# <sup>110TH CONGRESS</sup> 2D SESSION H.R.6796

To prevent speculation and profiteering in the defaulted debt of certain poor countries, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### August 1, 2008

Ms. WATERS (for herself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. LEE, Mr. HINCHEY, and Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

## A BILL

To prevent speculation and profiteering in the defaulted debt of certain poor countries, 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,

#### **3** SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the "Stop Very Unscrupu5 lous Loan Transfers from Underprivileged countries to
6 Rich, Exploitive Funds Act" or the "Stop VULTURE
7 Funds Act".

#### 1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

2 The Congress finds the following:

3 (1) Many poor countries have been struggling
4 under the burden of international debts for many
5 years.

6 (2) In 1996, the international community cre-7 ated the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative 8 (the HIPC Initiative) to reduce the debt burden that 9 curtailed spending on economic development and 10 poverty-reducing programs in many impoverished 11 countries.

(3) Since adoption of the original HIPC Initiative in 1996 and the Enhanced HIPC Initiative in
14 1999, donor countries have committed more than
\$50,000,000,000 in bilateral and multilateral debt
cancellation to eligible countries.

17 (4) Congress has demonstrated its support for
18 bilateral and multilateral debt relief through the en19 actment of comprehensive debt relief initiatives for
20 heavily indebted poor countries in—

(A) title V of H.R. 3425 of the 106th Congress, as enacted into law by section 1000(a)(5)
of the Act, entitled "An Act making consolidated appropriations for the fiscal year ending
September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.",
approved November 29, 1999 (Public Law 106–

| 1  | 113; 113 Stat. 1501–311) and the amendments            |
|----|--|
| 2  | made by such title;                                    |
| 3  | (B) title II of H.R. 5526 of the 106th                 |
| 4  | Congress, as enacted into law by section 101(a)        |
| 5  | of the Act, entitled "An Act making appropria-         |
| 6  | tions for foreign operations, export financing,        |
| 7  | and related programs for the fiscal year ending        |
| 8  | September 30, 2001, and for other purposes.",          |
| 9  | approved November 6, 2000 (Public Law 106–             |
| 10 | 429; 114 Stat. 1900A–5); and                           |
| 11 | (C) title V of the United States Leadership            |
| 12 | Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria            |
| 13 | Act of 2003 (Public Law 108–25; 117 Stat.              |
| 14 | 747) and the amendment made by such title.             |
| 15 | (5) A number of countries, including the United        |
| 16 | States, have canceled 100 percent of the bilateral     |
| 17 | loans made by such countries to countries that are     |
| 18 | eligible for debt relief under the Enhanced HIPC       |
| 19 | Initiative, and other major donor nations have can-    |
| 20 | celed a large percentage of such loans. However, a     |
| 21 | number of countries eligible for such debt relief will |
| 22 | continue to owe substantial debts to international fi- |
| 23 | nancial institutions such as the International Mone-   |
| 24 | tary Fund, the International Development Associa-      |
| 25 | tion, and the African Development Fund.                |

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1 (6) At the same time that the international 2 community has been extending debt relief to the 3 poor countries of the world, a new form of business 4 has emerged for the purpose of speculating in and 5 profiteering from defaulted sovereign debt at the ex-6 pense of both the impoverished citizens of the poor 7 nations and the taxpayers of the world who have 8 participated in international debt relief.

9 (7) So-called "vulture" creditors acquire, either 10 by purchase, assignment, or some other form of 11 transaction, the defaulted obligations of, and some-12 times actual court judgments against, impoverished 13 nations. Vulture creditors usually acquire the debt 14 for the payment of a sum far less than the face 15 value of the defaulted obligation. They do so for the 16 sole purpose of collecting through litigation, seizure 17 of assets, political pressure, or other means, pref-18 erential payment of the defaulted debt on terms and 19 in amounts far in excess of the amount paid by the 20 vulture creditor to acquire the debt. The vulture 21 creditors seek payments far in excess of the rates of 22 payment made to other similarly situated creditors, 23 including multilateral creditors (such as the Inter-24 national Monetary Fund, the International Develop-25 ment Association, and the African Development Fund), bilateral official creditors such as those
 working through the Paris Club of Official Creditors
 or direct negotiations, or commercial creditors work ing through the London Club mechanism of sov ereign debt restructuring.

6 (8) Profiteering in defaulted sovereign debt is 7 made possible by the absence of the same type of bankruptcy protections for sovereign debtors that 8 9 are available to private debtors. Bankruptcy or other 10 insolvency laws protect private debtors through, 11 among other things, stays of execution pending reor-12 ganization or restructuring of debt, suspension of 13 the accrual of interest, "cram-down" powers which allow the majority of creditors to force so-called 14 "hold-out" creditors to accept a debt restructuring 15 16 that will optimize the recovery of all creditors and 17 avoid preferential payments to a minority of credi-18 tors, and the ability to discharge debts and obliga-19 tions as part of a debt restructuring process.

