

1961

honor" in order to block the rescue of fellow human beings.

Is it honorable to abandon these 1,200 men who are now at the mercy of the Cuban dictatorship when there is an opportunity to save them?

I would remind my brethren of the story of the Good Samaritan. I would remind them of the number who passed by that one who lay in the road, injured, and of the Good Samaritan who cared for that injured man, even though he went against the mores of his time.

I am astonished at the lack of understanding of the legal precedents for the proposal of the Tractors for Freedom Committee. The distinguished American historian, Prof. Merle Curti, of the University of Wisconsin, has stressed the long and honorable American tradition of charitable contributions to save those who suffer from war and revolution. Indeed, this is an Anglo-American tradition which goes back to the Elizabethan Statute of Charitable Uses of 1601, authorizing charity for the "relief and redemption of prisoners and captives."

Mr. President, this is a part of the very legal and moral fabric of Western civilization and of Anglo-Saxon law.

The Father of our Country, President George Washington, in 1790, obtained from the Congress funds for the relief of the victims of the revolution in Santo Domingo. Here was the first President of the United States not only personally involved in a mission of mercy and rescue, but even officially supporting a Federal appropriation for the purpose.

As Professor Curti has so ably stated, those who cry that there is no legal precedent for the indirect involvement of the U.S. Government do so from a defective knowledge of law and history.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement by Professor Curti, which was joined by Prof. Irvin G. Willie, of the University of Wisconsin, and was reported this morning by the Associated Press, be printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

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

Opponents of the drive to exchange 500 American tractors for 1,200 prisoners held by the Cuban Government "speak from a defective knowledge of law and history" a Pulitzer Prize winning historian said today.

Dr. Merle E. Curti, in a joint statement with a faculty colleague, Irvin G. Willie of the University of Wisconsin, traced to England's Elizabethan Statute of Charitable Uses, adopted in 1601, the "release and redemption of prisoners and captives" has a valid use of charity.

The statement noted that in 1790 President George Washington obtained from Congress funds for release of victims of the revolution of Santo Domingo. It added: "Here was the Father of the Country, while he was President, not only personally involved but also supporting a Federal appropriation for the victims of a foreign revolution."

"President Kennedy has historical and legal precedent on his side in asserting that a long and American tradition stands behind the granting of charitable assistance to those who suffer in consequence of war."

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, at this point will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I prefer to complete my remarks first, if the Senator from Kentucky will permit.

Mr. COOPER. Very well.
 Mr. HUMPHREY. But, Mr. President, even if there were no historical precedents to justify the action of free American citizens in voluntarily joining together for the purpose of saving these 1,200 lives, I would still be for it.

The way to establish precedent is to take action. Someone has to do it first. I favor what we are doing, because it is morally right, it is politically right, it is spiritually right. It fits in with my religious beliefs. I say that any man who reads the Scriptures and believes what he reads, cannot fail to recognize the importance of saving lives. All too often we Americans equate strength with simple brute power. I say there is strength in humility; there is strength in love; there is strength in goodness; there is strength in justice; there is strength in compassion. To my mind, the strongest man who ever lived or ever will live was the Man of Galilee; and his life was dedicated to love, compassion, justice, peace, and humility.

And to my mind, the weakest man is the brute.

I am happy to join on the side of those who believe in justice and compassion and decency.

Mr. President, at a time when disorder and violence reign widespread, when headlines scream of torture and death, the world is hungry for a reaffirmation of compassion and mercy; and I can think of no better country from which that affirmation should come than from our own beloved America. We are proud of our churches. Let us be proud not only of the physical edifices of the churches, but of their spiritual message as well. It is communism, it is dictatorship, which repudiates human values, which rejects human dignity, which uses human lives for the purposes of the state. It is communism, it is dictatorship which places false pride and arrogant power above justice and mercy.

Had we not boldly declared that human beings are worth more than tractors, we should have been no better than the cynical despot who ranks tractors above people.

Mr. President, I hear today from many voices in America that we should not be helping these prisoners, because that would somehow demean us.

I have noted that the former Vice President of the United States has charged that it was morally wrong and unwise for the United States to trade 500 tractors for 1,200 prisoners, and has urged our President to withdraw his approval of this transaction. He even went so far as to say that the freedom of 5 million Cubans could be delayed by trying to win freedom for 1,200 brave young men. This is not a fact. It is merely an assertion. It is a statement without support. We had a right to expect more from one who knows only too well the

critical situation that has existed so long throughout Latin America.

Mr. Nixon is wrong on every count when he attacks the President and the Tractors for Freedom Committee. First of all, he is morally wrong. He flies squarely in the face of the whole Judeo-Christian heritage.

Secondly, he is legally wrong, and he is ranked on the wrong side from both the present President of the United States and the first President.

Third, he is politically wrong, for, as it has been so amply documented earlier today by the director of the United States Information Agency, the political reaction throughout Latin America, and indeed the whole non-Communist world, has enthusiastically supported the position of the President and the committee, and, may I say, condemned the cynical, cruel proposal and purposes of Mr. Castro.

Mr. Nixon has struck out, and it is now time that he gracefully bowed out and permitted Americans of good will to rally behind the humanitarian effort to save lives and to release freedom fighters from prison camps. I hope he will help in this effort, and I appeal to him to do so.

Those who have charged that America shows weakness because we are willing to ransom 1,200 freedom fighters cannot be serious.

Who but those who would make any attack for political purposes would make a statement like that? Who would seriously believe that America's colossal military strength is in any way threatened by the addition of 500 American tractors to the Cuban economy?

As I said Thursday, Czechoslovakian tractors can be moved into Cuba just as easily as tanks and aircraft have been moved in. It is not a question of whether or not tractors are going to be sent to Cuba.

It is a question of whether Cuban patriots are going to be permitted to rot in jail or to die before the Castro firing squads.

I think it is appropriate to ask: What do those who are critics of the proposal suggest we do? Do they suggest we ignore the Cuban patriots? Do they suggest we do nothing? Do they suggest that we stand on pride while men who trusted us die for it?

I say again that a great nation like the United States demonstrates strength, not weakness, when it takes action to save human lives.

Mr. President, this morning at 10:30, Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Director of USIA, issued a statement which summarizes the width and the depth of support throughout the Americas for the position of the President of the United States and the Tractors for Freedom Committee.

I ask unanimous consent for the printing at this point in the RECORD of the full summary of Latin American editorial comment and Latin American cooperative efforts to supplement the United States effort to rescue the pris-

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oners of Castro and the statement of Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency.

There being no objection, the summary and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF EDWARD R. MURROW, DIRECTOR
U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, MAY 29, 1961

Perhaps I should begin by apologizing for interrupting a pleasant weekend, however, I trust that the information we have collected will not be found unpleasing.

This Agency, as is its custom, has been conducting a continuing survey of press and radio reaction to Fidel Castro's offer to exchange prisoners for tractors. It is clear that Castro has blundered his way into a major blunder. With a single utterance he has erased that narrow line of philosophy and tactics that separates communism from fascism.

Almost without exception the press and radio of the free world have drawn the obvious parallel between his proposal and that of the Germans when they offered to trade Jews for trucks. Castro revealed himself for what he is and U.S. reaction reflected what we are. Most of the free world found our response to the offer to be in accord with our heritage and tradition of regard for the individual. Castro has damaged the cause of communism. His senior partners in Moscow and Peiping have not supported him.

There is a groundswell of disgust welling up in Latin America. We have prepared for you a summary of press reaction. From both conservative and liberal newspapers, from Government figures, from committees, and voluntary groups, the comment is the same. This has been accompanied by demonstrations for freedom by students, women, legislators in favor of the United States.

Castro's offer has been called blackmail. That is a handy word, but in civilized countries censure of the act should run to the blackmailer not to the blackmailed. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower observed, a mother paying ransom to regain the life of a child is not denounced because she deals with a blackmailer. The calumny is on the head of the man perpetrating the wrong not on the wronged.

In recent days, after more than a week of hesitation, Communist radio stations are calling Castro's offer an act of humanitarianism, but the Communist press, particularly in Latin America, has maintained what can only be described as an embarrassed silence.

