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15. SUMMARY:

(C) This report contains information obtained from enemy documents dated 21 July 1969, captured on 10 August 1969, and concerns drafts of an activity plan originated for the Research Section, Phu Yen Province Worker's Revolutionary Movement outlining a political struggle mission to be carried out in the second half of 1969.

THIS DOCUMENT, LESS CAPTURE DATA, ALL REFERENCES TO THE COMBINED DOCUMENT EXPLOITATION CENTER (CDEC) TO INCLUDE PERSONNEL, COMMENTS, AND LOG NUMBERS; US REMARKS INDICATED BY DOUBLE PARENTHESES, I. E. (()); AND DECIPHERING OF CODE WORDS, COVER DESIGNATIONS, AND ENEMY UNITS, WAS DECLASSIFIED ON 16 Oct 76 BY Robert R. Cherry, Maj, USA DIR. US ELM, CDEC, THIS DECLASSIFICATION DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AUTHORITY TO RELEASE INFORMATION CONTAINED THEREIN OUTSIDE OF US MILITARY CHANNELS.

(C) Following is a full translation of captured enemy documents. These documents were captured on 10 August 1969 in South Vietnam (80955702: II CT2) by 10th Co, 26th Regt, Cap ROK Inf Div. The documents were received at CDEC on 28 August 1969, and were summarized in Bulletin Number 24, 680, dated 29 August 1969, under items 5 thru 7 of CDEC Document Log Number 08-2023-69.

Unit 13-231
Buddhist

~~FULL TRANSLATION~~

((Cover of Item 5 of O.T.))

L-A-B-O-R U-N-I-O-N

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

THE POLICY OF LABOR UNION ACTIVITIES

The last six months of 1969.

- Considering the tense and urgent missions of our present revolutionary phase, the Party resolution has been outlined to improve the activities in 1969.

- Considering worker movements in our province.

- Considering our victories and enemy failures.

Reviewing missions, responsibility, and roles of the labor unit organization in the closing phase of the Democratic Revolution of the people in SVN. (the coalition of workers and farmers has been well established).

The development of the workers and the farmers movement research section of the province have assigned missions to the labor union from now until 31 December 1969 as follows:

I. Develop and strengthen our available capabilities in all fields (the ideological concepts have been established to strengthen the key organizations and leadership of the three-pronged attacks).

- Organize key agents and lead three current uprising struggle movements (the uprising movement of the people in annihilating tyrants, destroying the enemy's oppressive control, and winning over the people to seize property). In the labor, worker, farmer, and hamlet unions, the struggle movements are legally conducted to demand social welfare and independence.

II. Improvement of organizations.

1. Affirms the responsibility of the labor union in the province and district to assign specific missions for management and organizations.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

2. Reconsolidate all executive committees that were established.

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

3. Seize enemy labor union organizations that have not yet been occupied.

III. Conduct struggles.

SPECIFIC MISSIONS

I. IMPROVE OUR AVAILABLE CAPABILITIES.

1. Ideological concepts: Correct erroneous thoughts of workers, farmers, and legal cadre. The erroneous thoughts include shirking attitudes, fear of sacrifices, fierceness, family problems, and lack of confidence in the capability of the people and all social classes in the city.

Activities: We have not attacked the enemy strongly in all fields. The main factor for not attacking the enemy was that we were afraid.

The development of agents among ((popular organizations)) is not secret. We failed to recruit agents among the intellectual officials. We still concentrate on Lambretta and cyclo drivers.

- The indoctrination of labor workers, farmers, cadre, and agents has not made any progress or gained any sparkling example from labor workers and farmers to use as an indoctrination subject. In brief, the indoctrination of ideological concepts for cadre and labor workers and farmers is to make them realize that they have to be indoctrinated on the policy of NFLSVN.

((Page 3 of Item 5 of O.T.))

- Adopt the 10 points of NFLSVN delegates which have been specified in the Paris Talks, and the 12 points of the SVN Provisional Revolutionary Government to be the major document for indoctrination. In addition, we should select able personnel to initiate struggles among labor workers and farmers in the district, and to indoctrinate cadre in labor unions and internal organizations.

2. Organizations: Consolidate the three recently established executive committees to show the leadership capability in the three movements.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

3. Three-pronged attack activities.

At first, we should seize all public and secret organizations. (Win over the Parties and factions such as: "Cán Lao Nhân Vi" Party ((Personality and Labor Party)), "Đại Việt Nationalist" Party, and the "Socialist Revolutionary Alliance" Party.) We should assume the significance of the activities of the above cited parties and factions and know who their leaders are.

- Occupy food provision and war facility storages.
- Detect the public and secret positions of all tyrants and ringleaders.
- Successfully win over a number of troops in various branches and their ideological concepts.
- Seize intermediate elements which are conducting struggles to demand peace, an end to the war, the withdrawal of Americans, and the overthrow of the Thiệu - Kỳ - Huông clique.
- Considering the above basic mission, we should make a plan of attack for all fields according to the policy of conducting three-pronged attacks in mountainous and lowland areas.

Specific activities: Occupy enemy reactionary organizations, his storages, and the residences of ringleaders and henchmen. Look for facilities to attack them correctly.

((Page 4 of Item 5 of O.T.))

- Assess all kinds of ((enemy)) branches and their ideological concepts in order to attack them with proselyting activities.
- Win over the intermediate classes to strengthen the two rising struggle movements and demand social welfare and independence in legal and public struggles.

II. ORGANIZATIONS:

1. Affirm the responsibility of the labor union between provinces and districts to assign missions on management and continuously establish organizations.

- Until now, there has not been a sharp alignment between the labor unions of province and those of the district and its organizations have not assigned missions to cadre. So, we should limit the leadership of the common movement of labor workers and farmers throughout the province.

