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13. PREPARED BY: James B. Somerville
JAMES B. SOMERVILLE, CPT, NI
OPNS OFF, US ELM, CDEC

14. APPROVING AUTHORITY: Harold W. Vorhies
HAROLD W. VORHIES, LTC, USA
DIRECTOR, US ELM, CDEC

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15. SUMMARY:

(C) This report contains information obtained from enemy documents captured on 9 March 1969, and concerns a draft of an activity plan which originated by the Propaganda and Training Section, Binh Nam Party, HQ ((poss Binh Thuan Province Party Committee, Region 6)). The draft outlines the plan of activity to be carried out during the Winter-Spring Campaign of 1968-1969, in compliance with a resolution from COSVN. The documents also contain a draft of a report which pertains to the organization of ((VC)) revolutionary administration in seven districts of Binh Thuan Province.

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(C) Following is a full translation of captured enemy documents which contain information concerning ideological guidance and establishment of VC Revolutionary Administrative Agency of Binh Thuan Province, Region 6. These documents were captured on 9 March 1969 in South Vietnam (ZT184349; II CTZ) by 3/503 Inf (Abn), Task Force South. The documents were received at CDEC on 12 March 1969, and were summarized under CDEC Document Log Number 03-5449-69 in Bulletin Number 22 dated 20 March 1969.

16. DISTRIBUTION BY ORIGINATOR:

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17. DOWNGRADING DATA:

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18. ATTACHMENT DATA:

None

----- FULL TRANSLATION -----

((Page 1 of Itme 1 of O.T.))

Binh Nam Party Headquarters
Propaganda and Training Section

DRAFT

Of Propaganda and Training activity plan to be carried
out during the Winter - Spring Campaign of 1968-1969

A.- Common political tasks and ideological mission requirements:

Resolution No 6 issued by COSNV pointed out the immediate
common task for the whole Party Headquarters as follows:

"Strive to motivate the entire Party Headquarters, people
and army to resolutely maintain and repeatedly develop victories.
Promptly overcome shortcomings, continuously attack the enemy and
encourage the people to rise up and seize the government. Make
every effort to annihilate enemy strength and destroy as many puppet
and U.S. war facilities as possible; maintain and speed up various
activities in cities; control strategic lines of communication;
liberate the entire rural areas, both low lands and mountainous
areas. Consolidate rear areas in every aspect. Speedily strengthen
and develop armed and political forces; gain successive victories
and then dash forward to score the complete victory. At the same
time, be ready to actively cope with new changes in case the war
is prolonged and expanded".

In order to perform the above mission, the propaganda and
training mission during the Winter - Spring Campaign must represent
the following specific requirements of knowledge and ideology:

I.- Internal organization

1/- Concerning knowledge:

Repeatedly develop our army's and people's overall victories
in the General Offensive and General Uprising. Thenceforth,
thoroughly understand the balance of enemy and friendly forces,
which is more favorable for us than ever before. We have many
opportunities. Our people's and army's strategic purpose is to
expel the U.S. troops and subvert the puppet government in order
to seize the government for the people and carry out the mission.

CDEC Doc Log No. 03-5449-69

- More thoroughly understand the characteristics and regulations of the development of the General Offensive and General Uprising phase. Comprehend requirements, tasks, purpose, policy, guidelines, principles and the leadership of the General Offensive and General Uprising, since these above problems are critical factors in determining the victories to be gained during the coming phase.

2/ Concerning ideological mission: Fully understand the theme of three do's and three don'ts:

a)- Strengthen the determination and will to fight, the concept of the use of revolutionary violence, and the spirit of fighting the enemy resolutely and continuously. Counter doubtful attitudes, pessimism, poor determination, lack of enthusiasm, and attitudes of balking at difficulties and hardship, and of fearing atrocities ... ((sic)) We also counter subjectivism and attitudes of winning the war rapidly without perceiving difficulties and complexity, and without seeing our enormous efforts which are factors in deciding the final victory.

b) Heighten the sense of responsibility, popularize the concept of self - sufficiency, and strengthen enthusiasm to perform any mission assigned by the Party in any circumstance. Counter the lack of sense of responsibility, wait and see, the shirking attitudes, and illusion of peace ... ((sic))

((Page 2 of Item 1 of O.T.))

c) Strengthen the sense of organization and discipline. Properly implement combat resolution and orders. Heighten esprit de corps and the sense of adhering to the principle of requesting instructions and submitting reports. ((Punish)) those who display undisciplined attitudes, do not properly implement resolutions, and do not comply with the policy of requesting instructions and submitting reports, and collective leadership. Counter the attitudes of local discrimination and of lacking vigilance.

