# 105TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

# S. 2080

To provide for the President to increase support to the democratic opposition in Cuba, to authorize support under the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 for the provision and transport of increased humanitarian assistance directly to the oppressed people of Cuba to help them regain their freedom, and for other purposes.

# IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 14, 1998

Mr. Helms (for himself, Mr. Lott, Mr. Mack, Mr. Graham, Mr. Torricelli, Mr. Coverdell, Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Reid, Mr. Lieberman, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Roth, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Nickles, Mr. Grassley, Mrs. Hutchison, Mr. Ashcroft, Mr. Faircloth, Mr. Inhofe, Mr. Smith of New Hampshire, Mr. Hollings, Mr. DeWine, and Mr. Thompson) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

# A BILL

To provide for the President to increase support to the democratic opposition in Cuba, to authorize support under the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 for the provision and transport of increased humanitarian assistance directly to the oppressed people of Cuba to help them regain their freedom, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### 1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

- 2 This Act may be cited as the "Cuban Solidarity
- 3 (SOLIDARIDAD) Act of 1998".
- 4 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

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- 5 Congress makes the following findings:
- 6 (1) In spite of the historic visit of Pope John 7 Paul II to Cuba on January 21 to 25, 1998, the re-8 gime of Fidel Castro Ruz continues an unrelenting, 9 systematic repression of freedom of expression, free-10 dom of religion, and all other universally recognized 11 human rights, proving that continued pressure, not unilateral concessions, is needed and justified to un-12 13 dermine Castro's tyranny.
  - (2) The vast majority of the American people support the principled policy of political and economic isolation of the Castro regime.
  - (3) The United States has a moral obligation to increase its support to the democratic opposition in Cuba, providing such assistance with the same intensity and decisiveness with which it supported the pro-democracy Solidarnosc movement in Poland to defeat martial law and communism.
  - (4) The United States Government should redouble efforts to overcome Fidel Castro's blockade on independent information in Cuba and about Cuba, so that people on the island realize the oppor-

- tunities of fundamental change and people in other countries recognize their obligation to support such change.
  - (5) The visit of Pope John Paul II to Cuba represents an historic opportunity for the international community to support the Cuban people in their quest for political and spiritual liberation.
  - (6) The regime of Fidel Castro Ruz denies the Cuban people basic necessities of life as a means of political control, compounding the hardship caused by the mismanagement that is typical of all other failed Marxist, centrally planned economies throughout history.
  - (7) Augmenting humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people will undermine the policies of Fidel Castro Ruz by promoting their independence and strengthening relief groups that operate independently of the regime, provided that such increased assistance is delivered directly to victims of political repression by genuinely independent nongovernmental groups.
  - (8) The regime of Fidel Castro Ruz requires the Cuban people to pay United States dollars for basic necessities, including food and medicine, as a means of diverting hard currency into the coffers of

- the repressive state, imposing extraordinary hardship on workers whom the state pays an average hourly wage of 5 cents.
  - (9) The regime of Fidel Castro Ruz refuses to import adequate medicine and medical equipment for the Cuban people, despite the fact that Cuba can purchase such material from many countries, including the United States, which lifted the embargo on medicines and medical equipment in the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992.
  - (10) The people of the United States already provide more humanitarian assistance to Cuba under present United States law than all other nations of the world combined, exceeding \$2,300,000,000 since 1992.
    - (11) Increasing humanitarian assistance directly to the Cuban people is consistent with the aims of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 and the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992.

# 21 SEC. 3. PURPOSES.

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- The purposes of this Act are—
- 23 (1) to confront the unrelenting, systematic re-24 pression of the Castro regime by requiring the Presi-25 dent to provide increased, decisive support to the

- democratic opposition in Cuba and to take specific measures to bring about fundamental political and economic change in Cuba;
  - (2) to take advantage of the historic opportunity created by the visit to Cuba of Pope John Paul II to assist the Cuban people to secure the blessings of liberty;
  - (3) to ensure that expanded humanitarian assistance is delivered directly to needy, oppressed persons in Cuba, including political prisoners and their families, in order to undermine the deliberate policy of the Cuban government to deny food and medical care as a means of intimidation and control;
  - (4) to strengthen increasingly independent nongovernmental organizations in Cuba, including groups committed to the political and spiritual liberation of the Cuban people; and
  - (5) to encourage increased donations of free food, medicine, and medical equipment by individuals, nongovernmental organizations, and private companies in the United States to the oppressed people of Cuba who are unable to buy these necessities because of the failed economic policies of the Castro regime.

#### 1 SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.

- 2 For the purposes of section 109 of the Cuban Liberty
- 3 and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (22)
- 4 U.S.C. 6039) and this Act:
- 5 (1) CUBAN GOVERNMENT.—The term "Cuban
- 6 government" has the meaning given the term in sec-
- 7 tion 4(5) of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Soli-
- 8 darity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (22 U.S.C.
- 9 6023(5)).
- 10 (2) Humanitarian assistance.—The term
- 11 "humanitarian assistance" means food, medicines,
- medical supplies, and medical equipment donated by
- individuals or private companies in the United
- 14 States to independent nongovernmental organiza-
- tions or provided by the United States Government
- through independent nongovernmental organizations.
- 17 (3) Independent nongovernmental orga-
- 18 NIZATION.—The term "independent nongovern-
- mental organization" means an internationally rec-
- ognized nongovernmental organization that is not an
- agency or instrumentality of the Cuban government
- and that has been designated by the President as an
- independent nongovernmental organization for pur-
- poses of this Act. The designation of independent
- 25 nongovernmental organizations for purposes of this
- Act shall be made in accordance with the procedures

- applicable to reprogramming notifications under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2394–1).
- 4 (4) VICTIMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION.—The
  5 term "victims of political repression" means any
  6 Cuban nationals in Cuba, including political pris7 oners and their families, who are not officials of the
  8 Cuban government or of the ruling political party in
  9 Cuba, as defined in section 4(10) of the Cuban Lib10 erty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of
  11 1996 (22 U.S.C. 6023(10)).

# 12 SEC. 5. EMERGENCY MEASURES TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY;

- 13 REPORTS.
- 14 (a) EMERGENCY MEASURES TO SUPPORT THE
  15 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN CUBA.—Not later than 6
  16 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Presi17 dent—
  - (1) shall instruct the heads of all relevant agencies of the United States Government to increase support for democratic opposition groups in Cuba;
  - (2) should instruct the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to introduce a resolution in the United Nations Security Council calling upon the Cuban government to immediately respect all human rights, free all political

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- prisoners, legalize independent political parties, allow independent trade unions, and conduct internationally monitored and freely contested elections;
  - (3) shall initiate broadcasting of Radio Marti and Television Marti from the United States Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, or other suitable sites in proximity to the island of Cuba;
    - (4) shall provide not less than \$5,000,000 of funds otherwise available for voluntary contributions of the United States to the Organization of American States in fiscal year 1999, solely for the purposes of establishing a fund for the deployment of human rights observers, election support, and election observation in Cuba, as described in paragraph (1) of section 109(b) of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (22 U.S.C. 6039(b)(1));
    - (5) shall direct the Secretary of the Treasury to increase the number of personnel of the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury having responsibilities with respect to the economic embargo on Cuba in order to more vigorously enforce the embargo and to expeditiously license lawful transactions involving Cuba;

- (6) shall take steps to secure a commitment from the Cuban government to allow the direct delivery of mail from the United States to Cuba, as called for in section 1705(g) of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992; and
  - (7) should instruct the Attorney General to seek an indictment of Fidel Castro and/or other officials of the Cuban government under section 32 of title 18, United States Code, for the willful, premeditated attack on 2 unarmed "Brothers to the Rescue" humanitarian aircraft on February 24, 1996, which resulted in the destruction of those 2 civil aircraft in flight within the special aircraft jurisdiction of the United States and the violence against and incapacitation and murder of four individuals on such aircraft, Pablo Morales, Carlos Costa, Mario de la Pena, and Armando Alejandre.

## (b) Reports.—

(1) REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION BY THE PRESIDENT.—Seven months after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall prepare and transmit to Congress a detailed written report on steps taken to implement each of the measures set forth in subsection (a).

- than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 6 months thereafter, until a democratic government is in power in Cuba, the Secretary of State shall prepare and transmit to Congress, and disseminate through all United States diplomatic and consular missions, unclassified written reports (with classified annexes as required) on the following subjects:
  - (A) Exploitative labor conditions that exist in Cuba (including the denial of rights of independent trade unions as set forth in conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labor Organization), accompanied by a list of foreign companies taking advantage of such exploitative labor conditions and a description of the efforts of the international free trade union movement to press the Cuban government and foreign companies doing business in Cuba to respect the rights of Cuban workers.
  - (B) The policy of the Cuban government to coerce certain categories of poor, less educated, and rural women to submit to induced abortions.

1	(C) The role of the Cuban government or
2	any of its agents in international narcotics traf-
3	ficking or money laundering.
4	(D) The impact on and threat to the na-
5	tional security or national interests of the
6	United States posed by—
7	(i) the completion by the Russian
8	Federation or other countries of the tech-
9	nically flawed nuclear reactors at Juragua;
10	(ii) efforts of the Cuban government
11	to produce biological weapons; and
12	(iii) any Russian intelligence facilities
13	in Cuba, including the intelligence facility
14	at Lourdes, Cuba.
15	(E) Measures of the Cuban government to
16	persecute, discourage, or restrict the spiritual
17	and charitable activities of churches and other
18	religious organizations in Cuba.
19	(F) The plight of political prisoners and
20	prisoners of conscience in Cuba, including—
21	(i) a list of all persons who are im-
22	prisoned or detained in Cuba and the
23	crimes, if any, with which they have been
24	charged;

- 1 (ii) a description of prison conditions 2 and treatment of prisoners by Cuban au-3 thorities; and
  - (iii) a list, to the extent practicable, of all persons who have been imprisoned or executed for political reasons by authorities of the Cuban government at any time on or after January 1, 1959.
  - (G) Actions taken by the Cuban government to repress freedom of the press, including persecution or exclusion of journalists, reprisals against journalists or their sources, interruption of mass communication or distribution of journalistic materials, or similar measures.
  - (H) Actions by other governments and international organizations, including but not limited to Canada and member states of the European Union, taken during the preceding 6-month period, to encourage a process of transition to pluralist democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental economic and political freedoms in Cuba, accompanied by a list of commercial ventures and bilateral agreements signed with the Cuban government during such period.

- 1 (I) Efforts by the Cuban government to in-2 fluence United States policy toward Cuba 3 through espionage, other surreptitious means, 4 or lobbying.
  - (J) The issuance of visas to enter the United States to Cuban officials or persons affiliated with the Cuban government during the preceding 6-month period, accompanied by a justification for issuing each such visa taking into account section 102(e) of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996 (22 U.S.C. 6032(e)).
  - (K) The bilateral sugar-for-oil agreement between Russia and Cuba, including an analysis of the terms of such agreement and a determination of whether such terms provide any economic subsidy to the Cuban government.
  - (L) The extent to which the Italian telecommunications company STET International, which is engaged in a joint venture with the Cuban Telephone System, allows or refuses to allow electronic eavesdropping and interruption of telephone service for political reasons conducted by the Cuban government against persons in Cuba.

