II. "PROBLEMS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP AND PARTY SLOGANS IN URBAN CENTERS" and "FIVE LESSONS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION"

INTRODUCTION

Comrade "Ba's" 1966 letter [pages 11-39] stressed the importance of slogans in arousing the urban masses to revolutionary action. In 1965 the People's Revolutionary Party produced a pamphlet on that subject.

As the cover of the 23 pages, four-and-a-half by six inches pamphlet indicated, it was printed for the Party by the Tien Phong Publishing House, nominally owned by the National Liberation Front. Its 3,000 copies were to be circulated only to Party members.

"The Southern Revolution's objective situation has emerged" the Party pamphlet declared, but a "big leap toward decisive victories" will not occur "unless proper leadership is exercised... Without proper leadership the masses cannot be mobilized, guided in a conscious manner toward specific goals..." The "Training-Education sub-section South Viet-Nam" which prepared this pamphlet was familiar with Lenin's 1902 booklet "What is to be Done" and its doctrine of "consciousness" versus "spontaneity".

A tendentious survey of the middle class and Buddhist groups which had opposed the regime of President Diem followed concluding with the Communist assertion that the "southern bourgeoisie" was incapable of leading the national democratic revolution. "But... there might be divisions within the ranks of the intellectual bourgeoisie with only a few going over to enemy ranks and most possibly rallying under our national banner if we continue to intensify the movement and employ sound strategy."

The Party which "generally speaking" has "not been positive in leading the movement" had, the pamphlet continued, a "two-sided leadership problem": "To induce the national bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals into joining the fight"... and at the same time to "further expand Party leadership among workers, laborers and petit bourgeois whose political knowledge is still fuzzy."
Party leadership of the masses has three aspects, the pamphlet continued: a "proper political line" based on "living Marxist-Leninist doctrine"; "the full dissemination of Party policies and lines of action among the masses... thanks to which the masses can be rallied into combat forces"; and, finally, "it is necessary to keep close watch on the mass struggle movement... gaining fresh experience to improve leadership..."

While Party policy was thought to have been correct the "current problem" was how to apply it in the "specific situation of urban centers". Stalin was quoted to the effect that it is necessary "for the leadership to bolster mass awareness of the Party and Party standpoint" and "to convince the masses by means of slogans."

"Awareness of the Party", however, especially among the "urban worker and laboring class" was low, and "we must assume that the quality of the movement is far from being good and that it cannot assure the success of the struggle leading towards the decisive victory expected by our Party." Therefore, the pamphlet continued, emphasis must be put upon "persuasion by slogans based on experience gained by the masses."

As "Ba" said in his letter to the Saigon Party committee, the authors of this pamphlet declared that: "The Southern revolution is the people's national democratic revolution, i.e. a new type of bourgeois democratic revolution led by the working class. Its prospect of development is the transformation into a socialist revolution... The working class, whose political representative is our Party, plays the leading role in the revolution."

"The basic strategic slogan laid down by our Party in the South" must be implemented, in "all Party activities irrespective of leadership of the political or armed movement." As quoted in the pamphlet it stated:

"All efforts are devoted to the establishment of a people's government made up of four classes on the basis of a worker-farmer alliance under the working class' leadership for the realization of national independence and distribution of land to the tillers."
The pamphlet continued: "All other slogans such as peace, reunification, independence, neutrality, democracy and coalition government, must be aimed solely at the above-mentioned basic strategic slogan." Reunification "can only be achieved on the condition that a people's government belonging to the four classes has been established by the Southern revolution." Independence and neutrality "is not at all a third political standpoint on the sideline of the struggle between capitalism and socialism but an independence... for a successive socialist revolution leading to the establishment of a unified, rich and powerful Viet-Nam in which the man-exploiting-man system has been abolished."

This being understood "we can and must rally a wide spectrum of forces around three key slogans: national independence, freedom and democracy (in which is included the betterment of living conditions) and peace and neutrality.

After this long introduction the pamphlet discussed the way in which targetted slogans should be devised, adhering to the principals of "originate with the masses, and then return to the masses", and "associating the slogans on individual living conditions with those key political ones... to guide public opinion and thinking to gradually concentrate on the main political slogans.

The National Liberation Front is not mentioned by name. Instead emphasis is place upon widening the influence of the "Party and Labor Youth League" and creating a "broad-based Front made up of workers, laborers, youths, students, Buddhist followers and women... There must be created, in this broad-based Front a political army, the Party's political army, the Party's political mainstay, thanks to which the Party can manipulate the movement at will."

At a less sophisticated level is the second of the two PRP pamphlets reprinted here: "Five Lessons of the South Viet-Nam Revolution and the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party." Mimeographed in 200 copies in December 1967, by the Binh Long Province Propaganda and Training Section of the Party, it was prepared by the Party's South Western Highlands Propaganda Training Section "for all prospective Party members.
and Youth Group members who are the reserve force of the Party." It was typical of "base level" training manuals in use for several years following the collapse of the Diem government in late 1963.

The training manual was designed to inculcate recruits with "absolute confidence in the revolution, in the leadership of the Party, strengthen their loyalty and fighting spirit, determine the motives behind their desire to join the Party and induce them to take the initial step in improving themselves morally and ethically prior to joining the Party."

It outlined how indoctrination courses were to be conducted in varying circumstances. Cadres were cautioned "to follow closely the contents of the documents, and keep explanations within the limits of the documents, do not wander away from the main subject."

In the first lesson potential PRP members were to be taught "to hate imperialists and feudalists, heighten class consciousness and patriotism." The ideology and strategy of the multi-class "national democratic revolution" in the South was explained. But, it was stated that the revolution was lead by the working class, for a number of reasons, not the least of which was that it "has as leader its vanguard Party, the Communist Party which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary scientific doctrine."

While the PRP was pictured as an autonomous entity it was stated that "our Party" was established in 1930 and led the revolution in both North and South Viet-Nam. In other words, while the link between the PRP and the VWf is obscured, both were said to be successor organizations to the Indochinese Communist Party.

In Lesson II cadre were told to "explain that our Party is the Party of the workers. Once admitted to the Party one should forget one's original class and consider oneself as a member of the class of workers." It therefore followed that "the Party's ultimate objective is the establishment of Communism, but the immediate objective is to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists." Subsequently, in the same lesson, it was stated:
"The objective of the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party is to carry out the national democratic revolution in South Viet-Nam, to unify the country in peace and together with the entire country, build socialism as a step toward communism."

It was explicitly stated that accomplishing the "national democratic revolution" in the South was not to be the culmination of the revolution, and that "when South Viet-Nam is liberated, and the nation is reunified, the Party's and people's missions are not yet accomplished. The entire Party and people must continue the socialist revolution and progress toward communism."

Lesson III concentrated on the role of the Party, asserting that: "In reality, during the last several years, it was the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party which led the South Viet-Nam revolution.... The Central [Executive Committee] of the Party sets forth the line and policy for the revolution and provides leadership to the Front, branches, circles and localities to carry out the revolution."

Lesson IV concentrated on the obligations and mechanics of Party membership, and Lesson V on examining "the attitude and motives behind applications for admission to the Party." It was pointed out that: "To be admitted to the Party one has to study politics actively. To study politics does not mean to learn lofty arguments. It only means to study the Party's program and regulations, which provide a thorough knowledge of the Party."

