

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 6083

To establish a commission to address the fundamental repercussions of misguided interventions by the United States in multiple sovereign Western Hemisphere nations over the course of the twentieth century, including to study and consider an apology and proposals for the repairment of relations and reconciliation with the peoples of said nations, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 18, 2025

Mr. ESPAILLAT introduced the following bill; which was referred to the
Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To establish a commission to address the fundamental repercussions of misguided interventions by the United States in multiple sovereign Western Hemisphere nations over the course of the twentieth century, including to study and consider an apology and proposals for the repairment of relations and reconciliation with the peoples of said nations, 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 “Commission on the
3 United States Occupations in the Americas Act” or the
4 “La Comisión de las Ocupaciones Americanos Act”.

5 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

6 Congress finds the following as it relates to misguided
7 United States military interventions in the following na-
8 tions:

9 (1) **FIRST OCCUPATION OF NICARAGUA.**—On
10 November 18, 1909, President William Howard Taft
11 sent warships off the coast of Nicaragua to signal
12 United States support for an uprising against Nica-
13 raguean President José Santos Zelaya, whose Presi-
14 dency was viewed as unfavorable to the interests of
15 United States businesses operating in Nicaragua.
16 While United States forces were not ordered to in-
17 tervene directly, a small group of United States Ma-
18 rines nevertheless made landfall on the Nicaraguan
19 coast and assisted in the successful rebellion against
20 President Zelaya, who resigned on December 14,
21 1909, and later fled the country. A new pro-United
22 States President of Nicaragua, Juan Estrada, was
23 later installed in August 1910, due in large part to
24 the pressure imposed by the continual presence of
25 United States warships off the Nicaraguan coast.
26 President Estrada’s pro-United States stances

1 proved unpopular, and he was forced to resign in
2 May of 1911 by the Nicaraguan Minister of War,
3 Luis Mena. President Estrada was replaced by his
4 Vice President, Adolfo Díaz. Nevertheless, Díaz's
5 close connections to the United States also made
6 him unpopular, and in mid-1912, Nicaragua's Con-
7 stituent Assembly appointed Mena as the successor
8 to the Presidency over Díaz. When the United
9 States refused to recognize Mena's Presidency as le-
10 gitimate, Mena's and Díaz's forces clashed in July
11 of 1912 in a full-scale civil war. Díaz requested the
12 United States support in the war. Beginning on Au-
13 gust 4, 1912, multiple contingents of United States
14 Bluejackets and Marines arrived in Nicaragua and
15 assisted Díaz's forces, resulting in Díaz's victory on
16 October 6, 1912, when his forces captured the city
17 of Leon, Nicaragua. Although only 7 members of the
18 United States military died in the conflict, the war
19 nevertheless resulted in approximately 2,000 total
20 casualties. The United States withdrew most of its
21 forces toward the end of October 1912. However, a
22 smaller contingent of approximately 100 Marines
23 would remain in Nicaragua's capital city of Mana-
24 gua for over a decade before eventually withdrawing
25 in August 1925.

1 (2) FIRST OCCUPATION OF MEXICO.—On April
2 21, 1914, at the order of President Woodrow Wil-
3 son, 500 Marines and 300 Navy personnel invaded
4 the port city of Veracruz, Mexico, to seize control of
5 the city. President Wilson’s pretext for this oper-
6 ation was to enforce a United States arms embargo
7 against Mexico and prevent the arrival of an arms
8 shipment in Veracruz that had been ordered by
9 Mexican President Victoriano Huerta, who was
10 viewed as an enemy of the United States at that
11 time. The ensuing fighting saw United States forces
12 destroy most of the Mexican Naval Academy in
13 Veracruz. The United States military was eventually
14 able to take full control of Veracruz by April 24,
15 1914, beginning a 6-month occupation by the United
16 States of the city. The United States military suf-
17 fered just shy of 100 casualties while approximately
18 550 Mexican soldiers and civilians died while defend-
19 ing the city. United States forces eventually with-
20 drew from Veracruz on November 23, 1914. The
21 United States occupation of Veracruz had broad
22 negative consequences for the favorability of the
23 United States amongst Mexican citizens and in-
24 creased anti-American sentiment throughout Mexico
25 and Latin America for decades to come.