II.- In the population:

Fully understand the three following requirements:

1)- Arouse more enthusiasm for the great achievements we scored. Strengthen the people's confidence in the final victory to be gained in the General Offensive and General Uprising. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen will be totally defeated.

2)- Lay bare the U.S. aggressors' stubborn and cruel nature. Although being defeated, they try to avenge defeat by killing people. Thenceforth, arouse the people's deep hatred of the enemy and heighten their determination of annihilating him.

3) Consolidate the will to fight and to win against the U. S. aggressors and their henchmen. Strive to grant the people's urgent aspiration of expelling the U.S. aggressors and seizing the government of the people in order to gain a true peace, liberty and independence. Do not balk at difficulties and hardships nor fear the fierceness. Get rid of the wait-and-see attitude and peace illusion.

Motivate the populace to move forward and perform various missions under any circumstance, so as to bring the General Offensive and General Uprising to a final victory.

B.- Specific Missions

I.- Strengthen the political and ideological missions in both the internal organization and the people

1/- Some problems require full attention to the ideological mission.

The ideological mission is a permanent revolutionary indoctrination mission to be conducted in the internal organization and with the people. Do not wait until a spontaneous phase or an ideological change appears before we start performing the ideological mission.

It is very difficult to carry out the ideological mission, since this mission is very complex and requires a thorough understanding of the problem as well as flexibility. In the face of the current severe war's evolution, it is more essential to speed up the ideological mission. We must eradicate the attitude of disregarding the ideological mission to be conducted in the internal organization and with the people.

- We must eliminate erroneous thoughts which hamper compliance with the policy of the Party. Do not pay attention to the detailed shortcomings, we must concentrate our efforts on settling problems which concern standpoints and viewpoints, and heighten a sense of organization and discipline as well as that of complying with the resolutions of the Party. Make cadre, party members and people know what they must amend, only then does the ideological mission become realistic and prosperous.

((Page 3 of Item 1 of O.T.))

- We must promote strongpoints in order to eliminate shortcomings. However small the strongpoints may be, we must also develop them.

- We must settle various problems carefully.

- We must excel in perceiving the ideological evolution in the internal organization and is the people, in order to exercise prompt leadership.

2)- Forms of the ideological mission

There are many prosperous forms of the ideological mission, but we should place emphasis on the following forms:

a) Political reorientation: Political reorientation is an effective form of the ideological mission to conduct indoctrination and reform thoughts. Accordingly, we must attach importance to conducting the correct leadership of political reorientation phases within the requirements. For the time being, strive to develop results of political reorientation in compliance with Resolution No 7, and according to directive No ((sic)) issued by the Current Affairs Province Party Committee.

b)- Activities of Party Chapters, Party Committee echelons, sections and branches.

Activities of Party Chapters, Party Committee echelons, sections and branches are aimed at reviewing the implementation of resolutions and directives of the Party, and at working out the mission plan for the future. It is a vital form of the ideological mission, since activities of Party Chapters, Party Committee echelons, section and branches have a great effect on the indoctrination and consolidation of the Party members' and cadre's standpoints, concepts and viewpoints. In order to strengthen the ideological mission in the internal organization, we must correctly maintain activities of Party Chapters, Party Committee echelons, sections and branches.

c)- Repeatedly develop victories, initiate the people's ideological campaign and conduct a broad political movement in the people, following the two mottos : "All are reserved for the frontlines and for victories" and "all are focussed on seizing the government for the people." With this type of ideological task, emphasis must be placed on :

- The indoctrination and broad propaganda on the letters and appeals of Chairman Ho, of COSVN, and the NFLSVN.

- The regular indoctrination on the situation and common tasks through the operations' circulars of the liberation Armed Forces Headquarters.

- The very broad dissemination of our information and our newspapers. Especially, the achievements of local areas must be cited and promptly developed through information, newspapers and broadcasting stations.

- The motivation emulation task, issuing of awards, and the encouragement of examples of activism and energy in the masses' Revolutionary Movement.

- The motivation of the masses to hate the enemy during the political motivation, and indoctrination in patriotism, love of independence, and freedom.

((Page 4 of Item 1 of O.T.))

