MR. CHAIRMAN.

MY NAME IS MANUEL R. GIBERGA, A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES

SINCE MAY 1st 1963. I AM A REGISTERED REPUBLICAN, AND SINCE 1971

I HAVE DEDICATED MY FULL TIME AND EFFORT TO THE GROWTH AND

AGGRANDIZEMENT OF OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY, IN MY CAPACITY AS ADVISOR

AND CUBAN-AMERICAN COORDINATOR FOR THE HERITAGE DIVISION OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS TO THE CHAIRMAN AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE, MY SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR GRANTING ME THE TIME TO TESTIFY ON BEHALF OF A RESOLUTION THAT I HAVE PRESENTED TO THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE CONVENTION --CONCERNING CUBA-- AND WHICH IS EMBODIED WITH OTHER RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN HERITAGE GROUPS COUNCIL, TO WHICH, I WAS ELECTED TO SERVE AS NATIONAL TREASURER AND MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE CONTEXT OF MY RESOLUTION REGARDING CUBA, READS AS FOLLOWS:

"WE ARE REMINDED BY MANY AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN THE IMPORTANCE

OF KEEPING THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE FREE FROM EUROPEAN AND ASIAN

INFLUENCES, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF FIDEL CASTRO HAS VIRTUALLY

BECOME A PAWN OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE ALSO REMINDED THAT THE

PRINCIPLES OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE ——AS AFFIRMED BY OUR LATIN

AMERICAN NEIGHBORS 18 YEARS AGO AT CARACAS, HAVE BEEN DISCARDED BY

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY".

"WE NOTE THAT CUBA HAS RECENTLY BECOME A MEMBER OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM CALLED COMECON. WE BELIVE THIS IS A VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, AND OF NON-INTERVENTION, AND OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMBINATION OF RUSSIAN ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF CUBA, AND THE PRESENCE OF RUSSIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL AND BASES IN CUBA, CONSTITUTE AN INCREASINGLY GRAVE THREAT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF HEMISPHERIC FREEDOM FROM EXTRA HEMISPHERIC INTERFERENCE. WE URGE THAT EFFECTIVE STEPS BE TAKEN TO RESTORE SANCTITY OF THIS HEMISPHERE FROM RUSSIAN MILITARY PRESENCE. WE ALSO URGE THAT THE ARMED FORCES AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES DESIST FROM INTERFERING WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF THOSE CUBANS WHO FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THEIR HOMELAND, SO LONG AS THEIR EFFORTS ARE NOT DIRECTLY BASED UPON AMERICAN SOIL IN VIOLATION OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT".

MR. CHAIRMAN, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT A COMMUNIST NATION --LOCATED NOT ONLY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, BUT IN THE CARIBBEAN, THE PRIME REGION OF MONROEISM.

SINCE 1959, A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON THE CUBAN PEOPLE, WITH NO RULE OF LAW, NO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, AND NOT EVEN THE HUMAN RIGHTS RECOGNIZED AT THE REGIONAL AND WORLD LEVEL.

THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM AND THE POLICE STATE ESTABLISHED IN COMMUNIST CUBA IS BASED SOLELY ON THE ALMIGHTY WILL OF FIDEL CASTRO, WHO HAS SENT THOUSANDS OF CUBANS TO THE FIRING SQUADS, THE PRISONS, CONCENTRATION CAMPS, FORCED LABOR, ETC., FOR WHAT HE CALLS COUNTER_

-REVOLUTIONARY CRIMES, WHICH REALLY MEANS THAT THE CUBAN PEOPLE REJECTS THE FACT THAT THEIR COUNTRY HAS BEEN MADE A SUBSERVIENT TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM --IN THE NAME OF A COUNTERFEIT DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY. BECAUSE OF THESE REASONS, NEARLY ONE MILLION CUBANS ARE IN EXILE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND OF WHICH 700,000 HAVE FOUND WARM HOSPITALITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN OCTOBER 3rd OF 1962, RESPONDING TO SOVIET ARMS SHIPMENTS TO CUBA, CONGRESS PASSED JOINT RESOLUTION #230, WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

"THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO PREVENT BY WHATEVER MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMS, THE MARXIST-LENNINIST REGIME IN CUBA FROM EXTENDING, BY FORCE OR THE THREAT OF FORCE ITS AGGRESSIVE OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES TO ANY PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE TO PREVENT IN CUBA THE CREATION OR USE OF AN EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED MILITARY CAPABILITY ENDANGERING THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND TO WORK WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, AND WITH FREEDOM LOVING CUBANS TO SUPPORT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION".