1 (3) SECOND OCCUPATION OF MEXICO.—From
2 March 16, 1916, through February 14, 1917, an ex-
3 peditionary force of more than 14,000 United States
4 Army troops was sent into northern Mexico. These
5 forces were instructed to engage in the singular pur-
6 suit of capturing Mexican revolutionary Francisco
7 “Pancho” Villa. President Woodrow Wilson ordered
8 this expedition in response to Villa’s army’s raid of
9 Colombus, New Mexico, on March 9, 1916, which
10 killed 17 United States citizens. Over the course of
11 the next 11 months, multiple battles occurred in
12 Mexico between Pancho Villa’s forces and United
13 States forces, leaving a total 15 United States citi-
14 zens and 251 Mexicans dead. Mexican President
15 Venustiano Carranza viewed the United States expe-
16 dition in pursuit of Villa as a clear violation of Mexi-
17 can sovereignty. The expedition ended before Villa
18 was ever captured, and United States forces eventu-
19 ally withdrew from Mexico on February 14, 1917, in
20 order to consolidate forces to fight in World War I
21 in Europe.

22 (4) FIRST OCCUPATION OF THE DOMINICAN RE-
23 PUBLIC.—On May 13, 1916, a contingent of the
24 United States Marine Corps landed on the shores of
25 the Dominican Republic with the goal of militarily

1 occupying the island nation due to concerns about
2 the possible German use of the Dominican Republic
3 as a base for attacks on the United States during
4 World War I. After 2 months of fighting, the United
5 States military took control of the nation, estab-
6 lished a government, and continued to occupy the is-
7 land for 8 years before withdrawing on September
8 18, 1924. By the time United States forces with-
9 drew, 144 marines had died and 50 were injured.
10 The 8-year occupation also resulted in 950 Domini-
11 can casualties between those who died and those who
12 were injured in the conflict.

13 (5) SECOND OCCUPATION OF NICARAGUA.—On
14 January 24, 1927, when Nicaragua was embroiled in
15 another civil war that threatened United States busi-
16 ness and diplomatic interests in the region, 3,000
17 United States Marines were deployed to Nicaragua
18 by President Calvin Coolidge with the goal of dis-
19 arming rebel groups, supervising the highly conten-
20 tious 1928 Presidential election, and developing and
21 training the Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua (Nica-
22 raguan National Guard). While the Marines were
23 successful in disarming various rebel groups
24 throughout the country, Nicaraguan rebel leader
25 César Augusto Sandino and his forces resisted due

1 to Sandino's ideological opposition to United States
2 interventionism in his country. Sandino's army and
3 the United States Marines engaged in a 6-year-long
4 military conflict through 1933. A total 136 Marines
5 died and estimates of Nicaraguan casualties, al-
6 though imprecise, were even larger. Sandino's will-
7 ingness to stand up to United States forces at-
8 tracted sympathy and galvanized anti-American sen-
9 timent both in Nicaragua and throughout the West-
10 ern Hemisphere. Despite Sandino's resistance, the
11 United States successfully supervised Nicaragua's
12 November 1928 elections, which saw President José
13 María Moncada ascend to power. After the election,
14 President Herbert Hoover, slowly withdrew troops
15 from Nicaragua until the last Marines left Nica-
16 ragua on January 2, 1933. Sandino's rebel forces
17 continued to engage in periodic guerilla warfare
18 against United States troops until these last Marines
19 were evacuated. Today, Sandino is a popular folk
20 hero amongst the Nicaraguan political left and his
21 name provides the inspiration for the modern-day
22 "Sandinista" political party that rules Nicaragua.

23 (6) SECOND OCCUPATION OF THE DOMINICAN
24 REPUBLIC.—On April 28, 1965, the second interven-
25 tion and occupation of the Dominican Republic by

1 the United States Armed Forces, called “Operation
2 Power Pack”, commenced and provided United
3 States air and ground troops to assist future Domin-
4 ican President Donal Reid Cabral’s army in the Do-
5 minican 1965 civil war. Operation Power Pack took
6 place between 1965 and 1966, after a period of po-
7 litical instability and military coup following the as-
8 sassination of former Dominican dictator Rafael
9 Leónidas Trujillo in 1961. In 1962, socialist politi-
10 cian Juan Bosch became the elected President of the
11 Dominican Republic before being overthrown in a
12 separate coup in 1963. From 1963 through April
13 1965, a 3-man military junta of General Antonio
14 Imbert Barrera, General Luis Amiamo Tió, and
15 General Victor Elby Viñas Román held power before
16 growing dissatisfaction led to another rebellion on
17 April 24, 1965. Four days later, President Lyndon
18 Johnson sent a total of 42,000 United States troops
19 from multiple branches of the military to the island,
20 supplemented by an Inter-American Peace Force of
21 2,000 troops, to assist rebels led by Donald Reid
22 Cabral. In what is now known as the 1965 Domini-
23 can Civil War or “La Revolución del 65” Cabral’s
24 forces prevailed due to the United States military
25 backing. Shortly after the war ended, on July 1,