- Considering the revolutionary mission, the Party has outlined a plan for labor union organizations. Concurrently, considering missions and capability and roles of the labor union in the General Uprising and Offensive phases, the research section on the movement of labor workers and farmers should temporarily assign missions to the province and district labor union as follows:

- Province Labor Union: It should directly seize the Phu Yen Labor Union organized by the enemy. Occupy power stations, printing houses, residential areas near the station, official labor unions in the Puppet machinery, and the union of Lambretta drivers and workers in the radio station and the post office.

- Directly command the labor union in the district and labor union agencies as prescribed.

- District Labor Union: Establish and improve the command post of the district labor union.

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

Every three to five comrades would directly take charge of the City Party Committee. One secretary, one assistant secretary and one to three Party Committee members of the Executive Committee should be planted in the enemy's legal organization.

- They would directly lead the working class, including porters, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, barbers and tailors.

- They would directly organize and guide the Motorized Pedicab Labor Union and establish other labor unions in the wards of the town. At the same time, we are strengthening our forces to be used as a keystone for three struggle movements (Uprising Movement, Social Welfare and Democratic Movement, and Legal Movement). They have provide work for workers and improve their everyday life. (When there is a political solution) ((sic))

We temporarily, decided to have cadre of all levels concentrate their capabilities to lead and command the revolutionary movement in the province capital and bring it to the stage of the general movement. We will strive to further the movement, enabling us to perform the immediate and long-range mission of the Party.

2. We reorganized the Executive Committee which had been established and strengthened three United Executive Committees of the Labor Union.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

((Page 6 of Item 5 of O.T.))

Three-wheeled scooter and motorized pedicab drivers should be organized into one labor union cell. Workers of printing houses were organized into 11 cells. Nineteen cells of the three-wheeled Scooter Labor Union should be activated before the end of the year. We must strive to establish one cell of railway workers and one cell of power station workers before the end of December.

- From now to the end of October 1969 we should establish a command committee in the town. We indoctrinate two cadre and place them in the enemy's legal labor union of the province. Hopefully, they will work as well as Comrade C ((sic)) aid.

- Group fees will not be collected until the end of October. The group fee is 203(SVN)((118\$SVN = \$1.00US)) per month for each member or cadre of the labor union.

- From now to the end of December, three training courses must be held in order to improve our cadre's knowledge.

Each course should produce two or three cadre.

- From now to December 1969, one Party cell will be activated in the legal labor union of the town.

3. We will organize the unions which the enemy has failed to organize, such as, a public servants' union, a railway workers' union, a teachers' union, a trade union, a postal union, and a broadcasting union. We are looking for a way to plant our agents in the enemy's trade union organizations.

((Page 7 of Item 5 of O.T.))

We planted agents in the ranks of Puppet Government employees and contact sympathizers working in the post office and radio broadcast station. After that we will recruit new agents in order to develop and strengthen our organization.

III. TRAINING ON STRUGGLE.

1. An opened and legal struggle committee of the provincial capital was established. (There was a particular proposal for this part ((sic)).)

2. Struggles were conducted from low to high levels and from small groups to concentrated forces.

3. Plan of struggle.

a. We organized our ranks and set up a general leadership committee and leadership for every block of organization.

b. We choose a location, time and subjects.

c. The form of the struggle may be armed in order to protect the Group.

During the struggle, the following principles must be adopted:

a. Good coordination.

b. The struggle will be conducted in the time allotted.

c. The subject matter must be appropriate.

d. Great victories should be gained. Serious losses should be avoided.

g. Good communication and liaison lines should be ensured.

f. Fully understand our guidelines and be unanimous in action.

Standards of the struggle:

Monthly, we should kill at least one enemy's servant. We should place emphasis on the Revolutionary Labor Union in labor wards.

From now to the end of the year, C.T ((possibly mission)) of the struggle must be carried out in two large scale phases,

((Page 8 of Item 5 of O.T.))

not including the two phases of struggle to be carried out in a legal form. There were some outline details of the mission of the Provincial Labor Union. Comrades and cadre of the Labor Union of all echelons should study and apply them.

21 July 1969

For the Phuc Yen Labor Union Movement Study
Section.

((Signed)) Lê Đức Minh

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

((Page 9 of Item 5 of O.T.))

Deployment of forces for the open-legal struggle.

I. OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS.

The open-legal struggle movement appears because of the neo-colonialism set up by the US imperialists.

This movement has been consolidating and steadily developing, especially for the Revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam. In addition, it has also developed from the vital interest of the people and the demagogic style and the false democracy of the US imperialists, and the clique of traitors.

In reality, the legal open struggle movement is also founded in the social welfare and democracy movement of the social classes in South Vietnam against the US imperialists.

Through over 15 years of struggle in violent trails and difficulties, 14 million people in South Vietnam have slowly defeated the fiercest and most aggressive imperialists in the world. This struggle has seriously affected the aggressive determination of the US imperialists in South Vietnam and their international strategy has also undergone many changes. Especially since early 1968, the US imperialists have been defeated phase after phase.

In the face of their failures, our people have obtained famous achievements and are attracting the intermediary classes to the Revolution. A number of soldiers and Puppet administrative personnel are fully aware of the true face of the US imperialists. They are only traitors, stubborn, reactionary lackeys, and an enemy of the people.

((Page 10 of Item 5 of O.T.))

Due to this clique, the war is becoming more and more violent and large scaled. The instances of death and suffering of the people are increasing.

Besides, our people are guided by the Party, which belongs to the revolutionary class and has a policy which is appropriate to the aspirations of the people and sovereignty of the nation. Therefore, this policy has gained enthusiastic support from the peace loving peoples of the world, including the progressive people of the US.

This policy has been mentioned in the political program of the National Liberation Front and the Alliance Front for National Peace and Democracy in South Vietnam. It is also represented by the 10

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

points, handed out by all the representatives of the National Liberation Front in the 16th meeting at the Paris Conference, and by the 12 points proclaimed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government in SVN.