II Training Task:

1/- Common requirements and tasks:

According to the common political mission of the Province, the requirements and mission of the training task in the coming phase will be:

"To accelerate the formation and the strengthening of Cadre and Party members, especially Government and Party cadre and Group members serving in all the three areas, with priority for the Front; to ensure the training of numerous high-quality cadre within a short period of time, and to meet the requirements of our Province movement during the period of the General Offensive and Uprising and to seize power for the people."

2/ Concrete mission:

a) Immediate formation and strengthening of underground key cadre of the Party:

In the coming phase, training classes for underground key cadre of the Party must be continuously open.

- To suit specific requirements of local areas and accelerate the training of cadre, the Trần Phú School should organize classes in two directions: north and south.

According to an already determined program, in the coming six months, four classes will have to be opened to train 200 to 351 cadre at Chapter Party Committee levels (cadre of Chapter Party Committee belonging to ethnic minorities will be trained separately).

b) The quality and number of Party members must be actively increased.

As for Party members, efforts must be made to train 50 percent of existent Party members. The district is directly responsible for training Party members.

The Province must organize a training class as an experimental site, with the participation of districts and Party Chapters in order to draw general leadership experience.

The training program for Party members is prepared by the Propaganda and Training Section of South Vietnam and consists of three subjects:

- + Communism is the ultimate purpose of the Party struggle. (one and a half days).

- + Situation and mission (two days).

- + To follow Uncle Ho's example and strive to become a good Party member (one day). The training period is from five to six days including start and finish.

c) The task of educating Youth Group members and objective for Party development are stepped up.

In order to meet the requirement of Party development and uphold the quality and number of Party members, in the coming period of propaganda and training; all echelons must actively help and guide the Party Chapters, so that they perform the task of educating the Youth Group members well; and, carry into effect well the Party development.

The indoctrination document is used to train objectives ((prospective Party members)) and Group members and consists of the topic : "To actively make positive efforts to become a Party member of the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party. These documents were drafted by the Province Propaganda and Training Section".

It is necessary to strive so that, in the six months to come, all Youth Group members and prospective Party members will be able to be indoctrinated through the above documents.

((Page 5 of Item 1 of O.T.))

d) In addition to the mission of training Chapter Party Committee cadre and Party members, and improving their skills; the training tasks purpose is also to help Party Committee echelons closely administer the training program for cadre of all branches and all groups; and, they guide the technical service of all branches and groups forming specialized cadre.

The formation of Government, Liberation, and Youth Group cadre must be participated in actively and immediately, because these organizations do not yet have cadre responsible for the training task.

e) The training machinery must be built and consolidated:

- To strengthen the Province and District training cadre
- The districts which do not have training cadre must assign cadre to be responsible for the training task. The districts which have weak and unsuitable training cadre must be determined to change this situation.
- All Village Party Chapters must assign a Chapter Party Committee to be responsible for propaganda and training.

III. Information and propaganda, psywar entertainment:-

1/. Information and Press.

- The documents used in the propaganda, education and masses motivation task (communiqué, letters, appeals of Uncle Ho and of the NLF etc...((sic))) are published and widely disseminated, and end up in the people's hands.

- Many kinds of handbills, banners and pictures propagandizing and expressing the victories of the whole region and locality are published; at the same time, policies are propagandized, enemy troops are proselyted, and the masses are motivated and exhorted to rise up and seize power. "The Liberation Flag" is issued in the town.

The number and quality of articles reflecting various activities of the locality, which appear in the Broadcasting Station's New Bulletin and the Province newspapers, must be increased. In order to ensure this important requirement, every locality, organization and troop unit should fully understand their responsibility of participating, constructing and writing articles for the newspapers.

The information bulletin is issued regularly every four days and from 1,600 to 2,000 bulletins are issued each time. Assuredly, the bulletin is distributed to hamlets and cells.

- The Liberation newspaper is issued every month, and the same amount of the Information Bulletin is distributed. It is also distributed to hamlets and cells.

- The districts which have the necessary conditions, must make efforts to issue the News Bulletin or inform of victories every 10 or 15 days.

- The reorganization and development of communication cells, the reading of newspapers and the listening to liberated lowlands' broadcasting stations are stepped up. One must ensure that every hamlet has a communication cell, can read newspapers and listen to broadcasting stations.

2/ Counterpropaganda Task:

-- The counterpropaganda task must be given more attention. The deceptive, flattering and cunning propaganda themes of the U.S. psychological war must be unmasked and gradually broken down. The following matters should be given attention immediately:

a) We must be determined to prevent the internal organization and people from listening to enemy broadcasting station (BBC, VOA, Saigon Radio ...((sic))) and reading enemy books and newspapers. All kinds of enemy handbills must be boycotted, torn or burned.

