

News from Senator

# BOB DOLE



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH  
MIAMI, FLORIDA -- WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1987

OUR GOAL: A FREE CUBA

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY FOR MANY REASONS -- BUT MOST OF ALL BECAUSE, ON THIS INDEPENDENCE DAY, I SHARE WITH YOU THIS GOAL: THAT CUBA BE FREE.

I KNOW THIS IS A BROAD-BASED, NON-PARTISAN GROUP. YOUR INTERESTS ARE VARIED; YOUR VIEWS DIVERSE. BUT BECAUSE THIS IS CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, I WANT TO SPEND MOST OF MY TIME TODAY SHARING WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON WHAT'S GOING ON IN CUBA, AND HOW TO ACHIEVE OUR GOAL OF A FREE CUBA.

DURING THIS NEXT DECADE, WE WILL MAKE SOME CRITICAL CHOICES ON FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL SECURITY QUESTIONS. CHOICES WHICH WILL DETERMINE WHETHER THE WORLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY WILL SEE FREEDOM ON THE OFFENSIVE; AND THE FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM EXPANDING. OR A WORLD WHERE TYRANNY FLEXES ITS MUSCLES; AND EXTENDS ITS BORDERS OF STEEL AND BARBED-WIRE.

THE HEMISPHERIC CHALLENGE: NICARAGUA ...

MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STRUGGLES OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS WILL BE FOUGHT OUT IN THIS HEMISPHERE. WE WILL BE TESTED, IN OUR OWN BACKYARD.

RIGHT NOW, OUR ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON THE STRUGGLE IN NICARAGUA. THERE THE MARXIST SANDINISTAS ARE PROCEEDING HEADLONG ON AN EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY FOR SOVIET ARMS AND RUBLES; ON A WAR OF SUBVERSION AGAINST THEIR DEMOCRATIC NEIGHBORS; AND ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNIST POLICE-STATE AT HOME. LAST WEEK, SANDINISTA GOONS, ARMS DRAWN, AGAIN INVADDED THE OFFICES OF LA PRENSA, THE LAST VESTIGE OF THE FREE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRY. COMMUNIST TYRANNY AGAIN SHOWED ITS TRUE STRIPES.



THOSE OF US IN THIS HEMISPHERE WHO CHERISH OUR OWN FREEDOM, AND WANT TO SEE FREEDOM FOR ALL -- WE CANNOT RELENT IN OUR STRUGGLE UNTIL THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA HAVE A FAIR SHOT AT FREEDOM. THAT'S WHY WE SUPPORT THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN NICARAGUA. AND THAT'S WHY -- DESPITE ODDS WHICH, QUITE CANDIDLY, ARE RIGHT NOW AGAINST US -- I INTEND TO PERSIST IN MY EFFORTS TO WIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR CONTINUED AID TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

... AND CHILE

NOR -- AS A MATTER OF CONSISTENCY; A MATTER OF WHAT IS RIGHT -- CAN WE IGNORE OR ACCEPT THE TYRANNY OF THE RIGHT THAT CURRENTLY EXISTS IN CHILE. THE ISSUES ARE DIFFERENT THERE. THE TWIN THREATS OF CHAOS AND COMMUNISM ARE VERY REAL; AND REQUIRE VERY EFFECTIVE COUNTERACTION.

BUT TRYING TO FIGHT OFF THE TYRANNY OF THE LEFT BY IMPOSING A TYRANNY OF THE RIGHT IS NOT RIGHT. AND IN THE LONG RUN, IT WILL NOT BE EFFECTIVE.

SO LET US WORK TOWARD AN END TO OPPRESSION IN BOTH NICARAGUA AND CHILE. AND LET US NOT REST UNTIL BOTH COUNTRIES ARE FREE.