Through the correct policy and good will of the Party, our struggle movement has demanded the US withdrawal of their troops from SVN to restore peace in this country. Not only is this movement stepped up in SVN, but also in the other nations in the world. Even the US politicians are demanding that the US Government and President Nixon recognize these points.

((Page 11 of Item 5 of O.T.))

The entire Party and army should continuously attack and simultaneously rise up to conduct three-pronged attacks in mountainous and lowland areas to defeat the enemy. For that reason, our army and the people may succeed in liberating the nation and obtaining the final victory.

Because of its important mission in the history of the nation and also because of the vital interest of our people, the Party has initiated a widespread legal and open struggle movement in the entire region, which is necessary for the people to seize power through violence.

The committee for the study of the revolutionary movement, should rely on the above requirements to step up a legal and open struggle section at the province capital in an attempt to provide key leadership for the movement.

Due to the above mentioned missions, in combat we should:

1. Establish a legal and open struggle section in the province capital.
2. Organize units for struggle.
3. Draft a program for struggle.
4. Take specific measures.

1. Establish a legal and open struggle section in the province capital:

The legal and open struggle section includes legal members operating in the province capital. For this reason, there must be representatives of various social classes acting as members of the leadership committee.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

We should select two workers and place them in the committee. Our goal consists of selecting a number of members from two revolutionary groups ((workers and farmers)) to position them in the leadership committee of the struggle movement. We should absolutely avoid introducing cadre from the

((Page 12 of Item 5 of O.T.))

three executive committees ((possibly Party, Group, and Popular Organizations)) to this struggle movement. These three executive committees should play a secret role in the leadership of the movement.

For this reason they cannot be present in this movement, and our agents within the cities must select new personnel.

We will gain great achievements in initiating this struggle movement if we succeed in selecting a number of personnel in the social classes as follows:

- One individual among the businessmen.
- One individual in the Puppet Government.
- Two individuals among students and teachers.

2. Organize units for struggle:

The leadership committee of the struggle movement consists of a number of businessmen, Puppet personnel, students, and teachers. We should pay particular attention to these classes to direct them in operating in the Buddhist movement. In addition, many companies, platoons, and squads are placed under the leadership of the committee. Each squad must have at least three key personnel. Also, we have reconnaissance, liaison, rear service, and major forces in this combined force. Each major force has assault and secret self-defense units to support the demonstration forces and recruitment.

In recapitulation, we should rely on the available strength to accomplish the above organizations successfully.

((Page 13 of Item 5 of O.T.))

Remarks: (We must organize our troops, and at the same time struggle against the enemy. Through struggle, we should strengthen our troops, agents, and cadre at all levels).

3. The significance of struggles.

We consider the Buddhist struggle movement as a main objective.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

Demand peace, demand the release of Thich Thien Minh, say prayers for the dead, preach Buddhism, and organize public discussion on the 10 points of the Front proposed in the 16th Paris Peace Talk. Demand to go to the pagoda to pray for peace. Rebuild all the pagodas destroyed by the US soldiers. Support the Tran Ngoc Lien movement in order to establish a coalition government in SVN.

- In particular, the workers should conduct struggles to demand the stabilization of living conditions and demand that the Puppet Government increase their salary.

- Struggle against robbery and oppose strict regulations. Demand that the authorities reduce taxes, and punish tyrants and Americans who refuse to pay their fares.

- Demand that the authorities issue the Lao Dong ((Labor)) regulations and force them to enforce those regulations properly.

- Demand the withdrawal of the US soldiers and their satellites in order to end the war and to restore peace.

4. Specific Measures.

a. Before urging the people particularly the working class, to struggle, we must indoctrinate them on the importance of the mission so that they will heighten their vigilance and fight the people's enemy continuously.

We must make the working class know that the US has been defeated by our forces.

((Page 14 of Item 5 of O.T.))

- Expose the crimes of the US in order to sow hatred among the working class.

- Expose the situation in local areas in order to openly show the US aggressor's savage ambition and traitorous Thieu-Ky-Huong clique.

- After determining the targets, locations, and time, discussions should be conducted to obtain a unanimous decision among the command committee.

- Continue improving key agents and preparing further improved shells for explosives.

- Establish struggle units with key agents from squad level and higher.

- Flags, banderoles, and slogans should be prepared and

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

should be appropriate with the arms of the struggle movement.

- Carefully check on the targets, locations, and time, and ensure unity of command.

- Inspect the entire organization and determine a date for operations in order to anticipate a change of policy in the struggle.

Activities during the battle:

- Ensure successful coordination, and open fire at the prescribed time.

- Ensure a continuous communication between higher and lower headquarters and between military agencies and civilian organizations.

- Cadre of all levels should react quickly in conducting attacks and should properly implement combat orders.

- We should follow the combat information at all times in order to change our combat tactics promptly to attain victories easily, and to avoid casualties.

Activities after the battle:

- Organize a meeting to estimate the achievements gained during the struggle, learn from combat experiences, and to commend and award brave cadre.

((Page 15 of Item 5 of O.T.))

- Prepare for the forthcoming attack. This is a plan for the legal struggle movement of the workers. You will study and apply it in your combat activities according to the practical situation.

21 July 1969

Research Section, Worker's Revolutionary Movement.

Le Đức Minh

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

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

PLAN OF ACTIVITIES

TOWARD BUDDHIST FACTIONS IN THE SECOND
HALF OF THE YEAR 1969.

During the last 15 years, since the US imperialist imposed their neo-colonialism, the Buddhist struggle movement has come into existence and Buddhism has advanced together with 14 million South Vietnamese compatriots to defeat our most ferocious enemy, the US imperialists.