In 1968 the Party's "Nam Bo Propaganda and Training Section" issued a pamphlet, not reproduced here, titled "Communism is the Ultimate Goal of our Party." It affirmed that "Chairman Ho" was "the esteemed leader of our Party," and that "to seize power there is no alternative to violent revolution." Once in power "the revolutionary government of South Viet-Nam must be placed strictly under the leadership of the workers. It is not to be shared by any other class."
Prepared by the Training-Education sub-section South Viet-Nam

PROBLEMS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP
IN URBAN CENTERS

(For circulation only within the Party)

1965
Tien-Phong Publishing House

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Just Published:

- ON THE ARMED UPRISING
  by V. Le-nin

Will be Published soon:

- DISCUSSION ON SLOGANS
  by V. Le-nin

- STRATEGY AND STRATAGEM
  by J. Sta-lin

Printed at the Tien-Phong (Vanguard) Printing Plant on January 15, 1965
Circulation: 3,000 copies
INTRODUCTION

The revolutionary struggle movement waged by different strata of the urban population is playing an important role in the Revolution in SVN.

A pressing problem being posed is how to lead the movement in the right direction and attain the goals of the revolution. How can Party leadership be effected? How can Party slogans be understood thoroughly? How can Party slogans be used wisely so as to bring together a broad-based front and build up a powerful political army in urban centers? These are the problems all cadres and Party members are thinking of day and night.

The booklet "Party Leadership and Party Slogans in Urban Centers," compiled by the Indoctrination Section of the Southern Propaganda and Training Committee and approved by Party leaders, is designed to assist cadres and Party members in the study of the above subjects.

This is a very good document for discussion, in which efforts have been made to set out the complex political developments in Southern urban centers, Saigon Capital in particular, which took place from late 1963 to date, using Marxist-Leninist dialectics to make analyses and draw necessary conclusions in the resolution of leadership matters in urban centers in line with current Party policies.

This short document includes comparatively complex contents on the manner of gaining Party leadership, leadership and slogans,
the substance of Party slogans, experience and requirements in the employment of slogans, etc.

It is hoped that all of our comrades will pay attention to studying this document, which will yield useful results.

TIEN PHONG PUBLISHING HOUSE
I. LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

The thing which we, partisans of the revolution, are expecting day and night is the creation of a revolutionary situation, i.e., objective conditions for the creation of the most advantageous possibilities enabling us to pose the problem of overthrowing the enemy administration and returning power to the revolutionary forces. By revolutionary situation is meant the overall political crisis in which different strata of the oppressed population have come to realize that they can no longer live as they did in the past and demand changes, and in which the enemy has also noticed that they can no longer rule as before.

Such a situation now exists in the South. One year after the overthrow of the Diem-Nhu clique and after the successive coups in which one lackey was changed after the other, the enemy administration was plunged into a mess and deprived of all capacity to rule over the masses as in the Diem-Nhu days. Hundreds of thousands of people of all walks of life, laborers, workers, students, and Buddhist followers, took to the streets overtly and directly voiced their aspirations in a spirit of boiling anger which mirrored their refusal to submit to the suffocating rule as they had in the past.

The Southern Revolution's objective situation has emerged, but such propitious circumstances cannot bring about a change capable of altering the friendly-enemy balance of force and creating a big leap toward the attainment of decisive victories in favor of the revolution unless proper leadership is exercised. Revolution is effective only through the self-conscious activities performed by each individual. For this reason, without proper leadership, the masses cannot be mobilized, guided in a conscious manner toward specific goals, or made to realize the revolution's progress, etc. The goals cannot then be attained no matter how favorable the circumstances.

Looking back at the exercise of leadership during the recent urban movement, we can realize its complexities.

There existed among the promoters of the slogans to stir up the masses and cause them to band together and take to the streets, certain lackeys for the Americans, who wanted to rely on the movement's pressure to oppose the administration for the protection of
their personal interests. Such individuals belonged to the Buu, Boi, and Nho who had been unmasked. The most noticeable fact was the emergence from among certain Buddhist leaders, intellectuals, and especially the Hue University faculty, of a bourgeois political inclination. The Buddhist leaders most of whom are of bourgeois and intellectual backgrounds, while struggling for freedom of religion, strove to undertake Buddhist reforms to better suit the requirements for competition with Roman Catholicism. They endeavored to widen their influence among the population through the promotion of nationalist, bourgeois-oriented democratic political stand-points. They held the view that under a Communist government Buddhism would be hampered in its expansion. The Diem-Nhu regime showed them that, under an authoritarian administration, Buddhism could not be developed. They pinned their hopes on a bourgeois, democratic government in which freedom of competition, including freedom of religious competition, is observed so that they could use the nationalistic character of Buddhism to turn it into a national religion capable of dominating both the administration and the army.

The intellectuals from the "People's Council for National Salvation" in Hue, while struggling for freedom and democracy, demanded the removal of the U.S.-backed authoritarian and militaristic administration and its henchmen, and proposed in "Lập Trưởng" magazine a government patterned after the parliamentary system with the participation of different political groupings. This political inclination originated with the nationalist bourgeoisie's economic requirements for freedom of trade and competition and opposition to all economic monopolies previously held by the bourgeois, mercantile, mandarinst Diem-Nhu clique, henchmen of the Americans. This liberal, democratic, bourgeois regime and bourgeois, parliamentary government, being consistent with the Buddhists' political stand-point, received the Buddhist leaders' backing. The Buddhist Institute for Secular Affairs in Saigon had become the publishing house for Lập Trưởng, Tranh Đấu, etc., magazines, organs of the Hue "People's Council for National Salvation". This was not accidental.

This political phenomenon had no connection whatsoever with the Americans. Suffering heavy military and political failures and confronted by the power of our army and people, the autocratic and nepotic Diem-Nhu regime had become an obstacle to the realization of a U.S. neocolonialist regime. After staging a coup to overthrow Diem-Nhu, the U.S. wanted to install a new lackey administration based on a new class—the bourgeoisie—and hoped to rally a broader-based reactionary political force capable of carrying the national
standard and better deceiving the masses. This very turning point in American policy stimulated the national bourgeoisie's inherent ambitions, which it had not had any chance to realize. These were the ambitions to become an improved bourgeoisie possessing an economic base and strong political backing, to ride to power so as to pave the way for capitalistic trade, to conduct further exploitation and achieve more gains, and to share leadership with us in the revolutionary movement in urban centers.

In the pursuit of such ambitions, there had been arising in the activities of the above-mentioned Buddhist leaders and intellectuals many conflicts while wishing to stir up the masses to engage in the struggle so as to gain influence among the masses, they were wary of popular movements, especially the worker and laborer movement. So when the movement gained momentum, they tried to hold it back. While desiring to oppose the Americans to some extent, they dared not make a clean break with them and still endeavored to maintain relationships with them. Upon facing the drastic attitude of the U.S. and puppet administration, they were prepared to compromise. The weakness and spirit of compromise found among the representatives of this bourgeois political persuasion mirrored the bourgeoisie's economic and political nature. The Southern bourgeoisie, being originally an exploiting class, was very apprehensive of the laboring class' struggle. Even today, possessing no firm economic foundation, they are still crippled and dependent upon foreign powers. In the political aspect, they have still not gained much influence among the masses, rallied the [bourgeois] class into a force, or formed a political party to be used as a headquarters.

It is essential that we realize the bourgeois tendency in the movement and the bourgeoisie's ambitions in order to form an adequate concept of the complex nature of our leadership in the days to come. Especially in the event of the attainment of a political solution and the creation of a national, democratic, peaceful, and neutral coalition government, this tendency and ambition of the bourgeoisie would become stronger. But, on the other hand, we need to notice that, with the weakness of the bourgeoisie, the U.S. policy of enslavement and aggression, under the conditions of a vigorous worker-farmer movement and evident enemy failure, there might be divisions within the ranks of the intellectual bourgeoisie with only a few going over to enemy ranks and most possibly rallying under our national banner if we continue to intensify the movement and to employ sound strategy.
Under Party leadership we have in the past expanded in a progressive way; but, generally speaking, we have not been positive in leading the movement; Party lines and policies have not been fully propagated to the masses; and our slogans have not been accurate and up-to-date. Under the circumstances, a comparatively large segment of the urban population, including workers and most petit bourgeois and students, have espoused fuzzy concepts and have, in a measure, been influenced by the above bourgeois political tendency and its compromise and reform nature.

