

# CRS Report for Congress

## United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues

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# United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues

## Summary

The congressional debate over United Nations funding focuses on several questions, including (1) What is the appropriate level of U.S. funding for U.N. system operations and programs? (2) What U.S. funding actions are most likely to produce a positive continuation of U.N. system reform efforts?

The U.N. system includes the United Nations, a number of specialized or affiliated agencies, voluntary and special funds and programs, and U.N. peacekeeping operations. Participating states finance the system with assessed contributions to the budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In addition, voluntary contributions are made both to those agencies and to the special programs and funds they set up and manage. For more than 60 years, the United States has been the single largest financial contributor to the U.N. system, supplying in recent years 22% of most U.N. agency budgets. (See **Appendix B** for an organizational chart that illustrates the components of the U.N. system.)

Both Congress and the executive branch have sought to promote their policy goals and reform of the United Nations and its system of organizations and programs, especially to improve management and budgeting practices. In the 1990s, Congress linked payment of U.S. financial contributions and its arrears to reform.

This report, which will be updated, tracks the process by which Congress provides the funding for U.S. assessed contributions to the regular budgets of the United Nations, its agencies, and U.N. peacekeeping operation accounts, as well for U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system programs and funds. It includes information on the President's request and the congressional response, as well as congressional initiatives during this legislative process. Basic information is provided to help the reader understand this process.

This report replaces CRS Issue Brief IB86116, *United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues*, by Marjorie Ann Browne and Vita Bite.

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# United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues

## Most Recent Developments

On February 4, 2008, President Bush requested \$1,529,400,000 for the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account, Department of State, including \$452,560,000 for the United Nations regular budget and \$1,497,000,000 for the Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account, Department of State. The request also included \$276,900,000 for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account, Foreign Operations, which includes voluntary contributions to several U.N. system programs. He also requested, through the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR) account, \$50 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). On May 2, 2008, the President sent Congress amendments to his FY2009 Budget, including the addition of \$40,000,000 to the CIO account to fund U.S. contributions to the U.N. special political missions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

On June 30, 2008, the President signed H.R. 2642, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2008 (P.L. 110-252). Under Supplemental Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2008, for the Department of State and Foreign Operations, Congress appropriated \$66,000,000 for the CIO account and \$373,708,000 for the CIPA account. Under Bridge Fund Supplemental Appropriations for FY2009, Congress provided \$75,000,000 for the CIO account and \$150,500,000 for the CIPA account, both to become available October 1, 2008.

On July 18, 2008, the Senate Committee on Appropriations reported S. 3288, the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations bill, 2009. The committee provided \$1,529,400,000, as requested, for the CIO account; \$1,650,000,000 for the CIPA account; and \$364,000,000 to the IO&P account. The committee also provided \$66,000,000 to fund U.S. voluntary contributions to the IAEA. This bill was not considered on the Senate floor. On July 16, 2008, the State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee approved its FY2009 recommendations which were not considered by the full committee. The text of a bill was not published.

On September 30, 2008, the President signed H.R. 2638, Division A of which was the Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2009, extending funding at FY2008 levels through March 6, 2009.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P.L. 110-329.

## Current Funding Information

### Introduction

The United States has been, and remains, the single largest financial contributor to the United Nations (U.N.) system. For calendar year (CY) 2005, U.S. contributions to the U.N. system totaled nearly \$4.3 billion.<sup>2</sup> This included \$810,194,000 in assessed contributions to the regular budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and \$77,232,995 in assessed contributions to the two war crimes tribunals. In CY2005, the United States contributed \$1,107,996,360 in assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations. Finally, U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system special programs and funds totaled \$2,298,971,000. In recent years, however, Congress has been pressing to reduce U.S. funding for many U.N. system programs. Congressional debate over U.N. funding has focused on several questions: (1) What is the appropriate level of U.S. funding for U.N. system operations and programs? (2) What U.S. funding actions are most likely to produce a positive continuation of U.N. system reform efforts? and (3) How should the United States address its accumulated arrearages?