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- 1 (M) Cuban relations with states that have 2 repeatedly provided support for acts of inter-3 national terrorism, as designated under section 4 6(j)(1)(A) of the Export Administration Act of 5 1979.
  - (N) Action taken by the Department of Justice and the Cuban government to extradite or otherwise surrender to the United States Joanne Chesimard (also known as "Assata Shakur"), convicted in the United States for the 1973 murder of New Jersey State Trooper Werner Foerster and wounding of New Jersey State Trooper James Hooper.
  - (3) Periodic reports on implementation By the secretary of state.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 6 months thereafter, the President shall prepare and transmit to Congress a report on steps taken by the Secretary of State to disseminate the unclassified reports prepared pursuant to paragraph (2) through all United States diplomatic and consular missions.

1	SEC. 6. AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FOR HUMANITARIAN AS-
2	SISTANCE TO VICTIMS OF POLITICAL RE-
3	PRESSION IN CUBA.
4	(a) Availability of Funds.—
5	(1) In general.—Of the amounts available
6	under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance
7	Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) and
8	chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the eco-
9	nomic support fund) in any fiscal year, not to exceed
10	\$25,000,000 may be available each fiscal year to
11	carry out activities under section 109(a) of the
12	Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity
13	(LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (22 U.S.C. 6039 (a)),
14	and to provide humanitarian assistance to victims of
15	political repression in Cuba.
16	(2) Congressional notification proce-
17	DURES.—Funds made available under paragraph (1)
18	shall be subject to notification of the appropriate
19	congressional committees in accordance with the
20	procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications
21	under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of
22	1961 (22 U.S.C. 2394–1).
23	(b) Ineligibility for Assistance.—Assistance
24	may not be provided under this section to the Cuban gov-
25	ernment, to any organization affiliated with the Cuban

26 government, or to any organization that has violated any

1	law or regulation of the United States prohibiting or re-
2	stricting trade or other financial transactions with Cuba
3	SEC. 7. AIR TRANSPORT FLIGHTS TO CUBA FOR THE DELIV
4	ERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.
5	(a) Air Transport of Humanitarian Assist-
6	ANCE.—
7	(1) In general.—Effective on the date of en-
8	actment of this Act, the President may authorize air
9	transportation flights directly from the United
10	States to Cuba for a period of 6 months only if he
11	determines and certifies to Congress that—
12	(A) those flights are necessary for, and will
13	be used solely for, the delivery of humanitarian
14	assistance by independent nongovernmental or-
15	ganizations to victims of political repression in
16	Cuba; and
17	(B) adequate monitoring is in place to en-
18	sure that such assistance will be delivered by an
19	independent nongovernmental organization only
20	to the intended recipients and will not be di-
21	verted to ineligible persons.
22	(2) Restrictions.—The President may au-
23	thorize air transportation flights directly from the
24	United States to Cuba for additional periods of 6
25	months after the initial determination and certifi-

- 1 cation of the President under paragraph (1), only if
- 2 he determines and certifies to Congress that air
- 3 transport flights to Cuba during the next period of
- 4 6 months are likely to satisfy the requirements of
- 5 subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (1).
- 6 (b) Congressional Notification Procedures.—
- 7 Each determination and certification of the President
- 8 under this paragraph shall be subject to the procedures
- 9 applicable to reprogramming notifications under section
- 10 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.
- 11 2394–1).
- 12 (c) Delivery of Medicines and Medical Sup-
- 13 PLIES SOLD TO CUBA.—The President is authorized to
- 14 permit the delivery, by air transportation flights otherwise
- 15 licensed under subsection (a), of medicines and medical
- 16 supplies sold to Cuba in accordance with section 1705(c)
- 17 of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 (22 U.S.C. 6004(c)).
- 18 SEC. 8. STATUTORY CONSTRUCTION.
- Nothing in this Act or in section 109 of the Cuban
- 20 Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of
- 21 1996 (22 U.S.C. 6039) may be construed as authorizing
- 22 the commercial sale or export of food to Cuba or any other
- 23 commercial transaction with Cuba that is not otherwise
- 24 authorized under law.