The bourgeoisie-oriented political viewpoints emerging from the recent urban movement, in fact, had nothing new at all except for the dogmatic, erroneous, and superficial reiteration of the obsolete political views espoused by Western bourgeoisie a few hundred years ago. Compared with the actual situation in the people's democracy after the 1945 August Revolution, which the urban population had witnessed and taken part in, the democratic concepts set out by the bourgeois intellectuals were indeed too backward. For this reason, we must admit the fact that different strata of the urban population have been slightly affected by the bourgeois political influence. This was due to the fact that, while not comprehending our own leadership policy, they were simply looking for some temporary relief from the incumbent ruling regime, which was too harsh.

The above situation posed a two-sided leadership problem for our Party, which was to secure leadership with emphasis on fighting the bourgeoisie-oriented tendency in the [revolutionary] movement, to induce the national bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals into joining the front to fight the imperialists, feudalists, mercantile and mandarinist bourgeois, and, at the same time, to further expand Party leadership among workers, laborers and petit bourgeois whose political knowledge is still fuzzy. To successfully tackle this leadership problem would be the pre-condition for bringing about a major change in favor of the urban revolutionary movement, which is the most crucial one in the overall Southern situation at present.

II. LEADERSHIP AND SLOGANS

With a view to intensifying the urban movement to achieve success, as mentioned earlier, we must further step up and expand Party leadership. What must be done to achieve this?

Party leadership, in its fullest meaning, encompasses three aspects.
First, it is the assurance of a proper political line. The Party line is indeed the Party's tactics and strategy, and a weapon used to defeat the enemy. The reason for the Party's playing the leadership role in the first place is its possession of a proper political line, i.e. "an enlightened concept of the conditions, progress and results common to the proletarian movement," just as Karl Marx and Engels said. This is the creative association between the revolutionary argument and the realistic revolutionary movement, and the living Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Second, it is satisfactory implementation of the above strategy, i.e. the full dissemination of Party policies and lines of action among the masses and the translation of Party policies into mass will, thanks to which the masses can be rallied into combat forces.

Third, it is necessary to keep close watch on the mass struggle movement for the fulfillment of those Party policies, gaining fresh experience to improve leadership to make Party policies move ahead of the situation and the movement, and to avoid political backwardness and shortsightedness.

Those three aspects are intricately linked in a spiral pattern—formulation of policies, and the implementation and improvement thereof followed by the formulation of new policies, etc. In this way, Party leadership continues to develop in a creative manner.

A review of the actual situation of the revolutionary movement in the past few years shows the appropriateness of Party tactics and strategy. This was the decisive factor in all past successes. All Party resolutions and directives — from the fifteenth resolution to the recent ones — have demonstrated that Party policies have been increasingly developing with a rich and deep substance. This is evident to every Party member.

Our current problem is how to properly and thoroughly comprehend that common policy and apply it in the specific situation of urban centers, to convince the population to get a firm grasp of Party policy and translate the resolutions passed by the Party into a mass struggle movement.

Under conditions of proper Party policy, leadership, according to comrade Stalin means "to know how to convince the masses of the propriety of Party policy, to set forth and implement the slogans that induce the masses to espouse Party viewpoints and assist them in drawing on their own personal experiences so that they can admit the propriety of Party policy and upgrade mass awareness of the Party, thereby enlisting their support and bolstering their militancy."

Here, comrade Stalin brought up the following points:

1. First, it is necessary to realize the necessity for the leadership to bolster mass awareness of the Party and Party standpoint,
which helps to cultivate mass resoluteness to engage in the revolutionary struggle.

Second, it is necessary to convince the masses by means of slogans and make them comprehend Party slogans.

The first point provides us with a criterion to examine mass awareness. Let us pose the question of whether different strata of the urban masses, especially the urban worker and laboring class, have attained any degree of awareness of the Party and of whether their knowledge has been on a par with Party standpoint. Certainly not. And it is evident that we must perform actively in order to attain that goal. Even though thousands of people have taken to the streets on numerous occasions, we must assume that the quality of the movement is far from being good and that it cannot assure the success of the struggle leading toward the decisive victory expected by our Party.

The second point shows us the direction to move in order to overcome the urban masses' current low level of political awareness, which is backward in relation to the revolution's requirements.

This very second point has associated the leadership problem with that of slogans, and it might be said that leadership is persuasion by slogans based on the experience gained by the masses. By persuasion of the masses is not meant that revolution will not be undertaken until the last man has been persuaded. Our inducement efforts are first targeted at progressive elements of various revolutionary classes with emphasis to be placed on the bulk of backward people. After such people have been persuaded, they can generate a political attraction capable of luring the remaining minority into the mainstream of the struggle.

The slogans capable of attracting large segments of the population are not easy to devise and not dependent on the Party's subjective desire. Lenin taught us that, "Each individual slogan must originate from the entire spectrum of characteristics of a certain political situation." This means we must base ourselves on the need to gain power as a resolution's underlying purpose in order to analyze the conflicts among different classes in the society at each phase and stage of the revolution. Attention must be paid to seeking an understanding of the characteristics of governmental power to find out in whose hands it is lying, looking for the forces upon which the Party can depend and the policy to be adopted for its survival.

We must obtain a knowledge of the immediate and long-range plans
of the ruling class and its chances of realizing those plans. We
must try to seek an understanding of the characteristics of the class-
es being subjected to governmental oppression, look for the causes
of the discontent which each class or population stratum is experienc-
ing with that government and their intensity, the capability of each
class to engage in the struggle, degree of political awareness, etc.

Failure to get a firm grasp on the revolution's underlying goal
of seizing power and to undertake an elaborate analysis of class con-
flicts would prevent the promotion of any valid theme.

III. PARTY SLOGANS AND THEIR USE

Political slogans symbolize the Party's political line, which in-
cludes both the strategy common to the entire revolutionary period
and the tactics to be applied at each separate stage for the imple-
mentation of such strategy. By the same token, there exist funda-
mental strategic slogans to be used for the entire revolutionary
period and those tactical ones to be applied during shorter stages.

The Southern revolution is the people's national democratic
revolution, i.e. a new type of bourgeois democratic revolution led
by the working class. Its prospect for development is the transfor-
mation into a socialist revolution.

The basic requirement of the Southern masses' national demo-
cratic revolution is the overthrow of the feudal and imperialist for-
ces, realization of national independence, and distribution of land
to the tillers. This basic requirement can be met through the over-
throw of the feudalists and imperialists, who are now the puppet
government, lackey of the Americans, and the return of power to
the people.

In view of the revolution's basic goal to expropriate the exploit-
ing landlord minority and extend ownership to the majority of toil-
ing peasants—not to abolish proprietorship in general—the national
bourgeoisie's foundation will be left alone. Since the revolution
aims at gaining national independence, it is likely to rally a wide
spectrum of national forces. The people concept under such histo-
rical circumstances encompasses four classes—the working class,
peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie--; in which
the working class and peasantry make up the main force, the petite
bourgeoisie is a trusted ally of long standing, and the bourgeoisie
is a conditional ally. The working class, whose political repre-
sentative is our Party, plays the leading role in the revolution.
That entire strategy is summed up in the basic strategic slogan laid down by our Party in the South in the current stage of the revolution, "All efforts are devoted to the establishment of a people's government made up of four classes on the basis of a worker-farmer alliance under the working class' leadership for the realization of national independence and distribution of land to the tillers."

In the leadership of the Southern revolutionary movement in general and of the urban struggle movement in particular, we must never overlook that basic strategic slogan.

All party activities, irrespective of leadership of the political or armed movement, enemy troop proselytizing, propaganda-training, or organization, must be directed at that strategic slogan.