OUR BIGGEST CHALLENGE: CUBA

BUT AS I STAND BEFORE YOU TODAY, AND PONDER THE OCCASION WE ARE HERE TO CELEBRATE, I AM REMINDED MOST OF ALL THAT WE HAVE ANOTHER PROBLEM TO CONTEND WITH HERE IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

A PROBLEM BIGGER THAN THE ONES IN NICARAGUA AND CHILE.

A PROBLEM CLOSER TO OUR SHORES.

A PROBLEM MORE CENTRAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

AND A PROBLEM MORE TRAGIC, IN TERMS OF THE HUMAN SUFFERING AND INDIGNITY IT HAS IMPOSED UPON A GREAT AND GOOD PEOPLE.

THAT PROBLEM IS THE COMMUNIST TYRANNY IN CUBA.

IT IS TIME THAT WE PULLED OUR HEADS FROM OUT OF THE SAND; TOOK A GOOD, HARD LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO CUBA, AND WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE NOW; AND STARTED DOING WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

START WITH CLEAR GOALS

THE FIRST STEP, IS TO BE CLEAR ABOUT -- AND TO BE PROUD OF -- OUR GOALS.

CONTAINMENT OF COMMUNISM IS FINE -- AS A TACTIC. BUT IT IS NOT OUR GOAL.



AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE FINE -- IF THEY SERVE OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. BUT I WANT NO PART OF ANY AGREEMENT WHICH SAYS, IN EFFECT: WHAT'S OUR IS OPEN TO ATTACK; AND WHAT'S MOSCOW'S IS FOREVER SECURE. AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, THERE IS NO SANCTUARY FOR TYRANNY -- NOT IN HAVANA; NOT IN ANY CORNER OF THE GLOBE. AND, AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, I DO NOT CONSIDER ANY AGREEMENT VALID WHICH INVOLVES DEALING AWAY THE FREEDOM OF ONE PEOPLE TO BOLSTER THE SECURITY OF ANOTHER.

OUR GOAL IS A FREE CUBA. LET'S SAY IT PROUDLY. OUR PLEDGE IS TO WORK WITH THOSE WHO SHARE THAT GOAL, WHETHER THEY ARE IN THIS ROOM; INSIDE CUBA; OR ANYWHERE ELSE AROUND THE GLOBE. AND OUR HOPE IS THAT, BEFORE THIS CENTURY IS OUT, WE CAN RECOGNIZE -- AND WORK COOPERATIVELY -- WITH A GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE OF CUBA.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA

SO BEING CLEAR ABOUT OUR GOALS IS THE FIRST STEP. BEING REALISTIC ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON IN CUBA IS THE SECOND. AND BEING REALISTIC, IN THIS CASE, MEANS BEING NEITHER NAIVELY OPTIMISTIC; NOR RESOLUTELY PESSIMISTIC.

NOW LET ME SAY, AT THIS POINT, THAT NO ORGANIZATION HAS DONE MORE TO KEEP ALL OF US INFORMED ABOUT WHAT'S REALLY HAPPENING IN CUBA THAN THE CUBAN-AMERICAN FOUNDATION. AND, AS A WASHINGTONIAN, I SHOULD ALSO NOTE THAT THE FOUNDATION CAN BE VERY PROUD OF ITS WASHINGTON OFFICE -- FRANK (CALZON) AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE DOING A SUPERB JOB KEEPING US ON TOP OF EVENTS.

SO, WITH THIS ORGANIZATION'S HELP, WE DEAL WITH REALITY, GOOD AND BAD. CASTRO IS WELL-ESTABLISHED. HE IS NOT GOING TO DISAPPEAR OVERNIGHT. AND THE KIND OF REGIME HE HAS BUILT IS NOT GOING TO DISAPPEAR IN THE SHORT TERM.

AND LET ME STRESS THAT I AM NOT CALLING FOR DIRECT AMERICAN MILITARY ACTION TO MAKE THAT REGIME DISAPPEAR. CASTRO IS BUTTRESSED BY SOVIET ARMS, AND HE IS PROTECTED BY SOVIET COMMITMENTS. THOSE ARE FACTS THAT NONE OF US ARE HAPPY ABOUT. BUT THEY ARE FACTS.

