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~~Some dissatisfaction over attitudes of urban intellectuals seems indicated in a 23 November Liberation Radio commentary which claims that "progressive intellectuals in the world approve our just struggle" and "consider siding with us" an "undeniable duty," and that "this truth will surely give our intellectuals food for thought" and will "prompt them to compare it with what they are doing." Urban intellectuals, it adds, "must adopt an appropriate attitude" and "must not turn your heads and feign ignorance" over U.S. "crimes."~~

Hanoi Edits "Cuu Long" Article on Guerrilla Warfare in South

A seemingly major addition to the literature on the conduct of the war in the South appears with Liberation Radio's 13 November broadcast of an article on guerrilla warfare under the pseudonym "Cuu Long" which was described as having been written for the daily and magazine editions of the DRV army organ QUAN DOI NHAN DAN. The identity of Cuu Long is not known* but he speaks with obvious authority regarding the war in the South. And the article takes on added significance when it is published in QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on 20 November and broadcast by Hanoi radio to the South on 28, 29 and 30 November with a number of apparently sensitive passages deleted or modified.

Cuu Long's article discusses the scope and potential of guerrilla war in unusual detail. And while he notes in passing that the "regulars" play the decisive role in the war as a whole, his major thesis is that at this stage guerrilla action can successfully counter the allies despite their troop buildup, superior weaponry, and air power. The article comes in the wake of considerable propaganda on military theory. Cuu Long now refers to the Front's guerrilla warfare conference, which Liberation Radio reported on 20 October, saying that it had "determined the procedures for organizing the three types of forces at the basic level." In June, July and August there was a flurry of statements on military matters in the propaganda. Most notably an article in HOC TAP by Nguyen Chi Thanh, broadcast by Hanoi to the South on 24 July, detailed allegedly hypothetical pitfalls which the Viet Cong avoided during the dry season. And at the end of July and early August, Hanoi released speeches at a mid-May "determined-to-win" congress of youth of the armed forces by First Secretary Le Duan, Defense Minister Giap and Gen. Song Hao.

* The last available article attributed to Cuu Long was one carried by Liberation Radio on 7 September which predicted a new U.S. dry season offensive and discussed strengths and weaknesses of the Viet Cong and the allies in somewhat polemical terms.

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Some of Hanoi's deletions of the Cuu Long article raise the possibility of differences on a high level including such basic questions of the role of the VPA in the South and the matter of control of the Viet Cong. The article is notable for its stress on the importance of "organizing the revolutionary masses," and the author cites Le Duan as well as the NFLSV Central Committee as his authority on this matter. Hanoi deletes a quotation from Le Duan on the subject as well as a subsequent reference to him. Hanoi retains Cuu Long's assertion that "leadership over the guerrilla war in various localities is not limited to military matters and cannot be understood as mainly the task of military organs." But Hanoi omits the following passage which says that the matter of leadership must be further discussed.

In the discussion of the role and nature of guerrilla warfare, Hanoi deletes from the middle of a sentence the specification of erroneous concepts as "the idea of depending on concentrated troops and of overestimating the enemy's forces and weapons." And Hanoi omits from a passage on the need for continued attack that statement that: "in this fierce struggle, to pause at the defensive is to invite the danger of being annihilated. Even if we do not attack the enemy, he will attempt to exterminate us."

Hanoi also excises Cuu Long's unusual details regarding the composition of the guerrilla force: it reports his statement that forces waging guerrilla warfare include all the armed forces from the main-force troops to the regional troops, but it omits his disclosure that they also include "special armed forces, such as the special task force and the ranger force." Hanoi also excises a subsequent reference to "the special task force, the engineer corps, and surveillance units." Hanoi also truncates a lengthy passage in which Cuu Long discusses the organization of the different categories of troops--including "hamlet, village, and intervillage" guerrillas and "specialized and secret" guerrillas.

Hanoi Continues to Show Concern Over Internal Problems

LE DUC THO ARTICLE IN NHAN DAN

An article by Le Duc Tho in the 7 November NHAN DAN voices open concern over the shortcomings of some party cadres and stresses that improving the relationship between basic party organizations and the masses is an "urgent demand which must receive the greatest attention." He asserts that commandism and violation of "mass rights" exist in a "serious degree at the basic level." While some of this is a matter of misunderstanding, he says, there are also cases of "bad motives."