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## House of Representatives

The House met at 12:30 p.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland).

### DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,  
September 22, 2009.

I hereby appoint the Honorable DONNA F. EDWARDS to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NANCY PELOSI,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

### MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 6, 2009, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to 30 minutes and each Member, other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip, limited to 5 minutes.

### OVER ONE MILLION ATTEND "PAZ SIN FRONTERAS" CONCERT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, on Sunday, a historic event took place in Havana, Cuba. An estimated 1.2 million people attended an all-star concert made up of many of the top Latin pop, rock and salsa stars from Latin America, Europe, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

The concert, known as Paz Sin Fronteras, or Peace Without Borders, was the dream of Colombian singer, songwriter and multiple Latin

Grammy winner Juanes and his two primary collaborators Miguel Bose of Spain and Olga Tanon of Puerto Rico.

The message of the Peace Without Borders concerts is to circumvent politicians, and using the medium of music, speak directly to young people and encourage them to think in fresh ways—to change their way of thinking—and leave behind the old politics, the old hatreds, prejudices and national enmities that have locked too many people into patterns of conflict, violence, poverty and despair, dividing them from one another. It is an attempt to break down barriers and ask people to join in common purpose.

Both the United States and Cuban governments helped facilitate the concert, including providing Juanes and his company of 15 international and Cuban artists full control over message and staging. The Departments of State, Treasury and Commerce, and especially Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, are to be commended for providing in record time the various licenses and authorities required for U.S. musicians, technicians, musical and production equipment to travel and enter Cuba.

This is the second Peace Without Borders concert organized by Juanes in what he hopes will be a series of concerts in the hemisphere in places where people, if not politicians, might be open to a message of change, especially young people, who are more readily engaged by the language of rock-and-roll. The first such concert took place last year on the Peace Bridge on the border of Colombia and Venezuela when military tensions escalated between the two countries.

I applaud Juanes and all the participating artists for their courage, their vision and commitment to working together to communicate directly to the Cuban people through the language of music.

More than just a rock concert, this massive cultural event in Havana was a

moving and emotional testament, even to many of its critics, about the power of the human spirit to reach across barriers during times of tension and opportunities. The ripples and waves created by this concert are just beginning to be felt in Cuba, the United States and throughout the hemisphere. I very much look forward to supporting other Paz Sin Fronteras initiatives in the future.

Madam Speaker, I include the following materials for the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 21, 2009]

IN CASTRO COUNTRY, GIVING A CONCERT FOR PEACE

(By William Booth)

HAVANA.—Rock-and-roll diplomacy came to the communist isle on a smoldering afternoon, as hundreds of thousands of Cubans filled the Plaza of the Revolution on Sunday and sang along to a dozen international musical acts led by the Colombian singer and peace activist Juanes.

The free "Peace without Borders" concert was criticized by hard-line Cuban exiles in Miami as a propaganda coup for the Castro brothers, and that it might have been. But for thousands of young Cubans, it was a rare treat to hear a lineup of global Latin music stars, such as Olga Tanon of Puerto Rico and Miguel Bosé of Spain.

Under the watchful gaze of a huge mural of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and beneath the socialist slogan "Always Toward Victory!" on the side of the Ministry of Interior building, there was no trouble from the mostly young crowd. Many were dressed in white, in keeping with the peaceful vibe.

From the stage, framed by giant posters of a white dove, musicians offered hopeful but admittedly vague appeals for change, solidarity and, of course, peace. Bosé told the crowd that "the greatest dream we can live is to dream the dream of peace." He also announced that there were more than a million people in the square, though there were no official estimates.

Tanon shouted that she brought greetings from Miami—home of many Cuban exiles who live in opposition to the Cuban government—and no one in the crowd booed, but instead whistled and cheered.

The United States has pursued a policy of economic embargo and diplomatic freeze

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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against Cuba for almost 50 years, hoping to topple the government, to no avail. Despite promises by President Obama, change in the U.S.-Cuba relationship has been slow in coming.

In an interview aired Sunday on the Spanish-language network Univision, Obama acknowledged that the concert would only go so far. "I certainly don't think it hurts U.S.-Cuban relations," he said. "I wouldn't overstate the degree that it helps."