1 1966, democratically questionable elections were held
2 in the Dominican Republic which resulted in the
3 election of Joaquín Balaguer as President. United
4 States troops withdrew from the island nation there-
5 after on September 21, 1966. In total, 44 United
6 States combatants were killed in the conflict, along-
7 side over 2,000 Dominicans, roughly half of whom
8 were civilians. Following the withdrawal of United
9 States troops, President Balaguer, a previous mem-
10 ber of the Trujillo-led government, ruled the Domini-
11 can Republic for a 12-year period characterized by
12 turmoil, the disappearances of Balaguer's political
13 opponents, and the deaths of hundreds of young po-
14 litical and social activists. In this manner, the
15 United States intervention during Operation Power
16 Pack played a key role in depriving Dominican citi-
17 zens of a free and sovereign government for at least
18 12 additional years through 1978.

19 (7) GUATEMALA AIR OCCUPATION.—On June
20 18, 1954, through June 27, 1954, as part of “Oper-
21 ation PBSuccess”, the United States Central Intel-
22 ligence Agency (“CIA”) planned, designed, and led
23 a successful coup in Guatemala, overthrowing the
24 predominantly capitalist government of President
25 Jacobo Árbenz, coinciding in time with President

1 Arbenz's plans to redistribute land owned by the
2 United Fruit Company, a prosperous United States-
3 based fruit company which controlled 42 percent of
4 all land in Guatemala at that time. In justification
5 for Operation PBSuccess, the United States spuri-
6 ously alleged that President Árbenz's government
7 had been infiltrated by anti-American communists.
8 The CIA provided both supplies and a small fleet of
9 combat troops for the rebellion, during which United
10 States pilots bombed fortresses and other areas of
11 Guatemala City. Operation PBSuccess was success-
12 ful, and on June 27, 1954, President Árbenz fled
13 Guatemala. The 1954 coup is widely viewed by his-
14 torians as ushering in an unprecedented era of civil
15 war in Guatemala that lasted until 1996 and
16 claimed the lives of over 200,000 Guatemalans,
17 many of which were lost in connection with various
18 additional covert CIA operations that operated in
19 the nation during this time period.

20 (8) GRENADA OCCUPATION.—From October 25,
21 1983, through October 29, 1983, the United States
22 conducted “Operation Urgent Fury”, a full-scale
23 military invasion of Grenada in which thousands of
24 troops from the United States Army, Marines, Navy,
25 and Air Force were deployed to Grenada and partici-

1 pated in active combat against native Grenadians
2 and Cuban fighters. The United States invasion was
3 authorized by President Ronald Reagan based on
4 the asserted need to prevent a military coup and
5 communist takeover of the small island nation, in
6 addition to the need to protect the approximately
7 1,000 United States citizens who resided on the is-
8 land at that time. United States forces achieved a
9 swift victory in just 4 days, but the fighting resulted
10 in the deaths of 45 Grenadian combatants, 25
11 Cuban combatants, and 19 United States combat-
12 ants. The last United States troops eventually exited
13 Grenada on June 13, 1985.

14 (9) PANAMA OCCUPATION.—On December 20,
15 1989, approximately 27,000 United States troops in-
16 vaded Panama at the order of President George
17 Bush under the ignominiously named “Operation
18 Just Cause”. The purpose of Operation Just Cause
19 was to remove General Manuel Noriega, the coun-
20 try’s dictatorial ruler, from power and secure his ex-
21 tradition to the United States, where Noriega was
22 wanted on charges of drug trafficking and money
23 laundering (he was later found guilty on these
24 charges upon his successful extradition). Relations
25 between the United States and Panama’s Govern-

1 ment soured over the course of 1988 and 1989 due
2 to Noriega’s antidemocratic behavior and monopo-
3 lization of power, Noriega’s 1988 indictment in the
4 United States on drug smuggling charges, notably
5 escalating tensions between Panamanian troops and
6 United States troops stationed in the Panama Canal
7 Zone, and United States concerns about maintaining
8 physical control of the Panama Canal Zone. Ten-
9 sions boiled over on December 15, 1989, when the
10 Noriega-led Panamanian Assembly declared Panama
11 to be in a “state of war” with the United States. On
12 December 16, an off-duty United States Marine was
13 shot and killed by Panamanian soldiers, prompting
14 President George Bush to order Operation Just
15 Cause in the aftermath of this incident. The United
16 States would win the ensuing ground conflict, gain
17 control of the Panama Canal, and force Noriega’s
18 surrender on January 3, 1990. However, this oper-
19 ation came at a great cost, as according to the Pen-
20 tagon’s official tally, 23 United States soldiers, 300
21 Panamanian soldiers, and 214 Panamanian civilians
22 were killed during the United States invasion. Some
23 human rights groups also estimate the death toll
24 amongst Panamanian civilians to be far higher. Fur-
25 thermore, the United States repeated bombing of the

1 impoverished Panama City neighborhood “El
2 Churillo” during Operation Just Cause destroyed
3 approximately 4,000 homes and displaced thousands
4 more civilians, resulting in Panamanians nicknaming
5 the neighborhood “Little Hiroshima” following the
6 war.

7 **SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT AND DUTIES.**

8 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a Com-
9 mission to Study and Develop Reconciliation Proposals for
10 Misguided Interventions in the Americas (in this Act re-
11 ferred to as the “Commission”).

12 (b) DUTIES.—The Commission shall be responsible
13 for the following duties:

14 (1) Identifying, documenting, examining, com-
15 piling, and synthesizing the relevant body of evi-
16 dentiary documentation relating to the United
17 States interest in intervening in—

18 (A) the 9 conflicts in Nicaragua, Mexico,
19 the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Grenada,
20 and Panama discussed in section 2 of this Act;
21 and

22 (B) any additional United States military
23 involvement in nations in the Caribbean, Latin
24 America, or South America that the Commis-
25 sion, via a majority vote at any meeting of the

1 Commission containing a quorum, identifies as
2 misguided and believes merits investigation and
3 action by the Commission.

4 (2) Identifying, documenting, examining, com-
5 piling, and synthesizing the relevant corpus of evi-
6 dentiary documentation relating to the United
7 States military occupations identified in paragraph
8 (1) of this subsection, as it pertains to—

9 (A) the United States involvement in these
10 nations internal affairs and its financial and
11 military support to different rebellions and re-
12 gime changes in these nations;

13 (B) the treatment of the native persons by
14 both the United States military and under the
15 regimes ushered in a result of United States
16 military action, including any repressions of
17 basic rights and freedoms by United States-sup-
18 ported governments; and

19 (C) the lingering negative effects of these
20 United States-supported regimes on each indi-
21 vidual nation's citizens, collective psyche, and
22 society.

23 (3) Recommending appropriate ways to educate
24 the United States public on the Commission's find-
25 ings.

1 (4) Recommending appropriate remedies in con-
2 sideration of the Commission's findings on the dif-
3 ferent United States military occupations described
4 in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection. In
5 making such recommendations, the Commission
6 shall address among other issues, the following ques-
7 tions:

8 (A) How such recommendations comport
9 with international standards of remedy for
10 wrongs and injuries caused by the United
11 States Government, including repair and rec-
12 onciliation efforts, as understood by various rel-
13 evant international protocols, laws, and find-
14 ings.

15 (B) How the United States Government
16 may offer a formal apology on behalf of the
17 people of the United States for the invasions
18 and occupations studied by the Commission for
19 those occupations which the Commission deems
20 worthy of an apology.

21 (C) How the repercussions resulting from
22 matters described in paragraphs (1) and (2) of
23 this subsection may be reversed and provide ap-
24 propriate policies, programs, projects, and rec-

1 ommendations for the purpose of reversing the
2 effects of the invasions and occupations.

3 (c) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than 4 years
4 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission
5 shall submit to Congress a written report of its findings
6 and recommendations under this section.

7 (d) MEMBERSHIP.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—

9 (A) STATED MEMBERS.—The following
10 shall be members of the Commission:

11 (i) The Under Secretary for Western
12 Hemisphere Affairs of the Department of
13 State.

14 (ii) The current United States Ambassadors to each of the sovereign nations
15 studied by the Commission.

16 (B) APPOINTED MEMBERS.—Not later
17 than 90 days after the date of enactment of
18 this Act, the following shall be members of the
19 Commission, appointed as follows:

20 (i) One member shall be appointed by
21 the President of the United States.

22 (ii) Two members shall be appointed
23 by the Speaker of the House of Represent-
24

1 atives, in consultation with the minority
2 leader.

3 (iii) Two members shall be appointed
4 by the majority leader of the Senate, in
5 consultation with the minority leader.

6 (C) MEMBERS UNDER INTERNATIONAL CO-
7 OPERATION.—The President shall seek to nego-
8 tiate with the governments of previously occu-
9 pied nations to seek, to the extent practicable,
10 the following as members of the Commission:

11 (i) The Ambassador to the United
12 States for each sovereign nation being
13 studied by the Commission pursuant to
14 subsection (b)(1).

15 (ii) The Ambassador, Permanent Rep-
16 resentative to the Organization of Amer-
17 ican States for each sovereign nation being
18 studied by the Commission pursuant to
19 subsection (b)(1).

20 (2) QUALIFICATIONS.—All members of the
21 Commission shall be persons who are especially
22 qualified to serve on the Commission by virtue of
23 their education, training, activism, or experience,
24 particularly in the fields of Western Hemisphere re-
25 lations or reparatory justice.

1 (3) TERMS.—The term of office for members
2 shall be for the life of the Commission. A vacancy
3 in the Commission shall not affect the powers of the
4 Commission and shall be filled in the same manner
5 in which the original appointment was made.

6 (4) MEETINGS.—The Commission shall conduct
7 its initial meeting not later than 365 days after the
8 date of enactment of this Act. The Commission shall
9 establish rules of procedure at such meeting. All
10 meetings of the Commission shall be public. The
11 Commission should meet not less often than 4 times
12 per year, including virtual meetings called to order
13 by either the entire Commission or any member
14 thereof.

15 (5) QUORUM.—More than half of the total
16 members of the Commission shall constitute a
17 quorum for the purposes of holding a meeting in
18 compliance with subsection (d)(4), but a lesser num-
19 ber may hold hearings.

20 (6) CHAIR AND VICE CHAIR.—The Commission
21 shall elect a Chair and Vice Chair from among its
22 members. The term of office of each shall be for the
23 life of the Commission.

24 (7) COMPENSATION.—Each member of the
25 Commission who is not an officer or employee of the

1 Federal Government shall be compensated at a rate
2 equal to the daily equivalent of the annual rate of
3 basic pay prescribed for level IV of the Executive
4 Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United
5 States Code, for each day (including travel time)
6 during which such member is engaged in the per-
7 formance of the duties of the Commission. All mem-
8 bers of the Commission who are officers or employ-
9 ees of the United States shall serve without com-
10 pensation in addition to that received for their serv-
11 ices as officers or employees of the United States.

12 (8) TRAVEL EXPENSES.—The members of the
13 Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, includ-
14 ing per diem in lieu of subsistence, at rates author-
15 ized for employees of agencies under subchapter I of
16 chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, while
17 away from their homes or regular places of business
18 in the performance of the duties of the Commission.

19 (e) POWERS OF THE COMMISSION.—

20 (1) HEARINGS AND SESSIONS.—The Commis-
21 sion may, for the purpose of carrying out the provi-
22 sions of this section, hold such hearings and sit and
23 act at such times and at such places in the United
24 States, and request the attendance and testimony of
25 such witnesses and the production of such books,

1 records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and
2 documents, as the Commission considers appro-
3 priate. The Commission may invoke the aid of an
4 appropriate United States district court to require,
5 by subpoena or otherwise, such attendance, testi-
6 mony, or production.

7 (2) POWERS OF MEMBERS.—Any member of
8 the Commission may, if authorized by the Commis-
9 sion, take any action which the Commission is au-
10 thorized to take by this subsection.

11 (3) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—The Commis-
12 sion may acquire directly from the head of any de-
13 partment, agency, or instrumentality of the executive
14 branch of the United States Government, available
15 information which the Commission considers useful
16 in the discharge of its duties. All departments, agen-
17 cies, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of
18 the United States Government shall cooperate with
19 the Commission with respect to such information
20 and shall furnish all information requested by the
21 Commission to the extent permitted by law.

22 (f) TERMINATION.—The Commission shall terminate
23 90 days after the date on which the Commission submits
24 its report to Congress under subsection (c).

25 (g) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

1 (1) IN GENERAL.—There is authorized to be
2 appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out this Act.

3 (2) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pur-
4 suant to the authorization under paragraph (1) are
5 authorized to remain available until the termination
6 of the Commission in accordance with subsection (f).

○