

In the face of the above-mentioned situation, the most urgent problem is to impart to [Party authorities of] various levels and all cadres and Party members a warm class feeling vis-a-vis the masses of workers-peasants and laborers and a correct concept of the [Party's] policy toward the masses; to teach them to firmly grasp the five steps of the revolutionary task; and to make use of and develop the role of revolutionary associations in the motivation of the masses.

2. We must urgently heighten civilian proselyting with the aim of meeting the following requirements:

First, the substance of civilian proselyting must reflect the Party's viewpoint on [social] class and the masses. It is necessary to firmly grasp the point that civilian proselyting is the act of motivating the masses to carry out the revolution and that it should originate from the interests of the class combined with the interests of other circles and characteristics as well as the level of the masses in each particular area at each particular time. We must closely attach the immediate interests of the masses to the long-range interests of the revolution so as to motivate the masses to work and fight with enthusiasm, and heighten the political awareness of the masses. We must eliminate the situation where tasks are imposed upon the masses from above which restricts the revolutionary self-enlightenment and aggressiveness of the masses, and isolates the motivation for the execution of the mission from the concern for the personal daily interests of the masses.

Second, slogans and means for motivating the masses must fit the interests and degree of [political] awareness of the masses. Every revolutionary activity must be carried out through educating and using the positive masses [i.e. sympathizers] to attract the large number of uncommitted and backward people; and only through the action of group members and association members motivating the large number of people within their circle and class can we achieve a movement of the masses. It is necessary to combat the tendency to act separately and to undertake isolated vanguard actions. We must have imaginative forms of operation appropriate to various types of people and areas in order to rally large numbers of peoples,

and we must eliminate the situation where our forms and methods of motivating the masses are poor and simplistic.

Third, the revolutionary associations of the workers, peasants, youths, and women must have a firm guiding system in order to develop their active role in motivating the masses and making the masses become conscious of the interests of their class and circle, and become attached to their groups. The Party must, through those revolutionary associations, provide leadership to the masses, classes and circles; Party Chapters and Party members must know the use of those associations in mobilizing the masses.

3. We must strengthen the guidance of civilian proselyting in accordance with the following essential contents:

a. Party committees must provide guidance to various associations, have for each period plans of activity conforming with the common direction, requirements and policy of Party committees, and, through this, develop the role and effect of these associations and consolidate and develop them. Party committee members in charge of civilian proselyting must serve as the key elements for collecting information on the situation of various associations, disseminating the Party's directives and resolutions to these associations, and guiding the coordination between the associations; and must actually guide a local area in order to gain experience.

b. The associations must actually become assault teams in political struggles and troop proselyting activities, and become a positive force in guerrilla war and in production. Through the realization of the above-mentioned tasks which are closely tied to that of caring for and safeguarding the people's livelihood, one must make review [of activities] and draw experience in order to unceasingly consolidate and develop one's association. It is necessary to reactivate and consolidate the association cells in a timely manner, get a firm hold of the executive committees and association cells in villages and hamlets, provide close guidance to their tasks and activities and, concurrently, recruit new members for these associations, particularly in the areas under enemy temporary control and in contested areas. Pay more attention to organizing and educating youths and teenagers; use many means

for rallying large numbers of youths and teenagers and place them on the revolutionary path; oppose enemy plots to conscript and corrupt [the youth].

c. Actively and urgently train, improve, and strengthen a large body of capable civilian proselyting cadres. Concentrate on training cadres at the infrastructure level and cadres operating openly under legal status in enemy-controlled areas. The training requires the thorough understanding of the above-mentioned matters. Avoid the movement of cadres which may upset the deployment of civilian proselyting cadres.

D. Intensify troop and enemy proselyting activities:

In troop and military proselyting activities, recently some areas and localities have made considerable progress, but the results are still unsatisfactory in comparison with the requirements and with the current collapsing status of the puppet troops.

The main reason is that the leadership and guidance of the various echelons with regard to troop proselyting and specialized organization are still too weak, and are not appropriate to the new situation and requirements. Troop proselyting has not yet become a regular task of [Youth] Group members, association members and combatants.

We must clearly realize the very great significance and advantages of the troop proselyting work during the coming period in order to strengthen our leadership and endeavor to create a truly strong transformation in the troop proselyting work. Our immediate mission is to do a good job of guiding the troop proselyting offensive in accordance with Directive No. 105/CTNT, in order to accelerate greatly the troop proselyting task in accordance with the urgent present needs and for future developmental steps.

Attention must be paid to the following matters:

a. The troop proselyting mission during the coming period is to make great efforts to promote a strong, continuous troop proselyting offensive against the puppet troops and the puppet administration, in coordination with military and political

offensives, in order to exploit the enemy's weaknesses, cause the puppet troops to suffer a serious decline in morale, disintegrate the enemy's organization, deprive the puppet troops of their sources of replacements, cause the puppet troops and administration to become increasingly weaker than us, and contribute to defeating America's plot to "de-Americanize" the war.

We must concentrate our guidance on the Mekong delta battlefield. We must fully exploit the enemy's confusion and weakness caused by U.S. troop withdrawals. We must inaugurate a truly strong mass movement, create a three-pronged encirclement and continually attack the enemy, causing them to surrender and destroying their posts.

We must give adequate attention to the [city] outskirts and the town and cities, especially Saigon and the other large cities. The troop proselyting activities in these areas must be directly guided by the Party chapters in [city] quarters and wards and in enterprises, in coordination with specialized troop proselyting cadres, in order to lead the people in conducting troop proselyting activities.

b. On the basis of strengthening and developing the mass associations, we must inaugurate a people's movement to do troop proselyting work, give guidance and assistance to puppet troops so they can desert, struggle under many forms and at various degrees of intensity, and urge the families of puppet soldiers and officials to demand that their husbands and sons [be returned to their families]. The organizations must assign one or two members of their executive committees to direct the troops proselyting work. (one committee member must be responsible for soldiers' families).

We must develop the troop and enemy proselyting capabilities of our main force units, and especially of the regional and guerrilla forces. We must closely coordinate combat activities of our troops with the activities of fifth columnists, as well as with the troop proselyting tasks.

In the coming period Party committees at all echelons and branches must initiate a strong movement against enemy conscription of youths and other people, in coordination with the annihilation of the enemy and destruction of his source of replacements. In this movement the Party committees must rely on the troop proselyting branch and on the mass associations, of which the Youth Group plays the dominant role.

c. In conjunction with the mass movement, dependents of enemy soldiers must carry out troop proselyting tasks by recruiting fifth columnists among the puppet troops and motivating other dependents to struggle for improvement of social welfare (housing, messing, rest, etc.). They should also motivate troops to desert their ranks and return home, demand peace, oppose the war, create military revolts, and serve as fifth columnists in order to annihilate or disintegrate the enemy's forces.

We must strengthen the enemy proselyting activities, cause the fighting spirit of American and satellite troops to become increasingly paralyzed, cause the troops to resist going on operations, demand peace, and demand that they be sent home; foment negative acts to keep troops immobilized.

d. We must strengthen the leadership of the Party committees with regard to the troop proselyting work, create specialized committee members and positively perfect the specialized organs, and enable the specialized organs to coordinate the broad mobilization of the masses in the troop proselyting work with keeping a close watch on their objectives. We must strengthen and train troop proselyting cadres in order to have sufficient forces for fulfilling the present mission and create a basis for creating major disintegration among the puppet troops after the situation undergoes major transformations.

III. ENDEAVOR TO DEVELOP THE ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ADMINISTRATION, STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP OF THE SECURITY WORK, PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC - FINANCIAL FRONT, ENDEAVOR TO EXPAND AND BUILD THE BASE AREA

A. Endeavor to Consolidate the Organization and Develop the Role of the Revolutionary Administration at Various Levels.

1. For more than a year we have, in addition to initiating a high tide of mass uprising and winning and expanding our political control, carried out a profound political campaign among the masses in order to set up a revolutionary administration at all levels. Now, most villages, districts, and provinces, and many cities and towns, have revolutionary administrations and in many places the People's Revolutionary Committees are beginning to carry out their role and missions.

Especially, at the beginning of June 1969, the South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives elected a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. The Provisional Revolutionary Government was immediately recognized by many nations.

Therefore, on the basis of long, difficult struggles, especially the 1959-60 simultaneous uprising movement and the General Offensive and Uprising, we have established a perfect system of revolutionary administration at all levels, which truly represents the people and has from the beginning occupied an important position in international relations.

This is a great political victory of our people. It has caused our people to become more enthusiastic and confident, and to struggle more enthusiastically to protect and consolidate their revolutionary administration. It has given our people an effective tool as a great political power to repress the enemy and destroy the puppet

administration, at the same time assembling more forces and developing our political prestige in the anti-American resistance for national salvation. Thanks to our revolutionary administration we have more favorable conditions for developing our people's prestige and position throughout the world.

The above victories have proved that our establishment of the revolutionary administration has met the urgent demands of the great masses of people. However, we still have some deficiencies, which are as follows:

-- After its establishment the administration at all levels, from villages to districts and provinces, was not truly developed to the necessary level.