This report tracks the process by which Congress provides the funding for U.S. assessed contributions to the regular budgets of the United Nations, its agencies, and U.N. peacekeeping operation accounts as well for U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system programs and funds. It includes information on the President's request and the congressional response as well as congressional initiatives during this legislative process. Basic information is provided to help the reader understand this process.

### U.N. System Financing: Brief Overview

The United Nations (U.N.) system is made up of variously interconnected components including specialized agencies, voluntary funds and programs, peacekeeping operations, and the U.N. organization itself.<sup>3</sup> The system is financed by contributions from member and/or participant states. The contributions are usually made in two ways: assessed contributions — required “dues” at percentages established by the membership of each organization involved — and voluntary contributions, which represent more than half of the total aggregated funds received by the U.N. system.

**Assessed Contributions.** Assessed contributions finance the regular budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the International Atomic

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<sup>2</sup> The CY2005 figures in this paragraph are from two U.N. documents: *Budgetary and Financial Situation of Organizations of the United Nations System. Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the Statistical Report of the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination...* U.N. document A/61/203, dated July 28, 2006, and *Status of Contributions as at 31 December 2005.* U.N. document ST/ADM/SER.B/673.

<sup>3</sup> See **Appendix B** for organizational chart of The United Nations System, taken from the U.N. website: [<http://www.un.org/aboutun/chart.html>].

Energy Agency (IAEA). Payment of the assessed contribution is one of the legal obligations accepted by a country when it joins the organization. In this way, the organization has a regular source of income for staffing and implementation of authorized programs. Most U.N. peacekeeping operations are funded through special assessed accounts.

U.S. assessed contributions are funded from the State Department's budget. Congress authorizes these funds as part of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act and currently appropriates the money in the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs appropriations legislation.<sup>4</sup> The regular assessed budgets of U.N. system organizations as well as regional and other non-U.N. organizations are included in the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account, while assessed peacekeeping contributions are funded in the Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account.

**Voluntary Contributions.** Voluntary contributions finance special programs and offices created by the U.N. system, such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the U.N. Democracy Fund (UNDEF). Payment of these contributions is entirely up to each individual country; no country is legally obliged to contribute to these programs.

U.S. voluntary contributions are financed through the foreign assistance authorization and appropriation legislation, primarily through the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account of what was formerly the Foreign Operations Act.<sup>5</sup> This IO&P account does not fund U.S. voluntary contributions to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the U.N. Narcotics Control Fund, or the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

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<sup>4</sup> In the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress, the House Appropriations Committee recommended appropriation of these funds in the Science, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act while the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended appropriation of these funds in the State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act. Starting with the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, both the House and Senate Appropriations committees have a Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Agencies.

<sup>5</sup> The House has, in the past, recommended funding through a separate Foreign Operations Appropriations Act. See CRS Report RL33420, *Foreign Operations (House)/State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs (Senate): FY2007 Appropriations*, by Larry Nowels, Connie Veillette, and Susan B. Epstein. Starting with FY2008, Foreign Operations appropriations is not a separate piece of legislation but included with State Department appropriations. See previous footnote.

## Current U.S. Funding

### FY2009 Funding

**Assessed Contributions.** On February 4, 2008, the President requested \$1,529,400,000 for payment of U.S. assessed contributions (CIO account) to the 45 international (including regional) intergovernmental organizations that the United States is a member of. The CIO account request included the following amounts for the United Nations:

- United Nations regular budget: \$452,500,000
- U.N. Capital Master Plan (CMP): \$75,535,000
- U.N. War Crimes Tribunal — Yugoslavia: \$21,571,000
- U.N. War Crimes Tribunal — Rwanda: \$14,967,000

The aggregated total for this category is \$564,573,000. The amount requested for U.S. assessed contributions to the regular budgets of 11 other separate U.N. system agencies was \$522,517,000. On May 2, 2008, the President requested, in an amendment to the FY2009 budget, an additional amount of \$40,000,000 for the CIO, to fund U.S. contributions for the costs of the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) [\$10,000,000] and the U.N. Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) [\$30,000,000], both of which are special political missions financed from the U.N. regular budget.

