

In his campaign Senator Frei promised the Chilean people progress with freedom—to be achieved through hard work. That is a pledge of a statesman, not a demagog. As a statesman he did not deceive the people by easy promises and baseless pledges. He stated candidly what is known to political leaders in every country on every continent: that rapid social and economic progress is not easily achieved, that sound enlightened policies and discipline, sacrifice, and hard work are required. In Chile, as elsewhere, there is no progress in evasion, no solution in abdication—no relief in irresponsibility.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. **HUMPHREY**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an additional 5 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **HUMPHREY**. Senator Frei has indicated that there will be national burdens to be shared as well as individual burdens to be lifted. His determination to follow enlightened policies and to mobilize the resources of Chilean society to meet the needs of his people should be matched by a parallel willingness on the part of the U.S. Government, European governments, and international agencies to assist the new Government in achieving economic growth and social improvement. The U.S. Government should give strong support to the new Chilean Government in implementing policies furthering economic development and social progress, just as it has given strong support to progressive governments like that of Betancourt and Leoni in Venezuela.

In pressing ahead with its new program, the Frei government will enjoy the advantages of a close relationship with Western Europe developed over a period of centuries. Europe has already assisted Chile in establishing a vast network of private and governmental organizations specifically geared to coping with the problems of an advanced technological society. In the coming years, European countries which are linked to Chile by culture, religion, and commerce will have a new opportunity to contribute to the success of the new Government.

In pursuing its goals of economic modernization and greater social equality, the new Government may seek a role for the state closer to that of modern European nations than to that prevailing in the United States. But it would be a mistake at this time to categorize the new Government as "statist" in its orientation, thereby ignoring the pluralist philosophy of Senator Frei and his party which has always accorded to private nongovernmental agencies a large role in the governing of society. The new Chile will not be the same—but we should not confuse rapid changes that are needed with violent changes that are dangerous. The new Government will meet its problems in its own way. Chile is a country with a great respect for law and for peaceful change. And we can take heart that the new Government is committed to realizing the objectives of the Alliance for Progress, that it is a

government that is pro-Western in a profound sense, that it is a government dedicated to the preservation and progress of the inter-American system.

President Johnson has already indicated the willingness of our Government to cooperate with the new Government. I look forward to cooperating with a new partner in the Alliance for Progress program, my esteemed friend, Senator Eduardo Frei.

It has been my privilege to know this distinguished Senator in the Chilean Government; and I am delighted that his efforts have been crowned by victory. It speaks well for progress and freedom in America. Every citizen of the United States should be grateful that the processes of democracy have once again proved to be valid and have brought forth a government which is responsible and forward looking, for the benefit of a great people and a friendly republic in the Western Hemisphere.

THE THREAT OF CASTRO'S CUBA

Mr. **DOMINICK**. Mr. President, I agree with what the Senator from Minnesota has said, and I am delighted to note what has happened in Chile. It is an extremely welcome development for the whole democratic process and for the Western Hemisphere. We were all concerned about the situation, and the results have been most gratifying.

However, a problem exists which is much closer to us than the events in Chile, and that is the problem of Cuba.

Absolutely nothing has come out of the administration or the State Department as to a policy with respect to Cuba. No matter how many times we have discussed the situation, all we have had to greet us is dead silence. There has been no move to permit democratic processes to operate in Cuba. All we have had has been a continued infiltration from Castro's communism into Latin American countries.

To keynote this situation, I refer to a letter dated September 2, 1964, from the Cuban Circle of Denver, Colo. The letter has attached to it "An Open Letter to Uncle Sam," or to the U.S. Government.

It is of sufficient importance that I feel it should be placed in the **RECORD**. Before I do so, I wish to quote two paragraphs, which I believe to be of extreme importance. They read as follows:

And when will you finally be convinced that as long as Fidel Castro exists in America, you will enjoy no loyalty, no respect, no truthfulness, no peace, no Alliance for Progress?

Yes, Uncle Sam, as long as Fidel Castro tramps in Communist Cuba you will continue to go through a period of discredit. You may not think so because, surrounded by your nuclear powers, you imagine that nothing can discredit you. But the rest of the world thinks differently. As long as Fidel Castro can vituperate and slander you, confiscate your property without compensation; threaten you with rockets, cut your water supply from Guantanamo Naval Base; while a Russian puppet can shout insults to you at arms reach as Fidel has done, your capital stock as a world power deteriorates and your leadership becomes questionable.

I believe that these two paragraphs are of tremendous significance with respect to our relationships with Latin America and our relationships with all our allies. The letter is of such import that I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the **RECORD** at this point of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the **RECORD**, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO UNCLE SAM

(NOTE.—This letter was prepared and read by Dr. Humberto Medrano, ex-subdirector of the newspaper Prensa Libre, of Havana, Cuba, at present editorialist of Diario Las Americas in Miami, Fla., at the 1964 patriotic "Grito de Baire" celebration, sponsored by Accion Civico-Economica Cubana (an organization that groups men from Cuba's extinguished free enterprise) at Hotel La Concha, San Juan, P.R.)