-- The administration's activities have not fully manifested its close ties with the broad masses, and the administration has not achieved well regular reporting to the people.

-- The administration's apparatus and working methods are still beset with much confusion, despite much direction and guidance.

The principal reason is that the various Party committee authorities, although making great efforts to establish the administration, have not fully realized that the revolutionary administration is an effective tool of the Party which has an extremely important significance with regard to the new situation and missions, and therefore they have not endeavored to develop the administration's role. Relationships and working methods between the Party committees and the Government have not become firmly established; in many places Party Chapters have been afraid that if an administration is established their work will become more complicated, and do not see that the administration is a tool of the Party, and that if they would use and develop it, it would make the Chapters' leadership more comprehensive and concentrated, and that they would not become bogged down in administrative work.

2. We have established a sound revolutionary administration system. As a result, there are at present two administrative systems. That is a very new situation of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, and in our people's political life.

In order to achieve their basic plot of seeking every way to achieve neo-colonialism in the South and to achieve the immediate goal of de-escalation on a position of strength and the "de-Americanization" of the war, the American imperialists are now endeavouring to strengthen the puppet army and administration, to use the most obstinate, reactionary lackeys to feverishly carry out pacification, accelerate the setting up of village administrations, and attack, in hopes of annihilating, our bases, including the revolutionary administration.

For our part, the basic content of decisive victory is that America must withdraw all of its troops from the South and that our military and political forces must be stronger than the remaining forces of the puppet army and administration.

Therefore, in order to contribute to defeating the enemy's strategic plan and advance our General Offensive and Uprising to decisive victory, in addition to military and political offensives and the coordination of the three-pronged attack to win and expand our political control in most of the rural and urban areas, the matter of strengthening and developing the role of the revolutionary administration from the village level to the Provisional Revolutionary Government is a very basic and urgent requirement on the part of the entire Party and the entire population at the present time. At the same time, it is the strong building of an effective tool, an assured basis of support on which our people can defeat all black plots of the American imperialists and their lackeys after there has been a political settlement and coalition government.

The coming struggle between the revolutionary administration and the counter-revolutionary administration will be fierce and complicated, but there is already a clear tendency for us to be victorious and the enemy to be defeated. The various Party committees and sectors must realize clearly this important and urgent matter, so that they may strengthen their leadership and endeavor to consolidate and develop the role of the revolutionary administration at the various levels.

3. If this is to be achieved we must do a good job of the following:

a. With regard to the local administrative echelons:

Along with continuing to set up revolutionary administrations in places where they are lacking, or in newly liberated areas, the essential requirement in the immediate future is to concentrate and consolidate the organization, and endeavor to develop the role, of the revolutionary administration, in order to give a push to the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation.

Specifically:

-- Endeavor to improve the work content and working methods of the revolutionary administration, aiming toward the following requirements:

In the liberated areas in the delta and mountain regions, we must endeavor to develop the role of the revolutionary administration in mobilizing and leading the people to build combat villages; participate in people's guerrilla warfare; fight the enemy and protect the villages; fight reconnaissance and spy elements; maintain order and security; achieve democracy toward the people; mobilize and lead the people in accelerating production; improve the people's lives; promote cultural, educational, medical, and social work; build a healthy life and fight decadent, reactionary culture; positively contribute human and material resources to the

front; and build liberated areas and base areas that are perfect and strong in all aspects.

In contested areas, city outskirts and rural and urban areas which the enemy temporarily controls, or liberated areas into which the enemy has just encroached, the immediate requirement is to promote the three-pronged attack, annihilate the tyrants and destroy the repressive apparatus, and strengthen our forces in all ways in order to win and extend our political control. We must constantly stress achieving political control; the forms that the control and the organization of the revolutionary administration should take depends on the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy. We must avoid taking the liberated areas as the model.

Strengthen relationships between the revolutionary administration and the people. Indocrinate the administrative cadres of all levels so that they can fully understand the nature of the revolutionary administration, so that they may be close to the masses, be concerned with the benefit of the masses and follow the mass line, and make regular reports of their activities to the people. Where conditions permit we must resolutely organize democratic elections for administrative organs. We must resolutely overcome manifestations of bureaucratism, commandism and domineering manners toward the masses.

The administration must rely on the mass associations in mobilizing and leading the masses in strengthening their unity in combat and production, while closely coordinating and positively assisting the mass organizations.

-- We must urgently train and strengthen cadres of all levels and sectors of the administration, first of all key administrative cadres at the village and district levels. We must pay attention to widely employing training which is specific and closely led.

-- We do not advocate the setting up of People's Revolutionary Committees at the regional level. But at the present time, in each region there should be organized a representative committee of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of from two to three people, headed by a regional Party Committee member, in order to assist the Provisional Revolutionary Government in guiding provincial administrations, while also serving as an organ to assist the regional Party committee closely follow and guide the local administrative work.

b. Endeavor to develop the role of the Provisional Government.

In the immediate future we must do a good job of the following:

-- Establish government organs and apparatus to begin to carry out activities.

-- Begin to establish working procedures and work relationships between the various levels of the administrative system, from top to bottom.

-- Formalize rules and regulations which, due to the absence of a Government, have been promulgated by the Front or Party. Study, for the purpose of promulgating, a number of Government policies and regulations in order to be appropriate to the present situation.

-- Constantly propagandize and heighten the role and activities of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the various levels of the administration.

c. In order to assure the above requirements and tasks we must strengthen the leadership of the various echelons of Party Committees with regard to administrative work.

In the immediate future the various echelons must:

-- Endeavor to improve working methods and leadership practices of the various Party committees with regard to the administrative organs in order to assure the unified and concentrated leadership of the Party, while developing the role of the administrative organs.

-- Strengthen the leadership cadres of the administrative organs and build a Party governmental administration group at the various echelons.

Attention should be paid to the village, district and provincial levels. We must assign qualified cadres to lead the administrative organs. With regard to the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the administration in large cities, we must endeavor to strengthen their leadership in order to assure the political lines of the Party. But we must at the same time pay attention to the coalition factor and avoid tendencies toward both coalition which is not in accordance with principles or which is too restricted and beset with factionalism.

-- Strengthen the education and supplementary training of Party Chapters, and especially of Party Chapter Committee members, with regard to the leadership methods and working procedures of Party Chapters in relation to the administration.

B. Strengthen the Leadership of the Security Work and Defeat the Enemy's Espionage War. Preserve Order and Security for the People.

1. The American imperialists are very obstinate and cunning; although forced to gradually de-escalate the war they strengthen and expand their espionage war in order to serve their "hold and sweep" strategy and their pacification scheme, while actively preparing forces for long-term attacks against the revolution. They are embracing the tyrants in the puppet army and administration, endeavoring to rally the reactionary parties and factions and control the reactionary leaders of religious and ethnic groups. They are also seeking all ways to infiltrate spies into revolutionary organizations and our Party. Furthermore, Japanese, French and other spies are operating actively to achieve their own schemes.

Recently, the leadership of the security work at the various levels has had the following accomplishments, deficiencies and weak points:

-- We have annihilated or captured many security agents, intelligence agents, tyrants and secret informers. But we have not annihilated many leaders of the repressive organs and the reactionary political organizations, and we have not weakened the enemy's key forces.

-- The movement to guard against espionage and protect secrets has prevented, in part, the enemy's attempts to sabotage us, but it has not become an extensive and strong people's security network which is highly effective in guarding against and fighting the enemy.

-- Awareness of revolutionary vigilance is not profound and although the internal security work within the Party, organs and units has made progress, it is still beset with many deficiencies and laxities. The Party's organizational principles and activities, and the systems and internal regulations regarding anti-espionage and secrecy preservation work, have not been strictly enforced. The enemy has taken advantage of those deficiencies to attack and cause damage to us.

-- Although the various Party committee echelons have paid attention to leading the security work, their leadership is not tight and does not show deep understanding of the Party's basic viewpoints, lines, mottoes, and policies regarding the security work.

-- Although the security branch has made great efforts it has not kept up with the demands of the mission: its will to attack the enemy is not yet strong; it has not firmly grasped the missions, directions, and work contents; its mottoes and procedures are not appropriate to each locality; it has not coordinated with the mass associations and other branches; and it has not developed its specialized role to fight the enemy continually, comprehensively, and absolutely, or to assure our security.

2. The immediate mission of the security work is to: "Continue to motivate a broad and deep movement to guard against spies and protect secrets within the Party, within the revolutionary associations, and among the masses; defeat all of the enemy's plans and activities regarding espionage, infiltrated agents, and psywar surrender appeals; positively preserve internal security within the Party, the administration and the revolutionary associations; maintain order and security for the people; protect transportation corridors; serve the combat of the troops and the political struggle of the masses; contribute positively to over-throwing the puppet administrative system; and endeavor to prepare forces and conditions for advancing to the smashing of all the enemy's long-range plots and acts against the revolution."

In order to accomplish the above missions we must grasp firmly three requirements:

First, we must firmly grasp the direction of attacking key enemy agencies and espionage organizations in cities and towns, and in areas still controlled by the enemy, in order to step up the elimination of tyrants, serve the mass movement, positively investigate and grasp the enemy situation, and serve the requirement of repressing the enemy at present and in the future.