((Page 6 of Item 1 of O.T.))

b) We should strive to undermine the enemy propaganda forms left in liberated areas (slogans, pictures, flags, etc... ((sic)))

c) We must frequently frustrate enemy schemes and denounce his crimes through indoctrination activities conducted in sub-cells, hamlets, villages or through newspapers. ((marginal note: People and cadre should be highly determined to struggle)). These tasks are positive measures to counter enemy propaganda.

3/ Psywar entertainment and mobile propaganda tasks.

- We should continuously strengthen the psywar entertainment teams formed by hamlets and villages. In addition, we should draw experience from Bông - Sôn ((poss: Bông Sôn Village)) to establish many new psywar entertainment teams. Provinces and districts should outline plans to organize and train these teams so that they are able to dance and sing to entertain the people. These teams will be hardcore elements of the people's singing and dancing movements. In areas which have not enough conditions to organize village and hamlet psywar entertainment teams, we must establish entertainment cells or groups to sing in hamlets, then to organize village psywar entertainment teams.

We should rely on Youth Groups and schools. Village Party Chapters should lead these Youth Groups and schools realizing their missions, so that they are able to participate in singing movement, information, and propaganda activities in their local areas.

- We should keep on performing a number of mobile propaganda and exhibition tasks. With information and pictures provided by provinces, we should guide local areas to work out the plan of activity. Village and province psywar entertainment teams, signal cells and singing groups should be strengthened in forms of mobile and assault propaganda activities, such as exhibition and psywar entertainment.

- "Combat poems and songs" should be composed regularly. Hamlet, village and psywar entertainment teams should be encouraged to compose songs, music and stories. Especially, we should pay attention to concise works which are appropriate with various standards of knowledge and easily dissiminated in cities and towns.

- Liberation newspapers should be strengthened through poems, songs, music, and pictorial papers.

- Photography tasks should be strengthened in order to support the Winter - Spring Campaign. Pictures of the people's struggle movement in Binh Dinh Province (according to principle lines of action) should be exhibited and will be used as documents in the future.

- We should strive to improve organization and the art of province psywar entertainment teams. Their acting level should be regularly improved. The ability of composing local works and presenting a play should be strengthened. These teams can operate in large or separate groups in order to show and, at the same time, organize hamlet and village singing movements.

4/ Train cadre and strengthen ((propaganda)) machinery

a) Districts should conduct short - time training courses in order to train signal and psywar entertainment cadre in villages and hamlets, according to the plans of the provinces, which include four parts:

- Situation and mission (two days)

- Basic principles of signal, propaganda and psywar entertainment tasks (one and a half days)

((Marginal note : Purpose and mission of signal propaganda and psywar entertainment tasks (one and a half days)))

- Morale of signal cadre (one day) total : Six days.

b) In the district, cadre who take charge

((Page 7 of Item 1 of OT.))

of signal and psywar entertainment tasks must be determined to replace cadre who lack the ability and enthusiasm.

- Villages must have enough signal and psywar entertainment cadre, and should be determined to replace those who lack the capability to perform the psywar entertainment tasks.

c) Conferences should be organized in different districts (or various areas) every 1 to 2 months; and every 3 months in provinces, in order to improve the cadre's professional skills and successfully conduct propaganda and training tasks from provinces to villages.

3 October 68

Binh Nam Propaganda and Training Section

Including 10 copies

- NT ((sic))

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Draft:

Report reviewing the situation concerning the establishment of the Revolutionary Government in villages and hamlets during the past period.
(From April till the end of September 1968)

I. Situation and Results concerning the establishment of the Revolutionary Government.

At the beginning of the year, to help the new situation, the Central Office officially issued directives concerning the establishment of a government in the liberated or controlled villages, and the preparations in moving toward the establishment of the government in districts and provinces.

Executing these directives and the resolution of the Province Party Committee, in April 1968, the Province Local Party echelons organized the study and training of directives, and the guidance plan of higher echelon, and set up necessary plans and measures to carry out these directives and plan for their own localities. Up to now, the government was established in a certain number of villages and hamlets, democratic elections were organized among the population. The masses responded to the appeal and participated in the elections with the sense of being master and with a very great revolutionary ardor. An enthusiastic atmosphere was created among the populace. Thus, the masses' level of revolutionary awareness was heightened, every kind of task and combat production were stepped up, and the Party Chapters were reorganized.

