

ERRATA

We regret that a small part of the Castro/Walters interview was inadvertently omitted in our special issue (Vol. I, No. 11). Because we feel that this section sheds light on both individuals and we want you to have the complete text, here is the missing piece. —Eds

Walters: Do you have a house where you live? No one seems to know where it is.

Castro: Yes, of course and I even have a bed where I sleep.

Walters: Are you married?

Castro: What marriage do you mean, what do you call marriage?

Walters: What do I call marriage?

Castro: I am not married in the bourgeois sense.

Walters: Wait, wait, many of your people, your brother is married in a bourgeois way. You were married once in a bourgeois way, you have a son.

Castro: Yes, I married once.

Walters: And you are divorced. Many people in this country are married. You considered them all bourgeois people?

Castro: No, no. Well, there are many interpretations of all this. That is, there are different kinds of marriages. There is no longer the girl that became educated to marry a millionaire. There are differences. But I am going to ask a question.

Walters: Why not give an answer?

Castro: What is the importance of my being married or not and who cares? These are my problems. They do not belong to international public opinion, they belong to me. I can tell you the following: I'm a man that is totally free that owns my own life. The rest is detail, untranscendental details that have nothing to do with the Revolution nor politics.

Walters: Aha, but also, . . . You know the expression . . .

Castro: It is as if I would ask you if you have a boyfriend or do not have a boyfriend, if you are in love, if you are not in love.

Walters: If I were of very great interest I think there would be some people who might be interested.

Castro: In a personal conversation between us two we could talk about it. But why do we have to talk about it for the public at large?

(It is a well known fact that Fidel is quite close to Celia Sanchez. What is not generally well known is that Barbara Walters has been frequently seen, according to Seven Days sources, with New York Yankee owner and Cleveland shipbuilding tycoon, George Steinbrenner.—Eds.)

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ward" two decades ago at the time the Cambodian Communist party was being formed, this appears to mean involving the entire population in technical production, such as the famous Chinese "backyard steel furnaces." Ambassador Oberg reports that "an entirely new society is being built. There is no money in circulation and the cities are still virtually empty. The Cambodians explain that they don't have the resources to feed an urban population by buying food at high prices abroad." Everyone in Cambodia is a member of a production team; the rice crop is handed in to a central depot and rationed out by officials.

When current Cambodian documents refer to the Vietnamese in print, they now use the word "socialist" in quotation marks. The Vietnamese Communist party's cautious approach to collectivization and reliance on persuasion to get people out of the bloated cities in the south, and most of all the openness to foreign trade and even investment to bring in high-technology knowledge and machinery, is anathema to the Cambodian Communist leadership.

The Vietnamese have no doubt that they are building socialism, but they see this as a gradual process involving three revolutionary processes: the revolution in the way production is organized, the ideological and cultural revolution, and the scientific and technical revolution, which they consider the keystone. Following classical Marxist theory, they believe that the socialist transformation of society cannot be achieved without a modern industrial state.

Since Vietnam currently has little to offer in exchange for advanced technology, except workers, the Communist party is prepared to permit foreign investment until it does. From their perspective, this is a way of using resources which would otherwise be idle.

Aside from this decision to allow foreign investment, which is in large part a temporary expedient for reconstruction, roughly analogous to Lenin's New Economic Policy of the early 1920s, the Vietnamese economic development strategy is much closer to that of the Chinese than either is to the Cambodian. This indicates that Zbigniew Brzezinski's view of Cambodia as a puppet of China and Vietnam as a Soviet puppet is a case of power politics being in the eye of the beholder.

Politically, the Vietnamese strategy is also closer to that of the Chinese. The Communist party combines individual choice with collective pressure in personal affairs and enforces rules strictly on larger matters. The unemployed are asked to

move to the new agricultural zones, but they are not forced to do so. Those who actively oppose the march toward socialism are dealt with firmly, usually by being sent to re-education sessions and, in cases of severe infractions, such as maintaining a secret anti-government printing press and hiding guns, by being sent to re-education camps where they do manual labor. For the population as a whole, the Communist party favors the development of a collectivist ideology in schools, lectures and meetings. The push toward socialism, however gradual, and the often harsh conditions of the reconstruction period have prompted continuing escape attempts by "boat people," but the napalm, the tiger cages, and the tortures which they suffered during the war, have not led the Vietnamese victors to initiate the "bloodbath" so confidently predicted by their American adversaries.

The Vietnamese Communists are now talking about the Cambodian Communists the way the American mass media talks about the Vietnamese. They say that thousands of Cambodians are fleeing to them because the Cambodian party leaders are brutally forcing the population "back to the Stone Age" with "infantile communist" theories they developed during their student days in Paris. Khieu Samphan, one of Cambodia's top leaders, did in fact obtain a doctorate in economics at the University of Paris with a dissertation arguing that integration into the world market was condemning Cambodia to permanent underdevelopment. (Vietnamese use of the term "back to the Stone Age" is interesting. This is exactly where General Curtis Le May suggested the U.S. Air Force bomb them if they didn't surrender. No one appears to have made a similar suggestion for Cambodia, where there was virtually nothing modern to bomb.) The different economic levels of the two countries could account to a large degree for their different approaches to development and the conflict between them.

Starting from nothing, the Cambodians appear to believe that they are better off developing through simple technology which can be mastered by everyone. The Vietnamese wish to expand their industrial base, which was first established on a small scale by the French and now has not only the socialist industry buildup in the north but the light industry acquired during the American era in the south. The Cambodian Communists fear that if closer relations are established with Vietnam, their nation of seven and a half million Cambodians will inevitably become an economic and political dependency of its more industrialized neighbor with 50 million inhabitants.