On July 18, 2008, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported S. 3288, the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 2009.<sup>6</sup> The committee recommended the appropriation of \$1,529,400,000 for the CIO account, as requested by the President, and in addition to the \$75,000,000 already appropriated in P.L. 110-252, in Bridge Funding for FY2009.<sup>7</sup> The committee “directs OMB to request sufficient funds to pay annual U.S. assessed dues and any accumulated arrears to international organizations and encourages the Department of State to evaluate the benefit of U.S. membership on an annual basis.”<sup>8</sup>

**Voluntary Contributions.** For FY2009, the President requested \$276,900,000 for the International Organizations and Programs Account (IO&P), to fund U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system programs and those of other organizations. This request included \$124,500,000 for UNICEF and \$75,300,000 for the U.N. Development Program (UNDP). He also requested, through the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (Nonproliferation) account of the Department of State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs appropriations, \$50 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

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<sup>6</sup> S.Rept. 110-425.

<sup>7</sup> See section below, “Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2008.”

<sup>8</sup> S.Rept. 110-425, p. 23.



On July 18, 2008, the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended the appropriation of \$364,000,000 for the IO&P account, \$84,100,000 above the President's request of \$276,900,000. The committee's table of its recommendations for this account included \$129,000,000 for UNICEF (an increase of \$4,500,000 over the President's request) and \$97,500,000 for UNDP (an increase of \$22,200,000 above the request); the addition of \$2,000,000 for the U.N. Procurement Task Force; and no funds for the U.N. Democracy Fund (\$14,000,000 had been requested). The report noted the committee's support for "continuation of an independent procurement task force to address fraud and corruption within the United Nations." The committee also requested "the administration to explain how a contribution to the UNDF [U.N. Democracy Fund] fits into its overall strategy to promote democracy abroad."<sup>9</sup>

The Senate Appropriations Committee recommended, in the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs account, the appropriation of \$66,000,000 for U.S. voluntary contributions to the IAEA. That is an amount \$16,000,000 above the President's request of \$50,000,000.<sup>10</sup>

**Peacekeeping Accounts.** On February 4, 2008, the President requested for FY2009, \$1,497,000,000 to pay U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations, in the State Department's Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account. This request included \$31,000,000 for the two international war crimes tribunals (Yugoslavia and Rwanda) that are not peacekeeping operations.

On July 18, 2008, the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended \$1,650,000,000 in appropriations to the CIPA account, an amount that is \$153,000,000 above the President's request. This is in addition to the \$150,500,000 provided in Bridge Funding for FY2009 in P.L. 110-252. The committee noted "that the budget request for U.S. assessed contributions to international peacekeeping missions assumed a reduction in the cost of every mission below the fiscal year 2008 operating level.... The Committee recognizes the significant contribution to international peace and stability provided by U.N. peacekeeping activities, without the participation of U.S. troops. The Committee does not support OMB's practice of under-funding peacekeeping activities and relying on limited supplemental funds to support only a few missions."

The committee bill included language, as requested by the President, to "adjust the authorized level of U.S. assessments for peacekeeping activities for calendar year 2009 and prior years from 25 percent to 27.1 percent, consistent with the level set in fiscal year 2008 (Public Law 110-161)." The committee expected "that future budget requests shall include sufficient funding to support such authorization."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> S.Rept. 110-425, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> S.Rept. 110-425, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> S.Rept. 110-425, pages 23-24.

**Combined Discussion.** The Senate did not consider S. 3288, the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2009. On July 16, 2008, the State and Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee approved its FY2009 bill, which was referred to the full committee. The subcommittee recommendation was never issued as a bill.