Stemming from their faith in Buddhism and their interest for the destiny of the nation, all the people have risen up to conduct the struggle under various forms. The course of their struggles has passed from legal to illegal forms, from demanding social and democratic rights with mere slogans to rising up and annihilating the Puppet administrative tyrants, to break the enemy's oppressive control, and to seize power.

The masses coordinated closely with the Buddhist movement. They struggled for the right to believe in Buddha, to practice their religion, to establish associations, and to meet for activities. Some of the monks and nuns, such as the Venerable Thich Quang Đức and Nun Diên Quang etc... ((sic)), have burned themselves to protest terrorism. As a result, the Diem Government collapsed in late 1963. The people continued to struggle for the survival of Buddhist teachings. For instance, in Quang Nam and Đà Nẵng they rose up in 1966 to conduct struggles against the enemy and they occupied these two cities for 75 days. Recently a movement was initiated to overthrow the Thiệu - Kỳ - Hoàng clique and to demand the release of Venerable Thich Thiên Minh. The movement has expanded widely, from cities to rural areas, inside the nation and abroad. This movement has been supported by innumerable people.

Because of the surging growth of the Buddhist movement and because they were oppressed and humiliated by the Saigon Puppet Government, a number of monks, nuns, and believers have stood

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

up and struggled energetically with the unanimous support of the Buddhist soldiers and officers. This surging struggle can never be suppressed by the US and Puppet Government; instead, it will grow ever stronger.

ENEMY PLAN TO COUNTER THE BUDDHIST STRUGGLE MOVEMENT.

1. The enemy uses all means to terrorize and oppress the

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

Buddhist struggle movement. For instance:

- He has burned and destroyed pagodas and temples carelessly and killed and imprisoned monks, nuns, and Buddhists. In May 66, he occupied the "Institute for the Execution of Dharma", a supreme organization of the Buddhist hierarchy.

- He bluntly annulled the Buddhist charter, that is, denied the regulations and decrees of the Buddhist hierarchy. In July 1967, he planted his agents in the Buddhist internal ranks to sow dissension and contradictions between the Buddhist authorities and the Buddhist Association.

Early in the 1968 General Offensive and Uprising, the enemy detained a number of leading monks, nuns, and Buddhist cadre under the pretense of maintaining security.

Recently, his personnel penetrated the General Office of Buddhist Youths during the night to arrest Venerable Thich Thien Minh, libeling and then condemning him to ten years of prison with hard labor and confiscation of his property. Above are the most notable acts; there were thousands of sabotaging activities conducted against Buddhist pagodas and a number of monks, nuns, and Buddhist were also killed in the rural areas and in the cities.

2. He endeavors to lure and bribe a number of monks, nuns, and Buddhist believers with the purpose of destroying the struggle movement by the following means:

- He handily asserted that the Buddhist could believe in Buddha, and they could practice their religion. He pretended to show interest in Buddhism whenever a great Buddhist festival took place. On the other hand he used all means possible to undermine Buddhism.

- He bribed a number of political speculators such as Thich Tam Chau, Huynh Diem, and Le Kinh Hua etc.. ((sic)); and he employed them to destroy the Buddhist religion.

((Page 3 of Item 6 of O.T.))

- He attracted a number of shirkers and non-aligned personalities to his side and neutralized them with favors so that they become indifferent to the struggle movement and only thought of their own welfare.

- He isolated and intimidated the monks, nuns, and believers who had a high determination to struggle for the survival of Buddhism.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

In addition, he also assigned security and secret agents to follow them and restrict their movement.

3. He distorted our good cause and made a number of Buddhist misunderstand and suspect us.

Disadvantages and Advantages.

A. Disadvantages: 1. Most of the monks, nuns, and believers are pacifists. They only joined the struggle movement when opportunities offered and they retreated from difficulties.

2. The Buddhist organizational system is very loose. The associations and sub-divisions no longer participate in the general caucuses, cadre at high levels do not cooperate closely with lower level cadre.

3. A number of monks and nuns are narrow-minded. They take an interest only in religious activities and neglected all things not concerning religion; therefore they become isolated.

4. Because of the enemy's division plan, no solidarity and unity between the unified Buddhist Associations and Tinh Don Tong ((possibly Theverada faction)) and between Buddhism and the other religions and parties exists.

5. No purification is made in the internal ranks of the Buddhist Association. Therefore many reactionaries abide in the organization and cause much difficulties for it.

B. Advantages.

1. The differences between the Saigon Puppet Government and Buddhism are still acute. If we conduct motivation among the Association members, they will side with us.

2. Buddhism has many favorable opportunities to gather the people for an open and legal struggle. They are participating in the Buddhists great festivals, the first and 15th days of the lunar month, and during the ceremonies for saying prayers for peace and for the dead.

3. If the Buddhist struggle movement can be initiated, it will have the unanimous support of the people, because the aspirations of Buddhism

((Page 4 of Item 6 of O.T.))

are similar to those of the people at the present time.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

4. The open and legal struggle of Buddhism has attained good results ; for instance, the overthrow of the Diem Government and the occupation of Hue for 75 days. Recently the struggle for the overthrow of Thieu and Ky has given us many experiences in leadership.

5. We will obtain strong support from a number of Puppet soldiers, officers, and Puppet officials who are led by the Buddhist cadre.

6. With the constant concern and leadership of the Front, the Buddhist struggle movement will be strengthened.

III. COMMON MISSION AND ACTIVITIES IN STRUGGLE.

In order to observe and apply the teachings of Buddha correctly and to be deserving of the heroic tradition of each Vietnamese individual, there must be a close coordination between the ((Buddhist)) religion and the masses. This will allow us to overthrow the Thieu - Ky - Huong clique, demand that the US and his satellites withdraw, establish the coalition government, and restore peace to SVN. Consider the Front's 10 point political program proposed during the 16th session of the Paris Conference and the Provisional Revolutionary Government's 12-point plan as a goal and guideline for our task.