(9) Preferential payments to vulture creditor
holders of the defaulted sovereign debt of poor countries serve to transfer the benefits of international
debt relief efforts from their intended beneficiaries,
the citizens of the poor nations of the world, to the
speculators in sovereign debt who can experience ex-

orbitant and usurious rates of return on their specu lation.

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(10) In pursuit of their collection activities, vul-3 4 ture creditors have engaged in litigation in the 5 courts of the United States, which has, and con-6 tinues to have, a negative effect on the foreign rela-7 tions of the United States, and hinders trade be-8 tween the United States and the poor countries 9 whose defaulted debts have been acquired by vulture 10 creditors. Such disruptive activities have included, 11 among other actions, attempting to levy against the 12 embassies of foreign states, seeking to have foreign 13 states held in contempt of court, issuing subpoenas 14 to visiting foreign dignitaries, and accusing foreign 15 governments of violating the Racketeer Influenced 16 and Corrupt Organizations Act.

(11) Many vulture creditor holders of defaulted
sovereign debt act through "offshore" entities, incorporated in foreign states, despite being substantially
owned and operated by United States citizens or
conducting substantial business in the United
States, with the purpose of avoiding regulation and
taxation of their activities in the United States.

24 (12) The direct or indirect speculation and25 profiteering in defaulted sovereign debt by United

States citizens, and the use of the courts in the
 United States to advance such profiteering, is con trary to the foreign relations interests of the United
 States and negatively affects the interstate com merce of the United States.

6 (13) In order to successfully prevent the specu-7 lation and profiteering in the defaulted sovereign 8 debt of poor countries in a uniform fashion, and pre-9 vent the use of the courts of the United States to 10 assist in such profiteering, national legislation is re-11 quired to regulate the practices and procedures used 12 in litigation against foreign sovereigns.

13 (14) To be effective and properly regulate the 14 use of judicial forums in an area affecting the for-15 eign relations of the United States, national legisla-16 tion is required that will mandate the public disclo-17 sure of relevant information concerning the acquisi-18 tion, ownership, and consideration provided by credi-19 tors in obtaining their property interests in the de-20 faulted sovereign debt of poor countries.

#### 21 SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

22 In this Act:

(1) VULTURE CREDITOR.—The term "vulture
creditor" means any person who directly or indirectly acquires defaulted sovereign debt at a dis-

count to the face value of the obligation so acquired,
except that the term does not include the Government of the United States or any agency of the Government of the United States, any foreign state, or
any international financial institution (as defined in
section 1701(c)(2) of the International Financial Institutions Act).

8 (2) SOVEREIGN DEBT.—The term "sovereign
9 debt" means a commercial obligation of a foreign
10 state, whether evidenced by a claim, contract, note,
11 negotiable instrument, award, or judgment.

12 (3) Defaulted sovereign debt.—The term "defaulted sovereign debt" means any sovereign debt 13 14 for which payment has been refused by a foreign 15 state, which is subject to an announced moratorium, 16 upon which an award or judgement has been en-17 tered, or upon which a payment of interest or prin-18 cipal has not been paid according to the terms of the 19 debt obligation.

(4) SOVEREIGN DEBT PROFITEERING.—The
term "sovereign debt profiteering" means any act by
a vulture creditor seeking, directly or indirectly, the
payment of part or all of defaulted sovereign debt of
a qualified poor country, in an amount that exceeds
the total amount paid by the vulture creditor to ac-

| 1  | quire the interest of the vulture creditor in the de-  |
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| 2  | faulted sovereign debt (excluding any amount paid      |
| 3  | for attorneys' fees or other fees and costs associated |
| 4  | with collection), plus 6 percent simple interest per   |
| 5  | year on the total amount, calculated from the date     |
| 6  | the defaulted sovereign debt was so acquired, but      |
| 7  | the term does not include the purchase or sale of      |
| 8  | such a debt, or the acceptance of a payment in satis-  |
| 9  | faction of the debt obligation, without threat of, or  |
| 10 | recourse to, litigation.                               |
| 11 | (5) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term                     |
| 12 | "United States person" means—                          |
| 13 | (A) a national of the United States (as de-            |
| 14 | fined in section $101(a)(22)$ of the Immigration       |
| 15 | and Nationality Act); and                              |
| 16 | (B) a corporation, partnership, association,           |
| 17 | joint stock company, business trust, unincor-          |
| 18 | porated organization, or sole proprietorship that      |
| 19 | is—  |
| 20 | (i) organized under the laws of the                    |
| 21 | United States or of any political subdivi-             |
| 22 | sion thereof; or                                       |
| 23 | (ii) owned or controlled by a citizen or               |
| 24 | resident of the United States.                         |