BUT THEY ARE NOT THE ONLY FACTS. SO LET'S REMEMBER THESE FACTS, TOO.

#### THE ECONOMY IN SHAMBLES

THE ONLY REASON CASTRO ENJOYS ANY SECURITY AT ALL IS BECAUSE OF THE FORCE OF SOVIET ARMS. HIS POLICIES ARE FAILED. HIS CHARISMA IS A FAST-FADING MYTH. HIS DOMESTIC SUPPORT IS SHRINKING. AND HIS GOVERNMENT IS VIRTUALLY BANKRUPT.

THE PRICE OF SUGAR, CUBA'S MAIN EXPORT, HAS COLLAPSED. THE PRICE OF OIL -- PROVIDED BY THE SOVIETS IN AID, AND SOLD ON WORLD MARKETS TO GENERATE HARD CURRENCY -- REMAINS SOFT. AND WHAT HARD



CURRENCY CUBA DOES GET BUYS LESS, BECAUSE -- SHUT OUT OF THE U.S. MARKET -- CASTRO MUST SHOP IN EUROPE AND JAPAN, WHOSE CURRENCIES HAVE SURGED IN VALUE. MEANWHILE, ACCORDING TO INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, SOVIET AID -- WHICH RUNS AT AN ANNUAL LEVEL OF ABOUT \$4.5 BILLION -- WILL NOT BE INCREASED.

THE RESULT IS A DRASTIC DROP IN HARD CURRENCY HOLDINGS. THIS YEAR, CASTRO HIMSELF HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IMPORT LEVELS MUST BE PARED MORE THAN A THIRD, BECAUSE NO CASH IS AVAILABLE TO PAY FOR THEM. AND THIS, IN TURN, HAS LED TO A SUBSTANTIAL DROP IN LIVING STANDARDS. THIS YEAR THE ESTIMATE IS THAT THE CASH INCOME OF THE AVERAGE CUBAN WILL DROP ABOUT 5%.

MORE AND MORE, CASTRO MUST TRY TO SUBSTITUTE EXHORTATION FOR INCENTIVES; RHETORIC FOR REWARDS; EXCUSES FOR RESULTS. HE HAS NOT YET PUSHED HIS PEOPLE TO THE BREAKING POINT. BUT EVENTS ARE INEXORABLY MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION.

THE BOTTOM LINE IS THIS: CASTRO IS VULNERABLE AS HE HAS NEVER BEEN BEFORE. AND WE CANNOT LET HIM OFF THE HOOK.

WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACCELERATE THE PROCESS OF SELF-DESTRUCTION ALREADY UNDERWAY IN CASTRO'S REGIME; TO ISOLATE HIM FURTHER FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND FROM THE COMMERCE WHICH SUSTAINS US ALL; AND TO HIGHLIGHT -- FOR THE WORLD AND THE CUBAN PEOPLE -- THE DANGEROUS AND INHUMANE POLICIES OF THE CASTRO REGIME.

#### TURNING THE SCREWS

SO THE THIRD STEP IS FORGING A POLICY WHICH EXPLOITS CASTRO'S VULNERABILITIES.

ECONOMICALLY, IT IS TIME TO TIGHTEN THE SCREWS OF THE ECONOMIC EMBARGO WE HAVE LONG HAD IN PLACE AGAINST CASTRO'S REGIME.

JUST YESTERDAY, I JOINED WITH ONE OF YOUR SENATORS, SENATOR CHILES, AND WITH OTHERS, TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION WHICH, IF ENACTED, WILL PUT MAJOR NEW SANCTIONS INTO EFFECT AGAINST CUBA.

