108TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

# S. 2389

To require the withholding of United States contributions to the United Nations until the President certifies that the United Nations is cooperating in the investigation of the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 5, 2004

Mr. Ensign (for himself, Mr. Miller, Mr. Smith, Mr. Graham of South Carolina, Mr. Sessions, Mr. Kyl, Mr. Brownback, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Burns, Mr. Lott, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Santorum, Mr. Cornyn, Mr. Craig, and Mr. Allard) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foriegn Relations

## A BILL

To require the withholding of United States contributions to the United Nations until the President certifies that the United Nations is cooperating in the investigation of the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "United Nations Oil-
- 5 for-Food Accountability Act of 2004".
- 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 7 Congress makes the following findings:

- 1 (1) There have been allegations of substantial 2 fraud and corruption in the administration and man-3 agement of the oil-for-food program.
  - (2) The United Nations received 2.2 percent of the proceeds of the sale of the oil exported from Iraq under the oil-for-food program, approximately \$1,400,000,000, to fund the programs administrative and operational costs.
  - (3) The United States General Accounting Office estimates that during the period from 1997 through 2002, the former Iraqi regime received \$10,100,000,000 in illegal revenues from the oil-forfood program, including \$5,700,000,000 received from oil smuggled out of Iraq and \$4,400,000,000 received from surcharges on oil sales and illicit commissions from suppliers exporting goods to Iraq.
  - (4) Any illicit activity by United Nations officials, personnel, agents, or contractors, including entities that have entered into contracts under the oilfor-food program, is unacceptable and must be thoroughly investigated.
  - (5) Documents in the files of the former Iraqi Oil Ministry indicate that Benon Sevan, the Executive Director of the oil-for-food program, and other senior United Nations officials may be connected to

- a kickback scheme in which some 270 prominent foreign officials, business people, and political entities received the right to trade in Iraqi oil at below market prices.
  - (6) On April 21, 2004, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1538 that established a high-level inquiry into allegations regarding the administration of the oil-for-food program. The inquiry will be led by Mr. Paul Volcker and the investigators will not have subpoena powers.
    - (7) The ability and credibility of the United Nations Security Council to act in matters of war and peace is threatened due to the alleged influence of permanent member states' politically connected individuals, companies, and institutions who received Iraqi oil contracts.
    - (8) The ability of the United Nations to convey legitimacy to the new Government of Iraq and assist in postwar Iraq is hampered by the allegations of United Nations corruption and mismanagement of the oil-for-food program.

### 22 SEC. 3. OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM DEFINED.

In this Act, the term "oil-for-food program" means the program to permit the sale of petroleum products exported from Iraq and to use the revenue generated from

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- 1 such sale for humanitarian assistance established and ad-
- 2 ministered pursuant to United Nations Security Council
- 3 Resolution 986 (April 14, 1995) and subsequent United
- 4 Nations resolutions.

#### 5 SEC. 4. PAYMENT OF CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS CONTIN-

- 6 GENT UPON UNITED NATIONS COOPERATION.
- 7 (a) Withholding of Portion of Assessed Con-
- 8 TRIBUTIONS.—Until the President submits the certifi-
- 9 cation under subsection (b), amounts shall be withheld
- 10 from amounts appropriated for contributions to inter-
- 11 national organizations as follows:
- 12 (1) FISCAL YEAR 2005 ASSESSED CONTRIBU-
- 13 TIONS FOR UNITED NATIONS REGULAR BUDGET.—
- Of the funds appropriated for contributions to inter-
- 15 national organizations in an Act making appropria-
- tions for fiscal year 2005, 10 percent of the amount
- 17 available for United States assessed contributions to
- the regular budget of the United Nations for such
- 19 fiscal year.
- 20 (2) FISCAL YEAR 2006 ASSESSED CONTRIBU-
- 21 TIONS FOR UNITED NATIONS REGULAR BUDGET.—
- Of the funds appropriated for contributions to inter-
- 23 national organizations in an Act making appropria-
- 24 tions for fiscal year 2006, 20 percent of the amount
- 25 available for United States assessed contributions to

- 1 the regular budget of the United Nations for such
- 2 fiscal year.
- 3 (b) Certification.—The certification referred to in
- 4 subsection (a) is a certification made by the President to
- 5 Congress that—
- 6 (1) the United Nations has in effect procedures
- 7 that provide the General Accounting Office access to
- 8 all documents relating to the oil-for-food program so
- 9 that the Comptroller General of the United States
- may perform nationally mandated reviews of United
- 11 Nations operations;
- 12 (2) the United Nations Secretary General has
- formally confirmed that the United Nations will not
- assert the inviolability of United Nations papers and
- internal records that concern the oil-for-food pro-
- gram or a sanction imposed on Iraq related to the
- oil-for-food program;
- 18 (3) the United Nations has authorized the re-
- lease, upon request, to the law enforcement authori-
- ties of any member state of the United Nations au-
- 21 thentic copies of any document, including any docu-
- 22 ment in the custody of a person that was engaged
- on a contract basis to provide goods or services to
- the United Nations, that in the judgment of the re-
- 25 questing authority directly or indirectly concerns the

- oil-for-food program or a sanction imposed on Iraq related to the oil-for-food program;
  - (4) the United Nations has waived any immunity enjoyed by any United Nations official from the judicial process in the United States for any civil or criminal acts or omissions under United States Federal or State law in connection with the oil-for-food program; and
    - (5) any United Nations official who received improper financial benefits from the oil-for-food program has reimbursed the Government of Iraq for the full amount, including interest on such amount, that such official improperly received.

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