A. COMMON MISSIONS.

1. Practice a close coordination between the unified Association and Tinh Do Tong, between Buddhism, and other parties and religious factions, and between Buddhism and the non-religious people in order to strengthen the solidarity and the struggle force.
2. Consolidate the Buddhist organization from lower to higher levels, especially, the masses of Buddhists and the sub-divisions of the Association. Purge the bad elements and conduct causes within the Association.
3. Consolidate and rebuild pagodas destroyed by the enemy to provide monks, nuns, and believers with a place for rituals.
4. Improve the ((Buddhist)) Association members' knowledge, so that they can distinguish friend from foe.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

((Page 5 of Item 6 of O.T.))

The special communique of the Buddhist General Association issued on 15 March 1969, states that as long as the US and Thieu-Ky-Huong Government is in power, the Buddhists will remain isolated. For this reason, all Buddhist followers should be determined to oppose the US aggressors and Thieu-Ky's henchmen until the final outcome.

5. Initiate and participate in the following movements:

- Initiate a movement of students, professors, newsmen, and lawyers who will meet to discuss the situation, issue newspapers to denounce the true force of the Thieu-Ky clique, demand the withdrawal of the US troops, restore peace, and establish a coalition government.

- Initiate a movement of workers to oppose groundless dismissal and bad treatment, and demand an increase in salary and a decrease in working hours.

- Initiate a movement of soldiers and officers to protest sweep operations and property seizures and urge them to desert their ranks and posts to regain their native villages and make an honest living.

- Urge the people to oppose the enemy's conscription and to refuse to send their relatives to the battlefield, preventing them from killing their compatriots, extending the war, and causing death and devastation.

Forms of struggle.

Conduct from small to large scale struggles, from overt legal struggles to semi-legal and illegal struggles, from social welfare and democratic rights struggles to armed uprisings and seizures of power.

- Take the 10 points of the Front and the eight points of Nixon as topics for discussion, seminars, issuing of posters, and small magazines and writing folk songs and folk rhymes, and disseminating them among the Buddhist followers.

- Demand the implementation of the Buddhist charter issued in July 1967 concerning freedom of the press, assembly, and religion, and social welfare and democratic rights for every Buddhist Association member.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

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

- Demand the rights to consolidate the Buddhist Association, return to former pagodas, repair damaged pagodas, and to organize ritual ceremonies to say prayers for peace and for the dead. Demand the withdrawal of the US troops and overthrow of the Thieu-Ky-Huong Government, re-establish peace in SVN, and annul the sentence against the Venerable Thich Thien Minh.

IV. SPECIFIC MISSIONS.

1. The ideological field: The Buddhist movement will play a decisive role in our overt, legal struggle in the future. We should instill political awareness in all cadre, Party members, and people and make them understand their struggle. To accomplish our fundamental revolutionary mission in SVN, we must deepen the contradictions that exists in the enemy's internal organization. This movement is utterly necessary.

- Indoctrinate the Buddhist monks and nuns in small villages and Montagnard cadre, so that they can propagandize among the other Buddhist followers.

- Obtain the assistance of various organizations such as: Labor unions, Farmer's, Women's and Youth's Associations which will motivate the Buddhist followers in their respective organizations.

- Through the troops' dependents, motivate the Buddhist soldiers and officers.

- Initiate a strong movement among the Buddhist people who always seek to sacrifice their lives for the benefit of mankind and continuously demand an end to the war. This movement will be participated in by the masses and supported by the whole country.

((Page 7 of Item 6 of O.T.))

I. METHODS OF MOTIVATION:

1. Our agents will stay close to the area to motivate the people and will try to call them out of enemy areas for indoctrination.

2. Motivate the people indirectly by sending them letters and disseminating leaflets, newspapers etc... ((sic))

3. With the assistance of popular organizations motivate their members. Motivate the monks and nuns.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

- Give special attention to the movement in the province capital.

II. ORGANIZATION TASKS:

- Between now and the end of the year we should recruit 10 legal agents among the monks and nuns, 10 agents among the intellectuals and members of the gentry and soldiers and officers, and two key agents to operate on the legal liaison line of the province capital.

- Activate the province Religious Proselyting Committee with two monks operating legally, and one legal member recruited by the Province.

- In each district and town, recruit one legal agent from among the monks.

III. ACTIVITIES:

We should both strengthen our force and provide leadership for struggles in the three areas, especially in bordering areas and in the province capital. Every month, there must be four demonstrations in local areas (two with Buddhist believers and two with the popular organizations) and one demonstration advancing into the city. Within the city itself there must be three demonstrations each month.

Efforts should be made to initiate legal, overt struggles and take advantage of historic events such as All Souls Day, Mid-Autumn Festival, commemoration of the Tran Hung Dao Anniversary on 1 October 1969, and War Memorial Day on 2 November 1969. Besides these great festivals, there must be other legal struggles on the 1st and 15th of each month ((Buddhist days)).

((Page 8 of Item 6 of O.T.))

- Control the Buddhist agents in popular organizations such as Labor unions, Women's, Farmers', and Youth Associations, soldiers, officers, and students, and indoctrinate them as our hard core agents.

- Utilize the pressure of the masses to urge the monks in the Buddhist leadership committees to struggle continuously.

- If these monks are intimidated by or surrender to the enemy, the hardcore agents will prevent, persuade, and impede them from doing so then organize discussions and seminars to question and encourage them.

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

- If these monks and other Buddhist believers are terrorized, arrested, or injured by the enemy, the hardcore agents must conduct a struggle to demand compensation, medical treatment, or recuperation for the victims.