On September 30, 2008, the President signed into law H.R. 2638, the Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009.<sup>12</sup> Division A of the Act, the Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2009, provided appropriations for nine regular appropriations for FY2009, through March 6, 2009, at FY2008 spending levels, as apportioned by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).<sup>13</sup> Funds available for the CIO, CIPA, and IO&P accounts are estimated to be as follows:

- CIO account: \$577,808,968
- CIPA account: \$525,800,000
- IO&P account: \$136,297,473

**Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2008.** On June 30, 2008, the President signed H.R. 2642, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2008 (P.L. 110-252). Congress provided additional funding for both the CIO and CIPA accounts for both FY2008 and for FY2009 in this Act. Under the Department of State and Foreign Operations, in Supplemental Appropriations for FY2008, Congress appropriated \$66,000,000 for the CIO account, to be available through September 30, 2009. This is for U.S. contributions to UNAMA (Afghanistan) and UNAMI (Iraq) and to meet FY2008 assessed payments to “organizations whose missions are critical to protecting United States national security interests, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.”<sup>14</sup> Congress directed the Department of State to provide a report to the Appropriations Committees, not later than 45 days after enactment, “detailing total United States-assessed contributions, any arrears for fiscal years 2008 and 2009 for each of the organizations funded under this heading.”

Under this section of the Act, Congress appropriated \$373,708,000 for the CIPA account, not less than \$333,600,000 of which was for U.S. assessed contributions for UNAMID. The remaining \$40,108,000 was to “meet unmet fiscal year 2008 assessed dues for the international peacekeeping missions to countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, Haiti, Liberia, and Sudan.”<sup>15</sup>

Under the Department of State and Foreign Operations, a second subchapter was entitled Bridge Fund Supplemental Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2009. Congress provided \$75,000,000 for the CIO account, to be available October 1, 2008, through

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<sup>12</sup> P.L. 110-329.

<sup>13</sup> According to OMB Bulletin No. 08-02, dated September 30, 2008, the percentage of the year covered by the CR is 43.01 percent.

<sup>14</sup> Congressional Record [daily edition], June 19, 2008: H5676.

<sup>15</sup> Congressional Record [daily edition], June 19, 2008: H5676.

September 30, 2009. Congress provided \$150,500,000 for the CIPA account, to be available during the same time period.

## FY2008 Funding

**Status.** On December 26, 2007, the President signed H.R. 2764, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008, Division J of which was the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2008 (P.L. 110-161). This Division provided funding for U.S. assessed and voluntary contributions to the United Nations system. Funding for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations, including the United Nations, totaled \$1,354,400,000 [\$1,343,429,000].<sup>16</sup> Funding for U.S. contributions to the assessed accounts of U.N. peacekeeping operations was \$1,700,500,000 [\$1,690,517,000]. Congress provided \$313,485,000 [\$316,897,000] in funds for U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system programs.

**Assessed Contributions.** On February 5, 2007, the President requested \$1,354,400,000 for payment of U.S. assessed contributions (CIO account) to the 45 international (including regional) intergovernmental organizations that the United States is a member of. The CIO account request included the following amounts for the United Nations: the U.N. regular budget, \$495,778,000; U.N. Capital Master Plan (CMP), \$85,435,000; U.N. War Crimes Tribunal — Yugoslavia, \$19,128,000; and the U.N. War Crimes Tribunal — Rwanda, \$15,647,000 (aggregated total: \$615,988,000).<sup>17</sup> The amount requested for U.S. assessed contributions to 11 other separate U.N. agencies was \$449,439,000. The President also requested an “additional FY2008 funding” for the CIO account in the amount of \$53 million. This would fund U.S. contributions for the costs in CY2007 of the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and the U.N. Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), both of which are special political missions financed from the U.N. regular budget.