The U.S. Information Agency can claim no credit for this widespread response of revulsion. It was not our informational propaganda that produced the result. Such editorial reaction cannot be persuaded or purchased. The reaction in Latin America and elsewhere was the response of free men to an offer to trade men for machines. The result was predictable. Had the people of this country remained mute, the reaction would have undoubtedly been otherwise.

REACTION TO CASTRO'S PRISONERS-FOR-TRACTORS
PROPOSAL

NONAMERICAN (SUMMARIZED MAY 23, 1961)
Far East

Tokyo's Mainichi Shimbun (independent), in its commentary column, called the offer fantastic. Its Washington correspondent, in a separate background story, reported: "The Castro demand reminded us of Eichmann's 'human-for-goods' demand in which he asked for 10,000 trucks in exchange for the freedom of a million Jews." " * * * this Nazi example is apparently being followed by the Castro regime."

Manila's The Manila Chronicle stated: "In these modern times we are witnessing an anachronistic spectacle in the negotiations to ransom prisoners of Fidel Castro. The bearded dictator might as well have de-

manded \$15 million in pieces of gold. This is the cost of 500 bulldozers or tractors. The Philippine paper added: "The whole thing sounds like a page from old history."

Western Europe

Turin, Italy's left-of-center La Stampa stated: "The U.S. Government accepted Castro's cynical blackmail for humanitarian reasons."

Germany's independent Stuttgarter Nachrichten editorialized: "Cardinals, trade union leaders, Democrats, Republicans * * * let themselves be blackmailed in the interest of humanity. They do a good deed because they cannot do better one. Unfortunately, the peoples cannot sell their tyrants for tractors."

Soviet

As far as can be ascertained, Soviet propagandists have up to now not commented on Castro's trade proposal, and Moscow might well be unwilling to handle this rather shoddy affair propagandistically until it discerns the prevailing wind of world reactions.

Despite the overall condemnation in Latin America, there have been no suggestions for an outright rejection of the Castro proposal but there have been offers by various organizations in the area to raise funds or provide tractors.

1. Independent center Messengero of Rome headlined: "America will export tractors to Cuba to redeem anti-Castro prisoners—dramatic charges from Americans repatriated from the island against communist dictator regime. Terror in Cuba—opposition overturned with force."

2. Paris daily Combat: "It is difficult to understand that committee composed of high American personalities is ready to collect money to make this odious deal possible. The reference to the Nazi regime has not embarrassed Castro, not even memory of famous exchange of Jews against trucks." Note: Castro's tractor proposal was widely reported in L'Humanite, Paris-Jour, France-Soir, Liberation, Monde, Figaro.

3. Brussels Labor Catholic La Cite: "Everywhere, Castro's offer is being judged severely. It reminds us of Hitler's offer to exchange Jews against trucks. In 1944, Joel Brand submitted to the Allies an exchange proposal: 1 million Jews, still alive, against 10,000 trucks. Mr. Castro is willing to remit to the Americans 1,200 prisoners in exchange for 500 tractors. In the first case, a truck was worth 10,000 human beings, in the second, 2½ human beings suffice to get a tractor. You can see it: Humanity advances with giant steps in the direction of a golden age under the sign of respect for the individual. Castro's barter proposal makes us sick by its disgusting cynicism. Human being are not machines. They have hearts, and in the hearts of these humiliated and offended people, anger is growing, it is growing, and some day, it is going to explode."

LATIN AMERICAN SUMMARY (MAY 24, 1961)
U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

The extent of the adverse reaction that is sweeping Latin America can be gaged by the growing number of committees arising throughout the area for the purpose of collecting funds to purchase the tractors. To date, not counting committees formed by the Cuban exile groups, nine have been reported, including the exiled Nicaraguan revolutionary movement. O Estado de Sao Paulo, Brazil's leading daily, has offered a tractor on its own and in addition is coordinating a drive to collect further funds. In Honduras, a former Communist and Castro-supporter, Roberto Dominguez Agurcia, has formed the Frente Hondureno Pro-Liberacion de Cuba and is now engaged in a funds-for-tractors drive.

In Caracas the papers Esfera and Universal carried ads attributed to "mothers of Venezuela" asking for donations and signed

"Tractors for Ransom Committee" and San Ignacio Social Christian Organization.

The reaction in the Latin American press has been extremely critical from both conservatives and liberals. The far leftist press has chosen to remain silent thus far, and has limited itself to straight wire service reporting of the offer with no editorial commentary. The following quotations are representative of the general reaction throughout Latin America:

Argentina

La Capital, Rosario (moderately liberal; a leading provincial daily): "The incredible proposition has again shaken the free world with its brutality and utilitarianism, free of any human feeling."

La Presna, Buenos Aires (liberal; the country's leading daily): "In Cuba there are no gas chambers in use; but they have been replaced with the execution wall."

La Nacion, Buenos Aires (moderately liberal; a leading daily): "In general, the proposal is a surprising recourse" which arises from "the possibility of American steps against his [Castro's] regime."

Brazil

Diario Carioca, Rio de Janeiro (liberal; a leading daily): "The ransom operation now being negotiated in Washington reveals in all its hideousness the inhuman nature of the Cuban revolution."

O Globo, Rio de Janeiro (moderately liberal; country's largest circulation): "Hitler wanted to trade Jews for trucks; Fidel Castro wants to trade Cubans for tractors. It may be that this shows progress or superiority of communism or socialism—as the Cuban regime prefers to be called in order to create confusion—over nazism, but we can't see any."

Colombia

El Espectador, Bogotá (strongly liberal; country's second largest circulation): " * * * Even though the exchange has been suggested in terms that shame humanity, we believe that it should be accepted."

La Republica, Gogota (moderately conservative; a leading daily): "Freedom will always be dear; there will always be men ready to purchase it whatever the price."

Costa Rica

La Republica, San José (Costa Rica's leading liberal daily): "Fidel Castro committed the mistake of aiming at a target that brought into action the most notable characteristic of the North American people, generosity * * * This has always been the error of the Communists, they work on numbers and figures, and forget that there are only human beings."

Diario de Costa Rica, San José (Costa Rica's leading conservative daily): "The offer is not surprising since Castro is 'possessed by devils; a Marxist, an atheist, and inhuman.'"

Ecuador

El Telegrafo, Guayaquil (liberal; influential), kept up an editorial barrage for 3 consecutive days:

"Even though this is a filthy blackmail, I believe the sinoids should be given the machines they want because it might be that tomorrow they would want to trade Roa for a still."

"We must insure in every way that the prisoners really regain their freedom. No precaution is amiss with the bearded or barbaric Red autocrat of America."

"The baseness of the proposal made by Fidel Castro—always faithful to his code of extermination—will serve to enhance the nobility of North American democracy, because the people of the United States are ready to collect the necessary funds to purchase the 500 tractors."

Guatemala

El Imparcial, Guatemala City (liberal and often critical of the United States, a leading

daily): "The totalitarian cynicism has exceeded all limits with two facts that revolt the conscience of all decent men: the first is the sordid valuation of human life made by Castro in offering to trade the prisoners for tractors, the mockery is debasing to the Cuban people and to the one who made it."

Nicaragua

La Prensa, Managua (moderately conservative, a leading daily): "It is awful to know that in this America of ours, so far removed in time and space from the Saracen coast, first to emancipate the slaves and first to claim all the freedoms, slavery has now established itself at a level much more materialistic and commercial than that known by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, or Romans."

Panama

El Pais, Panama City (moderately liberal, a leading daily): "No one with a particle of respect for his own nationality could think of selling his countrymen for tools. It is paradoxical that the 'aggressors' should be the ones outdoing themselves to collect funds with which to save the lives of the Cuban citizens who are persecuted in their own country."

Peru

Ultima Hora (a leading daily, moderately conservative): "The proposal shows the false apostle in his true light. It shows him to be the vilest huckster among the agents of Soviet imperialism. As if it were not enough that he has tried to sell his country to the Moscow hierarchs, he now makes his cynical offer to trade patriots for tractors."

Uruguay

El Plata, Montevideo (Blanco Party organ, conservative, a leading daily): "One thing should have become clear * * * the Fidel Castro regime has reached a degree of degeneracy and brutality that revolts human understanding."

