111TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 2932

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

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 18, 2009

Ms. Waters (for herself, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Bachus, Ms. Moore of Wisconsin, Mr. Payne, Mr. Meeks of New York, Mr. Gutierrez, Ms. Wasserman Schultz, Ms. Schakowsky, Ms. Lee of California, Mr. Hinchey, and Ms. Norton) 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 Unscrupu-
- 5 lous Loan Transfers from Underprivileged countries to
- 6 Rich, Exploitive Funds Act" or the "Stop VULTURE
- 7 Funds Act".

SEC 2 FINDINGS

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.
12	(3) Since adoption of the original HIPC Initia-
13	tive in 1996 and the Enhanced HIPC Initiative in
14	1999, donor countries have committed more than
15	\$50,000,000,000 in bilateral and multilateral debt
16	cancellation to eligible countries.
17	(4) Congress has demonstrated its support for
18	bilateral and multilateral debt relief through the en-
19	actment of comprehensive debt relief initiatives for
20	heavily indebted poor countries in—
21	(A) title V of H.R. 3425 of the 106th Con-
22	gress, as enacted into law by section 1000(a)(5)
23	of the Act, entitled "An Act making consoli-
24	dated appropriations for the fiscal year ending
25	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;
 - (B) title II of H.R. 5526 of the 106th Congress, as enacted into law by section 101(a) of the Act, entitled "An Act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2001, and for other purposes.", approved November 6, 2000 (Public Law 106–429; 114 Stat. 1900A–5); and
 - (C) title V of the United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act of 2003 (Public Law 108–25; 117 Stat. 747) and the amendment made by such title.
 - (5) A number of countries, including the United States, have canceled 100 percent of the bilateral loans made by such countries to countries that are eligible for debt relief under the Enhanced HIPC Initiative, and other major donor nations have canceled a large percentage of such loans. However, a number of countries eligible for such debt relief will continue to owe substantial debts to international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Development Association, and the African Development Fund.

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- (6) At the same time that the international community has been extending debt relief to the poor countries of the world, a new form of business has emerged for the purpose of speculating in and profiteering from defaulted sovereign debt at the expense of both the impoverished citizens of the poor nations and the taxpayers of the world who have participated in international debt relief.
 - (7) So-called "vulture" creditors acquire, either by purchase, assignment, or some other form of transaction, the defaulted obligations of, and sometimes actual court judgments against, impoverished nations. Vulture creditors usually acquire the debt for the payment of a sum far less than the face value of the defaulted obligation. They do so for the sole purpose of collecting through litigation, seizure of assets, political pressure, or other means, preferential payment of the defaulted debt on terms and in amounts far in excess of the amount paid by the vulture creditor to acquire the debt. The vulture creditors seek payments far in excess of the rates of payment made to other similarly situated creditors, including multilateral creditors (such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Development 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 working through the London Club mechanism of sovereign debt restructuring.
 - (8) Profiteering in defaulted sovereign debt is made possible by the absence of the same type of bankruptcy protections for sovereign debtors that are available to private debtors. Bankruptcy or other insolvency laws protect private debtors through, among other things, stays of execution pending reorganization or restructuring of debt, suspension of the accrual of interest, "cram-down" powers which allow the majority of creditors to force so-called "hold-out" creditors to accept a debt restructuring that will optimize the recovery of all creditors and avoid preferential payments to a minority of creditors, and the ability to discharge debts and obligations 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 speculation.

- (10) In pursuit of their collection activities, vulture creditors have engaged in litigation in the courts of the United States, which has, and continues to have, a negative effect on the foreign relations of the United States, and hinders trade between the United States and the poor countries whose defaulted debts have been acquired by vulture creditors. Such disruptive activities have included, among other actions, attempting to levy against the embassies of foreign states, seeking to have foreign states held in contempt of court, issuing subpoenas to visiting foreign dignitaries, and accusing foreign governments of violating the Racketeer Influenced 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.
- (12) The direct or indirect speculation and profiteering in defaulted sovereign debt by United

States citizens, and the use of the courts in the United States to advance such profiteering, is contrary to the foreign relations interests of the United States and negatively affects the interstate com-

merce of the United States.

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- (13) In order to successfully prevent the speculation and profiteering in the defaulted sovereign debt of poor countries in a uniform fashion, and prevent the use of the courts of the United States to assist in such profiteering, national legislation is required to regulate the practices and procedures used in litigation against foreign sovereigns.
 - (14) To be effective and properly regulate the use of judicial forums in an area affecting the foreign relations of the United States, national legislation is required that will mandate the public disclosure of relevant information concerning the acquisition, ownership, and consideration provided by creditors in obtaining their property interests in the defaulted sovereign debt of poor countries.