OUR BILL CALLS FOR AN END TO THE PRACTICE OF AMERICAN FACILITATION OF CUBA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE; BY BANNING ANY SHIP WHICH CALLS AT A CUBAN PORT FROM CALLING AT AN AMERICAN PORT ON THE SAME VOYAGE. IT WITHHOLDS AMERICAN AID FROM ANY COUNTRY WHICH IS BUYING CUBAN SUGAR. IT FORCES ANY COUNTRY WHICH RECEIVES LOANS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREGO MAKING ANY LOANS TO CUBA. AND IT INSTRUCTS OUR TRADE NEGOTIATORS TO MAKE CLEAR TO ALL OF OUR TRADING PARTNERS THAT WE WILL NO LONGER SIT IDLY BY, WATCHING THEM SUPPORT CASTRO'S RECKLESS AND INHUMANE POLICIES BY TRADING WITH HIM ON A "BUSINESS AS USUAL" BASIS.



THE LETTER IS SIGNED BY MR. PUJALS-MEDEROS' DAUGHTER, GLORIA. PERHAPS SHE OR MEMBERS OF HER FAMILY ARE HERE TODAY. I DON'T KNOW. BUT I DO KNOW THAT WHAT SHE HAS WRITTEN TO ELIZABETH IS THE TRUE REALITY IN CUBA. A REALITY THAT IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE UNTIL DEMOCRACY IS RESTORED.

#### CUBA AS A SOVIET ALLY

AND, FINALLY, WE MUST FORGE POLICIES WHICH WILL DEAL WITH CASTRO'S INTERNATIONAL TIES AND INTERNATIONAL ADVENTURES. BECAUSE THE PROBLEM OF CASTROISM IS TWOFOLD. WE OPPOSE HIM, SURELY, BECAUSE OF WHAT HE HAS DONE TO CUBA. BUT WE OPPOSE HIM, AS WELL, FOR WHAT HE HAS DONE FOR, AND WITH, SOVIET COMMUNISM -- IN CENTRAL AMERICA, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE AROUND THE GLOBE.

AS I NOTED EARLIER, KEEPING CASTRO IN POWER COSTS THE KREMLIN \$12-15 MILLION DOLLARS A DAY. YOU CAN BE SURE THAT GORBACHEV AND HIS CROWD DEMAND, AND GET, A LOT IN EXCHANGE FOR THAT KIND OF MONEY. THEY GET ONE OF THEIR MOST RELIABLE AND IMPORTANT POLITICAL ALLIES; A SURE VOTE IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT.

AND, POLITICALLY, THE PRESENCE OF CUBA IS TANTAMOUNT TO A SNUB OF THE NOSE TOWARD UNCLE SAM. A DEMONSTRATION FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE THAT THE SOVIETS CAN MAINTAIN A CLIENT RIGHT AT THE DOORSTEP OF THE UNITED STATES.

MORE CONCRETELY, THE SOVIETS GET A FORWARD BASE, IN OUR HEMISPHERE, FOR THEIR MILITARY MACHINE. THEY GET A JUMPING OFF POINT FOR SUBVERSION AND INFILTRATION THROUGHOUT THE CARIBBEAN, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. THE TRAGIC STORY IN GRENADA HAD A HAPPY ENDING; THE ONE IN NICARAGUA, SO FAR, JUST GETS WORSE AND WORSE. THE FIRST DRAFTS OF THOSE STORIES ARE PENNED IN MOSCOW; BUT THE FINISHING TOUCHES ARE ADDED IN HAVANA.

AND, IN CUBA, THE SOVIETS ALSO GET AN INCREDIBLY VALUABLE INTELLIGENCE GATHERING AND LISTENING POST, 90 MILES OFF THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

CUBA IS BASE FOR SOVIET EAVESDROPPING SHIPS -- DISGUISED AS FISHING TRAWLERS -- WHICH PLY OUR COAST DAY AND NIGHT, YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT, GATHERING SOME OF THE MOST SENSITIVE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE.

