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ACTION ARA 16

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4739

INFO AMCONSUL SAGO DE LOS CABALLEROS 704

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SUBJECT: PRD CONVENTION SPEECH BY PENA GOMEZ

REF: SD 1859

SUMMARY: IN PRD CONVENTION KEYNOTE SPEECH, SEC GEN PENA GOMEZ GAVE LENGTHY REPORT RE HIS TERM IN OFFICE; CONFIRMED "NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY" POSTURE OF PARTY; ASSERTED NEED FOR PARTY ORIENT SELF TOWARD EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS; SAID LEGISLATIVE BLOC SHOULD RETIRE DEFINITELY ONLY WHEN "NATIONAL CRISIS" WARRANTS SUCH MOVE; ADVISED PARTY NOT PLOT AGAINST BALAGUER GOVT, BUT WARNED IT BE PREPARED IN CASE US MILITARY ADVENTURES IN ASIA OBLIGED PRD USE REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE; DEFINED "POPULAR DICTATORSHIP" AS NON-COMMUNIST, POLY-CLASS GOVT WITHIN CAPITALIST SYSTEM; DEFENDED BOSCH AS "STANDARD BEARER L.A. REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT," BUT EMPHASIZED HIS NON-INTERFERENCE WITH PRD LEADERS.

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1. FOLLOWING SINGING OF NATIONAL, PRD AND CONSTITUTIONALIST HYMNS BY SOME 270 DELEGATES, PRD SEC GEN PENA GOMEZ OPENED FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION FEB. 24 WITH 1-1/4 HOUR ACCOUNTING HIS STEWARDSHIP DURING PAST 16 MOS AND POLICY STATEMENT FOR FUTURE. ALL FOLLOWING NOTEWORTHY POINTS EITHER QUOTATIONS FROM OR PARAPHRASES OF PENA.

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2. BOSCH GOVT, WHICH ALLIED WITH DEMOCRATIC LEFT ELSEWHERE IN L.A., ACCEPTED AID FROM ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, BELIEVED IN CREATIVE OPPOSITION, REVOLUTION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ALLIANCE. BUT COUP AGAINST BOSCH (WHICH HAD AT LEAST SYMPATHY US MILITARY MISSION), 1965 INTERVENTION AND PRD DEFEAT IN 1966 ELECTIONS (BECAUSE OF US OCCUPATION) CONVINCED PRD COULD NOT WORK WITH USG. SO CONCEPT REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM BORN AS NATURAL REACTION AGAINST US INTERVENTION, FAILURE OF ALLIANCE, AND INFLUENCE OLD LEADERS OF DEMOCRATIC LEFT WHO, EXCEPT BOSCH, ALL IN TIME BECAME COLLABORATORS WITH US INTERVENTION. CONVENTION OF OCT. 1966 WAS TURNING POINT AT WHICH PARTY ABANDONED "CREATIVE OPPOSITION" AND ADOPTED "REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM" (I.E., AS POINT WHERE PARTY IN EFFECT ABANDONED DEMOCRATIC LEFT).

2. CONCERNING FINANCES, SOURCE GREAT PRIDE PR HAS NO ECONOMIC

PAGE THREE RUESSD 1889 C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
UMBILICAL CORD BINDING IT TO WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, PEKING, ROME, BONN, OR HAVANA. PRD INTERNATIONALIST PARTY IN THAT BELIEVES IN WORLD STRUGGLE EXPLOITED PEOPLES; WILL ACCEPT WHATEVER AID FROM FRATERNAL PARTY (AS IN SWEDEN), BUT ALLOW NO ONE RUN ITS AFFAIRS. (NOTE: OTHER REPORTS CONCERNED ORGANIZATION; LABOR, WHICH ARRANGING FINANCIAL AID FOR PRD WORKERS BY EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS; WOMEN'S AFFAIRS; DISCIPLINARY COUNCIL; JRD, WHICH "ONE OF PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL VANGUARDS.")