Here are the results obtained:

During the past period, according to figures still incomplete, we organized democratic elections and established the Revolutionary Government in 33 villages and 90 hamlets, comprising approximately 25,000 inhabitants belonging to five lowland districts and two districts in mountainous areas.

The results in each district were as follows:

1/. In Thuận Phong District: The government was established in Hồng-Trung, Hồng-Thanh, Hồng-Thịnh, Hồng-Liên, Hồng-Sơn and Thuận-Hoà Villages.

Population: 7,049 inhabitants

number of voters: 2,412 persons

number of voters who voted: 1,919 persons, ratio was 80% in comparison with the number of voters. Total number of candidates attending the elections of the Village People's Liberation Council: 110 persons (75 men, 35 women, ratio 35.8 percent).

- Total number of candidates elected in the Village People's

Liberation Council: 78 representatives (51 men, 27 women, ratio 34.6 percent; 31 young persons, ratio 39.7 percent; 45 Party members, ratio 57.6 percent; nine Group members 11.5 percent; 64 poor farmers, ratio 82 percent; and 14 middle farmers, ratio 18 percent).

57.6
11.5
69.1
8

- Grand total of candidates elected in the Village People's Liberation Committee: 36 representatives (three village committees each comprised of 5 representatives; three village committees each comprised of 7 representatives).

((Page 2 of Item 2 of O.T))

The total number of candidates elected in six Village People's Liberation Committees was 36 representatives, among whom there were 29 men, seven women, ratio 19.4 percent; 15 young persons, ratio 41.6 percent; 24 Party members, ratio 66.6 percent; two Group members, ratio 5.5 percent; 27 poor farmers, ratio 75 percent; and nine middle farmers, ratio 25 percent.

66.6
5.5
72.1
8

16 Hamlet Liberation Committees were formed. In addition, the Army's and People's Liberation Council was convened to elect the Army's and People's Liberation Committee of "Phước Thiện Xuân" village.

2/. Di Linh: The Government was established in Trung Sơn, Trung Lâm, Nam Xăng and Nam Giang villages.

Population: 1,064 inhabitants (489 male persons + 575 females)

number of voters: 594 persons (263 men + 331 females)

number of voters who voted: 577 persons, ratio 97.1 percent.

Total number of candidates for the Village People's Liberation Council: 62 representatives (48 men, 14 women, ratio 22.5 percent; 23 young persons, ratio 57 percent; 37 Party members, ratio 59.6 percent; and 9 Group members, ratio 14.5 percent.

59.6
14.5
74.1
8

Number of candidates elected in the Village People's Liberation Council: 46 representatives (36 men, 10 women, ratio 21.7 percent; 20 young persons, ratio 43.4 percent; 30 Party members, ratio 65.2 percent; and 6 Group members; ratio 13 percent.

65.2
13
78.2

- Number of candidates elected in the Village People's Liberation Committee: 14 representatives. (11 men, 3 women, ratio 21.4 percent; 6 young persons, ratio 42.8 percent; 10 Party members, ratio 71.4 percent; and 2 Group members, ratio 14.2 percent. All belonged to the laborer's class.

71.4
14.2
85.6
8

18 Hamlet Liberation Committee were formed and consisted of 53 commissioners. (41 men, 12 women, ratio 22.6 percent; 24 young persons, ratio 45.3 percent; 30 Party members, ratio 56.6 percent; 6 Group members,

ratio 11.3 percent; 32 representatives of the Council, ratio 60 percent; and 21 individuals who did not belong to the Council, ratio 40 percent. According to the Central Office directives, Di-Linh District had all the required conditions necessary to hold the whole District Army's and People's Conference to establish the District People's Liberation Committee.

3/. Hàm-Thuận District: Democratic elections were carried on in Đàng-Gia, Hàm-Cân, Hàm-Kiêm, Hàm-Thanh, Hàm-Minh, Hàm-Tri, Hàm-Phú, Hàm-Chính and Hàm-Liêm villages, but there has been no report, therefore a synthesis or analysis has not yet been made.

- The total number of candidates for the People's Liberation Committee in seven villages (except Hàm-Chính and Hàm-Thanh villages) was 130 persons. (92 men, 38 women ratio 29.2 percent; 73 young persons, ratio 56.1 percent; 81 Party members, ratio 62.3 percent; and 12 Group members, ratio 9.2 percent.

- The total number of representatives elected in the People's Liberation Council was 91 persons (71 men, 20 women, ratio 22 percent; 52 young persons, ratio 57.1 percent; 66 Party members, ratio 72.5 percent; and 6 Group members, ratio 6.5 percent.