The plaza is iconic as the scene of some of Fidel Castro's biggest rallies and longest speeches, though he has not been seen in public for almost three years, after intestinal surgery. Anti-Castro Cuban exiles in Miami have voiced heated opposition to the concert, saying it only served to support the government here, which would milk the event for publicity even as it imprisons hundreds of political dissidents.

Because of his participation, Juanes has received death threats. But some of the pressure on him eased when, earlier this month, 24 of the 75 Cuban opposition leaders arrested in a 2003 crackdown on dissent signed a letter saying the show must go on.

"We came to Cuba with love. We have overcome fear to be with you, and we hope that you too can overcome it," Juanes told the masses. "All the young people, from Miami in the United States and in all the cities, must understand the importance of turning hate into love."

More than 100 buses could be counted bringing young people to the concert. "This is the best concert to come to Cuba in, like, 50 years," said Yelene Fernandez, a student at the University of Havana who was dancing with friends.

Sitting in his hotel room on the eighth floor of the Hotel Nacional the night before the show, Juanes was typing out messages for his Twitter followers. He was wearing a silver crucifix, jeans and a T-shirt. "It's important to do this. I know this in my heart," he said. "Our region, Latin America, is very complicated right now. We're all going our separate ways because of our ideologies. It's time to change our minds, to do something beyond politics, for young people."

Juanes had previously met with Obama administration officials, and being a 17-time Latin Grammy winner who has become a kind of roving diplomat in Latin America, he got to see Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. She gave her blessing to his participation in the concert.

"We asked what they thought, and they said, 'Go ahead.' She was very positive," he said. "Me, I am Colombian, so I didn't need to ask permission. But we did need permission for all our staff, and they said sure."

Juanes said he asked some artists to come, "but they were afraid. Latin artists, we live in Miami, and when you live in Miami, anything to do with Cuba is always a challenge. Some people in Miami are against anything to do with Cuba. Some are in the middle. And the young people, they definitely support cultural exchange."

Next up in that exchange: The New York Philharmonic is coming to play a series of concerts at the Teatro Amadeo Roldan in Havana at the end of October.

"I see an increase in these cultural exchanges, and I think it's healthy, it's a step in the right direction," said Bill Richardson, governor of New Mexico, in an interview. He traveled this month to Cuba to discuss trade issues with the government.

In Havana on Sunday, those who were not at the Plaza of the Revolution watched the concert on rickety old TV sets in airless living rooms—or sat in their front courtyards to catch the breeze and listened to the show on the radio.

The artists performed free and covered the cost of shipping stage and sound equipment

from Miami for the mega-concert. The Cuban government provided logistical and technical support. Juanes insisted that the signal from the show is free to use, download or broadcast anywhere in the world.

Juanes performed his first "Peace without Borders" concert on the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela last year during a time of heightened animosity between the countries. He said he would like to perform a third peace concert at the border between El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. A vicious battle between street dealers and drug cartels, fighting among themselves and against federal troops, has left more than 1,600 people dead this year, making Juarez the most violent city in the world.

Juanes said: "I am from Colombia. I have no idea what it means to live in peace."

[From the Miami Herald, Sept. 20, 2009]

#### THIS IS THE POWER OF MUSIC

(By Lydia Martin and Jordan Levin)

As a sea of revelers jammed Havana's Plaza de la Revolución, Puerto Rico's Olga Tañón opened the controversial Peace without Borders concert Sunday with a sentiment that, despite all the debate on both sides of the Florida Straits, simply could not be disputed:

"Together, we are going to make history!" she yelled. And the multitude, wearing white and hoisting colorful umbrellas that did little to alleviate the punishing heat, cheered. Then Tañón kicked off her performance with a merengue that, at least in Miami, seemed to carry a double meaning.

"Es mentiroso ese hombre," she sang. That man is a liar.

But whether she chose the lyrics as a dig to either or both of the Castro brothers seemed less relevant than the overall, palpable joy in the plaza.