Second, we must firmly grasp the direction of consolidation and expansion in the delta and mountain regions; especially in the Mekong delta we must effectively carry out the security maintenance task, preserve order and security for the people, and suppress and destroy the enemy informants, security agents, and spies in order to expand and consolidate our rear area.

Third, fighting while building, we must constantly improve the quality of the security work, endeavor to build and develop security forces and machinery which are strong politically, ideologically and professionally, in order to take the initiative to fight the enemy under all circumstances.

3. We must perform well the following specific tasks:

a. Continue to promote the movement to guard against spies and preserve secrecy in all three regions in accordance with the motto: The Party Chapter leads, the masses achieve, and security gives specialized guidance.

-- The Party Chapters must strengthen their indoctrination of cadres, Party members and revolutionary associations regarding revolutionary vigilance and the enemy's espionage plots and activities, and constantly supervise the security maintenance task.

-- The executive committee of each revolutionary association must assign a member to take charge of the security maintenance task. He will guide the people in the struggle against enemy spies and psywar activities.

-- The security organ is responsible for guiding and supporting the security member of various organizations in matters relating to guarding against spies and preserving secrecy. It will provide the associations with documents and work experiences and train the masses in guarding against and fighting the enemy.

b. Improve the protection of agencies and units:

-- Party committees and the leadership committees of organs and units must resolutely carry out Directive No. 8/CTNT issued by C69. They must rapidly overcome deficiencies in vigilance against enemy activities. In urban areas we must comply strictly with the Party regulations for activities in enemy rear areas, and counter enemy schemes to plant his personnel in our associations. Units and organs must comply properly with the principles and regulations concerning precaution against spies and maintenance of secrecy, and air defense.

-- We must strengthen political and ideological indoctrination on revolutionary vigilance to resist enemy schemes to demoralize us and call upon us to surrender. We must consolidate the administration of our units and agencies.

-- Security agencies must increase the task of investigating the enemy situation in order to attack the enemy successfully and protect our forces.

c. Step up the destruction of tyrants.

-- We must conduct continuous and violent attacks in cities, weak areas, and areas surrounding the cities. Security agencies must coordinate with the people's armed and political forces to kill wicked tyrants and destroy the puppet infrastructure in order to return power to the people. Security agencies at all levels must try to kill enemy ring-leaders in the repressive organs, especially those who work in security and intelligence agencies and reactionary political organizations, in order to weaken and break up enemy forces.

d. Improve the quality of the Security Branch in the work of grasping the enemy situation, which includes investigating and studying the enemy situation, the espionage work, the reconnaissance and political protection work, and the work of researching, analyzing and investigating the security objectives. We must collect documents relating to security and espionage organizations, reactionary political parties and factions, and individual counter-revolutionaries and forward them to security organs. We must coordinate the relevant organs in order to investigate the enemy comprehensively and deeply.

e. We must carry out suppression that is appropriate to the target, appropriate to the crime, appropriate to the policies, and in accordance with the directives of C69. We must resolutely punish the obstinate individuals but spare those who were forced to work for the enemy. Absolutely do not arrest people without clear evidence.

4. In order to assure the above missions, requirements and tasks we must strengthen the leadership of the Party committees with regard to the security work. We must firmly grasp the security work, which is a sharp prong for attacking the enemy and serving the General Offensive and Uprising, and struggle to consolidate and defend the revolutionary administration and preserve order and security for the people. The Party committees must receive regular reports from the security branch and give specific guidance to the security work that is appropriate to the political missions of each locality.

At the same time, we must positively strengthen the security machinery at the various levels, first of all building strong village and hamlet security machinery, and gradually building the principal branches, consolidating the specialized leadership network to the lowest levels, and strengthening the communications and liaison work in order to assure timely grasping of the situation and guidance.

Endeavor to train strong ranks of security cadres. Pay attention to village and hamlet security and the principal specialized cadres. Firmly grasp the motto: make political and ideological education the base; constantly hold high absolute, revolutionary class standpoints and mass viewpoints, and awareness of organization and discipline; and strengthen the specialized work.

C. Endeavor to Promote the Comprehensive Development of the Economic-Financial Front.

For more than a year we have, in carrying out the COSVN resolutions, made great achievements on the economic and financial front. With determination to fight and win, and under the leadership of the Party committees, our people have bravely overcome the enemy's bombs and shells to produce and defend production, and have therefore been able to maintain the rear area's economic potential and contribute human and material resources to the resistance under the circumstances of the enemy waging extremely fierce attacks.

In places and at times the people have met difficulties, but in general their living standards have been maintained. The providing of supplies to organs and military units has continued to be assured. Furthermore, many localities have carried out economic and financial struggle with the enemy under many forms, thus causing the enemy further economic and financial difficulties.

The General Offensive and Uprising of our army and people have shaken the enemy's economic and financial base to its roots and brought it to the verge of collapse. The Americans and their puppets are endeavoring to exploit our people, while coming forth with deceptive tricks and false prosperity in hopes of saving the situation. At the same time they seek every way to create difficulties for us, such as encircling and destroying the economy of our base areas while actively making preparations on the economic and financial front to oppose us on a long-term basis after a political solution has been found; this they call their "post-war economic plan."

We have not paid adequate attention to our leadership of the economic and financial front. That leadership is still beset with many deficiencies regarding the Party's economic view points, directions and policies. First of all, many places still regard lightly their leadership of the economic and financial work, and dissociate the military and political struggle from the economic and financial work and the work of building up the rear area. In their economic and financial work the various echelons have not fully understood the spirit of attacking the enemy continuously and strongly during the General Offensive and Uprising stage; nor have they firmly grasped the long-range motto of self-reliance. Therefore, in many places and at many times the economic and financial offensive has been neglected and there has been a lack of determination in production leadership and the defending of production and in strengthening the people's capabilities and the material bases for the resistance, in union with the mobilization of human and material resources for the front. There has been excessive reliance on assistance from above and the principle of meeting needs on the spot has not been

positively achieved. Financial management is still lax and there are still many instances of waste and corruption. Guidance of the economic and financial work by the various echelons is still not comprehensive, specific and urgent.

In order to meet in a timely manner the great material needs of the immediate military and political missions, and at the same time create a basis for post-war development, we must comprehensively promote the economic and financial front in accordance with the following directions and missions:

From the strength of a military and political offensive, and in close coordination with the various aspects of that offensive, we must positively and urgently expand our economic and financial front; mobilize the entire Party, the entire population, and the entire armed forces to endeavor to make the fullest use of all capabilities, fighting while promoting and protecting production; maintain and develop the circulation of goods; and constantly be concerned with husbanding the people's potential, while correctly increasing the mobilization of human and material resources, concentrating them and assuring the various needs of the revolution. At the same time we must promote the economic and financial struggle against the enemy; destroy his war-related economic installations; and in places and at times surround and blockade the enemy economically in a flexible manner and in many forms; accelerate the puppet's serious economic and financial decline; and cause many more economic and financial difficulties for America, struggling to assure the immediate needs of the resistance while being aware of creating a basis for defeating the enemy on the economic and social front during the political struggle phase.

1. Strive to strengthen the overall leadership of the economic and financial task in the areas under our control, the rural areas in the Mekong delta and the base areas in the jungle-and-mountain area.

The delta of the Mekong River, and the jungle-and-mountain areas in Eastern Nam Bo and in the Western Highlands have a strategically important position, for these areas have great economic capabilities, can develop vigorously and quickly, and they not only can assure the supply of a large part of resources needed by the local areas and the whole South Viet-Nam to carry out the resistance war, but are indispensable foundations ensuring our success in our political and economic struggle against the enemy under whatever circumstances he may create.

In the task of building an economically and financially strong and stable rear, it is necessary to more thoroughly understand the policy set forth in the Resolution of the 6th COSVN Conference and satisfactorily carry out the following tasks:

a. Firmly grasp the point that all economic and financial activities are presently centered on the production of food and food products. This is a matter which concerns the survival of the people and the revolution, and is the foremost problem which must be solved in order to strengthen the economic potential of the resistance, preserve the people's force and ensure the availability of on-the-spot rear services and reserve stocks.

In the Eastern Nam Bo and the jungle-and-mountain areas we must make full use of all labor sources, resolutely struggle against the enemy, destroy all concentration camps, demand the return of the people to their former fields and gardens where they can make a living, and strive by all means to step up the production of food and food products in order to ensure self-sufficiency and high quality on-the-spot rear services. T₂ [poss. Region 2] and T₃ [poss. Region 3] must particularly concentrate their efforts to simultaneously carry out combat and production of foods and food products, maintain and improve the output of food production and animal husbandry, not allowing it to be on the decrease as in the present situation. The various organs and army units must take the responsibility of producing part of the food and food products for their own consumption.

At the same time, it is necessary to make full use of all capabilities to improve, reclaim and exploit all other resources such as forest products and sea products, and develop all branches of small industry and handicraft, the raw materials for which are available on the spot and the products of which are marketable.