- The total number of representatives elected in the Village People's Liberation Committee for 6 villages (except Hàm-Chính, Hàm-Thanh and Hàm-Liêm villages) was 26 commissioners (23 men, 3 women, ratio 11.5 percent; 13 young persons, ratio 50 percent; and 26 Party members, ratio 100 percent.

4/. Hoà-Đa: Democratic elections to establish a government were carried on in Hồng-Lâm 1, Hồng-Lâm 2, Hồng-Chính, Hồng-Tân and Hồng-Thắng villages.

((Page 3 of Item 2 of O.T))

- Population: 406 inhabitants.

- Number of voters: 215 persons.

- Number of voters who voted: 206 persons, ratio 96% in comparison with the number of voters.

- Total number of candidates to the Village People's Liberation Council: 59 persons (41 men, 18 women, ratio 30 percent; 23 young persons, ratio 39 percent; 23 Party members, ratio 39 percent; 13 Group members, ratio 22 percent; 58 poor farmers, ratio 98.4 percent; and one middle farmer, ratio 1.5 percent.

- Total number of representatives at the Village People's Liberation Council: 47 representatives (33 men, 14 women, ratio 29.7 percent; 18 young persons, ratio 38.2 percent; 22 Party members, ratio 46.8 percent; 9 Group members, ratio 19 percent; 46 poor farmers, ratio 98 percent;

and 1 middle farmer, ratio 2 percent.

- Total number of candidates elected in the Village People's Liberation Committee: 19 representatives (15 men, 4 women, ratio 21 percent; 6 young persons, ratio 31 percent; 14 Party members, ratio 73 percent; 2 Group members, ratio 10 percent; 19 poor farmers, ratio 100 percent.

- The Village People's Liberation Committee directly assumed the responsibility of five Hamlet Liberation Committees.

5/. Tuy-Phong: Village democratic elections were carried on only in Binh-Thanh and La-Ba villages. The concrete situation in La Ba village was not known. The results received concerning Binh Thanh village were as follows:

- Population : 903 inhabitants.

- Number of voters: 451 persons.

Number of voters who voted: 404 persons, ratio reached 89.5 percent.

Number of candidates to the Village People's Liberation Council: 16 persons (11 men, 5 women, ratio 31 percent; 8 young persons, 50 percent; 5 Party members, ratio 31 percent; 3 Group members, ratio 18 percent; 12 poor farmers, ratio 75 percent; and 4 middle farmers, ratio 25 percent.

Number of candidates elected to the Village People's Liberation Council: 13 representatives. (11 men, two women, ratio 15 percent; six young persons, ratio 46 percent; five Party members, ratio 38 percent; three Group members, ratio 23 percent; nine poor farmers, ratio 70 percent; and four middle farmers, ratio 30 percent.

Number of candidates elected to the Village People's Liberation Committee: five representatives (four men, one woman, ratio 20 percent; three young persons, ratio 60 percent; three Party members, ratio 60 percent; two Group members, ratio 40 percent; 4 poor farmers, ratio 80 percent; and one middle farmer, ratio 20 percent.

6/. Pham-Ly Village: Democratic elections to establish a revolutionary government were carried on only in Phan Sơn (no concrete report has been received about this matter).

The above results obtained is a reality which proves that the judgements, the policies and the guidance of the Central Office concerning the establishment of the Revolutionary Government at all levels, especially at village and hamlet level, are quite correct; also, they conform according to the masses' pressing and earnest demands and aspirations, especially in the present phase.

II. Good points, deficiencies and shortcomings still existing.

1/. Good points:

During the process of carrying on the establishing of the Revolutionary Government, we have had the following good points:

1/. The different Party Committees' echelons realized that the characteristics of the Revolutionary Government are closely bound to the political Party requirements and mission in the General Offensive and Uprising phase; realizing that the establishment of a revolutionary government was now an important and urgent mission, because it was a combat organization which would lead the people to wage resistance and would help them disrupt the American imperialists' scheme of aggression, overthrow the lackey Government and preserve the results of the Revolution. Therefore, the leadership policy concerning the establishing of the Government was concentrated and the necessary plans, measures and organizations to carry out the policy were relatively close. Before carrying on the policy, the cadre were trained relatively carefully on the policy, purpose, requirements, criteria, different social classes, and the plans and measures necessary to carry out the policy. After each village election's phase, all experimental sites held meetings to draw the good points and deficiencies, completed plans, and corrected erroneous concepts of lower echelons. Thanks to this, the exact characteristics of dictatorship of the people of the Revolutionary Government were ensured while the government already had been established in some places during the past phase. Most newly-formed Village People's Liberation Council were comprised of landless, poor and middle farmers. There were no case where exploiters' elements were to participate in or be elected to the government.