El Bien Publico (Catholic conservative), La Manana (moderately liberal), and El Pais (moderately conservative) all compared the Castro offer to the Eichmann exchange of Jews for trucks.

Venezuela

El Mundo, Caracas (leftist liberal, often critical of the United States). "With this offer to trade men for trucks (sic), in addition to the policy of the firing squad, Fidel Castro has enthroned antihumanism in America." (Note: A direct slap at Fidel's claim of "humanismo" for his revolution.)

COMMENT FROM WESTERN EUROPE

Vienna

Neue Tageszeitung: "The civilized world has been overcome by so many unheard of things since the end of the war that it is no longer easy today to shock it. But the Cuba 'enfant terrible' Fidel Castro has obviously succeeded in shocking the world by his amazing offer to exchange 1,200 Cuban refugees who were captured during the ill-fated invasion attempt for 500 American bulldozers * * *. For which purpose does the dictator of Cuba need 500 of these big machines? For the building of airfields and other military installations? For such a purpose he is even willing to touch dirty Yankee bills, and the committee will see to it that he gets them. Thus the whole business is rather disagreeable."

Graz

Graz Catholic Daily (Vienna): "The very same deal, though in larger proportions, had been suggested to the Western Allies by Eichmann in the final phase of World War II. Through a go-between Eichmann made the following offer to America and Britain: 1 million Jews would be saved from the extermination camps if 10,000 trucks were supplied for Hitler's armies. It is the same evil spirit that manifests itself here bru-

tally—with Castro as well as with Eichmann, with the Fascist dictatorship as well as with the Communist people's democracy."

Stuttgart

Stuttgarter Nachrichten (independent): "Like a medieval ruler or a modern robber chief, Castro has asked for a ransom for his prisoners. He has requested 500 American tractors, most likely delivered to the door, in return for 1,200 prisoners, Cuban opponents to Castro."

Turin, Italy

La Stampa (influential, left-of-center): "U.S. Government accepted Castro's cynical blackmail for humanitarian reasons. Castro having threatened to send the political prisoners to forced labor."

Frankfurt

Frankfurter Neue Presse linked the race riots in Alabama with the Castro tractor subject, and concluded that "it is tragic that this outbreak serves to cover up the much crasser brutality of Moscow's fellow-traveler, Fidel Castro."

LATEST REACTIONS (MAY 25, 1961) TO THE TRACTOR-FOR-PEOPLE DEAL

Communist: First Communist commentary on the Cuban proposal came from Moscow and East Germany on May 24. The comment focuses on the alleged humanitarianism of Castro's exchange proposal. East Germany manages to avoid any reference to the tractor aspect, and stresses instead the fact that the exchange proposed is only another indication of the benevolent Cuban attitude toward the counterrevolutionaries and a "manifestation of the internal solidarity of the country." Moscow deplored U.S. cynicism and hypocrisy which asked average Americans to contribute a dollar toward the purchase of the bulldozers while withholding from them the fact that tens of millions of dollars will be spent to maintain counter-revolutionary forces.

Latin America: In Uruguay eight mass-circulation papers have started a fund to buy tractors. In the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo a deputy introduced a proposal in the state assembly calling for authorization for the state to buy a tractor to exchange for Cuba prisoners. And in Buenos Aires, 53 deputies of Frondizi's Party condemned the exchange proposed by Castro. They submitted a draft resolution in Parliament by which the House of Deputies would "condemn the inhuman policy pursued by Fidel Castro's dictatorial regime, which oppressed our sister Republic of Cuba, in its offer to exchange prisoners for tractors, thus reviving the policy pursued by Nazi totalitarianism in offering the dramatic choice of blood for trucks."

One deputy also asked the Parliament to approach all (South) American Parliaments to issue statements condemning Fidel Castro similar to the one he and his colleagues are sponsoring.

Cuba: Cuban output manifests continuing sensitivity over comparisons made between Castro's offer and Nazi tactics. It hits back both at Americans and at Cubans living abroad by trying to smear them with the label of racists and Nazis. At the same time Cuba enlarges on the theme that the Castro proposal, which at best is partial compensation for damages suffered, is "motivated by the highest standards of humanity."

FIDEL CASTRO'S BARTER PROPOSAL

A groundswell of criticism against Fidel Castro's offer to barter prisoners for tractors is rising throughout Latin America.

Newspapers of widely varying political leanings are branding the deal editorially as "inhuman," and "filthy blackmail." Numerous groups have been organized to join U.S. private efforts to raise funds for tractors.

Virtually the only oversea comment favorable to Dr. Castro's offer has come from

Cuba itself, and from Communist bloc countries.

A Government-controlled station, radio Mambi of Havana, declared that the prisoners "can only be considered as cheap merchandise, commercial objects which can be exchanged for other objects—'worm' for 'caterpillar'—because the English word 'caterpillar' means cheap worm."

In a recent Spanish language broadcast, radio Moscow referred to the offer as an act of great humanitarianism.

Here is a country-by-country roundup of reaction in the Americas.

ARGENTINA

On May 23, a group of citizens in Buenos Aires demonstrated in front of the Cuban Embassy carrying posters condemning the Castro dictatorship. The Argentine League for the Protection of Children has cabled the Cuban Government asking a cessation of hostilities.

Reputy Oscar Lopez Serrot introduced a bill in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies expressing the Chamber's "reputation of the inhuman policy of the dictatorial regime of Fidel Castro of offering an exchange of prisoners for tractors, reviving the Nazi offer of 'blood for trucks.' * * *"

The Argentine Association for the United Nations declared that "to accept today as a possible transaction the sale of lives, whether in money or in kind, signals a marked process of breakdown in the difficult fight for the recognition of the rights of man and the safeguarding of those rights. The proposal is inconceivable and unacceptable."

La Capital of Rosario declared: "The incredible proposition has again shaken the free world with its brutality and utilitarianism, free of any human feeling."

La Prensa, Buenos Aires: "The dilemma is not very different from nazism. In Cuba there are no gas chambers in use; but they have been replaced with the execution wall."

La Nacion, Buenos Aires: " * * * a surprising recourse * * *. To exchange prisoners for tractors is equivalent to subscribing to a proclamation of abomination of the human state."

BOLIVIA

Presencia, La Paz: Calling the offer "another move in Castro's tragic circus," this newspaper called on individuals to contribute toward the purchase of tractors.

Ultima Hora, La Paz: Declared Castro's offer is worse than the Nazis since "Castro is trading his own countrymen."

BRAZIL

The newspaper O Estado de Sao Paulo offered to contribute one tractor to the fund. It said this announcement was followed immediately "by calls to the editorial office offering the most spontaneous and warm support." The newspaper added: "We understand the broad significance of the support our readers give us to be a reflection of the public opinion that at this hour is sweeping all around the Americas, and from which the Brazilian people would not be absent."

Diario Carioca, Rio de Janeiro: "The ransom operation now being negotiated in Washington reveals in all its hideousness the inhuman nature of the Cuban revolution."

O Globo, Rio de Janeiro: "Hitler wanted to trade Jews for trucks; Fidel Castro wants to trade Cubans for tractors. It may be that this shows progress or superiority of communism, of 'socialism'—as the Cuban regime prefers to be called in order to create confusion—over nazism, but we can't see any."

COLOMBIA

Colombian women have started a fund-raising campaign declaring that this occasion "offers all free people of our hemisphere the opportunity to demonstrate to the entire world our Christian sentiments and the respect that democracies hold for human life."

Participants expressed hope that "all women of Latin America" would support the drive. The group said "we are ready to begin various public collections immediately, to visit industries, commerce, establishments of all kinds, to see aid large or small in the streets from all free and Christian Colombians to help buy tractors to save lives."

El Espectador, Bogotá: "Even though the exchange has been suggested in terms that shame humanity, we believe that it should be accepted." The proposal " * * * contributes to nothing beyond making more outstanding the enormous mistake made by Castro once again by assuming that with this show of 'generosity' he would lessen the unpopularity of the repressive system he instituted from the time he assumed power."

La Republica, Bogotá: "Freedoms will always be dear; there will always be men ready to purchase it whatever the price."