On June 18, 2007, the House Appropriations Committee reported H.R. 2764, the Department of State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2008.<sup>18</sup> The committee recommended \$1,354,400,000 for the CIO account. The committee did not include \$53 million of the funds requested for the U.N. regular budget, stating that this had been provided as part of the FY2008 [sic] emergency funding, for costs for the U.N. assistance missions in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and in Iraq (UNAMI). The House committee recommendation in the CIO account for U.S.

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<sup>16</sup> An across-the-board rescission of 0.81 percent reduced the amount available. The figure within brackets represents the amount estimated to be available following application of the rescission. These figures are taken from the Joint Explanatory Statement on H.R. 2764, Division J, found at [[http://www.rules.house.gov/110\\_fy08\\_omni.htm](http://www.rules.house.gov/110_fy08_omni.htm)], click on Division J under Joint Explanatory Statement.

<sup>17</sup> The assessment for the CMP includes Year 1 of five equal payments of \$75,500,000 each and a one-time payment of \$9.9 million for a working reserve fund. See Section on the United Nations Capital Master Plan.

<sup>18</sup> H.Rept. 110-197.

assessed contributions to the U.N. regular budget was \$442,778,000. The House passed H.R. 2764, at the committee-recommended level, on June 22, 2007.

On July 10, 2007, the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended, in H.R. 2764, \$1,374,400,000 for the CIO account and directed the Secretary of State “to request sufficient funds to pay annual U.S. assessed dues and any accumulated arrears to international organizations and encourages the Department of State to evaluate the benefit of U.S. membership on an annual basis.”<sup>19</sup> On September 6, 2007, the Senate passed H.R. 2764 with the committee-recommended amount for the CIO account, to be available through September 30, 2009.

On December 19, 2007, Congress sent to the President H.R. 2764, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008, which included, in Division J, the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Appropriations Act, 2008. The President signed this Act on December 26, 2007 (P.L. 110-161), which provided \$1,354,400,000 [\$1,343,429,000] for the CIO account, as requested.

**Voluntary Contributions.** For FY2008, the President requested \$289,400,000 for the International Organizations and Programs Account (IO&P), to fund U.S. voluntary contributions to U.N. system programs and those of other organizations. This request included \$123 million for UNICEF and \$75,300,000 for the U.N. Development Program (UNDP). He also requested, through the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (Nonproliferation) account of the Department of State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs appropriations, \$50 million for special programs of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

On June 28, 2007, the House Appropriations Committee, in H.R. 2764, recommended \$333,400,000 for the IO&P account, including not less than \$128 million for UNICEF and not less than \$110 million for UNDP. The committee did not recommend the funds requested for the U.N. Democracy Fund or for the U.N. Innovation and Entrepreneurship Initiative. The committee recommended the requested \$50 million in the Nonproliferation account for IAEA voluntary contributions. These committee-recommended levels were passed by the House on June 22, 2007.

On July 10, 2007, the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended \$313,925,000 for the IO&P account, including \$129 million for UNICEF and \$100 million for UNDP. The committee dropped the requested \$14 million for the U.N. Democracy Fund and \$10 million for the U.N. Innovation and Entrepreneurship Initiative. The Senate committee recommended \$53 million for IAEA Voluntary Contributions in the Nonproliferation account. In Section 667 (Transparency and Accountability) of H.R. 2764, the Senate committee stipulated that before initial obligation of funds for U.S. contributions to the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), the Secretary of State certify that UNDP is “giving adequate and appropriate access to information” to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations “regarding UNDP’s programs and activities, as requested, including in North Korea

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<sup>19</sup> S.Rept. 110-128, p. 19.

and in Burma.” The Secretary was also to certify that UNDP was conducting “appropriate oversight” of its programs and activities globally.<sup>20</sup> The Senate-passed bill provided the committee-recommended amount for the IO&P account and for the Nonproliferation account.

