toward the people or negligence in taking care of their lives and their essential requirements.

4. Clearly understand the pressing needs of the people from all walks of life in the cities to initiate a movement demanding democracy and social welfare measures. We should especially provide guidance for the workers' and laborers' movement.

We should issue slogans demanding peace, an end to the aggressive war, the overthrow of Thiệu-Kỳ-Khiem, the formation of a peace cabinet, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops [from South Viet-Nam]. We should use overt organizations and exploit dissension in enemy ranks to step up our movement; strengthen the front of united action,

and isolate the Americans and their³ obdurate and warlike henchmen. In addition, we should develop, strengthen, and protect our forces to the greatest extent possible; step up the guerrilla warfare movement; annihilate tyrants; and break the enemy's oppressive control to gain control in local areas.

5. Clearly realize our very great capabilities in the enemy military proselyting task and thoroughly understand the contents of Directives 105 and 124 relating to the implementation of this mission, and disseminate their contents to our personnel for organization and implementation according to the following requirements:

Strive to motivate the people, servicemen's dependents, ~~Puppet~~ troops, and administrative personnel to participate in the people's movement demanding social welfare and peace; and opposing pacification, encroachment, conscription, and [forcible enrolment] in the People's Self-Defense Forces.

While implementing the proselyting mission among the ~~Puppet~~ troops, it is essential to make the Party Chapters and the people in hamlets and villages understand that effective leadership must be based on the people; that we must develop our initiative in using enemy soldiers' dependents in inducing enemy soldiers to desert or remain inactive. Enemy posts must be overrun with the support of fifth columnists or military revolts.

In [areas where there are] ~~Puppet~~ regular force units in which

the anti-war movement and desertion are prevalent, the province and district [authorities], in coordination with village [authorities], must direct the people to initiate troop proselyting activities, especially at [enemy] operational and bivouac sites.

As for US and satellite troops, we must step up propaganda activities, motivate them to join the American people's anti-war movement and to demand return to their country.

6. In addition, strengthen ideological guidance, and strengthen our forces.

a. Widely disseminate this directive to Party Chapters. Make them thoroughly understand the directive's contents, properly assess the enemy and friendly strength, clearly realize new characteristics of the present strategic situation, build a firm determination, and a persistent combat morale, attempt to overcome such erroneous thoughts as seeing only our difficulties and deficiencies, and failing to see our advantages, the general progress, and new developments of the situation.

Because they see the forthcoming months and phase are just a routine period of activities, our personnel fail to make determined efforts to win bigger victories.

Because of their procrastinating attitude and reliance on the forces of higher [echelons] and other local areas, they do not have self-confidence nor trust their own capabilities or know how to develop the strength of their local areas and units.

Because they entertain expectations on the withdrawal of U.S. troops, they lacked positiveness and aggressiveness in launching attacks against the enemy on every front, which would accelerate that withdrawal.

For these reasons, it is necessary for our leadership to attach the greatest significance to providing intensive ideological indoctrination and intense motivation for our Party organization, troops, and people in order to further strengthen their resolve to rush forward for new victories, eliminate all fears of death and hardships, and double efforts to change the situation in our favor.

b. Continue to conduct indoctrination on Resolution 9, carry out the testament of Chairman Ho.

During this political reorientation and concurrent with the strengthening of our will to fight, strong emphasis should be placed on tightening the ties between agencies, troops, cadre, Party members, and the people, significantly improving our attitude toward the latter. Only in this way can we hope to obtain the best results from the task of motivating the people, and thereby meet the requirement of mobilizing the extremely great potential and exceptionally high revolutionary spirit of the people in the mission of attacking the enemy and developing our forces in every aspect. All echelons must provide close leadership for this ideological reindoctrination of Party Chapters and motivation of the people. They must promptly send reports thereon [to higher headquarters].

c. Proceed with the task of consolidating "Four-Good" Party Chapters and Group Chapters. (There will be additional instructions on this subject).