2/. The different Party Committee echelons applied the Party policy line toward the masses in the establishment of the Revolutionary Government, knew how to motivate the population, knew how to lean against the masses, and made them fully understand their mission and role in the establishment of the government. Therefore, the masses solved their difficulties by themselves and participated, in all respects, with the establishment of the government during the past phase.

3/. We carried on the establishment of the Government during favorable conditions, but the population in the old liberated villages were encountering great difficulties such as famine and shortage of salt; in addition, the enemy deployed troops, conducted sweep operations, and attacked and destroyed the movement. But the Party Committee echelons, cadre, and Party members who had to carry out the task of establishing the Government, understood the localities' policy, line criteria, social classes' plans and measures used to establish a good government; they were determined to overcome every difficulty, stay close to the people, maintain contact with the enemy, guide and organize the training of elections for the people. In some villages such as Hām-Liêm, Hồng Sơn, Hām Chính, Xa Ra, Hām Kiêm villages etc ... ((sic)) elections were

organized close to the enemy posts and strategic hamlets. For sick or old persons and persons who had little children, the ballot-box was brought to their house. The population must help to have conditions to vote and carry into effect their civil rights. These acts, when heard, seemed ordinary, but had a great significance for the cadre who served because of the people's interests and carried out the task of establishing the government.

4/. This time the electoral campaign, the true nature of which was a motivation of the masses and a broad political campaign, was able to arouse the masses' enthusiasm, heighten their level of revolutionary awareness and develop their right to be master. Thus, confidence in the Party and the certain victory of the Revolution was strengthened. In the first stage, all kinds of tasks and missions, mission of resistance, of fight, of production, of support to the frontline, of contributing manpower, financial and material resources to the Revolution, were stepped up.

((Page 5 of Item 2 of O.T))

Therefore the Party Chapters and the Revolutionary Groups were reorganized, the Cadre's and Party members' sense of responsibility were heightened.

5/. This time, through the establishment of the government, the working class viewpoint and Party policy line toward the masses was used to make the Party Committee echelons and cadre participate in the government tasks, and consolidate their confidence in the masses' revolutionary capability. We strengthened the knowledge of the characteristics of the Revolutionary Government and, because of the hatred of the people being oppressed and exploited, we rose up with a peerless strength; struggled to overthrow the enemy government, establish our own revolutionary government, and led the people in stepping up the resistance in every respect, and continued attacking the enemy.

In the first steps, a certain number of experiences in establishing and leading the government were drawn; these would serve as a foundation so that the establishment of the government in the coming phase would be more complete.

2/. Weak points and deficiencies still existing. The above results and good points are basic but are only the first steps. In the coming phase we must make every effort to provide guidance for the people so they can understand and develop responsibilities and capabilities of the government, which are tools to carry into effect the dictatorship of the People's Democracy. Beside the above results and good points, we also have the below weak points:

1/. What is known.

- We have not yet fully realized that the characteristics of the

Revolutionary Government are closely bound to the political mission. The government is a tool with which to carry into effect the dictatorship of the People's Democracy. The sound supporting force of the government is the United Bloc of Workers and Farmers under the leadership of the Party. To establish the government we must determine and set up a new position, create a new political strength, use the violence of the Revolution to crush the enemy government completely, and gain political power for the people. The government is one of the fundamental problems of the Revolution.

- We have not yet fully realized the significance, purpose, and importance of establishing the Revolutionary Government during the General Offensive and Uprising phase; we have not yet assessed well the pressing and urgent character of the establishment, organization, and development of the Revolutionary Government in villages and hamlets.

- We have not yet fully understood that the establishment of a revolutionary government now is a populace's pressing and earnest political requirement; a condition ensuring the masses' confidence in a certain victory for the Revolution; and, a matter of developing and enlarging the masses' right to be master in the participation, management and preservation of the Revolutionary Government.

- We have not yet fully understood the significance of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, and of the weeding out of undesirable elements in villages and hamlets during the motivation of the masses, and the establishment of the government. We have not yet fully understood the significance of building and protecting the areas under our control, the carrying into effect of the people's right of being master, and serving the masses' interests.