El Tiempo, Bogotá "Fidel Castro's proposal to exchange human lives for farm implements belongs to the lowest category. A bunch of tractors are the price, according to his mentality and conscience, for the right of his war prisoners to regain freedom. In terms of manufactured iron, their patriotism and bravery in trying to liberate their country are evaluated. * * * There is no doubt that the American people will give all they can to show the world that in this continent the spirit of liberty and Christianity stands generously and with solidarity."

COSTA RICA

The manager of a radio station in San Jose, Leonel Pinto, has started a fund raising movement and has cabled Mrs. Roosevelt offering cooperation. Other press and radio people, as well as an engineer and a legislator, have joined the effort.

La Republica, San Jose: "Fidel Castro committed the mistake of aiming at a target that brought into action the most notable characteristic of the North American people, generosity. * * * This has always been the error of the Communists, they work on numbers and figures, and forget that there are only human beings."

Diario de Costa Rica, San Jose: "We cannot ignore the unheard-of and inhuman proposal to exchange prisoners for tractors, which shows Fidel to be a monster without God or law for whom human dignity and human rights are worth no more than a opher." (He) "is possessed by devils, a Marxist, an atheist, and inhuman."

CHILE

The Committee of Human Solidarity, composed of Chilean women, is seeking funds to help the U.S. private effort.

El Diario Ilustrado, Santiago: "The Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro, gave a fantastic demonstration this week of his totalitarian disregard for the human person."

ECUADOR

El Comercia, Quito, This newspaper published a cartoon of Fidel Castro looking through the window of a maternity ward rubbing his hands and dreaming of more tractors.

El Telegrafo, Guayaquil: "Even though this is filthy blackmail, I believe the simoids should be given the machines they want because it might be that tomorrow they would want to trade Roa for a still."

"We must insure in every way that the prisoners really regain their freedom. No precaution is amiss with the bearded or barbaric Red autocrat of America."

"The baseness of the proposal made by Fidel Castro—always faithful to his code of extermination—will serve to enhance the nobility of North American democracy, because the people of the United States are ready to collect the necessary funds to purchase the 500 tractors."

EL SALVADOR

A national committee called the Colon for Liberty has been formed to urge each Salvadorian to contribute 1 colon (currency worth about 40 cents U.S.) to the fund for tractors. Commenting on this effort, the newspaper La Prensa Grafica, of San Salvador, said: "In this way we are calling upon all Salvadorian lovers of liberty who still have faith in democratic principles to aid in liberating our Cuban brothers who have been offered in exchange for tractors, or, in other words, human beings in exchange for springs, cogwheels, nuts and bolts."

La Prensa Grafica added: "The first impression is to recall Hitler's asking for trucks in exchange for the life of Jewish prisoners, but even this case does not plumb the depths of ignominy as does that of Castro, a renegade Cuban, offering up for sale the lives of other Cubans."

GUATEMALA

The Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, a political party, is leading fund-raising activities in which other groups including the Association of Christian Mothers are participating.

Diario de Centro America, Guatemala City: "As Israel's prosecution against the arch-genocide Adolf Eichmann exposed the crimes of Nazism to the world, the monstrous negotiation proposed by Dr. Castro has chilled millions of freemen in all the world. The blackest crimes and the most despised evaluation of the human being has again implanted itself, this time in the hemisphere. * * * "Castro has revived a page of current human history that humanity wishes to forget. His vile imitation of Eichman has ended forever the little sympathy he still may have had in Latin America and Europe."

El Imparcial, Guatemala City: "The totalitarian cynicism has exceeded all limits with two facts that revolt the conscience of all decent men: the first is the sordid valuation of human life made by Castro in offering to trade the prisoners for tractors the mockery is debasing to the Cuban people and to the one who made it."

HONDURAS

A fund-raising drive has been organized in Tegucigalpa by the Honduran Front for Cuban Liberation. This campaign is being led by Roberto Dominguez Agurcia, a one-time Communist and former leader of the pro-Castro Friends of the Cuban Revolution, who renounced both communism and Castroism last January. In a message to the U.S. committee, the Honduran group said: "In the name of the Honduran Front for Cuban Liberation we join you in the campaign for funds to rescue the prisoners of Fidel Castro. We consider continental mobilization necessary to collect funds from the people, thus interpreting the best cause that humanity can defend."

El Dia, Tegucigalpa: "It is deeply disappointing that so grotesque a traffic in human liberty should take place in a country of the Americas. The freedom of the heroes who braved all to save their country from oppression is worth more than that materialistic equation of half a tractor for each of the thousand fighters for democracy." After commenting on U.S. aid to the Soviet Union during World War II, it continues, "This proves that the money of the so-called 'Yankee imperialism' is not always despicable, and that, despite profound differences between the Communist and democratic doctrines, there is a greater feeling of humanitarianism in the democracies for assisting peoples without distinction, than that which is sloganized by the Red governments and is spread merely for propaganda."

MEXICO

An organization of small Mexican farmers has proposed (with tongue in cheek) that Mexico send Cuba, in exchange for prisoners, some 75 Russian and Czech tractors sold to Mexico years ago which proved unusable because of lack of repair parts and inaccessibility of the mechanism.

The newspaper Excelsior of Mexico City published a cartoon showing Castro holding a fettered prisoner on the auction block saying "And for this one, 10 plows, 2 television sets, and 1 sewing machine." Cartoons of a similar vein were published in other newspapers.

Excelsior, Mexico City: "For Castro Ruz a human being has no more value than some (material) thing including something that has little value."

NICARAGUA

La Prensa, Managua: It is awful to know that in this America of ours, so far removed in time and space from the Saracen coast, first to emancipate the slaves and first to claim all the freedoms, slavery has now established itself at a level much more materialistic and commercial than that known by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, or Romans."

PANAMA

The newspaper El Dia has organized a committee to raise funds "for reasons of dignity and human solidarity." Represented on the committee are El Dia, a member of the Panamanian Red Cross, the president of the Union of University Students, and a delegate of the University Students Federation of Cuba in Exile.

In an editorial on May 25, El Dia said: "No one, unless he lives in an embittered emotional state will have failed to see that Fidel Castro, under pressure of internal and external events, and especially because of the infiltration of the Communist Party into his governmental machinery, has departed more and more from his original humanist theme to fall into a dehumanizing and degrading materialistic conception of life. For it is absurd to maintain as a general principle the complete denial of a humanistic Marxism. Therefore, the Cuban leader, having been put into a frame of mind in which the political adversary has become an "inimicus," can easily and unblushingly maintain before the world that, in the middle of the 20th century, it can be held publicly and without any moral qualms that the pretty business of exchanging prisoners of war for tractors can be carried out.

How is it possible that he can have considered it fair to exchange men for things, putting the former on an equal plane with the latter? It must be that his mind, clouded by the deplorable events taking place on the island, has retrogressed through the history of humanity to that primitive era when a prisoner of war lost his legal and, so to speak, human personality and became a slave, a mere chattel that could be negotiated. The political enemy, just as the prisoner of war who has acted under international rules, deserves to be judged with fairness and without that passion which clouds and furls.

El Pais, Panama City: "No one with a particle of respect for his own nationality could think of selling his countrymen for tools. It is paradoxical that the aggressors should be the ones to collect funds with which to save the lives of the Cuban citizens who are persecuted in their own country."

PARAGUAY

El Pais, Asunción: The prisoners for tractors offer is a "violation of all Christian principles and of all laws in the world. * * * Now, without a blush (the Communists) de-

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mand tractors for prisoners. As in colonial times, the sale of slaves is newly resumed in the Pearl of the Antilles."

PERU

A group of secondary school students in Arequipa headed by Dante Edmundo Zegarra Lopez, 16 years old, has organized a drive for funds to send to the U.S. committee headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, and Milton Eisenhower.

Ultima Hora, Lima: "The boastful and spectacular Fidel Castro wants to fool the world by maintaining that the exchange of prisoners for tractors is visible proof of the human feelings of the Beardocracy. It is nothing more than political blackmail. Castro is exploiting the well-founded fear that the fighters who have fallen into his hands will be stood against the wall."