Division J of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Act, 2008, provided \$319,485,000 [\$316,897,000] for the IO&P account. The President had requested \$289,400,000 for this account. While the law provides a single figure, the Joint Explanatory Statement includes data on allocation of these funds, including \$129,000,000 for UNICEF, \$98,160,000 for UNDP, and \$10,500,000 for the UNEP. These allocations, however, may not be firm because they are based on the IO&P account figure prior to application of the across-the-board rescission.

Section 668 of the enacted bill, entitled Transparency and Accountability, provides that 10% of the funds appropriated under the IO&P account to any U.N. agency may be withheld from disbursement if the Secretary of State reports

that such agency does not have or is not implementing a policy of posting on a publicly available website information such as: (1) audits, budget reports, and information related to procurement activities; (2) procedures for protecting whistleblowers; and (3) efforts to ensure the independence of internal oversight bodies, adopt international public sector accounting standards, and limit administrative costs.

Section 668 (b) provides that 20% of the funds appropriated under the IO&P account for a U.S. contribution to the UNDP “shall be withheld from disbursement until the Secretary of State reports” that UNDP is —

- (1) giving adequate access to information to the Department of State regarding UNDP’s programs and activities as requested, including in North Korea and Burma;
- (2) conducting oversight of UNDP programs and activities globally; and
- (3) implementing a whistleblower protection policy equivalent to that recommended by the United Nations Secretary General on December 3, 2007.

Congress provided \$487,000,000 [\$483,055,000] for the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs account, including for the U.S. voluntary contribution to the IAEA. The Joint Explanatory Statement allocated \$51,500,000 to IAEA. That figure may be subject to the across-the-board rescission. The President had requested \$50,000,000 for the IAEA.

**Peacekeeping Accounts.** On February 5, 2007, the President requested, in his FY2008 budget request, \$1,107,000,000 to pay U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations, in the State Department’s Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account. This request included \$34,181,000 for the two international war crimes tribunals (Yugoslavia and Rwanda) that are not peacekeeping operations. The House Appropriations Committee, on June

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<sup>20</sup> H.R. 2764, as reported by Senate Appropriations Committee, p. 367.

18, 2007, recommended \$1,302,000,000 for the CIPA account and included language increasing the peacekeeping assessment cap to 27.1% for calendar year 2008. The House, on June 22, 2007, passed H.R. 2764, with the committee-recommended amount for the CIPA account, and with the increased peacekeeping assessment cap language.

The Senate Appropriations Committee recommended an appropriation of \$1,352,000,000 for the CIPA account. The committee report observed that the CIPA request “was unrealistic considering the significant contribution to peace and stability provided by U.N. peacekeeping activities, without the participation of U.S. troops.... The Committee does not support the administration’s practice of under-funding peacekeeping activities and relying on limited supplemental funds.” The committee included language raising the peacekeeping assessments cap from 25% to 27.1% for “fiscal year 2008.”<sup>21</sup> The Senate, on September 6, 2007, provided the amount recommended for the CIPA account and kept the language on the peacekeeping assessment cap.

On October 22, 2007, the President requested in a FY2008 supplemental an additional \$723,600,000 for the CIPA account to remain available until September 30, 2009. This amount, designated as “emergency requirements,” would fund the U.S. share of the start-up, infrastructure, and operating costs of the new U.N. peacekeeping operation in Darfur (UNAMID). This request brought the total amount requested by the President for the CIPA account for FY2008 to \$1,830,600,000. Division J of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008, provided \$1,700,500,000 [\$1,690,517,000] for CIPA, \$468,000,000 of which was designated emergency.<sup>22</sup>

**FY2007 Emergency Supplemental.** The President also requested FY2007 supplemental funding for CIPA. The CIPA supplemental request of \$200 million was to pay U.S. assessed contributions for “unforeseen” U.N. peacekeeping expenses. The President, on May 1, 2007, vetoed H.R. 1591, Making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for FY2007, which had included \$288 million for the CIPA account. Congress then passed H.R. 2206, a replacement FY2007 emergency supplemental bill, which the President signed on May 25, 2007, as the U.S. Troop Readiness, Veterans’ Care, Katrina Recovery, and Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act, 2007.<sup>23</sup> H.R. 1591 had included funds in the CIO account (originally in the Senate-passed bill [\$59 million] but not in the House-passed version) for payment of U.S. arrears to the assessed budgets of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the IAEA, Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, International Civil Aviation Organization, World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Pan American Health Organization. The conferees had agreed to \$50 million. H.R. 2206 provided \$50 million for the CIO account and \$288 million for the CIPA account.