LATER, DURING THE MISSILE CONFRONTATION OF OCTOBER 1962, AN UNDERSTANDING WAS ARRIVED AT BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND KHRUSCHEV REGARDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE ATOMIC MISSILES FROM CUBA, WHICH COMMITTED THE UNITED STATES TO BLOCK AND STOP ANY INVASION OF CUBA, NOT ONLY THOSE WHICH MIGHT HAVE ORIGINATED IN THIS COUNTRY, BUT ALSO THOSE LAUNCHED FROM OTHER AMERICAN NATIONS.

THE COMPLIANCE WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING BY THE DEMOCRAT PARTY

PRESIDENT AND MR. KHRUSCHEV CANNOT CONSTITUTE A PERMANENT FOREIGN

POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, BECAUSE IT WAS NOT ARRIVED THROUGH

A TREATY ——WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN RATIFIED BY THE SENATE OF THE

UNITED STATES AS IS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION—— NEITHER WAS

REGISTERED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION SINCE THE SAN

FRANCISCO CHARTER FORBIDS THE EXISTANCE OF SECRET TREATIES.

THIS PERSONAL "UNDERSTANDING MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES AS A PART OF A NEGOTIATION CANNOT COMMIT ANY OF THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS, THAT WERE NOT CONSULTED, SINCE THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A MOCKERY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW OF THESE NATIONS —BE THEY LARGE OR SMALL— AND SINCE PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS NOT PLENIPOTEN—TIARY EMPOWERED TO MAKE A SOVIET COLONY OUT OF THE YOUNGEST OF OUR AMERICAN NATIONS (CUBA), WHICH IS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION AND USURPATION OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE CUBAN NATION IN EXILE, AND OF THE FREEDOM LOVING CUBANS ENSLAVED IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY BY SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1968 --WE STATED THAT THE MONROE DOCTRINE SHOULD BE REAFFIRMED, IN CONTRAST WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADMINISTRATIONS THAT SINCE 1962 HAS WELCOMED THE FACT THAT THE CARIBBEAN OCEAN HAS BECOME A SOVIET SEA. THE MONROE DOCTRINE SOUGHT TO PREVENT NOT ONLY THE RECOLONIZATION OF LATIN AMERICA BY THE HOLY ALLIANCE BUT ALSO THE EXTENSION OF RUSSIAN HOLDINGS IN ALASKA INTO CALIFORNIA, AS WAS THE DESIGN OF CZAR ALEXANDER I.

TODAY IN 1972 -- BY REVIEWING THE COURSE OF EVENTS SINCE THE KENNEDY

KHRUSCHEV <u>UNDERSTANDING</u> MAKES IT CLEAR ——THAT THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION'S DEPARTURE FROM THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND OF UNITED STATES POLICY ON LATIN AMERICAN EMBODIED IN TREATIES (DULY APPROVED) BY THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES AND BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE OTHER AMERICAN NATIONS, SUCH AS THE COLLECTIVE ACTIONS PROVIDED FOR BY BOTH THE BOGOTA CHARTER AND THE RIO TREATY THUS REPRESENTS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WHOLE HEMISPHERE.

UNDER THE COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATION OF FIDEL CASTRO AND THROUGH
THE TRICONTINENTAL OLAS AND OTHER SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS, HAS BEEN
A BEACH-HEAD FROM WHICH TO LAUNCH NEW TECHNIQUES FOR DISTURBANCES,
VIOLENCE AND SUB-VERSION AGAINST UNITED STATES AND OTHER LATIN
COUNTRIES.