La Cronica, Lima: This newspaper on May 26 published a report that the Frente Revolucionario Democrático Cubano (Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front) plans a public collection of funds on June 3. It added editorially: "The generosity and democratic feeling of the Peruvian people could not be missing from this humanitarian movement that is acquiring world proportions. However monstrous is the operation of exchanging men for tractors, facing facts, no one can refuse to lend his assistance to this base commerce, dictatorial and repugnant, that annuls all concepts of the dignity of man."

La Prensa, Lima, published a cartoon depicting Castro trading in human bones over the caption "Businessman of the Caribbean."

URUGUAY

A committee called "Friends of Free and Democratic Cuba" headed by Dr. Raymundo Abella has launched a nationwide campaign to raise funds for tractors. At the same time, eight Montevideo newspapers published a plea to all citizens to join in fund-raising efforts. A tractor of the type desired by the Prime Minister of Cuba has been placed in the centrally located Plaza Libertad (park) as a symbol.

El Bien Público, La Manana, and El Pais, of Montevideo, all compared the Castro offer to the Eichmann exchange of Jews for trucks.

El Plata, Montevideo: "Fidel Castro, extorting blackmail with his policy of executions and torture, as Hitler intended with the assassination of Jews, offers to free prisoners in exchange for tractors that, surely, he is badly lacking."

"One thing ought to be made clear. The regime of Fidel Castro has reached a degree of degradation and brutality repugnant to the men of the Americas. And because at the base of this brutality is a total scorn for all moral feeling for life, where neither human beings or means of action count, this regime has become a great danger, which everyone can recognize."

La Patria, Montevideo: "Castro has shown himself clearly as a trafficker in the torn flesh of his own compatriots."

VENEZUELA

Distinguished Caracas women have formed a "Tractors for Ransom Committee" to raise funds for three tractors. Other Venezuelan social and philanthropic organizations have joined in the drive. Advertisements opening the fund campaign showed a Cuban mother weeping and imploring: "Help me * * *. The life of my son depends on you. The government of Fidel Castro has asked for 500 tractors to return him to me, and I have only my life to give him."

Rafael Caldera, President of the Venezuelan Chamber of Deputies and leader of the Social Christian Party (COPEI), stated in Punto Fijo (Venezuela) that "for men of democratic convictions the life of a human being must be more important than all the machines in the world."

El Mundo, Caracas: "With this offer to trade men for trucks in addition to the policy of the firing squad, Fidel Castro has entrenched antihumanism in America."

El Mundo columnist Mariano Arcaaya said: "This is the limit, we start out financing an invasion to overthrow Fidel Castro and end up by cooperating with Cuban Agrarian Reform." He says: "Castro has taken off his 'ruler' mask and shown his 'gangster' face. His apprenticeship in the underworld of Mexico and Colombia has served him well for he is fully informed in the ransom business, money or chattel for human lives. * * * Castro's blackmail has no parallel in history unless there is some unknown event in the life of Attila and others like him. Certainly there has been nothing like it in the modern world, and we hope that it will never happen again."

Panorama, Maracaibo: "Castro does not seem pleased to be reminded that he had a pretty savage predecessor in Eichmann, murderer of Jews who exchanged prisoners for material goods." * * * "This step by Castro recalls the era of the Barbarians who seemed by now to have disappeared from the face of the earth, since the kidnaping of people for ransom is a crime punishable in many countries by the death penalty."

FIDEL CASTRO'S BARTER PROPOSAL
 (SUPPLEMENT 1)

ARGENTINA

The Independent Civic Party of Argentina has released the following statement: "In view of the contempt shown by the Government of the Cuban Socialist People's Republic [sic] for the dignity of the human person, which it has dared give a material value (corresponding to one-half of a tractor), the Independent Civic Party feels that it is a question of basic human fellowship to reiterate its complete repudiation of said regime. * * * Expresses its fervent hope that the governments of America will, at least in these tragic circumstances for our continent and all humanity, defend and take a position of clear and open opposition to the tyranny imposed upon Cuba and sustained publicly and offensively by Sino-Soviet imperialism."

La Prensa, La Nación, Correo de la Tarde, and Critica de Buenos Aires and La Capital of Rosario have unequivocally repudiated the proposed prisoners for tractors deal. Correo de la Tarde, which announced its contribution to a fund, was the most vehement denouncer of the Cuban offer.

BRAZIL

A motion was introduced in the São Paulo Municipal Chamber on May 26 asking for funds to be set aside for the city of São Paulo to buy a tractor.

O Jornal, Rio de Janeiro, on May 25, said that while it felt it was better to hand over tractors to save 1,200 Cubans from "going to the wall" (al paredón), the terrible aspect of exchanging men for machines should never be forgotten.

Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, on May 25, editorially criticized Kennedy's asking citizens to support the bargain. While crediting Mrs. Roosevelt with human compassion, the paper said it could not support such a cold-blooded plan.

Diario de Noticias, Rio de Janeiro, of May 26, while commenting that tractors could play an important role in the structure of the Cuban economy, said the appalling thing about the proposal was that with the Socialist regime of Fidel Castro was established a table of prices for one Cuban life.

Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, on May 26, carried an uncredited brief datelined Chicago which said "indifference and boredom were the reactions observed to Kennedy's request to citizens for private support of the tractor exchange plan."

Leftist Ultima Hora, Rio de Janeiro, on May 26 used Miami, Chicago, and Washington stories critical of the Kennedy position.

O Dia, Rio de Janeiro, on May 26 prominently headlined: "North American People Receive Kennedy Exhortations With Indifference."

On May 27 a picture of Mayor Wagner driving a freedom tractor was carried on the front pages of three Rio de Janeiro morning newspapers, including leftist Ultima Hora, which captioned it: "Tractors for 'the Wall.'"

CHILE

The Chilean Association of Nongovernmental Institutions for the United Nations has affiliated with the Committee for Human Solidarity to raise funds for the tractor-prisoner exchange, calling Castro's offer "a reversal in the scale of human progress." Prensa Latina (official Cuban news agency) newscasts are playing up internal U.S. opposition to the exchange.

COSTA RICA

The press on May 27 published a circular of the Federation of University Students of Costa Rica dated May 23 urging student federations everywhere to join the campaign in favor of tractors for prisoners and requesting special efforts to free student prisoners Alberto Muller and his brother.

ECUADOR

The president of the Quito Rotary Club has proposed to the club's directorate the organizing of a fund-raising campaign.

The Anti-Communist Front of the city of Ambato, which was formed on May 26, began that day a campaign to collect funds for "Tractors for Freedom" of the Cuban invasion prisoners. The campaign will be extended to the entire country.

EL SALVADOR

Committees called Cruzada de Colón are being set up in provincial cities to collect funds for tractors.

GUATEMALA

In addition to the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN—a political party), the following groups are participating in the "Tractors for Freedom" fund-raising drive and parade on May 29: the association of Christian Mothers, the Women's Civic Union, the National Federation for Defense Against Communism, and the Propaganda Committee of the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front. The Association of Christian Mothers organized a mass for the children of six Catholic parochial schools on Friday, May 26, to inaugurate the fund drive. The MLN is sending party workers to other cities to solicit funds.

Two hundred employees of the Esso Standard Oil Co. in Guatemala volunteered one quetzal (\$1) each for the tractor drive.

MEXICO

Two Cuban exile groups, the Association of Merchants, Industrialists, and Professional Men of Cuba and the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front, have initiated fund-raising campaigns for the purchase of tractors. The press has reported that a Mexican group is also being formed.

Excelsior, Mexico City, in the Bernardo Ponce column of May 23: "In the United States several persons are giving money to buy the 500 tractors wanted by Castro Ruz to ransom 1,000 Cuban prisoners he took during the ill-fated invasion of the Antilles' largest island. We have returned to the times of the pirates of the Barbary Coast. * * * The new masters of Cuba—the locals, not the Russian and Chinese 'technicians'—must be very nervous about the possibility of a meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev in the beautiful city of Vienna. The Red dictator is quite capable of 'selling' Communist Cuba for a North American withdrawal from a zone near the Russian frontier. It would not be the first time that

May 29

such a deal has taken place. One might then be able to say: with the tractors you measure you shall be measured."