Extremely close and timely leadership must be provided regarding the development and protection of production, and the struggle against natural disasters and enemy-inflicted calamities, for this [present] struggle is very fierce, complex and has a seasonal character. To realize by all means a situation where Party Chapters are clinging to the people, the people are clinging to their land, the guerrillas are clinging to the enemy, fighting the enemy while engaging in production and protecting production under enemy bombs and shells. Resolutely defeat the enemy in the field of production according to the theme: the fields and gardens are battlefields; hoes and plows are weapons; farmers are combatants; the rear area is emulating the front line.

It is necessary to continue to solve the land problems, pay attention to newly-liberated areas, correctly follow the Party's policies and lines, and ensure that the peasants can develop their production with peace of mind. In order to partly solve the crisis of labor force and reinforce step by step the spirit of mutual assistance and collective livelihood, it is necessary to provide guidance to the building, consolidating, development and increasing improvement of the work exchange teams, work rotation teams, and mutual cooperation teams in order to achieve higher output and income. Pay attention to combining the masses' experience with the guidance for the application step-by-step of inter-related technical methods aimed at exploiting the capabilities for increasing production which are still large in the field of agriculture.

b. Satisfactorily solve the problem of supplying food, food products and necessary industrial goods to various organs and army units; concurrently, to satisfactorily organize the circulation of goods within the liberated area as well as between our [liberated] area and the area under temporary enemy control in order to ensure the people's livelihood.

Sub-regions in sensitive areas and food-deficient areas, as well as organs and units located along the frontiers, must unite all responsible branches (rear services, supply and economy-finance councils) and master the principle of reliance on the masses in order to satisfactorily organize the purchase of food, food products and necessary industrial goods along with enforcing a tight control of exportation and importation, in order to oppose the enemy blockade and the infiltration of spies. To attain the initiative in all circumstances, it is necessary to step up the self-sufficiency production movement and, concurrently, to take advantage of the most favorable opportunities to purchase goods and satisfactorily accomplish the transportation of goods in order to ensure that we have enough necessary reserve stocks. Consolidate Supply Councils and closely link activities of the Supply Councils with rear service activities and economic-financial activities, in compliance with directives of TV [poss. the Standing Committee] of C.69.

It is necessary to broaden the circulation and exchange of goods within the liberated area. Where conditions permit, it is necessary to open and satisfactorily manage markets of appropriate sizes; to stimulate the circulation and consumption of goods produced in the liberated areas; to control goods brought into or out of towns and cities. It is necessary to gradually channel trade activities into organizations through the setting up and development of organizations dealing with collective supply and consumption and trade activities of the laboring people (principally in T₂ and T₃).

It is necessary to get the active role in the circulation and trade of goods between our area and the enemy area in a way which would give us advantages in the nature and prices of goods; do not let merchants and enemy regulations put us in a disadvantageous position.

It is necessary to educate the masses on the policy and spirit of economic and monetary struggles against the enemy: we only purchase the products necessary to [our] production and living and do not purchase luxury articles; we only sell to

the enemy-controlled areas the goods we need to sell. Particularly, the sale of food in T2, T3 and other areas where there is a food surplus should be closely guided; it is necessary to get a firm hold of various food stores and enforce a policy of winning over tradesmen in areas under enemy temporary control.

c. Correctly carry out the policy of financial mobilization and improve the management of financial receipts and expenses according to the principle of centralized financial management, to meet the [financial] needs of the principal war theater and, at the same time, create conditions for progressing step by step toward the establishment of an independent monetary and financial system of our own.

It is necessary to master the [following] concept: on the basis of carrying out the fighting, stepping up production, and preserving the people's force, while infusing a patriotic spirit in the people, we must motivate people of all strata to make appropriate contribution to the revolution, with a view to improving to a higher degree the capacity for financial self-sufficiency of the entire South Viet-Nam. Concurrently we must use [outside] aid very thriftily so as to timely meet the ever-increasing revolutionary requirements and have necessary financial reserves.

As regards the management of financial receipts and expenses, it is necessary to strictly follow the already-promulgated regulations, enforce receipts and expenses with a high economic efficiency, heighten [the sense of] discipline on financial matters, heighten the "self-help for self-improvement" spirit and the principle of centralized management of financial receipts and expenses; combat such tendencies as excessive reliance [on others], particularism, localism, and regionalism; and improve the organization and administration of financial receipts and expenses in organs and units where receipts and expenses are large in volume. Regarding civic and Party organs, authorities of various levels must resolutely reduce to the minimum the number of support personnel; regarding army organs and units, they must reduce the number of support and administrative personnel in order to increase the number of combat personnel; we must strengthen the control

on finance matters, heighten the sense of thriftiness as a criterion of revolutionary ethnics, and resolutely combat waste and corruption.

Especially, in the places where the people have important financial transactions which have given birth to loan-at-heavy-interest practices, (in T₂, T₃) it is necessary to proceed to the establishment of popular credit organizations leading to the setting up of credit cooperatives in order to mobilize the people's capital and use it for developing production, improving the circulation of goods and the living conditions of the rural population, combating loan-at-heavy-interest practices, and contributing to the realization of mutual assistance and solidarity in the countryside.

2. Attach particular importance to the economic and financial front in areas bordering the cities and contested areas, as well as in cities, municipalities, towns, and areas under temporary enemy control.

It is necessary to clearly realize that in areas bordering the cities and in contested areas, as well as in cities, towns and areas under temporary enemy control, economic and financial activities constitute a front of attack against the enemy and concurrently a front for strengthening our force, a very important front which is closely tied to military, political activities and the whole movement in the local area. To separate the economic and financial front from the military and political front is a mistake which will hamper the fulfillment of political tasks and limit the movement in areas bordering the cities, contested areas as well as cities under enemy temporary control.

Therefore, authorities of various levels must, in the future, firmly grasp [the following matters]:

a. Regarding areas bordering the cities and contested areas, on the basis of motivating and leading the masses to resolutely cling to their fields, gardens and production work, and taking care of the living conditions and defending the life

and property of the masses, we must motivate the masses to step up the three-pronged offensive to defeat the enemy's attempt at pacifying, concentrating the people, levelling terrain features and establishing white belts; to resolutely hold their ground in the areas bordering the cities; to win and keep the people's political control; and to firmly hold their territory. We must educate the people to make them clearly see the enemy's deceiving and demagogic maneuvers; lead the people in their struggle for freedom of circulation and freedom to make a livelihood or to carry out trade activities and in their struggle to destroy all forms of the enemy's control for tax collection; and, depending on conditions of each area, lead the people in enforcing a flexible economic encirclement of the enemy. Through education, we must heighten the [people's] patriotic spirit and hatred of the enemy and, concurrently with motivation, guidance and stepping up production and care for the masses' living conditions, we must motivate the masses to enthusiastically make contributions of material and human resources to the revolution in the forms of taxes and fund drives' proceeds which are placed under the centralized management of the revolutionary administration and Party committee authorities (in areas where revolutionary administrations have not yet been established). We must avoid the liberal launching of fund drives by various organs, units or localities, and forbid the practice of using the names of the administration or the Liberation Front to borrow the people's money in areas bordering the cities, in contested areas, and in cities and towns under temporary enemy control.

b. Regarding cities, municipalities and towns and areas under temporary enemy control: due to inflation, speculation, and corruption the cost of living in these areas has soared high, making the people's existence extremely difficult. Because of that, leading the masses in their everyday struggle for their livelihood and democratic rights not only is thrusting a very dangerous offensive prong at the enemy, but is also building a base for broadening the [revolutionary] movement and our forces in the cities and areas under temporary enemy control. Therefore, authorities of various echelons must pay extreme attention to leading the people's movement of struggle for their daily livelihood and democratic rights combined with their

struggle under other common political slogans. Concurrently, we must actively motivate and lead the masses to destroy the enemy war economy structures and rear service bases, combining regular daily sabotage activities with all forms of surprise attacks aimed at destroying or paralyzing these installations. It is necessary to constantly bare the U.S. neo-colonialist plots and maneuvers and expose and aggravate the rotten and subservient character of the puppet economic and financial system, which is certainly doomed to collapse.

Pay greater attention to the collection of financial resources in cities, for this financial operation also has a great political significance. Collection means must be varied and appropriate to various strata of people and a centralized management [of collection] must be enforced.

3. Further strengthen leadership and guidance for carrying out economic and financial operations.

Economic and financial operations have a very deep political implication for they can take care of our material needs and constitute an important offensive front against the enemy to secure immediate victories for the resistance war while at the same time creating [favorable] conditions for defeating the enemy in the forthcoming phase of political struggle. Because of that, while providing leadership and guidance, it is necessary to:

- Make Party committee authorities, cadres and members clearly realize the important significance of the economic and financial front and master the direction, mission, and policy as well as the basic concepts, of the Party regarding economic and financial operations.

- Strengthen the leadership provided by Party committee authorities along with developing the responsibility and competence of revolutionary administrations in the field of economic and financial activities; in the immediate future, urgently perfect the economic and financial machinery of the Party and [revolutionary] administration and urgently improve and train economic and financial cadres, particularly cadres

at the district and village levels. Concurrently, closely coordinate economic and financial operations with those of other related branches in order to develop the economy in our area and limit the enemy's economic activities.

- It is necessary to grasp the mass viewpoint and follow the [Party's] policy regarding the masses in all economic and financial operations. Guidance in economic and financial operations must be close, comprehensive and concrete.

- It is necessary to conduct a number of basic investigations on agriculture, industry, commerce, communications and transportation, currency ... which are necessary to the building and development of [our] economy and finance in the future.

D. Expand and Build Up Base Areas:

1. In the face of requirements in this new period of the revolution and with a view to obtain a strong position in order to win a decisive victory in the immediate future and create broad and firm foundations for future struggles, the task of widening and strengthening base areas for the revolution is an extremely important and urgent one. The basic requirement of this task is to turn our liberated rural lowlands and jungle-and-mountain areas into perfect rear bases which could provide assistance to each other, and are consolidated and strengthened in all aspects, with the aim to fully develop the role of the direct rear vis-a-vis the battlefield, to restrict the area under enemy control and block the enemy's sources of replenishment, giving us a sufficiently strong position to enable us to secure success under all circumstances.

2. The future direction [of economic-financial operations] is aimed at the following major areas of our war theater:

a. The delta of the Mekong River: on the one hand, to consolidate bases in the western zone; on the other hand, to destroy enemy forces while widening the liberated area, connecting bases in the western area of T₃ [Region 3] to T₂ [Region 2] (with separate regulations).

b. The jungle-and-mountain war theater: to build bases from Eastern Nam Bo to K.6 [poss. Region 6], connecting with the Western Highlands (with separate regulations).

3. Concerning the widening and strengthening of base areas, it is necessary to grasp the following problems:

a. Pay extreme attention to the building of the actual political strength in the liberated areas; to urgently perfecting and developing Party, Youth Group and mass organizations; to consolidating the [revolutionary] administration at various levels; to annihilating cruel and dishonest elements and wiping out the enemy spy network; and as soon as an area is liberated, to quickly bringing the masses back and making them cling to their fields, gardens and production work; and on such basis, to quickly consolidating and developing the Party and mass associations. In mountainous base areas, it is necessary to teach and correctly implement the [Party's] policy toward ethnic minority peoples; in the lowlands, to correctly implement the Party's policy vis-a-vis religions; and in refugee [resettlement] centers, to correctly implement the Party's policy toward refugees.

b. In [carrying out] combat action, it is necessary to closely associate the destruction of enemy forces with the liberation of important military sub-sectors and district capitals, leading to the liberation of a number of municipalities in order to create fully liberated areas as put forward in the part dealing with military activities.

c. On the basis of consolidating and developing [our] actual political strength, we must step up our military build-up, strengthen the militia-guerrillas and regional troops, build combat hamlets and villages in accordance with the conditions of every area and have plans for countering enemy sweep operations and defending the liberated area. On the various transportation and liaison corridors, the armed forces must be organized into combat sectors which are closely inter-related; liaison and transportation missions must be closely tied to combat and production missions.

d. Pay attention to strengthening the economy and stepping up production of the masses by means of providing capital, agricultural tools and technical guidance, and properly organizing the requisition-purchase and exchange of goods necessary to the masses' living, particularly in newly-liberated areas; gradually improve the living conditions of people in base areas, concurrently, pay much attention to developing cultural, health, social welfare activities. Each area must have concrete plans for every sector and must motivate the troops and various organs to participate in production for self-sufficiency.

e. Develop communication roads and water-ways, first of all roads leading to the Western Highlands, and from the frontier to Bien Hoa, Ba Ria, and Region 6. Have plans for repairing roads and improving communication by the combined use of rudimentary and mechanized facilities. In the lowlands, fully exploit waterways for communication.

4. In the organization of implementation measures, it is necessary to pay attention to the following matters:

a. Set up a guidance committee for the building of base areas for COSVN and for every locality. Party committee authorities must appoint capable members to take special charge of this operation.

b. In the building of bases in the mountainous area, it is necessary to rely on Regions 10, 6, 7 regional rear service groups and [infiltration] line units; tasks assigned to every local area and unit must be specific as to their contents.

c. It is necessary to have comprehensive and long-range building plans, and plans for gradual implementation [of building projects] which closely combine all aspects of [building] operations with those of various branches. Periodically, review of progress must be made so that timely plans can be worked out to ensure the satisfactory implementation [of building projects].

IV. MORE THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND THE STAND AND VIEWPOINT OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING THE PARTY IDEOLOGICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE SATISFACTORY FULFILLMENT OF [OUR] MISSION UNDER WHATEVER CIRCUMSTANCES.

Since the [launching of the] General Offensive and Uprising, every echelon of our Party body has made outstanding efforts, and obvious progress in various aspects of the task of strengthening the Party has been noted. Achievements and good points are basic factors. But in comparison with the requirements of the missions in the present revolutionary period, various echelons of our Party body still manifest in various aspects of their performance many serious deficiencies and weak points. If we have been unable to ensure the satisfactory fulfillment of our missions in the recent past, it has been because the awareness and thinking of various echelons of our Party body have not evolved in time to keep pace with the rapid developments of the situation; thus the implementation of the Party's policies, lines and strategic determination has been hampered. Besides, the slow progress in leadership and organization for [task] implementation has also directly affected the implementation of the Party's policies in the past.

Deficiencies in the task of strengthening the Party in the past have resulted from the following principal causes:

First, [Party personnel] have not firmly grasped and thoroughly understood the stand of the working class in the process of strengthening the Party ideologically and organizationally and, because of that, their ideological operations have not been penetrating, their organization has not been tight and their level of leadership and guidance for [task] implementation has made slow progress.

Second, [Party personnel] have not firmly grasped and thoroughly understood the line, precepts, and missions of the General Offensive and Uprising phase; they have not closely linked the task of strengthening the ideology and organization [of the Party] with the mission of our Party body in every

region, at every level and in every branch, and because of that, not only have they been unable to ensure the [satisfactory] fulfillment of their tasks but their ideological and organizational levels have not made timely improvements to keep pace with the requirements of the situation and missions.

Third, [Party personnel] have not firmly grasped the task of strengthening Party Chapters, which is the central point of the whole task of strengthening the Party; concurrently, they have not paid adequate attention to the task of perfecting the organization and methods of Party committees and upper branches in order to correctly handle the relationship between leadership and execution in the process of consolidating and strengthening the Party.

To overcome the above-mentioned deficiencies with a view to ensuring the fulfillment of the common missions of the Party, future activities in the task of strengthening the Party will be as follows:

- On the basis of thoroughly understanding the stand and viewpoint of the working class, continue to urgently step up the consolidation and strengthening of "four-good" Party Chapters; recruit more Party members and [Youth] Group members on a broad scale throughout the three areas and, at the same time, urgently improve their quality and make them stay close to the masses; firmly grasp that the task of consolidating and building Party Chapters is a central task and, concurrently, strive to perfect and rectify Party echelons and branches so as to make leadership and guidance comprehensive, concrete, and penetrating, actively and urgently improve and train cadres and boldly promote, protect, take good care of, and tightly administer them; heighten revolutionary vigilance; strengthen the task of defending the Party; and correctly enforce democracy and discipline within the Party, with the goal of making our Party body strong and stable in all aspects, in order to ensure the fulfillment of missions under whatever circumstances.

To realize the above-mentioned task, it is necessary to thoroughly understand and firmly grasp the following requirements:

1. Actively and boldly recruit Party and Group members throughout the three areas and stay close to the masses and lead them in the struggle against the enemy and in the execution of the Party's policies and lines.

Although the recruitment of Party members has rapidly increased in the recent past, it has not yet met the mission requirements and has not matched the popular movement in various areas. To meet the requirements of a stepped-up recruitment of Party members in the coming period, while providing leadership and guidance to the achievement [of the requirements] we need to pay attention to the following:

- Thoroughly understand the policy, line and political mission of the Party in organizational activities in order to step up the recruitment of Party members on a broad scale throughout the three areas; firmly cling to the masses in order to enable the leadership to step up the movement in every area and carry out the tasks of every area in the present and the future. Firmly grasp the recruiting requirements in various areas in order to step up the movement and rally the mass associations, and through the stepping up of the movement, strongly activate the recruitment of Party members.

- Firmly grasp the Party's viewpoint toward the masses and its class policy in order to activate the recruitment of Party members among the workers and laborers, landless and poor peasants, and lower middle class peasants; admit loyal and outstanding elements of various movements in cities and in the countryside, and those having close ties with the masses, so as to strengthen the nucleus of leadership among the masses and the movement.

- Pay particular attention to recruiting young members, female members, and members in ethnic minority and religious areas and within the armed forces, particularly among the militia-guerrillas.

- Step up the recruitment quantitatively but, at the same time, urgently improve the quality of new members. Combat narrow-mindedness and, concurrently, firmly grasp the criteria, principles, and procedures in the process of stepping up the recruitment of Party members.

- Thoroughly understand the guidelines and procedures related to areas bordering the cities, weak areas, and cities in the task of recruiting new Party members so as to ensure that Party agents can survive, stay close to the masses, and lead them in all circumstances.

- Provide education to every Party member at the infrastructure level to enable them to clearly realize their responsibility and possess knowledge to make propaganda for developing the Party. Proceed with the recapitulative assessment of the recent recruitment of Party and Group members of the Ho Chi Minh class and prolong the campaign until June 1970. Strictly follow principles and procedures related to the recruitment of Party members, in order to prevent possible infiltration of bad or enemy elements into the ranks of Party members. Concurrently with activating the recruitment, improve and tighten in all aspects the management of Party members.

- Party committee authorities must improve and further tighten their leadership in the task of developing and consolidating the Party's strength. Authorities at every level and every area must have concrete plans and measures for the implementation [of the above-mentioned task]. Enforce tight control, provide constant prodding, gain experience and disseminate this experience in a timely manner, to step up the development of the Party and ensure the good quality of development. Closely following and firmly grasping the situation of Party development and consolidation is an extremely important task for which Party committee authorities must provide close leadership and guidance.

2. Continue to urgently carry out the consolidation and building of "four-good" Party Chapters with a view to making our Party body at the infrastructure level strong and stable in all aspects, in order to ensure the fulfillment of our mission under any circumstances.

In order to continue the execution of Resolution 8 pertaining to the consolidation and building of "four-good" Party Chapters, it is necessary to meet the following specific requirements in future activities:

First, make Party Chapters realize and thoroughly understand the policies, guidelines and strategic determination of the Party; clearly realize the missions of Party Chapters in each area; firmly grasp and properly apply the guidelines and methods of struggle and organization to the situation of each time and place in order to step up the three-pronged offensive movement and make it become strong and stable and advance steadily. Through this, strive to build and develop [our] real strength in all aspects.

Second, make Party Chapters in every area, under whatever circumstances, closely cling to and deeply penetrate the masses; know how to make propaganda and motivate and organize the masses; lead the masses in their struggle and care for every aspect of their life; provide leadership to the realization of the "three-cling to" principle (the Party Chapter clings to the people; the people cling to their land; the guerrillas cling to and fight the enemy); and lead the struggle, production, and solidarity movements. Party cadres and members must fully play a vanguard and exemplary role in order to stimulate and lead the masses in the realization of their mission.

Third, Party Chapters must work out resolutions and plans which are comprehensive, realistic, accurate, and must strictly and correctly implement them; combine directives and resolutions of higher echelons with their own situation and missions in order to work out appropriate guidance plans; firmly grasp the central and key point and, on each occasion, coordinate it with other activities in the task of implementing [their projects]. Thoroughly understand the Party's policy and viewpoint concerning the masses in the process of working out and implementing resolutions; lead and develop the role of the various organizations, branches, and village and hamlet administrations, in order to deeply permeate the masses with the Party's policies and resolutions and provide leadership to the masses for the successful implementation of these policies

and resolutions ; and lead the movement of preserving secrecy against dishonest elements and combating enemy spies.

Fourth, through the accomplishments of the Party Chapters' assignments, try to heighten the ideological, organizational and leadership levels and guidance in policy implementation; to consolidate the worker class standpoint and the Party's viewpoint on the masses; and to strengthen solidarity and unanimity within Party Chapters.

In our guidance of policy implementation, we must master the following points in order to fulfill the above requirement :

- Steadily link ideological and organizational building with actual responsibilities of the Party Chapters of each area in order to secure the achievements of their assignments.

- Building and strengthening Party Chapters should be associated with waging the three-pronged attack on the enemy and with the building and strengthening of mass organizations, technical branches, and village and hamlet administrations.

- The consolidation of Party Chapters should be carried out along with the perfection of the various Party committees of the upper level, especially at the district level.

- Guidance for policy implementation requires specific and accurate directives to suit the Party Chapters of every area and of every kind. It also requires keeping abreast of the situation, gaining experiences and disseminating them in time.

- Party committee authorities must carry out a monthly review of the situation, make a preliminary report on the results pertaining to the building and strengthening of the Party Chapters every three months, and forward it to higher echelons. District and Provincial Party committee authorities must closely review the situation regarding strengthening Party Chapters, in order to work out a plan for furthering [that task] more concretely. They should also endeavor to have at least one-third of the Party Chapters of their respective areas fulfill the "four-good" norms by early 1970. In the process of strengthening Party Chapters, if we link ideological

and organizational building with specific assignments which meet the requirements of each Party Chapter, it is to be expected that even weak Party Chapters might fulfill the "four-good" norms.

The villages and hamlets which do not have [Party] sympathizers or Party members must endeavor to recruit sympathizers and Party members in every part of their areas. Those having one or two Party members should proceed to the formation of a Party Chapter. In cities, each enterprise, workers' area, school, and market should build up a Party Chapter or at least have in-place Party members. (The formation of Party Chapters should be tackled in compliance with professional branches, enterprises, schools, groups of houses, and markets.)

3. Strive to improve and strengthen the organization and procedures of the various Party committees and branches with a view to heightening leadership and having over-all practical and accurate guidance.

The perfection and correction of the organization and procedure of various echelons are aimed at the following objectives: heightening the over-all leadership level; providing accurate guidance; having practical implementation of policy, deep understanding of primary targets, accurate guidance for secondary targets, well-timed exploitation of the situation, and close coordination; proceeding in compliance with plans and schedules; following closely policy implementation; keeping abreast of the situation; delivering accurate and detailed reports in time; heightening Party committee authorities' leadership in the various branches of the horizontal chain of command; improving guidance given to the various branches in the vertical chain of command; having rational allotment of work; improving collective leadership; stressing responsibilities; and eliminating authoritarian, perfunctory, impractical and unpopular procedures.

To fulfill the above requirements, it is recommended that, in the process of perfecting and correcting [our organization], ideological and organizational building should be linked with the specific missions of every branch and echelon. They will help to heighten the leadership level, to conduct organizational work

more scientifically and to improve procedures and behavior for the fulfillment of responsibilities. It is also recommended that careless, slow, unscheduled procedures be avoided, and that, on the basis of linking ideological and organizational problems with specific missions, collective leadership be improved, individual responsibilities be enforced, leading and guiding capabilities be developed, and that criticism and self-criticism in the review of activities regarding the implementation of policies, resolutions and plans of each phase be emphasized.

- Accelerate the elections of Party committees. By early 1970, elections of district and province Party committees should be completed.

- Promote democracy and discipline in the Party's ranks and establish control sections from COSVN down to region and province.

4. - Strengthen the cadres' ranks and improve their number and quality, in order to guarantee the achievement of present and future missions.

Party committee authorities and various branches must thoroughly understand the cadre policy of the Party. They should boldly promote the cadres coming from the worker and peasant classes. At the same time, cadres coming from other social classes who have gone through trials and who have good relationships with the population should also be promoted, especially female cadres, young cadres and ethnic minority cadres. While promoting cadres, attention should be paid to their capabilities and ethics as well as to the assurance that they can fulfill their new responsibilities. Promotion should go along with improvement and control in order to help the promoted cadre fulfill his responsibility.

- Through struggles and performances, endeavor to indoctrinate the cadres, to improve their worker class standpoint and their mass viewpoint, to raise their ethics and their revolutionary qualities, and to reinforce their determination to win, in order to help them achieve their assignments in every situation.

- Actively and urgently train and improve cadres for various branches and echelons. Pay due attention to the formation of infrastructure cadres, young cadres, female cadres, ethnic minority cadres, religious cadres, cadres having a legal status, in-place cadres, and native cadres. Cadres should be trained for our immediate and future requirements. The training and improvement of cadres can be realized through indoctrination courses, in-service training, discussion of specialized topics, and coaching while on duty. Proper attention should be paid to political indoctrination and complementary education for cadres coming from the worker and peasant classes, as well as for mature cadres.

Every echelon and branch needs specific plans to train and improve its cadres. Party committee authorities should carry out close leadership and constant control in the execution of the Party's cadre policy.

- Endeavor to protect and preserve the cadres and to secure an execution of the policy concerning female cadres. Every echelon and branch should thoroughly understand the Party's principle of centralized management of cadres and delegation of authority in cadre management in order to ensure good management of the cadre and successful implementation of the Party's cadre policy. Solidarity among the cadres should be constantly enforced.

- Assignment, transfer and use of cadres should be carefully planned, in order to guarantee the success of our immediate mission and at the same time to prepare for any shift to a new phase.

5. - Improve the task of protecting the Party

The enemy is most insidious and wily in his efforts to harm the Party in the present as well as in the future. Therefore, every echelon should increase its vigilance and pay much attention to the task of protecting the Party.

- Cadres and Party members should be indoctrinated regularly and in time. Their ideology and class standpoint should be strengthened, and their political vigilance with respect to the protection of the Party should be heightened.

- Respect every principle; execute procedures; and comply with every norm relating to the expansion of the Party, the enrollment of personnel, the choice of candidates for training as cadres of various branches, the promotion of cadres, the way of giving assignment to those cadres who have just returned from jail, and the system of filing and preserving documents, of keeping the secrecy of the Party's policies and lines, the protection of cadres, organs, units, the tight management of cadres, personnel, combatants ...

6. Strengthen organizational sections of every echelon. First, strengthen the Party committee members' direct leadership, increase virtuous, capable cadres in organizational sections at various echelons, and train cadres to become specialists in order to give organizational sections enough capabilities to assist Party committee authorities in their mission of building the Party.