All other slogans, such as peace, reunification, independence, neutrality, democracy and coalition government, must be aimed solely at the above-mentioned basic strategic slogan.

The peace we propose is by no means pacifism, fear and trembling in face of the imperialists' threat of war. It is one with a people's government made up of the above four classes on the basis of a worker-farmer alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The reunification we proposed can only be achieved on the condition that a people's government belonging to the four classes has been established by the Southern revolution.

Our independence and neutrality is not at all a third political standpoint on the sideline of the struggle between capitalism and socialism but an independence and neutrality with a four-class people's government as a political premise for a successive socialist revolution leading to the establishment of a unified, rich and powerful Viet-Nam in which the man-exploiting-man system has been abolished.

Our democracy is not a deceptive one as has been claimed by the Americans and their lackeys, nor one reserved expressly for the bourgeoisie so that it can seize power and exploit the workers and laboring people at will and turn the country into a capitalist state rife with injustices.
Our democracy is a genuine one embodied by a four-class government in which the worker-farmer majority makes up the basis. This government headed by the working class must undertake land distribution—which is the most fundamental and glorious symbol of a democratic regime—to farmers who account for eighty-five percent of the population, and provide assurances of steady agricultural production to improve living conditions of our entire society.

Our coalition government is not one established at any cost but one capable of being turned into a four-class administration that guarantees the realization of national independence and distribution of land to tillers.

We might compare, in analogical manner, the whole set of Party slogans to the solar system—in which satellites revolve around planets, and planets around the sun—which is the basic strategic slogan: "A people's democratic government made up of four classes for the realization of national independence and distribution of land to tillers."

Upon considering various political inclinations and the nature of the struggles waged in urban centers, and based on the requirements and attitudes of different strata of the urban masses and on the revolutionary goals, the Party holds the view that, in the immediate future, we can and must rally a wide spectrum of forces around three key slogans: national independence, freedom and democracy (in which is included the betterment of living conditions) and peace and neutrality.

These are the slogans used in guiding the urban masses in the current struggle movement aimed at achieving a short-term goal in the road to the strategic objective. This short-term goal is a decisive victory with a broad-based national democratic government with our participation and under our sway.

With a view to utilizing this slogan in a proper manner, we must not overlook the following experience in exercising guidance over the struggle:

First, we must get a firm grasp on the basic strategic slogan while utilizing the above-mentioned key slogans in order to avoid harboring vague notions about our standpoint while learning the substance of such slogans as well as imparting vague knowledge to the masses while performing the mass propaganda and indoctrination task.
Second, we must conform to the policy concerning the masses in the employment of the above slogans, i.e. we must "originate with the masses and then return to the masses." To put it more specifically, we may not subjectively attribute all those three slogans to the masses at one time; but we must keep close watch on the evolution of the movement, try to gain a knowledge of mass aspirations and the level of political awareness, and make a careful analysis of friendly-enemy situation so as to determine which of those slogans are most suitable to be applied first. There also exist in each individual slogan several degrees—at what time and in what degree a slogan is brought forward depends on the specific situation of the masses. For example, there exists in the slogan to call for national independence, a higher degree—call for removal of the Americans from the South, a lower degree—opposition to U.S. intervention, and an even lesser degree—opposition to any foreign interference in Southern internal affairs. Apart from the timing and degree in the utilization of slogans, there must also be an accurate estimate on the proper sequence of those slogans and preparations for transition from one slogan to another so as to achieve the basic goal that has been determined.

It must be conceded that it is comparatively easy for the masses to accept Party slogans as a result of propaganda actions, but that to have them perform activities [in favor of the Revolution] is another thing, based on their own personal political experience. Lenin said, "Propaganda action is not enough if we want the entire class and the bulk of the laboring people and those oppressed by the capitalists to take such a stand (i.e., not to lend any backing to the enemy while providing direct support for the vanguard team, or to adopt a neutral attitude in favor of the vanguard team). To this end, the masses must possess some political experience of their own."

Third, attention must be given to associating the slogans on individual living conditions with those key political ones. This association is no easy thing to do. In case a harsh policy imposed by enemy administration is generating seething discontent among the masses, we must seize the opportunity to incite the masses to engage in a protest movement which will be immediately turned into a vigorous movement without necessarily having to start from economic slogans. But it goes without saying that, after obtaining political concessions from the enemy, we must capitalize on such political gains to secure the most legitimate interests for each individual group and class. There are cases in which only commonplace economic demands are brought up at the outset; then, anticipating the developments of the struggle and taking advantage of the population's
fresh discontents with the enemy administration born out of the struggle under such economic slogans, we will bring up appropriate political slogans. So, in the course of the struggle we must know how to bring up numerous slogans consonant with the most legitimate interests of all classes while knowing how to guide public opinion and thinking to gradually concentrate on the main political slogans. Knowing how to exercise guidance in such a separate and concentrated manner constitutes an art in leadership.

Fourth, there must be a firm grasp of the strategy of a broad-based front aimed at isolating the enemy in the struggle. Under current urban circumstances, apart from giving attention to the worker class, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, intellectuals, we must attach importance to bringing together followers of different religious groups and winning over [enemy] military officers and soldiers, civil servants, and policemen. With respect to the enemy, we must endeavor to foment and capitalize on divisions within his ranks while opposing any dissension among the masses. While applying the strategy of unity, we must not ignore certain cases of temporary compromise and concession in some slogans provided that such accommodations do not generate fuzzy concepts among the masses and reduce the strength of adherents to the movement. With the immediate objective of "gaining a decisive victory and establishing a democratic, peaceful, and neutral coalition government," we will be able to strike more vigorously at the enemy by concentrating our spearheads on isolating the warmongering Americans and their lackeys, whose ranks are being split. The formation of a Front with the participation of opposing but non-warmongering forces is indeed a complex task, but there is no cause for worry if we possess a steady standpoint and real power.

We must get a firm grasp of our strategy, conform to mass policy, associate economic slogans with the political ones, and be fully familiar with the tactics of the broad-based Front. On the whole, there must the common spirit of "firmness and flexibility, decentralization and concentration, accuracy and timeliness." This is the most difficult matter in the exercise of leadership through employment of slogans which we must handle and from which we must gain experience.

To this end we must undertake several specific tasks. We must constantly conduct inquiries into different classes through new political developments in order to procure enough data needed for class analyses. We must intensify propaganda and political indoctrination targeted at the masses, especially the working class, laboring peo-
people, and intellectual petit bourgeoisie. We must perform the organizational task in a creative manner in order to facilitate the rallying of the masses and the struggle for the realization of Party slogans. The core forces within various circles must be activated into a network of activist elements surrounding the Party. Party influence must be widened and Party and Labor Youth League forces speedily increased to provide a firm basis for leadership.

The urban revolutionary movement is going through the most propitious circumstances. The gaining of leadership and extension of Party leadership are matters of extreme urgency capable of creating a new turning point. Party leadership must be exercised through the setting forth of consistent, accurate, and up-to-date slogans and the proper employment thereof. All Party leadership, inquiry, propaganda and struggle tasks and employment of slogans must be aimed at the realization of one result: to create a broad-based Front made up of workers, laborers, youths, students, Buddhist followers, and women; to enlist the sympathy—or at least a favorable neutral attitude—of soldiers, policemen, and civil servants. There must be created, in this broad-based Front, a political army, the Party's political mainstay, thanks to which the Party can manipulate the movement at will.

Only this undertaking and these urgent efforts can assist us, together with the common movement, in inflicting far more crushing failures on the enemy.
FIVE LESSONS OF THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION AND THE VIET-NAM PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Issued by the
Propaganda-Training Section-Binh Long
At present, the Party development is slow in comparison with the ever growing requirements of the movement. One of the principal reasons for this delay is that a lot of cadres, Party members are confused and do not know how to propagandize and indoctrinate to gain the people's sympathy for the Party.