Take immediate steps to further develop and consolidate all revolutionary organizations and militia and guerrilla forces. Establish the ~~R~~evolutionary ~~A~~Administration. Work out plans for political activities and ideological indoctrination within these organizations. Play up the role and mission of the latter. Strengthen the leadership system from high to low level. Recruit and train a great number of base-level cadre in local areas and enough district cadres to take charge of immediate tasks.

Based on the situation of each local area, work out plans to meet the above requirements. In addition, each local area must pay attention to the following specific requirements.

a. Areas bordering Lái Thiêu, Thủ Đức, and Dĩ An :

1. Conduct three-pronged attacks against pacification teams; initiate the political struggle movement; motivate [RVN] soldiers and the local people to join with us in making determined efforts to vigorously counter all forms of oppression, especially terrorism and conscription; and break up the People's Self-Defense Force. Conduct military activities to cut down tyrants; destroy the personnel of the enemy's oppressive control machinery and pacification program to cause the latter to shrink back; loosen the enemy's control grip; engage

in seesaw fighting with the enemy to gradually frustrate his pacification plan; pin down the Puppet regular forces to prevent them from pulling out of the [city] fringe areas; take immediate measures to build and develop our local forces; and extend our control to a number of hamlets.

2. In addition to motivating the people to initiate struggles against the enemy's oppressive control and his pacification activities, we must guide the people to stage struggles during Tet to demand their rights and privileges, (placing emphasis on struggles in district seats and fringe hamlets).

In particular, taking advantage of the enemy's appeal to a number of local inhabitants to return to their former hamlets for pacification purposes, we should motivate the people to break out of [relocation sites] to return to their former homes to take care of their farms^s and orchards. We should also motivate them to struggle legally, opposing the enemy's destruction of our orchards and farms and preventing the enemy from establishing his control and pacification machinery such as building concentration houses, laying barbed wire fences, organizing the civilian Self-Defense and assigning guard duties. The purpose of doing this is to fill up a number of ~~at~~ "white hamlets" in the area east of Route 13 and north of Route 9.

3. We must urgently develop our forces in all fields, recruit Party and Group members, and establish secret Party Chapters and Group Chapters. We must recruit covert and overt guerrillas, train them.

equip them with weapons, and then use them to attack the enemy in his own areas. We must rally the people into organizations, use the personnel available to conduct activities, and give additional training to Party members and loyal sympathizers so that they thoroughly understand the guidelines and operating methods in the city fringe areas and know how to guide the people in enemy-controlled areas and coordinate the activities of overt and covert forces. We must organize secret steering elements from district to village and hamlet levels. In Di An especially, we must focus our efforts on annihilating tyrants, breaking the enemy's oppressive control, building and rebuilding our base-level organizations in white hamlets and villages, especially in "stepping stone" villages. Overt elements must stay close to objective areas, and maintain close relations, especially with the people. We must strengthen penetration bases and establish additional ones to provide footholds, and maintain a close liaison between them. We must counter enemy espionage activities. We must heighten our vigilance and maintain security in billeting and messing areas and in movement in order to minimize casualties.

III. IMMEDIATELY, IN THE MONTH OF ... [BLANK] WE

MUST EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE FOLLOWING MAIN TASKS:

- a. Continue implementing the [activity] plans for the Winter Campaign to accomplish the following essential missions:

Concentrate three-pronged attacks to frustrate the pacification program and expand our control.

Based on a review of the counterpacification task during the first two months of the Winter Campaign, we should review the directives issued by A.15 which provide guidance of this task. Then, we should work out plans to correct shortcomings and to exercise leadership, especially in coordinating three-pronged attacks to support the [counterpacification] task more effectively. We should use the armed forces to strongly attack [RVN] administrative and pacification personnel, to support the people's political struggles and military proselyting activities, and destroy the enemy's oppressive control. When providing leadership, we should place emphasis on the necessity of attacking the enemy in all aspects. We should also attack enemy units and disorganize them. We should build up our forces on the spot and at the same time, motivate the people to struggle in order to break the enemy's oppressive control.