| 1  | (6) FOREIGN STATE.—The term "foreign state"             |
|----|---|
| 2  | includes a political subdivision of a foreign state, or |
| 3  | an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state (as     |
| 4  | defined in paragraph (7)).                              |
| 5  | (7) AGENCY OR INSTRUMENTALITY OF A FOR-                 |
| 6  | EIGN STATE.—The term "agency or instrumentality         |
| 7  | of a foreign state" means an entity—                    |
| 8  | (A) which is a separate legal person, cor-              |
| 9  | porate or otherwise;                                    |
| 10 | (B) which is an organ of a foreign state or             |
| 11 | political subdivision thereof, or a majority of         |
| 12 | whose shares or other ownership interest is             |
| 13 | owned by a foreign state or political subdivision       |
| 14 | thereof; and  |
| 15 | (C) which is neither a citizen of a State of            |
| 16 | the United States (as defined in section 1332(c)        |
| 17 | and (e) of title 28, United States Code), nor           |
| 18 | created under the laws of any third country.            |
| 19 | (8) UNITED STATES.—The term "United                     |
| 20 | States" includes all territory and waters, continental  |
| 21 | or insular, subject to the jurisdiction of the United   |
| 22 | States.   |
| 23 | (9) QUALIFIED POOR COUNTRY.—The term                    |
| 24 | "qualified poor country" means a foreign state iden-    |

tified on the list maintained by the Secretary of the
 Treasury under section 6(a)(2).

### 3 SEC. 4. PROHIBITIONS ON SOVEREIGN DEBT PROFIT-4 EERING; PENALTIES.

5 (a) PROHIBITIONS.—It shall be unlawful for any
6 United States person, directly or indirectly, to engage in
7 sovereign debt profiteering, or for any person, directly or
8 indirectly, to engage in sovereign debt profiteering in the
9 United States.

(b) PENALTIES.—Whoever willfully violates subsection (a) shall be fined an amount equal to the total
amount sought by the person through the sovereign debt
profiteering.

14 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect15 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

16 SEC. 5. PROHIBITION ON USE OF COURTS OF THE UNITED

17 STATES TO FURTHER SOVEREIGN DEBT
18 PROFITEERING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—A court in or of the United States
may not issue a summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, or execution, in aid of a claim under any theory
of law or equity a purpose of which would be furthering
sovereign debt profiteering.

24 (b) DISCLOSURES REQUIRED IN ACTIONS INVOLVING
25 COLLECTION OF SOVEREIGN DEBT.—A court in or of the

1 United States may not issue a summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, or execution against a foreign state 2 3 or any debtor or creditor of a foreign state, with respect 4 to collection of sovereign debt of the foreign state, unless 5 the court has required each party seeking the summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, or execution to file 6 7 with the court, and the court has received, affidavits, 8 under oath, setting forth— 9 (1) a statement that written notice of the claim

against the foreign state has been provided to theDepartment of the Treasury;

(2) a copy of the list of qualified poor countries
maintained under section 6(a)(2), which is current
as of the date of the affidavit; and

(3) if the foreign state is identified on the list—
(A) a statement of the names and addresses of all persons who, directly or indirectly hold
any interest in the claim against the foreign
state;

(B) a statement of the total amount paid
by all persons, directly or indirectly holding an
interest in the claim against the foreign state,
to acquire the interest, including the date the
interest was acquired and the identity of any
person from whom the interest was acquired;

| 1  | (C) a statement containing a calculation of        |
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| 2  | 6 percent simple interest per year on the total    |
| 3  | amount so paid, for the period beginning with      |
| 4  | the date the interest was acquired, as of the      |
| 5  | date of each action sought from the court;         |
| 6  | (D) a statement that the claim against the         |
| 7  | foreign state has not been further assigned or     |
| 8  | encumbered by the party;                           |
| 9  | (E) a statement that neither the holder of         |
| 10 | the debt, nor any owner, employee, or agent of     |
| 11 | the holder has given anything of value to a for-   |
| 12 | eign state, or any officer or agent of a foreign   |
| 13 | state, in exchange for any action in connection    |
| 14 | with the acquisition or collection of the debt, or |
| 15 | any information concerning the acquisition or      |
| 16 | collection of the debt;                            |
| 17 | (F) a statement that each person against           |
| 18 | whom any legal process is sought in the case       |
| 19 | has been served with a copy of this Act, a copy    |
| 20 | of the complaint or initial process in which the   |
| 21 | claim is stated, and copies of the affidavits re-  |
| 22 | quired by this subsection; and                     |
| 23 | (G) a statement that copies of the affida-         |
| 24 | vits required by this paragraph have been pro-     |
| 25 | vided to the Department of the Treasury.           |

(c) JUDICIAL PROCESS ISSUED IN VIOLATION OF
 THIS SECTION IS VOID.—A summons, subpoena, writ,
 judgment, attachment, or execution issued in violation of
 any provision of this section shall be void.