UNCLE SAM: This is a letter from a real friend and sincere admirer.

Of my friendship there is written proof. Of my admiration there is an adequate record. I am an exiled Cuban.

My exile does not come from the fact that I was materially affected; rather, because my personal principles were betrayed. As it is, I chose to sacrifice material belongings in behalf of my principles.

Among my principles was my loyalty to your Nation; a loyalty inspired mostly in what this Nation means and represents as an image of my political creed and as a banner of my faith.

Let it then stand that whatever I may say herein arises from these ties that bind me to you and not from discrepancies between us. For none separate us. By your side I stood in my country when powerful pro-Soviet agents began to slander and curse you. I came to your country when I could no longer materially protect those ideals that strongly compose the historical foundation of our respective countries. And I came not seeking for a place to keep on living, but rather, for a beachhead to keep on fighting for those ideals.

I maintain my faith in you. In your people I can see unending sources of energy. To me, you are far from being the land of youthful gangsters or of the hysterical teenagers. Yours is the land of the brave and I behold you as the birthplace of those who through concentrated effort and well-rooted heroism have built up a nation where all liberties exist and all rights are respected; even those of the young gangsters and of the hysterical teenagers.

However, I must sincerely advise you that this is an hour of receding tide for you. Perhaps you are not aware how fast the tide is receding, probably because your good judgment appears shadowed precisely by your unlimited resources at hand. Perhaps your own powers distract you and your overwhelming achievements have given you excessive confidence to the extent that they have softened you.

But there is an indisputable fact that stands above your strength and above your accomplishments. Those accomplishments and the authority that preserves them are today being threatened by communism.

In view of this menace you cling to your nuclear power. Some of your key policymakers believe that, in the last instance, "we have such a tremendous destructive power that it will force the enemy to hesitate before launching any attack on our country."

Wrong, communism does not intend to wage a declared war. Its aim is to suffocate you. Its tactics are to surround you with hostility, treating and extending all over the world zones of unfriendliness and disaffection; introducing mistrust and division—

ism among your allies; undermining your rearguard through the subversion and control of Latin America.

Communism knows that when you lose Latin America, you have lost America. Because, once fenced in within your vital space and overtaken your last geopolitical bulwarks, your atomic powers will have been invalidated. You will then have to face surrender without firing a single shot.

A defeat to which many of your "fifth columnists" with democratic credentials, will have contributed from the inside with a cry for surrender, as they now cry for appeasement.

To this purpose your enemies are progressing. But you seem not to realize it or to have fairly judged how far they have advanced. The fact that you are constantly losing the support of your allies, as well as zones of influence everywhere, should grant you the measure of your losses, or of their gains.

You declared an economic embargo on communistic Cuba. Yet Britain, France, Spain, Canada, Japan, Morocco, Sweden, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay, all of which are your would-be allies, trade with Castro communism. We all know it displeases you. But they don't care. Why?

There is only one reason, Uncle Sam: They consider you weak and in retreat. Your associates no longer have faith in you and seem eager to dissolve the partnership. They believe that their political shares will be under better protection if they follow their own policies or merge with the rising stocks of socialism.

Whether we like it or not, Uncle Sam, crowds always follow the stronger and prefer a winner. For quite some time these countries may have thought that while right is on your side, aggressiveness and power are on the side of Russia.

Are they wrong? Yes, but it doesn't matter. That you continue to be the leader and your powers instead of weakening have increased? Correct, but that does not show up in appearance. You are strong, but look weak. Russia may be weak, but appears strong. And unfortunately, people are led by appearances. If it were not so, Fidel Castro would not be there now.

There is no doubt, Uncle Sam, that your atomic power is greater than Russia's, but Russia's power of motivated propaganda is greater than yours. You know how to manufacture and sell refrigerators better than anyone else, but Russia knows how to convince those that lack refrigerators that you are to blame that they do not have them.

Russia has studied you for 40 years. During that period they have learned that due to your enormous productive capacity, they could not lick you face to face by force. Therefore, the Pavlov Institute arrived at the conclusion that they must face you through the psychological low blows of a cold war, which, after all, is a war of propaganda.

In this sense they have a big advantage over you. Why? Because you are guided by good faith while Russia is not. You stand on truth which receives less dissemination. Whereas, Russia leans on spectacular lies, which, unfortunately, find greater echo.

In this manner they have been able to convince many that, in spite of your driving initiative, to side with you is to side with a declining world, while lining up with communism (which is a system of failures incapable of supporting itself) is like falling in line for the world of tomorrow.

To these contradictions are added others well elaborated and further broadcasted: That your liberties are unfair while communistic slavery is just; that you, paying the highest wages, exploit workers, while they, who pay least, redeem workers. That your magnanimous aid, even to non-Democratic countries, should be despised, and that

they who despise everything noncommunist, should be aided.

They have pierced so deeply in this respect that even you are by now a victim of their propaganda. The proof is that while they emphasize the weakness of capitalism you help them make good their failures with wheat and rice from your reserves. While you respect their "vital space," they take a foothold on yours.