THE COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATION OF CUBA CONTINUES TO BE A "TRAINING GROUNDS" FOR AMERICAN EXTREMIST FROM THE RADICAL AND "NEW LEFT" STUDENT GROUPS, IN THE TECHNIQUES OF SUBVERSION AND REVOLUTION. THESE GROUPS, ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE ACTS OF TERRORISM AND ANARCHY EVIDENT IN CITIES AND COLLEGE CAMPUSES IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH ACTS CONSTITUTE VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND REQUIREMENTS INVOLVED IN, AND ON WHICH THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN KENNEDY-KHRUSCHEV WAS BASED. QUOTE:

"IF ALL OF THE OFFENSIVE WEAPONS ARE WITHDRAWN FROM CUBA AND KEPT OUTSIDE OF THIS HEMISPHERE IN THE FUTURE AND IF CUBA IS NOT USED FOR THE EXPORTATION OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. WE WILL HAVE PEACE IN THE CARIBBEAN". UNQUOTE.

I MUST ADD, THAT IN 1964, THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

PASSED A RESOLUTION APPLYING SANCTIONS (TRADE AND DIPLOMATIC

QUARANTINE) TO THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF CUBA. THIS RESOLUTION

WAS PASSED AS A RESULT OF CASTRO'S COMPLICITY IN ARMS SHIPMENT TO

REVOLUTIONARY AND SUBVERSIVE FORCES IN VENEZUELA. THIS CONDEMNATION

WITH ITS ATTENDANT SANCTIONS CONFIRMED THE RESULTS OF THE 1962

PUNTA DEL ESTE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WHICH HAD VOTED TO

EXCLUDE CUBA FROM THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

IT WAS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE FORMULATED ITS UNVARYING POSITION ON CUBA: "IN ORDER FOR A RAPPROCHMENT TO OCCUR CUBA MUST NO LONGER HAVE MILITARY TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION, MUST NO LONGER EXPORT ITS REVOLUTION AND SUBVERSION TO THE REST OF THIS HEMISPHERE".

IN MARCH 19t 1971 --OUR SECRETARY OF STATE THE HONORABLE WILLIAM ROGERS IN HIS REPORT TO CONGRESS REGARDING LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY STATED: QUOTE: "IN 1971 THERE WAS NO NOTABLE CHANGE IN THE FACTORS DETERMINING U.S. POLICY TOWARDS CUBA. CUBA*S MILITARY ALLIGNMENT WITH AND SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND PERSISTENCE OF CUBA*S LONG-STANDING COMMITTMENT TO SUPPORT A VIOLENT REVOLUTION—ARY MOVEMENT IN THE HEMISPHERE. THE ADMINISTRATION THEREFORE CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE OAS DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS PROVIDING FOR THE DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF CASTRO'S GOVERNMENT AND THE CESSATION OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MEMBER GOVERNMENTS". UNQUOTE.

THE WILLIGNESS OF SENATOR McGOVERN, SENATOR KENNEDY AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO RECOGNIZE THE COMMUNIST REGIME OF FIDEL CASTRO CONSTITUTE A REAL THREAT NOT ONLY TO OUR INTERNAL SECURITY, BUT REPRESENTS A GREAT THREAT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

THE KEY ON THE NATIONAL SHIELD OF CUBA MUST NOT BECOME A SYMBOL OF THE CLOSING OF PRISON DOORS ON A NATION'S HOPE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM UNDER A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. THE MONROE DOCTRINE, THE BOGOTA CHARTER AND THE TREATY OF RIO, BINDS THE UNITED STATES TO THE OTHER NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE. TO DEPART FROM THESE OBLIGATIONS, IDIRECTLY, OUR IMAGE, THE MODEL OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY WILL BE BADLY TARNISHED, BESIDES THE FACT THAT WE WILL BE SELLING OUR LATIN NEIGHBORS TO A UNDEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WHICH IS REJECTED BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE.