That is not the reply of a mercenary. He has gone now to join in the mountains countless other guerrilla fighters who are equally determined that the dedication of those who gave their lives shall not be forgotten and that Cuba must not be abandoned to the Communists. And we do not intend to abandon it either.

The Cuban people have not yet spoken their final piece, and I have no doubt that they and the Revolutionary Council, led by Dr. Cardona -- and members of the families of the Revolutionary Council, I am informed by the doctor yesterday, are involved themselves in the island -- will continue to speak out for a free and independent Cuba.

Meanwhile, we will not accept Mr. Castro's attempt to blame this nation for the hatred with which his one-time supporters now regard his repression. But there are from this sobering episode useful lessons for us all to learn. Some may be still obscure and await further information. Some are clear today.

First, it is clear that the forces of communism are not to be underestimated in Cuba or anywhere else in the world. The advantages of a police state, its use of mass terror and arrest to prevent the spread of free dissent, cannot be overlooked by those who expect the fall of every fanatic tyrant.

If the self-discipline of the free cannot match the iron discipline of the mailed fist in economic, political, scientific and all the other kinds of struggle as well as the military, then the peril to freedom will continue to rise.

Secondly, it is clear that this nation, in concert with all the free nations of this Hemisphere, must take an ever closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention and domination in Cuba.

The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than ninety miles from their shore, but a nation of Cuba's size is less a threat to our survival than it is a base for subverting the survival of other free nations throughout the hemisphere.

It is not our interest or our security but theirs which is now today in the greater peril. It is for their sake as well as our own that we must show our will. The evidence is clear and the hour is late.

We and our Latin friends will have to face the fact that we cannot postpone any longer the real issue of survival of freedom in this Hemisphere itself. On that issue, unlike perhaps some others, there can be no middle ground.

Together we must build a hemisphere where freedom can flourish and where any free nation under outside attack of any kind can be assured that all of our resources stand ready to respond to any request for assistance.

Third and finally, it is clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in every corner of the globe that goes far beyond the clash of armies or even nuclear armaments.

The armies are there and in large numbers. The nuclear armaments are there. But they serve primarily as the shield behind which subversion, infiltration and a host of other tactics steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas, one by one, in situations which do not permit our own armed intervention.

Power is the hallmark of this offensive -- power and discipline and defeat. The legitimate discontent of yearning people is exploited. The legitimate trappings of self-determination are employed, but once in power all talk of discontent is repressed. All self-determination disappears and the promise of a revolution of hope is betrayed, as in Cuba, into a reign of terror.

Those who, on instruction, staged automatic riots in the streets of free nations over the efforts of a small group of young Cubans to regain their freedom should recall the long roll-call of refugees who cannot now go back to Hungary, to North Korea, to North Vietnam, East Germany or to Poland, or to any of the other lands from which a steady stream of refugees poured forth in eloquent testimony to the cruel oppression now holding sway in their homeland.

We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concept, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it, whether in Cuba or South Vietnam. And we dare not fail to realize that this struggle is taking place every day without fanfare in thousands of villages and markets day and night and in classrooms all over the globe.

The message of Cuba, of Laos, of the rising din of Communist voices in Asia and Latin America, these messages are all the same. The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies, are about to be swept away with the debris of history. Only the strong, only the industrious, only the determined, only the courageous, only the visionary who determine the real nature of our struggle can possibly survive.

No greater task faces this country or this Administration, no other challenge is more deserving of our every effort and energy. Too long we have fixed our eyes on armies prepared to cross borders; on missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear that this is no longer enough; that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border.

We intend to profit from this lesson. We intend to re-examine and reorient our forces of all kinds; our tactics and our institutions here in this community. We intend to intensify our efforts for a struggle in many ways more difficult than war, where disappointments will often accompany us.

For I am convinced that we in this country and in the free world possess the necessary resources and skill and the added strength that comes from a belief in the freedom of man.

And I am equally convinced that history will record the fact that this bitter struggle reached its climax in the late Nineteen Fifties and the early Nineteen Sixties.

Let me then make clear as the President of the United States that I am determined upon our system's survival and success, regardless of the cost and regardless of the peril.

End of Appendix

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(See back page for signers of report)