GENERAL STAFF OF USSR ARMED FORCES
MAIN RECONNAISSANCE DIRECTORATE

TOP SECRET
Copy No.

REPORT
FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TsK PTV [Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party], KHOANG ANYA,
XX PLENUM OF THE TsK PTV,
WHICH WAS HELD IN THE END OF DECEMBER 1970-
BEGINNING OF JANUARY 1971

(Translated from Vietnamese)

Moscow - 1971

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[handwritten "[1 illeg.] pages 11, 18"]
... significant quantity of the enemy. At the same time, we avoided heavy losses on our part. That is also a huge victory for our strategic policy.

Now another issue. When we published the names of the 368 American fliers who were shot down and taken prisoner on DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] territory, the opportunists started to say that this was a concession to the Americans. That is incorrect. It is not a concession, but rather, a blow to Nixon politically. We have gained much by this. The opportunists are saying that we are making concessions to the Americans at the Paris negotiations also. That too is incorrect. Our policy at the negotiations is correct.

Thus, as a whole, we are pursuing a correct policy; although, we do make some mistakes. The opportunists' group seizes these few mistakes in order to prove that our party's entire course is erroneous. Its members say that we are afraid of difficulties and sacrifices. That is untrue. We are not afraid of sacrifices and difficulties, but another thing too must be taken into consideration: our people have been engaged in continuous armed struggle for 25 years. During this time a great many people perished. If we were really afraid of sacrifices and difficulties, as the opportunists claim, then we would not have started an armed conflict against the Americans. One must see the connection between victories and losses and objectively evaluate the situation.

Naturally, we have [made] mistakes in military matters in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in matters of economic organization in the DRV and in matters of raising the well-being of the population. We are especially concerned about the question of improving the living conditions of the people. One must take into consideration that our possibilities in this area are limited at the present, and therefore, this problem has not yet been solved. Besides all else, the opportunists are preventing us from solving it.

We clearly see the opportunists' mistakes at this Plenum also. After thoroughly analyzing their views, we will give them a definite fight. We reserve for them the right and the opportunity to admit their mistakes and to correct them. Then they will again be able to serve the party and the people.
...to strike a crippling blow to our rear area, it will gain a huge advantage in the military theater of operations.

Our losses from enemy air operations are great, yet the enemy does not have the strength through air operations alone to inflict such damage as to have ruinous consequences for us. However, if the enemy using its diversionary forces (and other forces) launches an invasion of the North, we will suffer heavy losses. Therefore, we must raise our vigilance and repulse all of the aggressors' intrigues; since, in our opinion, the enemy may launch such an invasion using infantry and marines with powerful air and naval support. We believe that the enemy will not try to invade the whole of North Vietnamese territory but only those regions where there are important communications which lead to Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. Together with achieving their military goals, the enemy expects that an invasion would put political pressure on us, would demoralize the people and would force them to give up the struggle for the liberation of the South.

Now, I want to dwell on one more issue - about the captured American fliers. The total number of captured American fliers in the DRV consists of 735 people. As I have already stated, we published the names of 368 fliers. That's our diplomatic step. If the Americans will agree to withdraw their forces from South Vietnam, we will, for the beginning, return these 368 people to them. And when the Americans finish withdrawing their forces, we will give the rest back to them. The issue of the captured American fliers, by virtue of the abovementioned, is of great importance to us.

As a whole, speaking about the situation in South Vietnam, I want to emphasize that it is favorable to us, even though we are encountering considerable difficulties. We will try to do everything within our power to achieve greater successes in South Vietnam.

In Cambodia, after the reactionary coup on 18 March 1970 and after American-Saigon forces were moved into its [Cambodian] territory... [remainder of document is missing]