AND IT IS HOME FOR THE LARGEST SINGLE SOVIET ELECTRONICS EAVESDROPPING SITE OUTSIDE THE USSR, AT THE TOWN OF LOURDES, NEAR HAVANA. THAT SINGLE FACILITY HOUSES OVER 2,000 SOVIET TECHNICIANS -- A NUMBER ABOUT HALF THE SIZE OF THE ENTIRE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES. FROM LOURDES, THE SOVIETS HAVE ACCESS TO VIRTUALLY ALL UNSCRAMBLED COMMUNICATIONS -- INCLUDING PRIVATE TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS -- EMANATING FROM ANYWHERE IN THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. THE NEXT TIME YOU PICK UP YOUR PHONE HERE IN MIAMI, THINK ABOUT THE FACT THAT ONE OF THE PARTIES LISTENING IN MIGHT WELL SPEAK RUSSIAN.



SO THE SOVIETS GET A GREAT DEAL OF "BANG" -- IN MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE TERMS -- FOR THE BILLIONS OF "BUCKS" THEY DUMP INTO CUBA.

#### CUBA AS AFRICAN ADVENTURER

AND THEY GET AN EQUAL RETURN INTERNATIONALLY, ESPECIALLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHERE CUBAN TROOPS SERVE AS SURROGATES FOR DIRECT SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE TERRIBLE WAR IN ANGOLA.

MORE THAN 35,000 CUBAN TROOPS OCCUPY ANGOLA. JUST AS SOVIET MIGHT PROPS UP CASTRO, CUBAN MIGHT PROPS UP THE ILLEGAL, REPRESSIVE AND BANKRUPT MARXIST REGIME, THE MPLA, IN LUANDA. AND JUST AS WE WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL THE SOVIET YOKE IS RAISED FROM CUBA, WE WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL ALL CUBAN TROOPS ARE OUT OF ANGOLA.

WE IN THE CONGRESS HAVE TAKEN A SERIES OF STEPS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ANGOLA, THE UNITA FORCES LED BY JONAS SAVIMBI. AND, IRONICALLY, WE HAVE ALSO HAD TO EXPEND A GREAT DEAL OF ENERGY KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE ON OUR OWN ADMINISTRATION -- ESPECIALLY OUR STATE DEPARTMENT -- TO KEEP OUR POLICY ON THE RIGHT TRACK THERE.

WITHIN THE PAST 90 DAYS ALONE, SOMETIMES ALONE AND SOMETIMES WITH THE CLOSE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- INCLUDING YOUR OWN OUTSTANDING FLORIDA DELEGATION -- I HAVE INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ANGOLA FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND CALLING FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. I HOPE THAT WE CAN PUT THAT RESOLUTION TO A SENATE VOTE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL OR ANOTHER LEGISLATIVE VEHICLE COMING DOWN THE PIKE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

I HAVE WRITTEN TO SECRETARY SHULTZ TWICE, URGING CONTINUED AID TO ANGOLA AND WARNING OF THE DANGERS OF PHONY NEGOTIATIONS -- WITH THE WRONG PEOPLE AND FOR THE WRONG GOALS.

I HAVE WRITTEN TWICE TO TREASURY SECRETARY BAKER, ONCE URGING AN END TO AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL LOANS TO THE MPLA; THE OTHER TIME PRESSING FOR THE SPEED-UP IN WRITING TAX REGULATIONS THAT WILL STRIP BENEFITS FROM AMERICAN BUSINESSES OPERATING TO THE BENEFIT OF THE MPLA.

AND, IN THE LEGISLATION I MENTIONED EARLIER, INTRODUCED YESTERDAY BY SENATOR CHILES AND I, THERE ARE PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD PUT IN PLACE A TOTAL ECONOMIC EMBARGO OF THE MPLA, UNTIL THE CUBAN TROOPS ARE SENT HOME AND REAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH UNITA ARE STARTED.