In order to serve the Party development mission, we distribute "five lessons of the Revolution of South Viet-Nam and the People's Revolutionary Party of Viet-Nam" prepared by the South Western Highland Propaganda Training Section so that Party Chapters can use them as learning-training materials for all prospective Party members and Youth Group members who are the reserve force of the Party.

To help you guide those elements to make good use of the materials, purposes and indoctrination plan are included herein.

I. GENERAL PURPOSES OF MATERIALS

Educate all prospective Party members (such as Youth Group members, guerrillas, and Party sympathizers,...) on a number of fundamental problems concerning the revolution of South Viet-Nam and the Party.

On this basis, make them to have absolute confidence in the revolution, in the leadership of the Party, strengthen
their loyalty and fighting spirit, determine the motives behind their desire to join the Party and induce them to take the initial step in improving themselves morally and ethically prior to joining the Party.

II. HIGHLIGHTS OF MATERIALS.

These materials include five lessons, but the highlights are covered in lessons 3, 4 and 5. (Purposes and main points of each lesson are included in the introduction of each lesson).

III. PLAN AND METHOD OF INDOCTRINATION.

Minimum amount of time is 24 hours; maximum is 32 hours. Minimum time for each lesson is 4 hours, maximum is 8 hours.

- LIBERATION BASE AREA AND AGENCIES.

Indoctrination may be conducted for a large group of people at a time. The training will be organized continuously in 3, 4 days divided in several afternoons and evenings, depending on each area. Arrangements should be made to conduct the indoctrination in the framework of the regular political indoctrination program of each agency and unit.

- CONTESTED AND WEAK AREA.

The indoctrination is conducted for groups of two or three people in several periods of time, or given to one person individually, in a jungle corner, depending on the situation of each area.

METHOD OF INDOCTRINATION

- Do not give continuously 5 lessons at a time but answer questions, explain and discuss thoroughly each lesson before taking up another. Avoid using argument, use instead the concise question-answer formula. Take situations and real facts as examples for demonstration.
If indoctrination is conducted for each person or each small group, explain each problem and guide them in discussion. It is not necessary to explain the whole lesson. If the indoctrination is conducted for a large group concentrated in a classroom, it should not last more than 2 hours.

During the lesson, emphasis is laid on the denunciation of the imperialists' and feudalists' crimes, initiate an ideological campaign, display sacrificial actions of outstanding Party members for motivation.

Cadre, Party members in charge of instruction should study the materials in advance, master local situations, unit and trainee status and should prepare documents carefully before giving a lesson. It is necessary to follow closely the content of the documents, and keep the explanations within the limits of the documents, do not wander away from the main subject.

U6 PROPAGANDA - TRAINING SECTION

LESSON ONE

PURPOSES AND REQUIREMENTS

Motivate the populace to hate imperialists and feudalists, heighten class consciousness and patriotism.

POINTS OF EMPHASIS

- Who does the South Viet-Nam revolution intend to overthrow? Why? (Exposé the people's sufferings, create hatred).

- Who stage the South Viet-Nam revolution? (Explain in detail the role of workers and peasants, specifically demonstrate revolutionary spirit and ability of local workers and peasants.)
THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION IS A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

I. WHAT IS THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION?

Weak and small countries invaded and governed by imperialist countries are called colonies. The South of our country at present is also a colony of American imperialists. People from the colonies, the majority of them are peasants, are ruled by alien imperialists and at the same time dispossessed of their land by local feudalist landlords who exploit them through the imposition of heavy land rentals. They lead a miserable and sorrowful life.

The only way for them to liberate themselves is to rise up in a revolution to overthrow the imperialist aggressors and feudalist landlords. It is necessary to overthrow the imperialists to liberate our people and overthrow the landlord class to bring the land back to the peasants. This revolution is called the national democratic revolution.

Why does the national democratic revolution require the overthrow of the imperialists as well as the feudalist landlord class? Because the imperialists and feudalist landlords collude with each other closely to tyrannize and exploit the laboring people. Imperialists use feudalist landlords as a support to maintain their yoke of domination. The feudalist landlord class relies on the power of the imperialists to increasingly exploit the peasants. Therefore, the feudalist landlord class can be overthrown when the imperialists are expelled from our country. Conversely, the imperialists can be expelled from our country when the feudalist landlords are overthrown.

II. IS THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION?

The South Viet-Nam Revolution is a national democratic revolution, because it is fighting against the imperialist aggressors and the feudalist landlord class.
After peace was restored (July 1954), the American imperialists ousted the French colonialists from Viet-Nam and directly invaded out beloved South. South Viet-Nam has become a new-type colony of the United States of America. Relying on the classes of feudalist landlords and bourgeois compradores, American imperialists have set up a lackey and puppet government under the label of "national independence" to rule our people. They have used weapons and dollars to order their lackeys to fight against the revolution in the way they wished. They have brought in American advisers to control the puppet army and used this army to oppress and kill our people. Meanwhile, the South Viet-Nam feudalist landlord class relied on the power of the American imperialists to dispossess land of the peasants and exploit them through the imposition of heavy land rentals. For the last ten years, the South Vietnamese people, 90 percent of them are peasants, have been tyrannized and exploited mercilessly by the American imperialists and the feudalists. Their life is filled with starvation, hardships and misery. Being beyond endurance, the South Vietnamese people have risen up to fight against the imperialist aggressors and feudalist landlords. They have carried out a national democratic revolution. This revolution has two missions: Fighting against the American imperialists and the feudalists, winning independence for the people and bringing the land back to the poor peasants. The two missions mentioned above should not be separated. But the first thing to do is to concentrate our forces against the imperialists and their henchmen in order to win independence.

III. WHO DOES THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION INTEND TO OVERTHROW?

Presently in South Viet-Nam, as stated above, those who cause mourning and sorrows are the imperialist aggressors and the feudalist landlord class. Those who do not allow South Viet-Nam to become a rich and happy country are also the imperialist aggressors and feudalist landlords. Therefore, the imperialists and the feudalist landlord class
are the two main enemies of the revolution. Independence, freedom and happiness can be achieved in South Viet-Nam only when those two enemies are defeated.

But, specifically, who are our immediate enemies now?

At present, our immediate specific enemies are neither the imperialists in general, nor the whole feudalist landlord class. They are the American imperialists and their henchmen representing the most reactionary feudalist landlords and bourgeois compradores. Previously they were the Diệm-Nhu clique and now the Thiệu-Ky clique.

The American imperialists are directly invading our beloved South. Although they failed in their scheme to use American advisers and the puppet government and army to invade South Viet-Nam, and in their attempt to save the situation by bringing in half a million American and satellite expeditionary troops, although they are being increasingly bogged down into a passive position despite their efforts to extricate themselves, in view of their aggressor's and pirate's nature, they are stubbornly and rashly increasing the use of bombs, shells, toxic gas to kill our people. Many a zone was destroyed, resulting in ruin, misery, famine... They have been trying to undermine the South Viet-Nam economy, making our people's life miserable. They have been trying to poison the minds of the people, especially youth, living in their controlled area by immoral books, magazines and motion pictures, and they used money to buy off and deceive these people. Those who serve the American imperialists most effectively and most loyally are the clique of lackeys who represent the most reactionary feudalist landlords and bourgeois compradores. The American imperialists and their henchmen are the cruelest and the most barbarous and dangerous enemies of our people in the South and in the whole country. We must unite efforts to defeat those enemies. To defeat the American imperialists and their reactionary henchmen is to fulfill the mission of fighting the imperialist aggressors and defeating the most reactionary elements of the feudalist landlord class and bourgeois compradores. After South Viet-Nam is liberated, we shall overthrow the entire class of feudalist landlords.
IV. WHO STAGE THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION?