El Popular, Mexico City, a Marxist newspaper, in the Sadot Fablla column of May 23: "The opportunity certainly is excellent for individuals such as Ydigoras or Somoza, who clamored loudly for the lives of the defeated and captured invaders. They, and a few other tyrants, can well divest themselves of a few dollars in order to buy tractors and send them to the Pearl of the Antilles in exchange for the anti-patriotic Cubans who were trained at Yankee military bases within their countries. * * * The cries heard after the invasion had failed had the sole political objective of portraying the Cuban government as a sanguinary regime opposed to human reason."

El Universal, Mexico City, in the Enrique Castro Farias column of May 23: "No one should be surprised about this new blackmail of the bearded tyrant of Cuba, for this is the same method applied in the country and the cities of the island during the liberating revolution of the hero of the Sierra Maestra."

La Prensa, Mexico City, of May 26, carried a signed article entitled "Tractors for Blood," which said the tractor plea was not only testimony to Castro's mental unbalance and the low esteem communism places on human life, but also to the moral bankruptcy of the West. At the same time it praised private U.S. donations for tractors as an unavoidable duty when lives are at stake.

El Universal, Mexico City, in a cartoon on May 26, showed Castro as a masked bandit holding up a Cuban prisoner and demanding "a tractor or your life."

Novedades, Mexico City, on May 26 cartooned a Cuban prisoner telling his bearded guards, "I won't swap my freedom for less than two yokes of oxen and 6 pounds of hot chiles."

NICARAGUA

The Catholic Action Society of Montellimar announced a fund collection for tractors. Dr. Andrés Largaespada, director of the Managua Cotton Cooperative, offered a used tractor. Radio Noticias, owner Humberto Torres Molina, offered a tractor for Chester Lacayo, a Nicaraguan being held prisoner in Cuba.

La Noticia, Managua, pointing out that Castro had equated the lives of Cuban patriots with the value of tractors, said "history will guard in its pages these offenses against humanity."

La Prensa, Gráfica, Managua, commented: "Never before in America has one faced such a situation in which human life could be bought for machinery."

PERU

The Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front's Lima branch is planning to make a public collection for tractors on June 3. The Comisión Magisterial Cubana in exile has also called for donations.

La Crónica, Lima, reported on May 26 that US\$1,333 have been collected thus far toward the purchase of tractors and that a public collection would be taken up in Lima on Saturday, June 3.

La Crónica, Lima, in an editorial on May 26: "No matter how monstrous the operation of exchanging men for tractors may be, in view of our impotence to alter the facts no one can refuse to lend his support to this shameful dictatorial and revicting 'business deal,' which eliminates any concept of the dignity of man, heaps scorn on its originator, and leads the people of Peru to contribute to the rescue of the heroic patriots imprisoned for their courageous struggle to free their country, scourged by a tyrant and delivered to the voracity of the Chinese and Soviet Communists."

El Deber, Arequipa, editorialized May 23: "The tolerance of the American peoples (of a Communist Cuba) is suicide. Not only does it permit the ignominious Communist

crime of traffic in human lives, but it raises the possibility that our own people may suffer equal treatment some day."

El Pueblo, Arequipa, on May 23: "Putting aside the filthiness of the Castro proposal, which causes disgust to all civilized humanity, American citizens have accepted the deal, undoubtedly because they believe a human being is worth more than any amount of machinery." Later: "With this new proof of Communist-Fidelism, which at times seems unbelievable, one can assume that every day the Cuban revolution will count on fewer adherents, and on an increasing number dedicated to fight against it."

URUGUAY

On May 24 and 25, eight leading Montevideo newspaper editors appealed for a public fund-raising campaign (El Bien Público, Tribuna, La Mañana, El Debate, El Diario Español, El Diario, El Plata, and El País).

On May 25 the Friends of Cuba organization placed a tractor in a Montevideo downtown plaza in another fundraising effort.

El Día, Montevideo, of May 25: "So much human wretchedness cannot endure for long. Impelled by their unconquerable and eternal ideals, nourished by the reason and justice of its high purpose, the forces of democracy will again cause freedom, besmirched and trampled by the new barbarians eager to enslave humanity in the empire of crime, to flower."

VENEZUELA

El Mundo, Caracas, on May 26, reported that the police had taken protective measures in view of Communist and extremist threats against members of the "Tractors for Ransom Committee." On May 25 the committee sent Mr. Eleanor Roosevelt the sum of \$10,875, the product of its initial collection.

La Esfera, Caracas, May 26. Columnist Martínez Suarez commented: "On the whole, this despicable trick of the Cuban dictatorship has had the virtue of stimulating throughout the free world, and especially in Latin America, an extraordinary movement of fellow feeling for the people of the island in application of the principle of respect for human life."

La Religión, Caracas, May 26. Columnist Pepe Travieso: "This exchange of human lives for tractors is so much the stuff of anecdotes, so picturesque in its innate cruelty and inhumanity, that it must serve as a permanent lesson in the true nature of those regimes founded on international communism. How can Fidel Castro and his followers invoke the principle of respect for human rights after sinking to the depths of bartering prisoners for tractors, which is the greatest blow ever struck in modern times against international law and the intrinsic worth of the individual?"

La Esfera, Caracas, May 26. Columnist Fernando Márquez Cairós: "The very fact that a group of prisoners was charged with negotiating the price of their own ransom and that of their companions in misfortune shows the contempt in which Fidel holds human dignity."

The following are two half-page notices appearing in Caracas newspapers:

In El Universal of May 26, signed by the directors of the "Tractors for Ransom Committee":

"FIDEL HAS NOT FOOLED US

"His proposal, which degrades human dignity and takes us back to the remote era of slavery and barbarity, is couched in terms that could only be conceived on the basis of the coldest Communist materialism. This materialism, which denies the existence of the soul, in fact, equates freedom and the rights of man with chattel, for which it may therefore be exchanged. But we cannot accept this thesis and, in fact, we deny it on

principle. No, human lives cannot be bartered. The human life has no price."

In La Esfera of May 26:

"TRADE IN HUMANS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

"The closest precedent that can be recalled is that attempted by Eichmann, today on trial for his crimes. The Nazi proposed to exchange 1 million Jews for 10,000 trucks. Today Eichmann is facing his judges. Fidel Castro goes further and offers to exchange his fellow countrymen for tractors. The day will come when Cuba's 'Eichmann' Castro, too, will have to answer for his crimes against humanity."

WEST INDIES FEDERATION

Trinidad Guardian, Port of Spain, on May 28 in an editorial entitled "Basic Evil of Communism Revealed": "It would be the height of folly to ignore the implications of this deal. They are simply that Castro and his henchmen, as puppets of Moscow and Peking, will stop at nothing to achieve their ends of Communist domination of this hemisphere. This threat can only be countered if those who have faith in the ideals of democracy cast off their lethargy and become aware of the seriousness of the situation. Castro's tractor deal will serve a useful purpose if, by its overt denial of all moral sense, it convinces people of the basic evil inherent in communism."

ARGENTINA

The Argentine Association for the Freedom of Culture has begun to collect funds toward the purchase of the 500 tractors. Among the persons making up the committee designated by the association to collect the funds is the director of the Buenos Aires evening daily Critica, Dr. Santiago Nudelman.

Clarín, Buenos Aires, commenting on May 28, said: "All America has arisen to 'buy' a thousand lives, in an operation which has the virtue of being honorable for the buyer and infamous for the seller."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. Murrow said, in part:

Almost without exception the press and radio of the free world have drawn the obvious parallel between his proposal and that of the Germans when they offered to trade Jews for trucks.

It should rather have read "the Nazis," when they tried to trade Jews for trucks.

Castro revealed himself for what he is and U.S. reaction reflected what we are. Most of the free world found our response to the offer to be in accord with our heritage and tradition of regard for the individual. Castro has damaged the cause of communism. His senior partners in Moscow and Peking have not supported him.

There is a groundswell of disgust welling up in Latin America. We have prepared for you a summary of press reaction. From both conservative and liberal newspapers, from government figures, from committees and voluntary groups, the comment is the same. This has been accompanied by demonstrations for freedom by students, women, legislators in favor of the United States.