3. LEGISLATIV BLOC: SEN. SECUNDINO GIL MORALES' SUGGESTION BLOC RETIRE DEFINITELY SHOWS GRAT SPIRIT SELF-SACRIFICE, BUT SHOULD NOT BE APPROVED NOW. BLOC SHOULD RETIRE ONLY IN NATIONAL CRISIS REQUIRING PARTY TAKE DEFINITIVE STAND AGAINST POLITICAL FORCES EXERCISING POWER, IN OBVIOUS CONCESSION TO FEELINGS OF MODERATE OR "LESS RADICAL" ELEMENTS PREDOMINATING IN PRD CONGRESSIONAL BLOC, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TO RETIRE NOW WOULD WORK FINANCIAL HARDSHIP ON LEGISLATORS' FAMILIES, DEPRIVE ARRESTED PRDERS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY OF PROTECTIVE INTERVENTION BY CONGRESSMEN. "TAKING ABOVE INTO ACCOUNT, NAT. EXEC. COMM. AGREES SHOULD RETIRE PARLIAMENTARY BLOC DEFINITELY ONLY IN CASE PRD TAKEN TO INSURRECTIONIST POSITION" (SEE REFTEL).

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4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: LA PARTICIPATION IN IAPF, SELL-OUT OF SOME OLD L.A. ALLIES' PRINCIPLES CONVINCED PRD HAD TURN TO EUROPE FOR SUPPORT DENIED BY AMERICA. PRD'S BEST ALLIES ARE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, SUCH AS PARTIES IN SWEDEN, DENMARK, AUSTRIA, GERMANY, UK LABOR PARTY, UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY IN ITALY, FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION IN GERMANY.

5. TERM AS SECGEN (SINCE OVT. 1966) AS SEEN ONE OF BLOODIER CHAPTERS IN PRD HISTGOY. AT LEAST THOSE KILLED IN 1965 DIED DEFENDING FLAG, WERE NOT GUNNED DOWN BY COWARDLY ASSASSINS. ANY DEMOCRACY WHICH ALLOWS CRIME GO UNPUNISHED IS UNWORTHY OF NAME. THIS FAULTY DEMOCRACY RUNS RISK BEING ERASED BY AMBITIONS RIGHTISTS, YEARNING RESTORE CORRUPTION, MILITARY DICTATORSHIP. ALSO (REFLECTING SOME FAVORITE BOSCH VIEWS) SAID MAY VANISH OR CHANGE INTO ANTI-DEMOCRACY IF POLITICAL SITUATION IN ASIA DETERIORATES FURTHER, IF NEW BATTLEFRONTS OPENED, OR IF US IMPELLED USE L.A. MANPOWER IN SMALL COUNTRIES LIKE VIETNA WHICH NOT RESIGNED HEARING TRAMP FOREIGN BOOTS IN STREETS OR UNPENETRABLE JUNGLE. WILL VANISH ALSO IF SOLOSSUS OF AMERICA CONFRONTS COLOSSUS OF ASIA AS RESULT EXPANSION VIETNAM WAR.

6. PRD MUST PREPARE FOR ABOVE EVENTUALITIES, "MUST HAVE COVERED

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ALL AVENUES LEADING TO POWER AND MUST TAKE ROAD MOST CONVENIENT, ACCORDING CIRCUMSTANCES. WHILE NATIONAL GOLPISTAS EXISTED, PARTY HAD TO SPEAK OF "RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONALITY WITHOUT ELECTIONS." THOSE AT PRESENT EXERCISING POWER NOT GOLPISTAS, AND PRD SHOULD NOT CONSPIRE AGAINST BALAGUER GOVT. HOWEVER, COUNTRY CONTROLLED BY INTERNATIONAL GOLPISTAS WHO GLAD SEE BOSCH'S OVERTHROW, HELPED THWART HIS RETURN IN 1965. BY MILITARY ADVENTURES IN ASIA

THOSE US INTERNATIONAL COUP PROAMOTERS
COULD DRAG DR INTO SITUATION "IN WHICH PRD WOULD FIND ITSELF OBLIGED ABANDON PEACEFUL METHOD OF STRUGGLE AND TURN TO REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH STRONG GOVT, WHICH WOULD

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BE POPULAR DICTATORSHIP (SEE REFTEL).