The South Viet-Nam revolution must be undertaken by the people of South Viet-Nam. South Vietnamese people taking part in the revolution include 4 social classes: Workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois and individual patriots.

Do those classes carry out the revolution in the same manner?

Due to the difference in their positions and ways of life, these classes have different revolutionary spirits and capabilities. Specifically:

a. Working class:

This is the class of people who do not have private property, who work for the bourgeoisie throughout their life and are exploited mercilessly by the latter. They are dependent on their cheap wages to make a living. They are permanently exposed to starvation and unemployment. Furthermore, in the colonies, the working class is also ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by the imperialist aggressors acting in collusion with the feudalist landlords. Therefore, they deeply hate the imperialists and feudalists and have the highest revolutionary spirit. They are the leaders of the national democratic revolution at present, and of the socialist revolution in the future.

b. Peasant class:

Largest in number, this class is heavily exploited by the imperialists and feudalists. Being ignorant and very poor, it has very high revolutionary spirit against the imperialists and feudalists.

Vietnamese peasants make up 90 percent of the population and have the tradition of fighting foreign aggression. They have followed the Party to fight against the French colonialists and American imperialists for many decades. They are close and reliable friends of the workers and are the main force of the national democratic revolution.
c. Petty bourgeoisie.

Petty bourgeois are also oppressed and exploited by imperialists and feudalists. They also live a hard life. They hate imperialists and feudalists and enthusiastically participate in the revolution. However, when the enemy applies strong terrorist measures or when the revolution meets difficulties, they are easily confused and shaken.

We must unite closely with them, educate and help them overcome that confusion.

d. National bourgeoisie:

National bourgeoisie is the exploiting class but it is also oppressed by the imperialists and feudalists who prevent its development. This class of people also has national feelings and is opposed to the imperialists and feudalists although its opposition is not absolute. When the imperialists prevail, they side with the imperialists, when the revolution prevails, they support the revolution.

Therefore, we must, on the one hand, induce them to participate in an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front, and, on the other hand, struggle to force them to guarantee the workers' interests and fight against their above-mentioned attitude.

Those four classes of people and individual patriots constitute the national democratic revolutionary force in South Viet-Nam at present time. They must be assembled and held together in a common anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front, which is the National Front for Liberation of South Viet-Nam, in order to struggle for the liberation of South Viet-Nam, leading to the reunification of the whole nation.

V. WHO ARE THE LEADERS OF THE SOUTH VIET-NAM REVOLUTION?

Presently, all over the world, the class of workers is the leader of the revolution. In South Viet-Nam, the present national democratic revolution is also led by the Vietnamese workers.
Why do the workers play the role of leader of the revolution?

Because the workers have the following characteristics, while other classes do not.

a. The class of workers is the class of those who work in factories, mines, etc...that is the most important and progressive economic installations in the present society.

b. With empty hands and working for others to learn their living, they are heavily exploited, therefore they have the most absolute revolutionary spirit.

c. Because working collectively in factories, they have a high sense of organization and discipline.

d. Basically, interests of the workers do not conflict with those of other laborers. They struggle not only for their own interests but also for those of other laborers. Therefore, they are able to rally and unite all progressive forces for a revolution.

e. The class of workers also has as leader its vanguard party, the Communist Party, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary scientific doctrine.

However, in South Viet-Nam, the class of workers is still small in number, how can it play the leading role?

Although it is small in number, the class of workers in South Viet-Nam has all the above-mentioned characteristics. Therefore, it is the class which leads the revolution. Although all other classes are superior in number (such as the peasants), they do not have those characteristics, therefore they cannot lead the revolution. Realities have showed that since the establishment of our Party in 1930, the workers have been leading the Viet-Nam revolution and have gained many glorious victories. At present, the workers, both in North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam, are leading the revolution to gain new successes.
QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the national democratic revolution?
   - How the revolution is carried out?
   - Who does the national revolution intend to overthrow and what does it struggle for?
   - Who does the democratic revolution intend to overthrow and what does it struggle for?
   - What are the basic democratic rights?

2. Justify that the present South Viet-Nam revolution is a national democratic revolution.
   - Why did the South Vietnamese people rise up in revolution?
   - Who do the South Vietnamese people intend to overthrow?
   - What were their purposes?

3. Who does the South Viet-Nam revolution intend to overthrow? Why?
   - Who cause mourning and sorrows for the South Vietnamese people?
   - Who are our immediate enemies? Why?
   - Why do we call American imperialists and their henchmen the cruelest and the most barbarous and dangerous enemies of our people?
   - What do we do to overthrow them?

4. Who stage the revolution of South Viet-Nam?
   - What classes of people constitute the revolutionary force in South Viet-Nam?
   - Do those classes carry out the revolution in the same manner? Why?

5. Who are the leaders of the South Viet-Nam revolution?
   - Why is the class of workers leader of the revolution?
   - Can the workers in South Viet-Nam fulfill the role of leader [of the revolution]?
LESSON II

PURPOSES AND REQUIREMENTS

- Explain that our Party is the Party of the workers. Once admitted to the Party, one should forget one's original class and consider oneself as a member of the class of workers.

- Clearly point out that the Party's ultimate objective is the establishment of Communism, but the immediate objective is to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists; this is designed to build up a lasting revolutionary viewpoint.

- Paragraph 1: Explain in detail the composition of the Party.

- Paragraph 4: State clearly the mission before one's eyes, relate this mission with specific missions of the local agencies and units in accordance with the 1967 activity resolution.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF VIET-NAM IS THE PARTY OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKERS

1. Who does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party belong to?

The workers' class is the one which leads the revolution, but not the whole class directly undertakes this responsibility. The workers organized a political Party to represent them in providing leadership to the revolution. The workers in South Viet-Nam also organized their party called the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party in order to assume the leadership of the present revolution in South Viet-Nam.

The Party uses Marxism-Leninism as its guide in its revolutionary actions. Therefore, the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party is a political party of the workers' class.

Since the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party is a party of the workers, can non-workers be admitted to the Party?
The Party's regulations clearly stipulate: "The Party is composed of the most enlightened, the bravest sacrifice-making elements from the workers' class, laboring peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all other strata of laboring people who volunteer to struggle in the Party's rank.

Therefore, not only workers but also farmers, handicraftmen, petty bourgeois, revolutionary intellectuals are allowed to be admitted to the Party if they volunteer to struggle in the Party's rank. But there is one thing to be kept in mind that is whatever class they are from, once admitted to the Party, they should consider themselves as belonging to the class of workers. They should acquaint themselves with the workers' morals and stand and be determined to abandon the ideological stand of their original class. Therefore, it would be an error to conclude that the Party is one of the peasants or petty bourgeois when we see that a number of Party members came from these two classes of people.

2. Whose rights and interests does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party represent?

Concerning this point, the Party regulations stipulate:

"The Party represents the rights and interests of the workers and laboring class and those of the national people. Thus, it is clear that our Party struggles not only for the workers' rights and interests but also for the rights and interests of other strata of laboring people, for the whole national people. The Party has no other purpose than to serve the interests of the workers and the national people.

Is there any contradiction between the workers' rights and interests and those of the national people?

Basically, there is no contradiction, because: In order to achieve their rights and interests, the workers should overthrow all exploiting classes and establish a society where man does not exploit man."
In South Viet-Nam, not only the workers but also all other laboring people are living under the yoke of oppression and exploitation of the imperialists, bourgeois and feudalist landlords. Everybody wishes to overthrow these exploiting classes in order to gain freedom, equality and happiness. To liberate the workers and laboring people it is necessary to liberate, the national people first. It is clear that our Party represents both the workers' and the national people's rights and interests, there is no contradiction. Therefore, the Party member should have a thorough class consciousness while at the same time he should place the Fatherland's interest above all.