IV. REPORTS AND REQUESTS FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

a. Report to the Province Liberation Front as soon as a given task is accomplished. Give the results of tasks performed, lessons gained from experiences, the situation at various levels and installations, and advantages and difficulties encountered.

b. Between now and the end of August 1969, the district seats must report the situation of the Buddhist movement in their local areas in compliance with the pattern provided by the Province ((Liberation Front)).

((Page 9 of Item 6 of O.T.))

- Through political struggle we should try to isolate the bad elements and choose the good ones as leaders of the command committees and executive committees of the Student Association and boards of directors.

- Through struggles we should improve agents, gradually increase political struggles, gain experiences, develop our victories, and conduct the movement widely and deeply.

- When struggles are conducted we should have an effective leadership focused on the ten points of the Front which demand peace restoration and establishment of a coalition government.

- The objectives of the mission consist of conducting the struggle under legal status and it must be perfectly coordinated with the three-pronged attacks.

((Page 10 of Item 6 of O.T.))

4. Submission of reports and request for instructions.

a. We should assess the enemy properly and know his schemes. We know the differences between the enemy and the Buddhist faction, as well as other social classes. It is requested that reports be submitted to higher echelons in time for prompt settlement of problems.

b. Reports should be submitted promptly to the Province Front level on the results of the missions performed, experiences gained, and the handling of various echelons and agencies etc...((sic)).

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

Advantages and disadvantages:

Between now and late August 1969, district and province capitals must submit reports on the Buddhist situation in their own areas according to the pattern prescribed by the Province Front.

((Page 11 of Item 6 of O.T.))

TO DISTRICTS

Execute the orders of higher echelons to fulfill the forthcoming, immediate, and lasting missions. To obtain the decisive victory, the mission of the Revolution must include the legal struggle movement. Therefore, we should consolidate the legal struggle movement and consider the Buddhist forces a key force to launch three pronged attacks against the enemy. To facilitate a close leadership, district and city units should properly assess the Buddhist situation. Every village should submit reports to the Province Front Committee (20 Nguyen Trai) ((aka Civilian Proselyting Section)), prior to 30 August 1969.

Give specific figures according to the following procedures:

1. How many pagodas were there in the village before 1960, and how many are there now? What pagodas? In what villages and hamlets?
 2. How many monks are there? What are their names? Have they been living in their own pagodas or have they moved elsewhere? If they have, in which pagoda are they living now? (Mention the reason for their movement, if the pagoda has been destroyed.)
 3. The number of members in each small pagoda and temple who are still active. The number of members who are not active.
- ((Page 12 of Item 6 of O.T.))
4. The number of monks who have sympathy with the Revolution, those who are pacifists, those who are not sympathetic with the Revolution, and those who act as agents.
 5. The number of Buddhist followers who have sympathy with the Revolution, those who are pacifists, those who are not sympathetic to the Revolution, and those who act as agents.
 6. The number of Buddhist members and monks who participate in the Teenager, Youth, Women, and Labor Unions.

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(Classification and Control Markings)

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

7. The number of Buddhist members who are in the Saigon Puppet Government
(Take particular interest in officers and write down their full names, addresses,
and profession).

Hamlet and Village	Total number of pagodas	Presently available	Damaged	Total number of monks		Small pagoda	Temple	Total number of Buddhists	Sympathetic with the Revolution
				Living at	Moved to other places				

Pacifist	Unsympathetic with the Revolution	Agent	Total number of members in revolu- tionary organizations	Total number of members in enemy units	Remarks
					- Laity - How many monks are there, who work as agents?

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

Upon receipt of this circular, the districts must properly assess the situation and submit reports. In addition to the above mentioned points, a detailed explanation is needed for the Front to understand the situation and provide timely leadership. This is an important and complex problem.

((Page 13 of Item 6 of O.T.))

All districts should pay particular attention to it in order to make detailed and timely reports.

((Page 1 of Item 7 of O.T.))

PLAN FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE'S
LEGAL STRUGGLE FORCES IN DISTRICT SEATS
AND PROVINCE CAPITALS.

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITUATION.

During one-and-a-half years, through General Offensive and Uprisings, we have attained great victories. We have defeated the enemy in his strategy and forced him to withdraw his troops.

In cities and district seats the enemy is resorting to his "clear-and-hold" plan. He is trying to force our troops out of areas, especially along lines of communication.

To carry out the above mission and his accelerated pacification plan, the enemy has to plant his spies in our organizations.

- He has actively upgraded his troops to organize the civil-defense force. He has forced people from 43 to 55 years of age to participate in the organization. Fifty percent of Truong Son Special Forces at Cung Son have moved to Bao An, Xuan Phuoc.

- He has rallied reactionary parties to cope with us, carried out the urgent pacification plan, and conducted large sweep operations to secure communication lines No. 5, 6, and 7.

- In short, we must increase our vigilance and take advantage of the fact that the enemy is losing. We must conduct continuous attacks on the enemy and drive him to utter defeat.

((Marginal note on the above page))

CDEC Doc Log No. 08-2023-69

Nature of Buddhism

Through open and legal struggles placed under the leadership of the Party, we have realized the capabilities of Buddhists.

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

- A defeated US had to withdraw part of its troops. The remaining troops are in SVN assuming a defensive mission. This is because of our hard blow which caused the US, South Korean, and Puppet troops to be in a state of chaos and contradiction. The RVN troops have been brought to the battlefields and will be killed ((instead of the FWMAF)). This is part of the "de-Americanization" plan which has been frustrated in the Western Highlands.

Parallel with the de-escalation of the war, the enemy suffered heavy losses in life and material caused by our attacks. This was contrary to his intention of preserving his forces. He will lose if he de-escalates the war.

In case he de-Americanizes the war in Vietnam, he will be smothered with accusations of abandoning the RVN troops.

Difficulties and Advantages.

Difficulties: We have met difficulties caused by the enemy in local areas. Our leadership and command were poor in Sang Cầu Tuy Hoa I.