IN THE AUDIENCE TODAY IS THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITA FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ANGOLA, JERRY CHITUNDA. I WELCOME HIM HERE TODAY. AND I PLEDGE TO HIM, AND TO YOU, TO CONTINUE MY EFFORTS TO SUSTAIN SUBSTANTIAL, EFFECTIVE AID TO UNITA. AND TO PRESSURE OUR OWN STATE DEPARTMENT NOT TO GO BACK ON THE SOUND POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA, INCLUDING THE REMOVAL OF ALL CUBAN TROOPS.



CUBA AS IT IMPACTS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

IN SUM, THE SOVIET-CUBAN ALLIANCE REPRESENTS A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO AMERICA, TO THE AMERICAS AND TO FREEDOM EVERYWHERE. WE CANNOT TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF CUBA WITHOUT KEEPING IN MIND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. AND, AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, THE ISSUE OF CUBA OUGHT TO BE HIGH ON OUR AGENDA, WHEN WE SIT DOWN WITH GORBACHEV, WITH SHEVARDNADZE OR WITH ANY OF THE OTHER SOVIET LEADERS.

BEFORE HIS RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, I WROTE TO SECRETARY SHULTZ, MAKING JUST THAT POINT. KNOWING OF THE MANY PRESSING MATTERS HE NEEDED TO RAISE -- ARMS CONTROL, THE ESPIONAGE AND "BUGGING" SCANDALS WHICH HAVE ROCKED OUR MOSCOW EMBASSY, THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION -- I NONETHELESS STRONGLY URGED THE SECRETARY TO RAISE THE PROBLEM OF CUBAN ADVENTURISM AROUND THE WORLD. AND TO MAKE CLEAR TO SHEVARDNADZE THAT IT WAS ONE ISSUE THAT WOULD INEVITABLY IMPACT ON OUR BROADER RELATIONSHIP AND CONDITION THE PROSPECTS FOR OTHER AGREEMENTS.

WHEN THAT DAY COMES ...

CUBA IS A CHALLENGE. A CHALLENGE WITH A SOVIET ANGLE, WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED. BUT IT IS A CHALLENGE WE CAN MEET.

SO, IN CONCLUSION, LET ME MAKE JUST ONE LAST POINT. AND I HOPE THIS POINT WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO CASTRO AND HIS CROWD IN HAVANA, AS WELL AS GORBACHEV AND HIS IN MOSCOW:

WHEN THE DAY COMES THAT THE CUBAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF TYRANNY, POVERTY AND EXPLOITATION -- AND I BELIEVE THAT DAY WILL COME -- THEN IT SHALL BE UP TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE ALONE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE. AND I EXPECT THAT MANY IN THIS ROOM WILL BE THERE TO PLAY A DIRECT PART IN THAT EFFORT.

CUBA IS NOT HUNGARY; IT IS NOT CZECHOSLOVAKIA; IT IS NOT POLAND. IT'S TOO LATE TO ARGUE WHETHER WE SHOULD HAVE STOOD IDLY BY AND ACCEPTED SUCCESSIVE SOVIET INVASIONS OF THOSE COUNTRIES, AS THEY STRUGGLED TO BE FREE. BUT IT'S NOT TOO EARLY TO DECLARE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT TOLERATE THAT KIND OF SOVIET INTERVENTION IN A SIMILAR SITUATION IN CUBA.

CUBA IS A NATION OF THE AMERICAS. IT HAS THE RIGHT, AS DO ALL THE OTHER NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE, TO DECIDE ITS OWN FUTURE. AND, LIKE THE OTHER NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE, WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR THE CUBAN PEOPLE TO MAKE THEIR HISTORIC CHOICES, THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WILL BE THERE. NOT TO INTERFERE -- BUT TO HELP. NOT TO GLOAT OVER A SOVIET FAILURE -- BUT TO CELEBRATE FREEDOM'S LONG OVERDUE VICTORY.

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