Then, at the very end of the show, a major surprise from Colombian pop star Juanes, who was criticized by a segment of the exile community for organizing the concert because they believed it would lend support to the Castro regime. Juanes, who had insisted the concert had nothing to do with politics, made it political after all, to much approval from Miami's naysayers.

He moved away from the day's ambiguities and shouted a straightforward "Cuba libre! Cuba libre!" (Free Cuba!) And then he chanted, "One Cuban family! One Cuban family!"

Reached by phone in Havana shortly after the concert ended, Juanes said the day was indeed about much more than music.

"There aren't words to talk about something so huge, something that's so beyond music," he said. "This is the power of art, the power of music. We're so happy because the people are happy, and that's what matters to us."

The crowd, which Juanes said from the stage was estimated at 1.1 million, was mostly young people; many had arrived as early as 7 a.m. to stake out spots near the stage. Although several trucks around the perimeter dispensed cold water, many people in the middle of the crowd could not reach them. Dozens of concertgoers who had been in the sun for hours passed out.

Yonder, 25, and his girlfriend Yaima, 19, retreated from the front of the stage after Yaima fainted. She lost a shoe in the crowd. "She bent down to try to find it but wound up grabbing somebody else's shoes that were lost," Yonder said. "There is a lot of pushing and shoving. There are shoes and sunglasses all over the ground."

(The couple did not want their last names printed.)

The likeness of communist hero Che Guevara towered over the plaza that has

been the site of endless political harangues by Fidel Castro over 50 years of dictatorship. But judging from the dancing, singing and arm-waving, what mattered most in Havana, at least for a few hours, was the partying inspired by this unprecedented mega-concert.

#### MIXED REACTION

Toward the end of the show, U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Miami) said in an interview with WLTU-Univision 23 that the event had been a triumph for the Castro regime, because there was no mention from the stage about Cuba's human-rights violations or about the many political prisoners who were behind bars for opposing the government. But many others in Miami called it a good start in trying to bridge the divide between the island and the exile community.

Whatever the show's lasting effects, it was still historic. All of Havana seemed mesmerized; as one walked the city's streets every TV set seemed to be blasting the concert. Never had the plaza, where Pope John Paul II addressed the Cuban people in 1998, been used for a such a lighthearted purpose. Never had the Cuban people been treated to such a musical blowout by major foreign acts—something for which the island is always thirsty.

And never had Miami watched a live show from Havana. It was carried by local Spanish-language stations and by Univision.com. Channel 23 tagged it "Concert of Discord."

As with most matters related to Cuba, the gray shades of debate clouded the days leading up to the concert, which featured 15 artists from six countries, including such big stars from the island as Los Van Van and Silvio Rodriguez, government-backed and government-backing performers. Some Miami exiles criticized Juanes for agreeing to share the stage with them.

Members of the Cuban American National Foundation, which seeks to bring democracy to the communist island, tuned in from the Kendall home of president Francisco "Pepe" Hernandez.

They watched in awe as Juanes performed, his lyrics and short speeches flirting with political commentary.

"To go to that same plaza—where [Cubans] have been forced to listen to things they don't believe in—for music? It's great," Hernandez said. To him, the concert symbolized a sharp turn away from isolationist policies used by pro-democracy Cuban exile groups during the last 50 years.

"I hope that all of the young people in the United States, in Miami, everywhere, lose their fear and change hate for love," Juanes told the audience.

Although the performers had agreed to not make overt political statements, the possibilities of political interpretation seeped into many of their songs. "Down with the control. Down with those who manipulate you" chanted a female rapper with X Alfonso, a Cuban rap and funk artist.

"We're all here together—for the dream of concord, for the dream of dialogue!" said Spanish pop singer Miguel Bosé. He was joined by Cuban singer-songwriter Carlos Varela for Varela's Muro (Wall), which Bosé has recorded, about longing for the outside world from Cuba's seawall.

#### SONG OF PEACE

No one's songs were more emotionally loaded than those of Juanes, who took the stage to chants of his name. "I can't believe it. This is the most beautiful dream of peace and love," he said. "Whatever differences we have, at the end we are all brothers." He then launched into A Dios le pido (I'll Ask God), his huge hit that pleads for peace. Most of his statements, until his strong words at the end, were general but carried the possibly of much meaning.