- Our troops, especially legal forces were understrength. Political ideology was not well assessed.

- We must increase agricultural production to support the front line and replenish weak forces.

- Intermediate forces still hesitate and wait for opportunities.

Advantages:

- We have gained lessons from experiences in struggles. The policy and guidelines of the Party are very shrewd ((Marginal note on the above pages)):

Advantage: Organization of open and legal struggles.

Buddhist movement and the people.

Contradictions between Buddhists.

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

Disadvantage: Buddhists still fear struggles. They seem to separate religion from everyday life. The monks are divided into two separate factions and are finding it impossible to unite.

((Page 3 of Item 7 of O.T.))

We have defeated the enemy in all battlefields of South Vietnam and particularly in our province.

Since January 1969 to date, we have conducted small operations but gained great victories. We have disintegrated the enemy and won the people's support.

The 10 regulations of the Front worked out at this time are properly in accord with all religions, parties, and intermediate strata.

II. COMMON MISSION AND ACTIVITIES IN STRUGGLE:

The struggle movement was initiated when the US began to carry out its neo-Colonialism in Vietnam.

Through 15 years of hard but glorious struggles, 14 million people in South Vietnam have defeated the cruellest enemy in the world. From the pure political struggle, we have entered an offensive phase with violent three-pronged attacks. The people have risen to struggle for their existence against the enemy's demagogic policy. These struggles were shifted from legal to illegal stages, from more slogans which demanded social welfare and democracy to real political actions and even uprisings in order to overthrow the Government. We have laid bare the US and Puppet's traitorous faces.

The Buddhist struggle movement and sacrifice of Venerable Thich Quang Duc succeeded in overthrowing the Government of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.

Students and Buddhist arose and controlled Quang Nam and Da Nang for 15 days in 1966.

((Page 4 of Item 7 of O.T.))

Recently, the movement for the collapse of Thieu-Ky and the release of Venerable Thich Thien Minh spread in every province.

- Students, teachers, lawyers, and journalists have conducted seminars to issue newspapers and denounce Thieu, Ky.

- The struggle movement against suppression and ill-treatment, demands for salary increases and the reduction of working hours. Staged by the

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

workers, became increasingly decisive.

- Private owners initiated a movement against heavy taxes.
- The struggle movement of officers and soldiers against the conducting of sweep operations, and neglect of their work, spread widely day after day.

In short, the movements denounced the US's crimes, demanded an end of the war, and opposed schemes of prolonging the war. They used slogans which demanded a real peace, freedom, and democracy.

In the face of heavy losses of US and Puppet troops and the great victories of our revolutionary forces in South Vietnam, our Government and the Alliance Front for National Democracy and Peace were established.

((Page 5 of Item 7 of O.T.))

We have gained great victories in the military, political, and diplomatic fields and have badly shaken the aggressive attempts of the aggressors and traitors. Their plan of aggression has been changed, they have to draw back step-by-step.

The vital interests of our people were injured, so the political parties and the various sections of the people resolutely rose up to fight the enemy. The middle class has increasingly joined our ranks to fight the traitors and aggressors. Recently, the Puppet progressive senators and representatives have voted to combat inflation and burdensome taxes.

The progressive people in the United States have fiercely spoken out against the dirty war in VN and demanded the return of their relatives many times; gathering signatures, staging sit-in demonstrations, and burning themselves ((sic)).

These are the highest forms of struggle that the US has ever had.

Our people, placed under the leadership of the Party, have national sovereignty; therefore, they have enjoyed strong approval and support from the people of the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

This policy line has been written down in the 10-point political program of the Front which was introduced along with the 12 points of the Provisional Government in the 16th Conference in Paris aimed at forcing President Nixon to proclaim the eight points.

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

((Page 6 of Item 7 of O.T.))

In view of our nation's history, we should seize every opportunity to urgently accomplish the important mission of our nation's history as well as of the National Liberation Revolution. Our immediate mission is to take advantage of our victories to dash forward, exert every effort to step up the General Offensive and Uprising more strongly, and frustrate the enemy's plans in order to gain greater and greater victories and to advance to the final victory in of SVN.

Because of the important mission of our nation's history and the specific situation at the present time, the Americans have been defeated very heavily while we have gained great victories.

Because of the vital interests of our people, open struggle in the cities is considered necessary. In addition our experiences in preparing for the battle, and our skill in taking advantage of the dissension among the enemy personnel, are necessary for us to struggle even in the enemy areas.

Considering the common task we should work out specific plans of activities for the legal and open struggle movement. This movement is considered as the movement of breaking the enemy's oppressive control, winning over the inhabitants, and fighting for welfare and democracy in all of SVN, especially in towns and cities. Therefore, this movement is also considered as a full-blown uprising which is to seize power in the future.

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

III. SPECIFIC MISSIONS:

- The training course should be conducted for personnel among the Chapter Party Committee, internal organization of the Party, and popular organizations, to infuse them with hatred and to denounce the monstrous crimes of the enemy. We should motivate a number of intermediate hardcore agents who can distinguish friend from foe to be determined to fight against the Americans in every possible way. Motivate the members among the Buddhist Association, the people, hardcore agents, and key monks, to promote hatred, to fight for liberty, and increase the three-prong attacks in order to restore peace.

- We should link up the Front with the organizations and troop proselyting sections to form the legal and open struggle leadership committee in the province capital.

- We should gain control of the monks in the sub-division of the Buddhist Association, the Association Chapter, and the Province Buddhist Association.

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

- Through youths, gain control of student, teachers, and intellectuals.

- Through the labor union gain control of the bourgeoisie, businessmen, and Chinese nationals.

- Through the soldiers' dependents, troop proselyting agents gain control of officers.