7. "POPULAR DICTATORSHIP:" BOSCH'S THESIS NOT SUBVERSIVE WEAPON AGAINST DEMOCRACY, BUT IS REMEDY FOR ABSENCE TRUE DEMOCRACY. IS CREATION, NOT NEGATION DEMOCRACY. POPULAR DICTATORSHIP NEITHER COMMUNISM NOR DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETAIAT, BUT POLY-CLASS GOVT-"POLITICAL CREATION WITHIN CAPITALISM BUT LEAVENED WITH SOCIALIST INSTITUTIONS." POPULAR DICTATORSHIP THESIS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED FOR HOUR WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES WILL DEMAND ITS APPLICATION. ALTHOUGH THESIS APPROVED BY NO CONVENTION

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AND PRESENT CONDITIONS NOT PROPITIOUS ITS IMPLANTATION, PARTY MUST KEEP DISCUSSING IT: TO STOP DISCUSSION WOULD FOOL PEOPLE, KEEPTHEM UNPREPARED FOR CHANGES POPULAR DICTATORSHIP WOULD BRING. (NOTE: DRAWING PARALLEL WITH PRD THESIS OF "RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONALITY WITHOUT ELECTIONS" IN EARLY 1965, POINTED OUT THAT THESIS TOO NEVER APPROVED BY ANY CONVENTION BUT ASSERTED PEOPLE ADOPTED IT AND DIED FOR IT.) HOWEVER, THOSE PRDERS WHO SAY POPULAR DICTATORSHIP ONLY ROAD TO POWER JUST AS MIS-TAKEN AS THOSE WHO SAY ELECTIONS ONLY METHOD POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR PARTY.

8. JUAN BOSCH: ACKNOWLEDGED WITHIN AND OUTSIDE PRD THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO SAY BOSCH "IRRESPONSIBLE CRAZY MAN" AND CALL PRD LEADERS HIS PUPPETS. BUT (DEFENDD BOSCH, SAYING:) WISEST POLITICAL PERSONALITIES OF WORLD RECOGNIZE HIM AS GREAT STANDARD BEARER L.A. REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT: AND BOSCH HAS BEEN VERY CAREFUL NOT INTERFERE WITH PRD LEADERS. "HIS LETTERS TO NAT EXEC COMM CAN BE COUNTED ON FINGERS ONE HAND."

9. COMMENT: REPORT BY PENA GOMEZ COVERED MAIN CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES WITHIN PRD EXCEPT FOR QUESTION OF ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION, WITH STRONG THREAD OF CONCERN FOR PARTY UNITY THROUGHOUT. AL-

PAGE SEVEN RUESSD 1889 C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
THOUGH WAS GENERALLY CONCILIATORY IN TONE AND CONTAINED CERTAIN CONCESSIONS TO PARTY MODERATES (E.G., ALLOWING LEGISLATORS

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REMAIN ON JOB), FOR MOST PART SPEECH REFLECTED RADICAL
REVOLUTIONARY COURSE ON WHICH PARTY HAS MOED. INTERESTING
NOTE PENA'S GREAT EMPHASIS ON NEED FOR PARTY LOOK TO EUROPEAN
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FOR SUPPORT, IN APPARENT EFFORT FILL VACUUM
LEFT BY ALLEGED FAILURE LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC LEFT.

10. CONVENTION DEVELOPMENTS WITH REGARD TO DECISION ON ELECTORAL
ABSTENTION AS WELL AS POST-CONVENTION REACTION BEING REPORTED
SEPARATELY.
EXEMPT

CRIMMINS

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