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<sup>21</sup> S.Rept. 110-128, p. 19-20.

<sup>22</sup> P.L. 110-161.

<sup>23</sup> P.L. 110-28.

## FY2007 Funding

**Assessed Contributions.** On February 6, 2006, the President requested \$1,268,523,000 for payment of U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO account) of which \$922,970,000 was for assessed U.N. system organizations including \$422,761,000 for the U.N. regular budget. In addition, the President requested \$1,135,327,000 to pay U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA account). On June 29, 2006, the House passed H.R. 5672, including State Department appropriations for 2007, and providing \$1,151,318,000 for the CIO account.<sup>24</sup> On July 10, 2006, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported H.R. 5522, to provide appropriations for the State Department, including \$1,151,318,000 for the CIO account.<sup>25</sup> The Senate did not act on this bill in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress.

**Voluntary Contributions.** The appropriate level of funding for U.N. voluntary programs continues to be a congressional concern. For FY2007 the Administration requested \$289 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to programs in the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account. In addition, \$50 million was requested in another account for IAEA voluntary programs. On June 9, 2006, the House passed H.R. 5522, the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, providing \$327,570,000 for the IO&P account.<sup>26</sup> The Committee recommended the requested \$50 million for IAEA voluntary programs, which is found in the Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining and Related Programs account. On July 10, 2006, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported H.R. 5522, providing \$306,125,000 for the IO&P account. No further action was taken on H.R. 5522 in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress.

**Peacekeeping Accounts.** Issues relating to U.S. support for U.N. peacekeeping operations including financing of such activities have been the source of particular congressional concern. In 1994, Congress enacted legislation (Section 404 of P.L. 103-236) which limited U.S. assessed peacekeeping contributions after October 1, 1995, to 25% of total U.N. peacekeeping assessments. P.L. 107-228 amended this provision for calendar years 2001-2004, allowing U.S. assessments of 28.15% in 2001, 27.9% in 2002 and 27.4% in 2003 and 2004. P.L. 108-447 raised the cap to 27.1% for calendar year 2005. On December 13, 2005, Senator Biden introduced S. 2095, to raise the U.S. peacekeeping cap to 27.1% for calendar years 2005 and 2006. On June 22, 2006, the Senate passed S. 2766, the Defense Authorization Act for FY2007, including an amendment that would set the cap for U.S. contributions at 27.10% for assessments made for U.N. peacekeeping operations for CY2005, 2006, and 2007. On October 5, 2006, the John Warner National

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<sup>24</sup> H.R. 5672, Science, State, Justice, Commerce, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill, Fiscal Year 2007; reported June 22, 2006, H.Rept. 109-520.

<sup>25</sup> H.R. 5522, Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 2007; reported July 10, 2006, S.Rept. 109-277.

<sup>26</sup> H.R. 5522, Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 2007; reported June 5, 2006, H.Rept. 109-486.

Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007 (H.R. 5122) was presented to the President, without the peacekeeping cap provision.<sup>27</sup>

On February 6, 2006, the Administration requested \$1,135,327,000 for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA account). On February 16, 2006, President Bush, in a FY2006 supplemental, requested an additional \$69.8 million for CIPA, including funds for U.N. peacekeeping in the Sudan. On June 15, 2006, H.R. 4939, providing \$129.8 million for CIPA, was sent to the President, who signed it the same day.<sup>28</sup> On June 29, 2006, the House passed H.R. 5672, including in State Department appropriations for 2007, the requested amount for the CIPA account. On July 10, 2006, the Senate Appropriations Committee, in H.R. 5522, reported appropriations for the State Department that included the same requested amount for the CIPA account.