((Page 6 of Item 2 of O.T))

For the time being, we have not yet fully understood the organization of Revolutionary administration. Since the latter possesses a realistic significance in improving and strengthening the leadership of the party chapter; in reorganization and rapid development of Revolutionary forces; in stepping up the struggle in order to hold and protect liberated areas, we should fight enemy counterattacks and gain victories no matter what the circumstances.

2/. Organization of leadership.

We have studied orders from higher echelons for form (organization of administration in liberated areas-such as (Thuận Phong)). Although the leadership of the Province Party Current Affairs Committee, was improved, the establishment of village and hamlet administration has still been slow. It has not yet caught up with the development of the new situation which is favorable to. It has not yet met the urgent requirements of the General Offensive and General Uprising phase.

Old liberated villages had favorable conditions, but they handled

with the situation of the population, hamlet and village, we still displayed many shortcomings.

We have not yet thoroughly understood the close relationship between attacks against the enemy and the strengthening of our forces. Our forces should be strengthened so that we can continuously attack the enemy. The major question in building up our forces is to establish Revolutionary administration. Since we have not concentrated the correct leadership in building up the Revolutionary administration, we can not fully develop the people's ability and power for overthrowing the enemy's government.

The above shortcomings prove that our working class viewpoint and Revolutionary standpoint were not firm. The concept of the use of Revolutionary violence was still poor and the viewpoint towards the people still weak.

III. General comments.

The recent motivation of the people to establish village administrations show that: The administration that was selected by the people's votes is a revolutionary organization. It was established for the sake of the people's interests. The people truly participated in the establishment of the government and they enthusiastically protect it.

* Although the newly-formed village administrations have still encountered many difficulties from the beginning; they also helped in improving the people's living conditions, motivating the people to carry out local tasks and properly implementing our policy.

- In both the lowland and mountainous areas under our control, if we determine to motivate the people and entrust them, we can successfully carry out the democratic elections to build up a Revolutionary government.

- Party Committee echelons, especially District Party Committee echelons, must strive to form and improve ranks of cadre in the village administration, and make committees direct specialized branches under the control of the administration. Various levels must feel affection towards the administration and enthusiastically carry out all missions assigned by the administration.

While training the administration cadre on the specialized and political fields, we must place emphasis on improving the administration cadre's Revolutionary ethics and attitudes.

28 Oct. 68

END OF TRANSLATION

the mission slowly. Liberated villages near enemy posts are strongly oppressed by us. The organizations and Party Chapters of these villages are relatively strong. We can organize elections to set up the People's Village Liberation Councils and Village Liberation Committees, but until now we have not carried out the election.

Villages under our limited control have not yet held the Army's and People's Village Conference in order to select the People's temporary Liberation Committee. Di Linh District had enough conditions to organize the Army's and People's District Conference, but until now it did not organize it.

Committee echelons, especially village committee echelons, Party members and cadre have not fully understood the requirements for each candidate nor have they realized the election rules prescribed by village committees. Therefore, they have been confused while performing their missions. In some villages, all of the Party Chapter members were selected in People's Village Liberation Committees (Hàm Tri', Trung Sơn). Some key committee cadre have concurrently assumed many positions; for example, Chapter Party Committee member, Chief of the Financial and Economic Section, Secretary of Farmers' Association, and Chief of Women's Association (Hàm Tri'). In some villages, local candidates had enough political conditions, but they did not gain the people's confidence. Accordingly, they were not selected (Hàm Tri' etc... ((sic))). A number of village committees did not have young members (Trung Sơn Village Committee had no youths).

Generally, we have not yet had confidence in a woman's ability; the rate of women participating in the committees was very low (Hồng Thịnh Village Committee had 15%, Nam Giang village Committee had 18% women). Since the people have not been indoctrinated well and the candidates were not good; therefore, the people introduced the candidates who had not enough requirements. Furthermore, some were introduced for election but refused (Dân An, Hàm Tri' Village).

Members of the People's Village Liberation Councils, Village Liberation Committees, and Hamlet Liberation Committees have not yet been trained nor improved to strengthen their sense of responsibility and the working procedures of the committees or the councils; therefore, Party Chapters have still taken charge of the village's tasks. Village committees and village councils did not develop their responsibility and capability in the leadership and motivation of the people to step up resistance in villages.

Leadership has not yet been conducted carefully in hamlets. The people were not controlled or encouraged so we cannot correct the errors of the people. The mission of establishing the Revolutionary Government is a very important and complex one, but since leadership from

((Page 7 of Item 2 of O.T))

high echelons was not studied and the plans not worked out in compliance