5 (d) DISMISSAL OF ACTIONS BROUGHT OR MAIN-6 TAINED IN VIOLATION OF THIS SECTION.—If it appears 7 to a court in or of the United States that an action 8 brought in the court constitutes, or is in furtherance of, 9 sovereign debt profiteering, the court shall, on its own ini-10 tiative or at the request of any interested party, promptly 11 dismiss the action.

12 (e) ENTITLEMENT TO DISCOVERY.—A party against 13 whom a summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, 14 or execution is sought in an action brought with respect 15 to collection of sovereign debt of a foreign state, and the 16 foreign state, shall be entitled to discovery to determine 17 the veracity of the matters attested to in any affidavit re-18 quired by subsection (b).

(f) REQUIREMENT TO SERVE AFFIDAVITS ON ALL
PERSONS AGAINST WHOM ANY LEGAL PROCESS IS
SOUGHT.—Each party seeking a summons, subpoena,
writ, judgment, attachment, or execution pursuant to subsection (b) shall serve on each person against whom any
legal process is sought a copy of this Act, a copy of the

complaint or initial process in which the claim is stated,
 and copies of the affidavits required by subsection (b).

3 (g) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE PROVIDED TO
4 THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—Each party seeking a
5 summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, or exe6 cution pursuant to subsection (b) shall present to the Sec7 retary of the Treasury—

8 (1) written notice of the claim involved; and

9 (2) copies of the affidavits required by sub-10 section (b)(3).

(h) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply to
actions brought or pending on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

#### 14 SEC. 6. DUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY.

(a) MAINTENANCE OF LISTS.—The Secretary of the
Treasury shall compile and maintain, and make available
to the public—

(1) an up-to-date list of the foreign states that
are eligible for financing from the International Development Association but not from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development;
and

(2) an up-to-date list of the foreign states listed
under paragraph (1) with respect to which the Sec-

| 1  | retary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Sec-        |
|----|--|
| 2  | retary of State, has not determined that—                    |
| 3  | (A) the government of the state (including                   |
| 4  | its military or other security forces) engages in            |
| 5  | a pattern of gross violations of internationally             |
| 6  | recognized human rights (as defined in section               |
| 7  | 116 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961                    |
| 8  | (Public Law 87–195));  |
| 9  | (B) the government of the state has an ex-                   |
| 10 | cessive level of military expenditures;                      |
| 11 | (C) the government of the state has pro-                     |
| 12 | vided support for acts of international ter-                 |
| 13 | rorism, as determined by the Secretary of State              |
| 14 | under section $6(j)(1)$ of the Export Administra-            |
| 15 | tion Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. $2405(j)(1)$ ),             |
| 16 | or section 620A(a) of the Foreign Assistance                 |
| 17 | Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371(a)); or                          |
| 18 | (D) the government of the state is failing                   |
| 19 | to cooperate with the United States on inter-                |
| 20 | national narcotics control matters.                          |
| 21 | (b) Maintenance of Affidavits as Public                      |
| 22 | RECORDS.—On presentation of an affidavit pursuant to         |
| 23 | section 5(g), the Secretary of the Treasury shall accept     |
| 24 | the affidavit and maintain the affidavit as a public record. |

(c) NOTIFICATION OF POOR COUNTRIES OF THE
 PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT.—Within 90 days after the date
 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury
 shall provide written notice to each foreign state referred
 to in subsection (a)(1) of the provisions of this Act.

6 (d) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Within 1 year after the date 7 of the enactment of this Act, and annually on the anniver-8 sary of the date the first report is submitted under this 9 subsection, the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit to 10 the Committees on Financial Services and on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives and the Committees 11 12 on Foreign Relations and on the Judiciary of the Senate, 13 and make available to the public, a report that—

14 (1) explains how the Secretary determined
15 which countries would be included in the list of for16 eign states maintained under subsection (a)(2);

17 (2) summarizes the affidavits presented to the
18 Secretary pursuant to subsection (b) during the pe19 riod covered by the report; and

(3) discusses how this Act has advanced the
policies of the United States with respect to poor
countries and supported the goals and purposes of
the Enhanced HIPC Initiative (as defined in section
1625(e)(3) of the International Financial Institutions Act), the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative,

and other international efforts to provide debt relief
 to poor countries.

#### 3 SEC. 7. RELATIONSHIP TO STATE LAW.

4 In the event of a conflict between this Act and a pro-5 vision of State law, this Act shall control.

#### 6 SEC. 8. SEVERABILITY.

7 If any provision of this Act or the application thereof 8 to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the inva-9 lidity does not affect other provisions or applications of 10 this Act which can be given effect without the invalid pro-11 vision or application, and to this end, the provisions of 12 this Act are severable.

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