Castro's offer has been called blackmail. That is a handy word, but in civilized countries censure of the act should run to the blackmailer, not to the blackmailed. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower observed, a mother paying ransom to regain the life of a child is not denounced because she deals with a blackmailer. The calumny is on the head of the man perpetrating the wrong, not on the wronged.

Is it not interesting that in every country of the world—every free country—the criticism is not of the United States, but of Castro? Yet, here in our own

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midst, we see Americans criticizing the Government of the United States, and the Committee.

That criticism has been properly placed by those in Latin American countries who are struggling this very hour for their freedom. By this cruel and inhuman act, Castro has possibly done more to help freedom in the Western Hemisphere than all the aid programs put together. He has revealed what really happens when dictatorship takes over. Thank God—I say that in all reverence—in America the voice was lifted which said, "We want to help those in distress. We are willing to help those who want freedom." I think by that act on the part of certain citizens we have been spared a severe judgment.

Now Mr. President, I wish to make a proposal to our Government.

I propose, Mr. President, that the essentially private effort of the Tractors for Freedom Committee become the springboard from which we launch a tremendous inter-American effort to seek the release of all political prisoners in Cuba.

I propose that the U.S. Government, as its expression of support for the Committee, take the leadership in the Organization of American States, to condemn the mass arrests, imprisonments and executions in Cuba, and to insist that the Cuban regime release all of its political prisoners.

Let us join our friends throughout the Americas in this reaffirmation of human freedom and dignity. Let us seize this opportunity, when people everywhere are gaining a new realization of the depth of Castro's cynicism, to go one step further. Let us take the moral leadership against tyranny and despotism, and against the prisons and dungeons that are such ugly reminders of despotism on the loose.

Let us join our friends to place the governments of these free peoples squarely on the side of the restoration of freedom for the people of Cuba.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. Earlier in the day I made a short statement regarding the exchange of tractors for the Cuban prisoners. I am always moved by the Senator from Minnesota when he speaks of mercy and compassion, and religion, because I know they are part of his being—of his very life. He is right in saying that Castro has exposed his own callous attitude toward human life, and the callous attitude of his regime.

At the close of his remarks, the Senator from Minnesota made an interesting and valuable proposition—one which should be considered by our Government. It is that the United States, and all the American states, should urge before the world, the release of the vast number of prisoners held by Castro—held without process of law—held because they dare dissent. He has pointed out that Castro's cynical tractor-prisoner proposal calls attention to the thousands of political prisoners held by Castro.

I question one argument the Senator from Minnesota made, the argument that there is legal precedent for the

United States, to accept Castro's offer. He is correct in saying it is the tradition of America to help the distressed of other countries. We have given help again and again to other peoples—even our wealth and resources to wartime enemies, Germany and Japan.

But the situation under discussion differs from those cases. This is a situation in which a tyrant proposes the exchange of human beings for tractors. It is an offer of prisoners for ransom.

I do not wish to be technical, but I doubt that our humanitarian record and tradition of help to prisoners, and to the unfortunate of other countries, is a legal precedent upon which we can rely when we are asked to ransom prisoners.

I support the proposal upon moral and humanitarian grounds, but I do not know they would attach in every case. I support the proposal because the United States bears responsibility, because of its support of the landings, which led to the capture of the Cubans.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes. We have a moral responsibility.

Mr. COOPER. I do not argue now the merits of the decision to support the landings. The decision was made, and our responsibility in this case arises from the decision. We helped to prepare the Cuban forces, under the administration of President Eisenhower. The preparations were continued under the administration of President Kennedy. These same forces landed in Cuba. We know that President Kennedy had to make the decision which permitted the troops to go to Cuba. Because of these facts, I consider the United States bears responsibility, and has no other proper course except to do all possible to secure the release of the prisoners.

If these men were our own citizens we could secure their release by force if we desired to do so. But we know that our forces will not be used to liberate the captured Cubans.

There is no other way at present to secure the release of those we helped send to Cuba, except through the exchange. This being true, the moral and humanitarian considerations of which the Senator from Minnesota spoke so movingly, attach in the greatest degree.

Because responsibility does attach, I see no reason for the President—if he is doing so—to support only as a private citizen the exchange. The President cannot escape being the President of the United States. He acts as the President in regard to matters which are of concern to the foreign policy of the United States. I think he should say, "As the President of the United States, I support the exchange." It is his responsibility, and it should be clear that the President, and not a private committee, guides the foreign policy of the United States.

I have great respect for the members of the committee, and for the humanitarian considerations which led them to undertake the project, but the transaction is essentially one within the scope of the conduct of the foreign policy of the United States.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Let me respond for a moment to the Senator from Kentucky, and then I shall yield.

I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his earlier statement, which was an excellent one, logical and precise. The Senator has underscored, very properly, our responsibility in this matter.

On the date of May 24 I made some comments in the Senate concerning this very matter. I read to my colleagues the following:

Let me say to the eternal credit of the President of the United States that he feels a moral obligation. It is a fact that this Government did train those people. We know it. The American people will be respected all the more in the world if we act responsibly, out of a sense of humanity, in this unhappy matter. I suggest to my colleagues that during the past week we have seen pictures on the front pages of American newspapers of another freedom fighter, a young man with a battered and bloody face, the victim of brutality, vulgarity, violence, and disorder. It might not be a bad news story to go out throughout the world that the citizenry of this country was sufficiently concerned with human life to put forth private contributions and private efforts, with the endorsement and moral support of the President of the United States, in an attempt to save these men in Cuba. I do not want on my hands the fact that I failed to do what I could have done when the opportunity was given.

I wish to underscore this more precisely. We do have a moral responsibility. I believe the Senator is correct in stating that the President of the United States does speak as a public citizen and not as a private citizen at all times. The reference to his private capacity was not made by the President, but by one of the press secretaries at the White House, Mr. Hatcher, who is quoted as follows in the UPI dispatch on the ticker:

Hatcher said Kennedy's connection with the arrangement was as a private citizen.

The President may make a personal contribution from his personal bank account to a committee, but I would be the last to say a man who is President can be a private citizen.

I think the Senator from Kentucky is correct. I thank the Senator for his contribution to the discussion and, more importantly, for the fact that he has spoken up. Few men in America are held in greater respect and esteem than the Senator from Kentucky. I am one who holds him in the highest of esteem, and he knows it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I should like to discuss the Castro-tractor deal on a somewhat different basis later today.

I was impressed by the Senator's statement that he would like to use this incident as a precedent to start a world-wide program. If we are going to pay \$30,000 in first-class equipment for every prisoner released, does the Senator have some estimate as to how many prisoners the Russian and Chinese Communists are holding?

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator misunderstood my remarks. I said that the

private efforts of this committee should serve as a springboard to take up, in the Organization of American States, a proposal, first of all, to condemn Castro and his executions, his mass arrests, and imprisonment of fellow Cubans.

Second, I said we should call upon the Cuban regime, through the Organization of American States, to release these political prisoners.

No, I am not at all proposing what the Senator suggests. Of course we would not enter into such an arrangement.

I think, with respect to these 1,200 men, there is a difference. I think the Senator from Kentucky has stated it. We have a moral responsibility because of our activities, both those of the previous administration and those of the present administration, with regard to the liberation forces—I refuse to call it an invasion force. These people were merely returning to their homeland, seeking freedom.

To contemplate a mass exchange of goods for people throughout the world would on its face be inoperative.

I think the representative press, the legislators, the public officials, the students, and the spiritual leaders of country after country in Latin America, have responded overwhelmingly to this incident. I have available a copy of a USIA survey of some of the press, radio, and television reports from Latin America, including statements of government leaders. There is an overwhelming condemnation of Castro. I say that this is the time for the Government of the United States to work with the Organization of American States to call upon the Cuban regime to release the prisoners, to condemn it for its mass executions and for the wholesale imprisonment of thousands and thousands of Cubans.