V. DEVELOP THE POSTURE OF INITIATIVE AND OFFENSE ON THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRONTS TO SECURE SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PARTY'S POLITICAL MISSIONS IN THE PERIOD TO COME.

A. The U. S. imperialists are forced to de-escalate the war step by step, but they still intensify political and intelligence warfare with a view to reassure the puppet administration and army, to reduce our people's determination to fight, and to prevent overall crumbling on their side. Their massacres and savage repression, added to their most wily and sophisticated schemes aiming at threatening, pressing, deceiving, inveigling, and buying off our cadres, Party members, combatants and our people only illustrated the passive and defensive nature of their situation. Although their schemes have caused some definite damages and difficulties to us, they have been violently countered by our people and will be completely foiled.

Since we entered the General Offensive Uprising period, on the political and ideological front we have held firm and have constantly developed our initiative and offensive. Through an over-all review of our Party, we can be proud to assert that the absolute loyalty towards the Party and the people, the confidence in the Party's lines and policies and in the success of the Revolution, the determination to fight to overcome every difficulty in order to achieve the missions assigned by the Party, the desire to defend the people's interest, and the determination to serve the people, have been the leading features of our cadres and Party members' ideology.

However, beside the above-mentioned basic good points, a certain number of cadres and Party members have displayed, in some places and at different occasions, their lack of confidence in the Party's lines and strategic determination. They have shrunk from duties, turned rightist, feared violent fighting, resented sacrifices, doubted the people's revolutionary capabilities, hung back, relied on others [for the pursuance of the Revolution] and entertained peace illusions. They have lacked spirit in the performance of assignments and determination in combat. They have held loose concepts toward the Party's organization and discipline, and have dodged Party activities. In some very particular cases some members have surrendered to the enemy and perpetrated traitorous misdeeds which hurt the Party and the people.

That situation originated from many causes and part of them are related to political and ideological activities which still suffer the following shortcomings:

First, the thorough indoctrination in the strategic determination and the basic problems of the General Offensive and Uprising period is still sluggish, although some efforts have been made. This indoctrination has not yet reached down to Party Chapters, Party members, and the masses. The lower the echelon, the scantier has been the attention paid to it. Therefore, although cadres' and Party members' comprehension level was indeed heightened after each indoctrination session, it has not matched the rapid evolution of the situation,

and the changes in organizations, procedures and behavior were even slower.

Second, the nature of the struggle is fierce and complex; the enemy's psychological warfare is continuously waged but the ideological operations of various echelons is superficial, incomplete, and not in time. We have not mastered and have not followed closely the evolution of Party members' and the people's ideology; we have not fully exploited our victories and our advantages in the performance of our political and ideological tasks. Meanwhile, we have not succeeded in making the activities of Party Chapters, Party cells and mass associations more vivid, and in infusing deep political thoughts to make them more enlightened in order to timely destroy the enemy's reactionary arguments.

Third, the guidance to the Propaganda and Indoctrination branch as well as the Propaganda Indoctrination machinery was poor. It could not meet the present requirements.

In order to ensure the achievement of the great responsibility of securing a decisive victory in the coming period, to foil every scheme, every evil trick of the enemy in the process of his de-escalation and the shift to political struggle, what is most important and decisive is to increase the subjective efforts of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole people. Of these efforts, strengthening ideological leadership is most important. The nearer the success of the struggle of our army and our people is, the greater the opportunity, but difficulties, fierceness and complexity also increase. So, ideological operations should be very wide and profound, tightly controlled, incisive, well timed and very concrete.

In view of the situation and of the above requirements, the responsibilities of political and ideological operations are:

- To go all out in increasing political and ideological activities in the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole people. Be determined to overcome every difficulty in order to have the meaning and the contents of the present COSVN resolution reach down to Party Chapters and Party members;

to make everyone aware of the basic problems of the General Offensive and General Uprising phase; to accurately assess the enemy and ourselves; to clearly see the new factors of the present situation; to thoroughly grasp the direction, the responsibilities, and the steps of the upcoming revolutionary struggle; to heighten class enlightenment; to build up the worker class standpoint and to make it resolute and stable in every situation; to foster the thoughts of absolute and non-stop revolution; to stimulate the offensive spirit of hitting the enemy hard and continuously in any combat position; and to honor the revolutionary tradition of each area and each unit. With all that in mind, consolidate our determination, make outstanding efforts, dash forward on the momentum of our victories, overcome every difficulty, seize and create opportunities, and make the best contribution to the General Offensive and Uprising. Score a decisive victory, which is the primary condition in achieving the proposed goals of the revolution in the South. Meanwhile, be ready to defeat the enemy in case they try to prolong the war.

B. In order to fulfill the above responsibility, upcoming political and ideological tasks should have the following contents:

1. Carry out a broad reindoctrination study phase in the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole people, and form an enthusiastic and encouraging atmosphere to dash forward to brilliantly achieve every mission assigned by the Party.

Ideologically, it is required to perform the following five "builds" and five "opposes".

a. Build up an unshakable worker-class standpoint reflecting the following attitude: front-line struggle; total revolution; fighting until death for the benefit of the class, the nation, the masses; unaltered confidence in every situation; firmness of viewpoint and principles; thorough understanding of the objectives of the present revolutionary period, with flexible application of the policy to gain success step by step and hold back the enemy step by step; and constantly promoting the revolution.

Oppose any manifestations of shrinking, rightist attitude, fear of war fierceness, or resentment of making sacrifices;

overcome any loosening of vigilance and underestimation of the evil schemes and tricks of the enemy's psychological warfare, poor discrimination between friends and foes. Oppose any thought of isolation, narrow-mindedness, mechanical rigidity and also oppose the tendency of paying much attention to policies while neglecting the matters concerning viewpoint and principles.

b. Build up a viewpoint of absolute and uninterrupted revolution, a firm determination to fight and a resolute and continuous offensive spirit, always availing oneself of new opportunities, gaining new successes and helping the revolution accelerate.

Oppose any inclinations to relax and to rest, to reduce the fighting determination, to entertain peace illusions, any hanging-back attitude of expecting the end of hostilities to come soon, any tendencies to be content with partial success, and to be heedless of dashing forward to reap greater success.

c. Build up revolutionary virtues, which are industriousness, thriftiness, honesty, righteousness, justice, and impartiality; build up revolutionary heroism and heighten the revolutionary pride of Party members; and place the interests of the revolution and the Party above personal interests.

Oppose any manifestation of individualism, of vainglorious attitudes regarding compensation and pleasure; oppose waste, corruption and licentious behavior, which causes us to lose revolutionary quality.

d. Build up a firm viewpoint towards the masses, have confidence in the masses' revolutionary capabilities, rely on the masses, have good relationships with the masses, and take care of the masses' material and spiritual interests.

Oppose any bureaucratic and authoritarian thought, any aloofness from the masses, any disbelief in the masses' revolutionary capabilities, and any slackening in caring for their interests. At the same time, oppose any tendency to court the masses' favors and endeavor to stick to the working class and Party standpoints whenever the need of solving problems pertaining to the peasants' interests arises.

e. Build a high sense of organization and discipline, a spirit of strictly carrying out all directives and resolutions; enforce a system of requesting instructions and submitting reports; build a sense of urgency and an attitude of flexibility based on the maintenance of the underlying principles, an attitude which goes with the masses, and relies on the masses' groups and organizations to push forward the Revolution.

Oppose any manifestation of undisciplined freedom, tendency to care only for one's convenience, narrow-mindedness, regionalism and failure to comply with the Party's principles and regulations. Oppose a perfunctory and superficial attitude which does not rely on and use the mass associations and organizations to carry out revolutionary tasks. The contents of "five-builds and five-opposes" are closely related to one another and form a unified body; none of its aspects is less important than the others. But points 1 and 2 are two basic subjects, the key to our present political and ideological operations.

2. Launch a wide-spread political campaign among the population, under the motto "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom; fight until the Americans get out and the puppets fall". Determined to overcome any difficulty, we must make the most use of any regional advantages in order to carry out this political indoctrination campaign.

The requirements are to make everyone thoroughly understand the determination to struggle for a final victory, to promote a determined-to-fight and determined-to-win spirit, to continuously attack the enemy, to be ready to overcome any obstacles in order to accomplish one's duty, and to actively contribute wealth and manpower to the resistance.

In order to reach this objective, the content of the study and of the motivation must closely combine patriotism and deep hatred for the American aggressors and their country-selling lackeys with the ideological education of the working class. The subject of class and nationalism must be taught according to the viewpoint and concept of the working class. On this basis, cause the masses to clearly distinguish the natures of the two regimes, the two paths, the two governments and the two armies: on one side it

is patriotism, revolution, and serving the people; and on the other side it is country-selling and opposing the people.

Closely combine the study and motivation with the realization of the immediate political task; transform determination into concrete revolutionary action in the three-pronged struggle, in production, in the building up of revolutionary associations, in enlisting in military service, and in making contributions of wealth and manpower to the Resistance.