21 SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

- 22 In this Act:
- 23 (1) VULTURE CREDITOR.—The term "vulture 24 creditor" means any person who directly or indi-25 rectly 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).
 - (2) Sovereign Debt.—The term "sovereign debt" means a commercial obligation of a foreign state, whether evidenced by a claim, contract, note, negotiable instrument, award, or judgment.
 - (3) DEFAULTED SOVEREIGN DEBT.—The term "defaulted sovereign debt" means any sovereign debt for which payment has been refused by a foreign state, which is subject to an announced moratorium, upon which an award or judgement has been entered, or upon which a payment of interest or principal has not been paid according to the terms of the debt obligation.
 - (4) 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-
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
17	(c) 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-

- 1 tified on the list maintained by the Secretary of the
- 2 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.
- 10 (b) Penalties.—Whoever willfully violates sub-
- 1 section (a) shall be fined an amount equal to the total
- 12 amount sought by the person through the sovereign debt
- 13 profiteering.
- 14 (c) Effective Date.—This section shall take effect
- 15 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.**
- 19 (a) IN GENERAL.—A court in or of the United States
- 20 may not issue a summons, subpoena, writ, judgment, at-
- 21 tachment, or execution, in aid of a claim under any theory
- 22 of law or equity a purpose of which would be furthering
- 23 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,
2	judgment, attachment, or execution against a foreign state
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,
6	subpoena, writ, judgment, attachment, or execution to file
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
10	against the foreign state has been provided to the
11	Department of the Treasury;
12	(2) a copy of the list of qualified poor countries
13	maintained under section 6(a)(2), which is current
14	as of the date of the affidavit; and
15	(3) if the foreign state is identified on the list—
16	(A) a statement of the names and address-
17	es of all persons who, directly or indirectly hold
18	any interest in the claim against the foreign
19	state;
20	(B) a statement of the total amount paid
21	by all persons, directly or indirectly holding an
22	interest in the claim against the foreign state,
23	to acquire the interest, including the date the
24	interest was acquired and the identity of any

person from whom the interest was acquired;

1 (C) a statement containing a calculation of 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 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-

vits required by this paragraph have been pro-

vided to the Department of the Treasury.

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- 1 (c) Legal Process Issued in Violation of This
- 2 Section Is Void.—A summons, subpoena, writ, judg-
- 3 ment, attachment, or execution issued in violation of any
- 4 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).
- 19 (f) Requirement To Serve Affidavits on All
- 20 Persons Against Whom Any Legal Process Is
- 21 Sought.—Each party seeking a summons, subpoena,
- 22 writ, judgment, attachment, or execution pursuant to sub-
- 23 section (b) shall serve on each person against whom any
- 24 legal process is sought a copy of this Act, a copy of the

- 1 complaint or initial process in which the claim is stated,
- 2 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 exe-
- 6 cution pursuant to subsection (b) shall present to the Sec-
- 7 retary of the Treasury—
- 8 (1) written notice of the claim involved; and
- 9 (2) copies of the affidavits required by sub-
- section (b)(3).
- 11 (h) Effective Date.—This section shall apply to
- 12 actions brought or pending on or after the date of the en-
- 13 actment of this Act.
- 14 SEC. 6. DUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY.
- 15 (a) Maintenance of Lists.—The Secretary of the
- 16 Treasury shall compile and maintain, and make available
- 17 to the public—
- 18 (1) an up-to-date list of the foreign states that
- are eligible for financing from the International De-
- velopment Association but not from the Inter-
- 21 national Bank for Reconstruction and Development;
- 22 and
- 23 (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 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 Maintenance of Affidavits as Public Records.—On presentation of an affidavit pursuant to 23 section 5(g), the Secretary of the Treasury shall accept the affidavit and maintain the affidavit as a public record.

1	(e) Notification of Poor Countries of the
2	Provisions of This Act.—Within 90 days after the date
3	of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury
4	shall provide written notice to each foreign state referred
5	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 Judici-
11	ary of the House of Representatives and the Committees
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 for-
16	eign states maintained under subsection (a)(2);
17	(2) summarizes the affidavits presented to the
18	Secretary pursuant to subsection (b) during the pe-
19	riod covered by the report; and
20	(3) discusses how this Act has advanced the
21	policies of the United States with respect to poor
22	countries and supported the goals and purposes of
23	the Enhanced HIPC Initiative (as defined in section
24	1625(e)(3) of the International Financial Institu-

tions Act), the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative,

- and other international efforts to provide debt relief
- 2 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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