One can say, "What good will that do?" At least it will put the Organization of American States on the side of morality and decency, and it will give us a common ground upon which we can work together. We have had some difficulties in recent months, as we know, in finding areas of common agreement with our Latin American neighbors.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can I be assured that the Senator will not support a Federal appropriation to purchase the release of prisoners in Cuba, in Russia, in China, or anywhere else?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I say to the Senator that the Senator from Minnesota is proposing no Federal appropriation. In fact, the Senator from Minnesota would have preferred that this be handled very privately, even to the point of seeing if we could do it without any special consideration from the Treasury Department. It may be necessary for the committee to have a tax-exempt status, so that contributions can be tax deductible, but I hope that in the beginning we will try to see if we can undertake the proposed transfer without it. I should like to see the American people again open up their hearts, as they do so frequently and generously.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, tomorrow the people of America observe Memorial Day, the day on which we pay tribute to those who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of our country, of all that it has stood for, of all that it holds out for future generations. This is therefore a time for solemn, prayerful reappraisal of our own conduct and the conduct of our national policy.

As we pause tomorrow at the graves of those who have fallen in the fight for freedom, let us ask ourselves: How are we measuring up to the demands of patriotism?

What are we giving to the cause of freedom?

What are we prepared to sacrifice in order that our liberty shall not be made forfeit?

What will be our response to President Kennedy's call for an increased national effort and an increased personal effort on the part of each of us?

In order to answer these questions let us look at what is happening today in the world.

If students of history were wise enough and learned enough, they could single out a particular unsolved crisis which sealed the doom of every great society and civilization of the past, of crisis of arms, or of internal politics, or of commerce, or of will, a point from which there was no return.

Contemporary events are of course more difficult to fathom and analyze than historical ones. Yet, I believe that the drama which may toll the death knell for the United States and for Western civilization is now being played out in southeast Asia.

The scene on which this crisis is unfolding is the remote and primitive kingdom of Laos. The armies involved on each side are small. The casualties can be numbered in the hundreds.

But the significance of this struggle is universal and the stakes riding upon it are unlimited.

The crisis we now face in southeast Asia has four major elements: the circumstance of geography, which forces us to compete in this area at an extreme and critical disadvantage; the tactic of guerrilla warfare, which enables a single, illiterate, half-savage guerrilla soldier to be more effective than an aircraft carrier; the tragedy of our declining prestige, by which I mean the confidence in and respect for American leadership which alone can hold together and make effective the coalition of free world powers in Asia; and finally, the enigma of our national resolve, the fundamental question—do we in America have the will to defend freedom?

For several years I have been speaking and writing about the problem of communism in Asia. Recently I completed a tour of the principal danger spots in this part of the world.

My words today are based upon one man's attempt to study this problem from afar and from close at hand and I hope that my observations can contrib-

ute something to public understanding of this question.

THE CRISIS OF GEOGRAPHY

Geography is against us in critical areas of southeast Asia. Our principal instruments of national power cannot be effectively used in key places. Our naval and air strength which has successfully shielded Taiwan and the offshore islands, though they are in the shadow of the vast Chinese Communist mainland, is ineffective in the kind of jungle warfare taking place in Laos or South Vietnam.

There are few roads suitable for mechanized armies. Most of the attributes of Western industrial society with which we are familiar and in which we can operate with confidence and skill are absent here. To succeed we must not only alter the physical aspect of our forces, but also we must alter our mental attitudes as well.

The tide of communism is creeping inexorably across southeast Asia. Laos has almost been swallowed up. If Laos goes, neighboring Cambodia will almost automatically follow and South Vietnam may be doomed. Thailand, with its 1,000 miles of frontier adjoining Laos and Cambodia, will then be immediately imperiled. If Thailand goes down, nothing can save Malaya and Singapore. When Malaya has been subjugated, Indonesia, with the largest Communist movement in the free world, will be a pushover.

With communism thus solidly entrenched in the Pacific all the way from the Arctic Circle to Indonesia, the defense of Australia and New Zealand, even with Anglo-American naval assistance, would become hazardous and difficult.

Inevitably the Philippines, South Korea, and Japan and Formosa will thus be lost and the whole Pacific will indeed become a Red ocean.

THE CRISIS OF TACTICS

To those nations of Asia which yet remain independent, communism is no abstract or distant menace. It is a grim and ever present danger, a daily companion, a nightly visitor. Its instruments are terror and violence and murder.

Communist guerrilla bands range over the countryside, blowing up bridges, attacking army posts, assassinating anti-Communist mayors and rural officials, as well as soldiers, police, and peasants.

In Manila, I learned that despite the successes scored against the Communist Huk movement in a massive effort lasting more than a decade, Huk guerrilla bands are still active in several Provinces, and travel in these Provinces is severely restricted.

In Vietnam, I was told that almost 1,000 people are killed every month by terrorists and that it is unsafe to travel the roads beyond 25 miles from Saigon.

In Vientiane, the capital of Laos, I could observe myself that the main Communist forces were only 25 miles from the city, and that guerrilla bands frequently penetrated to the very suburbs.

forms and carried signs condemning Castro. They appealed for money for tractors. Also in Sao Paulo, a woman has offered her blood to help the Cuban prisoners. In Bogotá, groups are going up to people in the street and asking to "buy a life." In Santiago and in Rio, Communist groups have actually begun to form committees condemning the committees formed to raise money for tractors.

Later in my comments, I shall place in the Record a full review of Latin American editorial and journalistic comment on the Castro proposal.

Castro's cynical proposal—his playing with human lives—has revealed a shocking contempt for human life on the part of the Cuban regime.

On the other hand, the bold and generous step taken by the founders of the Tractors for Freedom Committee in the United States and the outspoken support of our President have struck a deep chord of liberal humanitarianism throughout all of free Latin America. President Kennedy's popularity in Latin America is at a new high, because he has demonstrated again his great and deep concern for human life.

Castro's propaganda stunt has been turned into a political disaster for the Cuban regime. At a time when Castro's propaganda seemed to be taking hold in Latin America, one reckless statement by the Cuban dictator gave us the opportunity to dramatize and highlight the basic difference between a free society and a dictatorship. We are not talking here merely about abstract principles. We are talking about human beings, God's finest creations. There are among us those who have charged that America shows weakness because we are willing to exchange tractors for 1200 freedom fighters. What an absurdity! A great nation like the United States demonstrates strength, not weakness, when it takes action to save human lives.

Surely there is no one who feels that Cuba under Castro or anyone else is a military threat to the United States, 35 times its population, and infinitely stronger by any measurement. That is ridiculous upon its face. Furthermore, as I said last week in the Senate, the American people know that if it were merely tractors that Castro wanted, and if tractors would be admitted as a threat to American security, the tractors are available from the Soviet Union, from Czechoslovakia, or from other places. No, Mr. President; Castro was trying to play international politics. He was engaging in international propaganda, and it has slapped him in his face.

Our Judeo-Christian tradition, our whole democratic philosophy, calls upon us to save lives. Indeed, the central principle of freedom is that God created man in His own image, and that no man who may be saved is to be abandoned.

We build hospitals, we emphasize the relief of suffering, and we are proud of these works. Compassion is a virtue—not an evil.

Compassion is strength, not weakness. I am dismayed and shocked when I see some Americans become so swollen with false pride that they preach of "national

CASTRO, POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND TRACTORS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I shall not yield to any Senator during the statement I am about to make. At the conclusion of my remarks, I shall be happy to yield for questions.

Mr. President, in the annals of contemporary dictatorships, few incidents have so shocked the world and few incidents have so solidified public opinion against a dictator as has the Castro proposal to exchange the lives of political prisoners for American tractors. The outburst of editorial comment against this cruel proposal is unprecedented in terms of the condemnation of a chief of state.

While some persons in America have been content to wring their hands and cry "blackmail," others have moved with purpose and direction to call the Cuban dictator's bluff and to save lives. In so doing, a new unity of purpose is being forged among the free nations of the Western Hemisphere. No one act has before so fully crystallized the public opinion of the Western Hemisphere upon a single issue as has the Cuban dictator's incredible proposal to trade political prisoners for tractors. Castro has made a singular diplomatic blunder. In the New York Times' compilation of the reaction of the Latin American press, it was stated as follows:

In Sao Paulo—

Brazil—

the largest anti-Communist demonstration in history has occurred there. It consisted mainly of students—normally anti-American—many of whom were prisoners' uni-