Why do you allow this, Uncle Sam? Why do you accept the stigma of imperialism which you do not deserve? Why don't you use your mighty strength to clean enemies out of your vital spaces?

If you did it, you would not only remove the sword from your back, but you would also recover your prestige, revitalize yourself, and regain authority at home and abroad. Should you do it you would end the numerous conflicts that beset you everywhere. Furthermore, you would regain the respect of the old nations and share it with the new ones. Your friends would stop flirting with your enemies and no one would dare dishonor your flag.

To counteract the corrosive action of communism within your vital space in America you have devised the Alliance for Progress. A wonderful project on a long-term basis. However, you should not overlook the fact that communism disrupts on a short-term basis. Its challenge and its sources of disturbance are there, right at your doorstep, only 90 miles from your coastline or found in a load of weapons on a Venezuelan beach. This produces one of the great obstacles to the "Allianza": fear. Those who must yield something, do not, for fear of losing it all. Unfortunate, but human.

Besides, when will you be convinced that loyalty has nothing to do with money? Hasn't history taught us that men are capable of selling themselves for money but that only for ideals will men stay loyal, fight and even die?

And when will you finally be convinced that as long as Fidel Castro exists in America, you will enjoy no loyalty, no respect, no truthfulness, no peace, no Alliance for Progress?

Yes Uncle Sam, as long as Fidel Castro tramps in Communist Cuba you will continue to go through a period of discredit. You may not think so because surrounded by your nuclear powers, you imagine that nothing can discredit you. But the rest of the world thinks differently. As long as Fidel Castro can vituperate and slander you, confiscate your property without compensation; threaten you with rockets, cut your water supply from Guantanamo Naval Base; while a Russian puppet can shout insults to you at arms reach as Fidel has done, your capital stock as a world power deteriorates and your leadership becomes questionable.

Leadership is not attained by forbearance, but by the proper exercise of power. Real leadership implies recognition from those being led and such acknowledgement implies demonstration. You are a natural leader, Uncle Sam, and you have ample qualifications to be one and to act accordingly. But show it now; prove to the world and prove it to yourself as you have done so many times before. You will see how soon insults and disturbances will disappear and above all, how blackmailing from certain Latin American countries will end.

By no means think that the undersigned is asking you to send the "Marines" into Cuba for them to gift us with a free country. You would have to fight according to rules and the rules say that territories to be taken must be first bombarded. I do not want devastation nor occupation for my Cuba unless we Cubans are in the first fighting line. I do not want, dear Uncle Sam, any flag above my flag.

I want your friendship for Cuba and I

want Cuba to be always a friendly territory to you. I want Cuba to be a fruitful land for your investments and a fraternal country for your ideals. But I also want a free and respected nation. I want you to respect our little island just as we respect your great United States. I want Cuba and the United States to have common interest and objectives and I do not want you ever to feel threatened or unsafe when you think of Cuba. As well, I want you to look to Cuba as a sister nation.

In pursuit of such friendly collaboration, the only thing that we exiled Cubans wholeheartedly request from you is that you help us today. That you give us that help as openly and as decisively as Russia helps her followers.

If you really help us, Uncle Sam, if you give us the green light now, allowing us to fight for our country—which is the least you can do for us—we will regain Cuba, not only for the sake of Cuban liberation, but for the sake of continental solidarity.

When this comes to pass, you will have not only recovered a friendly nation, but you will have protected your front-door and your rearguard and you will hold the guarantee that even if Russia harasses you in Africa, America will be faithful. You will never attain such faithfulness as long as Cuba remains a military and political base of the Soviet Union.

Fraternally yours,

HUMBERTO MEDRANO.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S SPEECH ON "BASIC ISSUES"

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, Senator FULBRIGHT typifies—indeed he often molds—the foreign policy thinking of the Democratic administration. This thinking is marked by its misunderstanding of communism, its misreading of history, its deliberate falsification of the Republican position and its intellectual dishonesty with itself and with the American people. All of these elements are contained in the vicious and distorted rendering Senator FULBRIGHT gave on this floor yesterday during the morning hour. He called his speech, the "Basic Issues." It would have been more appropriately termed "the basest issues."

The Senator's misunderstanding of communism is perhaps best illustrated by his writings. In 1946, for example, during the Stalinist period, he wrote in defense of the Russian Communist revolution, saying:

Since we have been the most successful revolutionary people in history, why are we so critical of others who follow our example?

The Senator has been amazingly consistent in his interpretation of communism down through the years, never letting the facts of history or the atrocities of communism alter his belief that the American revolutionaries and the Communist revolutionaries somehow had something in common or that the two systems are not only basically compatible but contain identical elements.

His misreading of history is evident in the above as well as in many passages of his vitriolic attack on Senator GOLDWATER yesterday. For example, he disputed the historically documentable fact that communism itself perceives the cold war as a struggle between two conflicting ideologies of which one must eventually give way to the other. He ascribes this