3. What is the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party's objective?

The objective of the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party is to carry out the national democratic revolution in South Viet-Nam, to unify the country in peace and together with the entire country, build socialism as a step toward communism.

The ultimate objective of our Party is to build socialism as a step toward communism. We must firmly grasp that objective. But to attain this ultimate objective the Party should struggle to reach the immediate objective which is the overthrow of the imperialist aggressors and feudalist landlords and the achievement of the peaceful unification of the country. Therefore, when South Viet-Nam is liberated, and the nation is reunited, the Party's and people's missions are not yet accomplished. The entire Party and people must continue the socialist revolution and progress toward communism.

Communism is a social regime in which all land, factories, mines, etc., belong to the entire people. Production is made not by toiling hands, but automatically and electrically by modern machines. Production develops rapidly. Products will meet everybody's reasonable needs. Then, the principle
"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be applied. In this society, class discrimination, differences between the rich and the poor, and exploitation of man by man will no longer exist. Everyone will be civilized and progressive. Everyone will have a very high standard of culture, politics, technology, such as the standard of doctors, engineers, etc. Villages will be developed into towns, with electricity, motor-cars, buildings. Everyone will live in complete freedom, equality, love and happiness.

4. What are the Party's basic and immediate missions?

The basic mission of the South Viet-Nam revolution as set forth by the Party is:

"Liberate South Viet-Nam from the imperialist and feudalist domination, make Viet-Nam peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous." This basic mission cannot be accomplished completely at one time but must be carried out step by step. Consequently, the Party must set forth specific missions for each period. The specific mission is considered as a portion of the whole long way which is the basic mission.

Thus, what are the Party's immediate specific missions, now?

The Party regulations say: "The Party's specific missions are to break off the domination yoke of the American imperialist aggressors and the clique of country-selling lackeys, liberate South Viet-Nam, establish a broad national democratic coalition government, issue land to the tillers, develop industry, commerce, culture, education, progress toward reunifying the country in peace and contribute to the preservation of world peace."

For specific missions, two important points should be emphasized:

- First, concentrate forces to topple the American
imperialists and the lackey clique, establish a national coalition government. Specifically, in the local area the Party leads people to struggle against the enemy to protect their daily rights and interests, to break the enemy's oppressive control, to destroy strategic hamlets, to establish combat villages, to establish self-rule committees in liberated regions.

Second, while carrying out these missions, solve the land problem for the peasants step by step, for instance, in liberated villages, efforts should be made to reduce land rentals and interests or temporarily issue to the peasants land taken from the reactionary landlords, the cruel tyrants, lackeys of the American imperialists.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Who does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party belong to?

2. Whose rights and interests does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party represent?

3. For what objectives does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party struggle?

4. What are the Party's basic and immediate missions?

LESSON 3

PURPOSES AND REQUIREMENTS

Develop confidence in Party leadership and convince the people to accept absolute Party leadership.

POINT OF EMPHASIS

Explain in detail paragraph 3, clearly explain the Party members' responsibilities and leadership methods vis-a-vis the masses; use practical facts for demonstration.
1. **Why does the revolution require the leadership of a political Party?**

The revolution is an undertaking of the masses of people. There are among the people various social classes and strata. They have different rights and interests and aspirations. Therefore, they have different spirits and attitudes towards the revolution. In order to overthrow the common enemy, the people should be rallied under the uniform leadership of a political Party belonging to the most progressive class in the society. The Party must represent the rights and interests of both its class and the entire people. For example, in order to topple the American imperialists and their lackeys, all the social strata and classes in South Viet-Nam should be gathered under the leadership of the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party. With the Party's leadership, there will be a direction for our struggle; the people will be able to gather into a force and unify their will for actions. With the Party's leadership, the rights and interests of all classes will be met satisfactorily to insure solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy of the people; the people will be stimulated ideologically, they will be really enlightened by the revolution and become resolute in the struggle against the enemy. In this way, the revolution will meet with success.

Consequently, the South Viet-Nam revolution must also be led by a Party. It is the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party. Only the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party can lead the South Viet-Nam revolution successfully.

2. **Why only the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party can lead the South Viet-Nam revolution successfully?**

Because:

a. The Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party is a Party of the workers' class, the most progressive class in the Vietnamese society. The Party remains faithful to the people's revolutionary undertaking. The Party is determined to struggle to the end.
b. The Party uses a scientific revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, to illuminate its way. The Party is able to develop a correct revolutionary policy.

c. The Party has been attached to the masses and gained the confidence and love of the masses. The laboring masses readily make sacrifice to fight under the Party's flag.

d. The Party has a long tradition of struggle and much experience in leading the people's struggle.

In reality, during the last several years, it was the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party itself which led the South Viet-Nam revolution to unceasing development and the enemy to increasing defeat.

Realizing this, the patriots put their confidence in and voluntarily accepted the Party's leadership.

3. How does the Party lead the revolution?

The entire Party elects a Central Executive Committee to lead the revolution. The Central [Executive Committee] of the Party sets forth the line and policy for the revolution and provides leadership to the Front, branches, circles and localities to carry out the revolution. Locally, the Party leads the revolution through Party chapters. The Party chapter is the fundamental organization of the Party. The Party chapter is the link between the Party and the masses. Only when the Party chapter firmly sticks to the masses can the Party become strong and able to lead the revolution. To speak of the Party chapter is to speak of Party members, because a Party chapter is formed by many Party members. Therefore, a Party member is one who represents the Party and directly leads the masses in carrying out the revolution.

Party members lead the masses not by words but by specific actions. The Party members should act first and then lead the people to do the same.
Consequently, in order to carry out the role of the Party, the Party member must: Always keep close contact with the masses, lay bare the enemy's plots, propagate the Party's course of action, line and policy, motivate and lead the masses in the struggle. He must be exemplary in carrying out every Party plan and policy, must work, learn and struggle with the masses, and must really act as a core element in each case of struggle against the enemy.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1/ Why should the revolution be led by a political Party?

2/ Why is the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party the only Party to lead the South Viet-Nam revolution successfully?

3/ How does the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party lead the revolution?

LESSON 4

PURPOSES AND REQUIREMENTS

- Educate Party members on their vanguard role and sense of organization and discipline, develop free will and determination in obtaining the prerequisites for admission to the Party.

POINT OF EMPHASIS

- Explain in detail paragraphs 4 and 5.

- It is necessary to explain clearly why we must carry out activities in an organization of the Party, and in practice, how do we carry out the activities? What do we do to observe the Party discipline? and how?
1. **What are the prerequisites for admission to the Party?**

   According to Party regulations, to be admitted to the Party, the applicant must meet the four following prerequisites:
   
a. Accept the Party's [political] program and regulations.
   
b. Pledge to take part in the activities of a base-level organization of the Party; make positive efforts to carry out the Party's program and regulations.
   
c. Observe the Party's discipline.
   
d. Pay Party fees as prescribed [by Party regulations]

   The Party sets forth these prerequisites because our Party is the vanguard Party of the workers' class and leads our people in the revolution. In order to accomplish this important mission, the Party itself must be unstained, stable and strong. Therefore, nobody is admitted into the Party, unless he complies with the prescribed prerequisites.

2. **Why should the Party member accept the Party's [political] program and policies?**

   The Party's [political] program prescribes the nature, objective and revolutionary line of the Party; the Party's regulations prescribe principles of organization, patterns of activity and operation methods of the Party. The Party sets forth its [political] program and regulations for the purpose of unifying the thinking, organization and actions of the entire Party.

   Therefore, the first prerequisite for admission to the Party is the acceptance of the Party's [political] program and regulations. Acceptance of the Party's program and regulations is a clear indication of one's willingness and determination to fulfill one's mission as a Party member, to submit oneself to the organization and to respect Party discipline.
3. Why should the activities be performed in a base-level organization of the Party?