"Youth of Cuba, of Latin America, the future is in your hands, guys!" he said before singing *No creo en el jamas* (I Don't Believe in Never), which calls for hope against all odds. He turned the rocker *Suenos* (Dreams), about a kidnapping victim who longs for home, into a quiet ballad, telling the audience "this song is for everyone who is imprisoned unjustly and seeks liberty!"

"Juanes is so brave," said Gabriela, 14, who went to the show with her sister, mother and grandmother. "He didn't have to come here and confront all of those people who were against him. He did it because he wanted to sing for us. For Cuba."

Many Cubans in Miami watched with conflicted feelings.

"This is supposed to be a concert for peace, but there is no peace without political discourse or democracy in Cuba," said paralegal Blanca Meneses, who lives in the Doral area. "But I feel for the people in Cuba, because, obviously, they are enjoying this from a musical perspective. The truth is, I thought nothing good could come of this concert. But I did think that when Juanes and Bosé were singing 'Libertad, libertad,' that was a positive message to the people of Cuba."

[From the Miami Herald, Sept. 21, 2009]

#### A DAY AFTER JUANES' SHOW, EMOTIONS IN MIAMI STILL MIXED

(By Jordan Levin)

When Fabio Diaz settled in with 15 members of his extended Cuban family to watch Colombian singer Juanes' historic concert in Havana on television Sunday, he—and the rest of his clan—had mixed feelings. Diaz, who is 35 and came to Miami at 19, thought the event should have been staged in an intermediary location between the island and Miami, as a bridge between the two sides. And he wanted Juanes to speak out directly about freedom in Cuba.

But as he and his family watched the show, which aired live from Havana on three Miami Spanish-language television stations—itsself an unprecedented event—Diaz said his feelings overpowered his doubts. "What I loved was seeing so much of the Cuban people—and I feel completely Cuban—all together for a celebration and not for something political," Diaz says.

Much of Cuban and Latino Miami witnessed that celebration via their television and computer screens. Univision's Channel 23 in Miami drew 220,000 viewers for their five-hour long broadcast, and 140,000 in the U.S. and Puerto Rico watched on the network's website. Telemundo's afternoon-long coverage on its Channel 51 in Miami drew triple their normal viewership, and more than 600,000 visits to their website which streamed the show—more than four times the usual web traffic for that time period.

Emotions in Miami were mixed about the show, which drew hundreds of thousands of people to pack Havana's Plaza de la Revolution on Sunday for performances by 15 artists from six countries. (Spanish singer Miguel Bosé announced from the stage that the audience was 1.15 million).

A protest by exile group which brought a small steamroller to Calle Ocho to run over Juanes' CD's, sparked a counter demonstration that led to physical clashes between the two sides.

Some callers to radio talk shows were happy that, as one woman put it, "young Cubans had the chance to feel happy for one day" while others felt that the joyful image on television was far from Cuban reality. And some exiles remained disenchanted and angry that the show did not directly address problems and repression in Cuba.

"It's not about foreign musicians singing in Cuba," said Esperanza Brigante. "A real

concert for peace should start by denouncing the human rights violations that plague the island . . . because we all know this is a political show."

But there was a strong, often emotional response at seeing the sea of young Cuban faces, and a sense that the concert signaled a turning point in exile attitudes towards Cuba. "I was very moved," said Ana Maria Perez Castro, 38, who came from the island in 1979. She watched the entire concert at home with her 16-year-old son.

Castro said she cried during the performance of Cucu Diamantes, a Cuban-American singer with the U.S.-based group Yerbabuena. "She's also Cuban and she left, and to see her going back and performing for her people in her country was very emotional," Castro said. "I could totally connect to the message to break that barrier, that fear which is what keeps all this old mentality intact."

Juanes, who was traveling Monday and could not be reached, was optimistic that the show had achieved his goal of helping to bring people together.

"Today the hearts of everyone here have changed. Cuba cannot be the same after this event," the multi-Grammy winning rock star told *The Herald* from Havana Sunday evening. "This event reaffirmed the necessity for all of us to unite. . . . The government of the U.S. has to change and Cuba has to change too. But this show of love and peace and affection is so important for both sides."