→ We should motivate the people to return to their ~~vill~~ former villages to participate in [agricultural] production activities, counter enemy espionage, and adopt the tactics of attacking the enemy with improvised mines. In addition, outside elements should stay close to the enemy, conduct continuous attacks against enemy areas, concentrate forces to destroy many areas and hamlets located in positions which provide support for each other, and make all-out efforts to turn

the situation in the villages, hamlets, and main objectives in our favor.

We should continue to conduct political indoctrination for Party Chapters, agents, and people in accordance with Directive No. 21/CT-K, concerning the motivation of the people, and Memo No. 73/CV-K of A.15

We should use the ideological task mentioned above as a basis for improving the ideology of the personnel and cadre in the internal organization and the people so as to transform Resolution 9 and the activity plans of local areas into revolutionary actions in order to ensure the achievement of the Winter Campaign plan and successful preparation for the coming phase

We should exercise leadership in recruiting personnel and strengthening our forces. A.15 has issued directives to provide guidance and H's [possibly Districts] have also realized that our shortcomings are serious and are holding back our activities in the local areas. However, due to poor leadership, we have failed to settle the difficulties and problems of lower level cadre and agents and to effectively supervise this task during the Winter Campaign. As a result, we have not obtained satisfactory results (during November in Châu Thành [District], we only recruited two female cells and in Tân Uyên one Party member, two female cells and nine association members.)

Attention should be paid to collecting rice and protecting crops. Efforts should be made to counter the enemy's plans of concentrating, controlling, and robbing the people of their rice. Preparations should

be made for planting crops in the coming dry and rainy seasons. We should break the enemy's economic blockade in order to help the people buy and preserve food, demand freedom of movement, and freedom to carry out businesses and purchase necessary food. In addition, we should motivate the people to contribute their money and rice to the Revolution and store food in strategic hamlets for revolutionary forces.

b. Preparation for the coming phase:

If we achieve the above task, the preparation for the coming phase will be successful. In addition, we should pay attention to the following tasks:

Ideological task:

During additional political reorientation training, we should motivate the people to carry out the mission mentioned above and make our personnel in our internal and base-level organizations and the people thoroughly understand ~~the~~ and properly assess the situation and realize our favorable conditions in the months to come. By doing so, we will succeed in promoting their enthusiasm and determination to surge forward as we did ~~in~~ in the early spring of MayThân [1968]. In each local area, we should correct erroneous thoughts to help every man and unit overcome difficulties in accomplishing their missions.

In addition to developing our strength in every aspect and expanding our control, we should study the situation to aid effective

deployment of our troops throughout the battlefield, close in on objectives to be attacked, and be ready for combat when the order is given. The armed, political, and military proselyting forces should deploy troops in both inside and outside areas. In addition to properly deploying troops, efforts should be made to urgently recruit more troops to meet the prescribed requirements and launch attacks against the designated areas and objectives. Improve signal and liaison systems between hamlets, villages, districts, and sub-regions.

The district Standing Committee must hold a meeting to review the activities of the Winter Campaign, carefully study this directive, and then work out plans for implementing it and assigning missions to villagers. The plan should aim at overcoming shortcomings in order to successfully implement the plan for the Winter Campaign in January 1970 and aid preparations for the next campaign.

We should clearly point out the requirements, objectives, plans of attack, employment of forces, preparations, assignment of responsibility, leadership, and the activity plan for armed, political, and troop proselyting activities. We should designate those comrades who will remain behind to provide necessary guidance for and supervise the work without waiting for the return of our comrades working at A.15. They will return later and assist them as required.

This directive is classified ~~Secret~~ Absolute Secret. It will be disseminated only down to the District Party Committee. It is not permitted

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to reproduce it or transport it. (Note main features of the directive to disseminate to villages). After the District Committee studies it, the comrade in charge must keep the directive in a special place. He must not carry it with him.

30 December 1969

For Sub Region Standing Committee

/s/ Nguyễn Chí Thành