The base-level organization of the Party (i.e., the Party chapter) is a body through which the masses are directly instilled with the Party's [political] program, regulations, stand and policies, where the Party members directly take part in activities, and where they are trained and tested. Therefore, to be admitted to the Party, the member must positively take part in activities in the base-level organization of the Party. Only by doing this, can the Party member:

- Serve the revolution with his knowledge and strength.
- Show his loyalty to the Party.
- Improve his ideology and political and working standards.

Our Party is a Party of actions. He who only agrees with the Party's [political] program and regulations, but does not actually carry out activities in the Party organization cannot be a Party member.

4. Why should the Party discipline be observed?

The Party is a combat organization requiring all Party members to unify their will and actions. If a member does not respect the Party organization's discipline, or outwardly shows his support while inwardly opposing it, then he is undermining the unity of the Party. He is cutting Party's fighting force. Therefore, a Party member from any position will not be allowed to violate the Party discipline.

5. Why should Party fees be paid as prescribed [by Party regulations]?

Once admitted to the Party, the Party member should pay Party fees as prescribed [by Party regulations]. It is a duty that the Party member should fulfill. The purpose of paying Party fees is not only to share the Party expenditures but also to cause Party members to concern themselves with Party activities. Paying Party fees is not merely
meaningful in financial matters, but also meaningful in educating the Party member's sense of organization and discipline.

**QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION**

1. What are the prerequisites for admission to the Party? Why should such prerequisites be prescribed?

2. Why should the Party member accept the Party's [political] program and policies?

3. Why should he carry out activities in a Party base-level organization?

4. Why should the Party discipline be observed?

5. Why should Party fees be paid as prescribed [by Party regulations]?

**LESSON 5**

**PURPOSES AND REQUIREMENTS**

Correctly determine the attitude and motives behind the application for admission to the Party. Have the applicant experience a good and vigorous change in thought and spirit.

**POINT OF EMPHASIS**

Explain in detail paragraphs 1 and 4. This part is studied in association with the trainee's individual experience.

**STRIVE TO BECOME A PARTY MEMBER**

To become a Party member, proper understanding, attitude and action should be first required. Specifically:

1. **Proper motives and attitudes are required when applying for admission to the Party.**
It is essential for an applicant to clearly determine why he wants to join the Party, what is he joining the Party for? He must definitely answer this by himself before making application for admission to the Party.

Our Party is the vanguard Party of the workers' class. The Party leads this class and our people in the revolution to topple the old rotten and unjust regime, in order to establish a new regime where man does not exploit man. This is the most glorious but also the heaviest responsibility in history. It requires lofty sacrifices by our Party. Revolutionary people realize this and volunteer to join the Party, they are welcome. But to be admitted to the Party and to become a genuine Party member, one must definitely determine that one joins the Party for the rights and interests of one's class and of the people, that one joins the Party in order to be able to contribute fully to the noble undertaking of the people and of the class. One joins the Party in order to make sacrifice and struggle in the vanguard rank of one's class. It would be wrong to think that one joins the Party to satisfy one's personal wishes such as to satisfy one's curiosity, to show off oneself, to get a position, to command to other people, etc. With this thinking, one cannot become a Party member.

After applying for admission to the Party one must have a proper attitude. One should not be "positive" outwardly to show that one is progressive in order to obtain an early admission to the Party. Conversely one should not entertain doubts and negative thinking because one is not yet admitted to the Party. Both attitudes mentioned above are wrong and unworthy of a Party member. It is necessary to have a positive attitude and genuine cooperative thinking, to improve oneself unceasingly, to overcome one's deficiencies and promote one's strongpoints in order to become a Party member.

2. Strive to accomplish any mission assigned by the Party.

Though we are not yet Party members we are doing revolutionary work assigned by the Party. We should strive to accomplish it successfully. Whether the work is important
or a minor one, and whatever difficulty or hardship [we may encounter], we must always be ready to accept it and do it successfully. We must make positive and determined efforts in carrying out the mission not for the sake of our admission to the Party but because we are inspired by patriotism, deep love for people, and extreme hatred of the enemy. Our revolutionary stand and fighting spirit are reflected in our daily work. Therefore, in order to become a Party member earlier than usual, one should accomplish one's mission with eagerness and perseverance and struggle against the enemy with bravery.

3. Positive efforts should be made in studying politics.

To carry out the revolution is to engage in politics; therefore one should master politics. The Party member should have a better knowledge of politics than the masses. To be admitted to the Party one has to study politics actively. To study politics does not mean to learn lofty arguments. It only means to study the Party's [political] program and regulations, which provide a thorough knowledge of the Party. It is necessary to study the Party's policy and guideline in order to carry out the mission properly. For example, for the moment, we must study to understand how to proceed towards the general offensive, general uprising, what is the guideline for armed struggle and political struggle, what is the Front policy, the troop proselyting and puppet proselyting policy, etc.

While studying politics, we must pay attention to two aspects:

- First, to carry out active work. Through the reality of work, we will get an increasing understanding of the Party's stand and policy.

- Second, to study politics in meetings, in the exchange of ideas with Party members and cadre, to learn from them.

When one lacks the sense of studying politics and an active understanding of the Party's line and policy, one is not yet able to join the Party.
4. Unceasingly improve revolutionary virtues and ethics.

To become a member of the Viet-Nam People's Revolutionary Party one should improve one's revolutionary virtues and ethics. Revolutionary virtues and ethics are the proletariat class' virtues and ethics. These can be summed up in these words: "unselfish dedication to the common interest". To obtain this virtue one should overcome individualism.

No matter how talented an individual is, he cannot become a Party member unless he gets rid of his individualism. Individualism leads man to errors. For example:

- Some people, when doing things, always think of their personal interests. They enjoy doing things which are beneficial to them regardless of the harm they are doing to the revolution.

- Some people are haughty, they consider themselves superior to anybody else. When doing something, they want to stand above everybody. They despise and denigrate others. They show an outward modesty but inwardly they are conceited and self-satisfied.

- Some others, when conditions are favorable, show eagerness and positive attitudes, but when meeting difficulties, they become negative, pessimistic and demoralized.

- They like to criticize others but do not like to be criticized. When criticizing others they are vehement in their arguments. But when doing self-critique, they are evasive and try to hide the truth.

- They do things for their own pleasure, they pay no regard to the organization and internal regulations. There are many other bad manifestations of individualism which should be overcome.

- To acquire for oneself the revolutionary virtue of "unselfish dedication to the common interest" one must pay attention to the following specific points:
Always think of the revolution's interest, always busy oneself with doing the job, never think of oneself. Always be ready to accept hardship before the people do, and enjoy happiness after them.

Wherever one happens to be, one should set an example by being ready to take over the work which others have not yet accomplished. Always lead the way in accomplishing every work. Have high ambitions but be eager to take on ordinary work.

When on duty or on combat missions, no matter how big the difficulties and hardships are, one must be determined to overcome them without complaining and flinching.

5. Be honest in self-critique and be ready to receive others' critiques.

Be honest in criticizing oneself. Point out the right and wrong of what one has thought or done. When deficiencies are noted, try to criticize oneself to prove that one likes to be improved. If one hides one's deficiencies and keeps others unaware of these, one cannot improve oneself through their critiques. Be ready to receive the critiques of the collective community or the masses and use these critiques to correct or to prevent one's shortcomings.

In addition to the improvement of oneself, one should think of the improvement of one's comrades. One should learn the good things from one's comrades and use friendly criticism to help them correct their shortcomings.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the right attitude and motives which an applicant for admission to the Party should have?

2. Why should one strive to accomplish every mission assigned by the Party?

3. Why should one actively study politics?
4. Why should one unceasingly improve one's revolutionary virtues and ethics and what virtues and ethics should be acquired?

THE END

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