The forms of organization and motivation must be broad, deep, and appropriate to each area and target. Make the most use of the Liberation Radio.

3. Actively and continuously push forward the propaganda offensive against the enemy.

React positively to the enemy's plots and psywar tricks in a studied way and with sharp arguments so that the masses, especially youth and women, see clearly the nature of these plots so as to enable them to resist them on their own. Concurrently, play up our military, political, and diplomatic victories and the enemy's defeated and deadlocked position (such as the 10-point solution, the emergence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the withdrawal of American troops, etc....) in order to press attacks against the enemy in the political and ideological fields, isolate the imperialist Americans and their obdurate puppets, aim our attack at the alarmed state of mind and the defeatism of the puppet army and regime, and at the same time heighten the enthusiasm and confidence of the masses, show revolutionary pride and win over the intermediate classes of people.

In carrying out the propaganda offensive against the enemy, we must pay all-out attention to grasping and using the open press.

Strengthen the propaganda work abroad in order to win over the sympathy and support of socialist countries and the world people, including the Americans. At the same time we must use these facts to further motivate our people to accomplish their task.

4. Associate the contents of propaganda training work with the requirements and mission of each area.

In the present situation, in order to contribute to the accomplishment of the mission of the entire Party, army, and people, the propaganda training activity must meet the needs of "developing an overall, continuous and strong strategic offensive position in the three strategic areas."

a. In the cities: particularly in Saigon-Cholon, the political and ideological task must regularly point out the enemy's plots, tricks, and crimes in general and the enemy's crimes against each class of people in the cities; concurrently, we must point out the enemy's defeated and deadlocked position. On this basis, heighten the people's hatred of the enemy and their revolutionary determination; resolutely advance the struggle from a low level to a high level, advancing from ordinary slogans of democracy and people's welfare, combined with common political slogans, to the forms of violence, uprising, etc. Oppose pacifism, legalism, and stand-patism, and being satisfied with low level [i.e. not advanced] forms of struggle, not daring to advance the movement. Emphasize the teaching of revolutionary pride, rules of secrecy, and compartmentalization between cadres, party members and sympathizers.

b. With regard to the area bordering the cities, the intermediate areas and areas adjacent to the strategic communication axes, the indoctrination and propaganda task within the Party and population must aim at building a spirit of holding the ground with tenacity; building determination to fight; continuously attacking the enemy with the three-pronged attack; eliminating traitors, tyrants, and spies; and building a spirit of solidarity and mutual assistance, in order to tenaciously produce and protect production, maintain and develop our real revolutionary strength, win and keep our position of political control, and maintain and raise high the political prestige of the people.

c. With regard to the liberated areas in the Mekong delta. The present important requirement of this area is to impart to the peasants the working class spirit of absolute and uninterrupted revolution. On this basis, heighten the

fighting spirit and determination to continuously attack the enemy; heighten class solidarity and friendship and the spirit of mutual assistance in rural areas; smash all enemy psywar, technical, economic schemes and depraved culture in the rural area; develop revolutionary pride; bring forth a high popular movement in the liberated area; activate fighting and production in every aspect; improve living conditions; and contribute wealth and manpower to the resistance.

d. In the jungle-and-mountain area; the political and ideological task must be aimed at building a spirit of self-reliance and self-support, overcoming all difficulties and hardships, heightening zeal and determination to build, protecting and widening the revolutionary base area, protecting corridors, increasing production, and improving the material and spiritual lives [of the people], particularly the cultural, health and educational aspects, etc. . . . Strive to build a spirit of solidarity and love between various nationalities, especially between lowlanders and highlanders, making the people of all ethnic minorities become more attached and faithful to the Party and to the Revolution. Guard our cadres and Party members against the superior race complex and against racial prejudices. Be determined to smash any enemy schemes to sow division between people of different nationalities, between lowlanders and Montagnards, and other enemy schemes designed to entice and deceive the ethnic minorities.

5. Urgently promote the training task in order to train, educate, and supplement the Party cadres, associations and various branches and echelons in all political, cultural and professional aspects, in order to meet the great and urgent needs of the present and in the future:

The basic problem is to strive, through the execution of the Party's policies and resolutions, to heighten the ideological and work levels of the cadres and Party members. As an immediate objective; we must thoroughly understand the spirit and contents of the resolutions adopted at this time by BCT [poss. the Politbureau] and TUC [poss. COSVN] in educating and training of cadres and Party members. We must impart to the Party committee authorities a way of activity with a strong

sense of political leadership: when setting forth a plan of action, they must carefully study the resolutions and instructions from their superiors and concretely analyze the situation of the area concerned so as to apply their superiors' policy with thoroughness and creativeness; once they come up with a policy and plan, they must hold training and indoctrination sessions to prepare the cadres for the task; and in the process of implementing a plan, they must make preliminary and recapitulative assessments and disseminate experiences in order to improve leadership and guidance.

We must combine on-the-job training with constant strengthening through work, living, and instruction from above, including the newspaper Tien Phong and the opening of schools of various levels. The schools must be organized concisely, be short-term, have assured security, and be appropriate to the local circumstance; curricula must be unified in accordance with Circular No. 83/CTNT of COSVN. We must avoid the tendency toward size and form, of thinking only of schools but regarding lightly other forms; and at the same time we must avoid neglecting study in order to be concerned only with immediate tasks. Pay attention to political and cultural supplementation for worker and peasant cadres, and for adult cadres.

C. Strengthen the leadership of Party Committees toward the propaganda-training task.

The present situation of the revolution demands that the various echelons further strengthen their leadership of the propaganda-training task. We must assure the truly tight and timely grasping of ideological developments among Party members and cadres of various echelons, have plans for giving specific ideological guidance and resolving ideological problems and for giving real assistance to cadres and Party members in each area and place, and at each time. We must cause the ideological work to be of real service to the needs of the Party's political missions in each area and at each time; cause all Party policies, instructions, and resolutions to be thoroughly understood down to the Party Chapters and Party members in the shortest time; assure that the activities of the Party Chapters and the mass associations are regular and have tight contents; and cause the

determination of upper echelons to quickly become revolutionary acts on the part of Party members and the masses. In order to help the Party committees strengthen their leadership of the propaganda-training task, we must urgently consolidate the Propaganda-Training Sections at the various levels, assure that direction from above is fully understood, and assure that the propaganda-training apparatus is strong enough to fulfill its mission and that it is appropriate to the special characteristics of each area. At the same time, we must endeavor to mobilize and utilize the mass associations, the armed forces, teachers, and pupils in schools, the medical aid branch, etc., so that they may participate positively in the mass propaganda and education work. We must closely coordinate the activities of the Propaganda-Training Sections with the Organization Sections at the various levels, the activities of the Party Propaganda-Training Sections and the Army Propaganda-Training Sections, and among the propaganda-training sections of the various sectors and mass associations. We must go all out in developing the propaganda, motivation, and organization roles of the newspapers of the Party and the [mass] associations at the various levels. Only if the foregoing is accomplished can we create a united strength to struggle strongly with the enemy on the political-ideological front.

Comrades !

During more than a year of General Offensive and Uprising our people have won very great and glorious victories. We are now standing before a great opportunity to advance the General Offensive and Uprising to decisive victory.

The American imperialists have been forced to de-escalate the war. But they have not yet given up their aggressive plot in the South of our nation and are making new efforts to hold onto the South and achieve their policy of neo-colonialism.

The struggle between ourselves and the enemy during the decisive stage will be extremely violent and complicated, and demands that we overcome many difficulties and challenges; but our advantages are very basic and are greater than ever; the American imperialists and the lackey puppet administration are meeting difficulties that cannot be overcome.

At this historic time COSVN appeals for the entire Party, the entire armed forces, and the entire population to hold high the absolute revolutionary spirit of the avant-garde class, develop to a high degree revolutionary heroism and our people's tradition of never yielding, advance on a wave of victory, overcome all sacrifices and hardships, make extraordinary efforts, resolutely and at all costs achieve the important immediate missions, develop the offensive position comprehensively and continually in all three strategic areas, and be determined to win decisive victory during the coming period. These are very basic conditions for advancing to the achievement of the goals of the Revolution in the South: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and eventually the peaceful unification of the Fatherland.

July 1969

Copies to:

Command Headquarters; Military Staff; and Political and Rear Service Departments [of the Liberation Army of SVN.] Propaganda-Training, Education-Training, Security, and Economic Sections; Party School; Forward Command Committee; Finance and Civil Health Sections; Supply Council.

Communication and Postal Section; Fronts 1 + 2; Women, Youth, Peasants, Workers, External[Affairs of the NLF], Chinese, and Troop Proselyting Sections; Democratic Party [Central] Committee; Research Office; Research Sections 1 + 2.

Sub-Regions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Tay Ninh, Ba Ria, and Thi Bien Provinces; T7 [Ba Bien, Bao Ham, Bao Binh Provinces], T2 [An Giang, Hoa Dong, Cho Gao, Ben Tre Provinces], T3 [Go Guao, Giong Rieng, Rach Gia, Tra Vinh Provinces], T6 [Ninh Thuan, Binh Thuan, Phuoc Long Provinces], T10 [Quang Duc Province].

File 1 + 2