Juanes has said hopes to stage the next Paz Sin Fronteras concert on the U.S.-Mexico border between Ciudad Juarez, where violent clashes between drug gangs and authorities have made the most violent city in the world, and El Paso, Texas.

That the Havana concert was allowed to take place at all, with so many people allowed to come together freely in the largest non-governmental gathering since the Pope visited Cuba in 1998, was itself indicative that Cuba was changing, said Fernand Amandi, executive vice-president of Bendixen & Associates, a public opinion research firm which specializes in the Cuban-American community.

"More than anything [the concert] underscores the fact that Cuba and relations with Cuba are undergoing a dramatic transformation that is irreversible," Amandi said. "At the end of the day it is simply a concert . . . But you're beginning to see a loosening of the very rigid, very totalitarian Cuba . . . while it is still totalitarian, the government is probably beginning to recognize that it cannot survive in the future by further isolating itself."

Another change, said Amandi, was an increased acceptance of differing points of view in the exile community, and frustration with the strife that often seems to dominate discussion of Cuba. On radio talkshows people were critical of the media focus on the raucous clash between anti and pro concert demonstrators in Little Havana. Many more Cuban-Americans "that have never agreed with the hardline stance are no longer afraid to speak up," Amandi said.

On the island, Cuba's best-known blogger, Yoani Sánchez, gave an insider's view of the concert in frequent posts on her website, [www.desdecuba.com](http://www.desdecuba.com), and her Facebook page. She also uploaded a video of the concert on YouTube—"from the people's point of view" which shows she is wearing an olive green T-shirt with the Generation Y logo.

"I didn't go dressed in white to the concert for peace, but I opted for the color of freedom, which is the color each of us chooses to wear," she said. "The color each one of us chooses—that's the color that I like."

To Diaz, what finally mattered most was that the concert brought the world a glimpse

of Cuba and its hopes to him and to the world. "We could tell that Juanes's goal really was to bring a moment of happiness to the people," he said. "And I think he did this. And I think the world should see 1,150,000 Cubans there who hope for change, for peace, for understanding of dialogue, and that history has to take another direction."

#### REFORM NEEDED AT UNITED NATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) for 5 minutes.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, Ambassador Susan Rice, our Permanent Representative to the United Nations, has emphasized that the U.S. is "taking a new approach" to the U.N. as part of its broader "new era of engagement." Instead of protecting the investment of our tax dollars, instead of conditioning our contributions on real reform, the U.S. has adopted a strategy of "money now, maybe reform later."

At the U.N. General Assembly as it begins its new session this week, there is perhaps no better time to evaluate the effectiveness thus far of this so-called "new approach."

Well, let's see what has resulted. In March, the U.S. sent an observer to participate in the U.N.'s so-called Human Rights Council, which is dominated by dictatorships like China, Cuba and Saudi Arabia, and is notoriously anti-Israel.

Despite U.S. engagement, the Council stayed true to form. What did they do? Overwhelmingly passed five separate resolutions condemning Israel, passing no resolutions condemning human rights violations by the regimes in Iran and Syria, Sudan, Cuba, Zimbabwe or many other dictatorships.

True to form, the Council-appointed panel recently released a report accusing Israel of "war crimes" and "possibly, crimes against humanity" for defending its citizens against rocket and mortar fire from Islamic militants in Gaza.

When it comes to the Council's biases and backwardness, there is no end in sight. There is no change in sight. Yet, the U.S. silently nods and sends millions of our taxpayer dollars, with no questions asked.

There is also UNRWA, the United Nations Relief Works Agency, the U.N.'s discredited, biased agency for Palestinian refugees. This year alone, we have given UNRWA a record of \$260 million. In return, UNRWA continues to compromise its strictly humanitarian mandate by engaging in propaganda against Israel and in favor of Hamas. In fact, UNRWA's head says she doesn't even consider Hamas to be a Foreign Terrorist Organization, and her predecessor even admitted that members of Hamas were on the payroll of UNRWA, saying "I don't see that as a crime."

Deputy Secretary of State Jacob Lew testified before our Foreign Affairs Committee in May, and he said