- Civilian proselyting personnel in every district, province capital, and village are responsible for selecting agents and introducing them to the Province Front Committee.

- From now to the end of the year, we must recruit 10 intermediate agents in the Buddhist Association, including monks, senior bonzes ((Buddhist monks)), and superior bonzes, in the Association Chapter, and in the Province Association. We must also recruit 10 intermediate agents, including students, intellectuals, and bourgeois.

((Page 8 of Item 7 of O.T.))

For every two agents there must be one hardcore agent. Two or three hardcore agents should be organized to operate under legal cover.

Legal agents should be assigned to maintain good communication and liaison.

Every intermediate agent should be responsible for motivating the people to participate in the struggle by various legal methods through lawful organizations such as the Labor Union, Buddhist Bloc, students of the laboring class etc...((sic))

Placed under the leadership of Van Chinh, the open and legal agitation section consists of Thuat, Yen, Thuan, Minh, Trung, Tinh Nieu, Do, and Phung.

The agitation section is located in the province capital Labor Union 1 in Z ((sic)) should be in charge of Youth Group and Women's Association to recruit two additional people, especially Buddhists to be in charge of troop proselyting.

- Organizations:

In the province, there are three agitation sections, including one illegal agitation section and two legal ones. In the district, there is one legal agitation section.

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

- The agitation sections should require the districts to report on the organizing of the Buddhist Association.

- Through the struggle movement, we should try to recruit agents as 47 ((possibly cover name of an agent)) has done.

((Page 9 of Item 7 of O.T.))

IV. SPECIFIC POINTS OF THE STRUGGLE.

Topics of meetings, talks, discussions, and interviews should be centered on the Front's 10 points and Nixon's eight points.

Posters, handwritten newspapers, and folk songs should be focused on denouncing US crimes and demanding an end to the war. Unmask deceptive propaganda schemes and expose the enemy because he has ruthlessly stopped all struggles for peace, freedom, and democracy. Try to discover crimes of enemy brutality and make him pay for his crimes. When having an opportunity to denounce enemy crimes, we should immediately initiate struggles. We should launch separate or collective struggles among social classes of all levels. We should employ propaganda activities to magnify the small mistakes of the enemy for one or several days. We should organize on-the-scene and face-to-face struggles ((open demonstrations)) at the district and province offices. We should organize legal, semi-legal, and illegal struggles.

- Oppose oppression, fines, and prohibition.

- Demand that they release Thich Thien Minh. Demand freedom to perform religious missions and to lead a religious life. Oppose Buddhist religious persecution. Demand to be returned to former villages in order to reconstruct old pagodas, establish Buddhist chapters, organize organize cults, and celebrate Buddhist requiems for the dead. Demand the restoration of peace and an end to the war in order to return to native villages to make a living.

((Page 10 of Item 7 of O.T.))

- Require the Puppet Government to promulgate labor laws and implement democracy.

- Oppose fines and acts of search and arrest of the people. Oppose officials who steal money from the people while searching their houses.

- Oppose orders of conscripting and strengthening troops.

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2-23-69

If there are any demonstrators wounded by the suppression, demand that the Government give them first aid. If there are any demonstrators who were arrested and put in prison, force the Government to release them, nullify their verdicts, restore their honor, and cancel actions of the arresting party.

Through struggles, isolate and eliminate bad individuals, and introduce good ones into the executive committees of unions, Buddhist organizations, Student Associations, and boards of directors of the secondary schools of Bô Đê, Nguyễn Huệ, and Trần Quốc Tuấn.

- Through struggles, develop and consolidate associations and groups in towns.

Struggle requirements should always be centered on the 10 points of the Front and Nixon's eight points.

((Page 13 of Item 7 of O.T.))

VI. MAINTAIN AND EXPAND THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE MOVEMENT. DEVELOP FORCES, AND PROMOTE VICTORIES.

- Develop the movement and turn it into a legal people's movement.

- Experiences gained from these struggles will help us lead the forthcoming struggles. We should work among the people, especially the middle class. The important task is to develop the revolutionary forces and the people's organizations such as Youth, Labor Unions, and Women's Organizations. It is also necessary to admit additional members to the NLF, and control businessmen, intellectuals, Puppet personnel, soldiers, and officers, so that they will side with us, support us, and participate in our struggles.

Purge enemy personnel and other people against us in cities and towns. At the same time, launch three-front attacks against the enemy to annihilate tyrants and break the enemy's oppressive control of the population. Intensify the movement of killing tyrants, gaining control of the people, demanding social welfare and democracy, and coordinating the three missions ((intensive military attacks, propaganda, and protest demonstrations)) of the three-front attack.

((Page 14 of Item 7 O.T.))

Make the struggle movement legal and lawful to gain "great-leap" successes in the future.

- Along with the motivation of struggles, strive to strengthen our organizations. The decisive character of the political struggle

CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2-23-69

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CDEC Doc Log No: 08-2023-69

movement in cities is to create overconfidence and sow contradictions among the enemy. At present, political struggles in cities require much capability. At this moment, the enemy is awfully afraid of the people's struggle movement, for he is basically in an unstable position. He is making efforts to terrorize and find ways to counter them. But we failed to create a favorable position for the people. Legal revolutionary forces and cadre were still weak. If we positively activate more forces, initiate them into actions, and have them continuously struggle and strengthen them, someday we can see them grow mature together with the Revolution. The people's political struggle will then go beyond the resistance of the enemy. We must violently launch three-front attacks in cities against the enemy.

((Page 15 of Item 7 of O.T.))

This is aimed at destroying enemy forces, especially annihilating tyrants, and regaining power over all agencies. Requirements should be adopted according to the real situation in each place. Three-front attacks should be performed successively without interruption. We must attack the enemy bravely, develop political and armed forces in cities, form leadership systems, and take control of the people's legal organizations.

----- END OF TRANSLATION -----