On February 15, 2007, Congress sent the President H.J.Res. 20, the Revised Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2007, to fund the FY2007 budget through September 30, 2007, which he signed on the same day, P.L. 110-5. For FY2007, Congress provided \$1,151,300,000 for the CIO account, \$1,135,275,000 for the CIPA account, and \$326,200,000 for the IO&P account.

## **FY2006 Funding<sup>29</sup>**

**Assessed Contributions.** On February 7, 2005, the Administration requested \$1.296 billion for U.S. assessed Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) of which \$931,362,000 was for assessed U.N. system organizations including \$438,952,000 for the U.N. regular budget. The President requested \$1.035 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA). Another \$780 million was requested for U.N. peacekeeping operations in supplemental FY2005 appropriations.

On June 16, 2005, the House, by a vote of 417 to 7, passed H.R. 2862, which would appropriate \$1.166 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to CIO. This was more than \$130 million below the Administration request. In addition, by a voice vote, the House agreed to an amendment offered by Representative Garrett which increased funding for state and law enforcement grants by \$22 million that was made available by reducing U.S. contributions to the United Nations by that amount. An amendment offered by Representative Paul prohibiting any U.S. contribution to the United Nations or any affiliated agency was defeated by a vote of 65 to 357.

H.R. 3057, as passed by the Senate on July 20, 2005, included \$1.166 billion for U.S. assessed CIO (more than \$130 million below the Administration's request), and

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<sup>27</sup> For detailed discussion, see CRS Report RL33700, *United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress*, by Marjorie Ann Browne.

<sup>28</sup> H.R. 4939, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Hurricane Recovery, 2006; signed June 15, 2006, P.L. 109-234.

<sup>29</sup> See CRS Report RL32919, *Foreign Operations (House)/State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs (Senate): FY2006 Appropriations*.



\$1.035 billion for assessed peacekeeping activities.<sup>30</sup> The Senate also agreed to an amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that the use of funds for any loan to the United Nations for the renovation of its headquarters in New York not exceed \$600 million. The Senate Committee on Appropriations requested a number of State Department reports during its consideration of the legislation: information on assessment rates and other economic data on the 15 U.N. member countries with the greatest gross domestic products; an evaluation of U.S. participation in non-treaty obligated international organizations; and information on changes in the World Tourism Organization (WTO) since U.S. withdrawal and potential benefits of any future U.S. participation in the WTO.<sup>31</sup>

On March 10, 2005, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported S. 600, authorizing appropriations for foreign relations for FY2006 and FY2007 (S.Rept. 109-35). This bill authorized \$1.296 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO), and \$1.035 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account. On June 9, 2005, the House Committee on International Relations voted to report H.R. 2601, to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for FY2006 and 2007 (H.Rept. 109-168). The House passed H.R. 2601 on July 20, 2005. The Hyde United Nations Reform bill, H.R. 2745, had been added to H.R. 2601 on July 19, 2005, prior to its passage. Congress did not complete action on a Foreign Relations Authorization Act for FY2006-2007.

H.R. 2862, appropriating funds for Science, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce for FY2006, was signed on November 22, 2005 (P.L. 109-108). It included \$1.166 billion for assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO), and \$1,035,500,000 for assessed contributions to international peacekeeping activities (CIPA). The Secretary of State, at the time of the President's budget submission to Congress, is to transmit to the Appropriations Committees the most recent biennial U.N. budget and notify the same committees of any U.N. action to increase funding for any U.N. program without identifying an offsetting decrease elsewhere in the U.N. budget and cause the U.N. budget for the 2006-2007 biennium to exceed the revised U.N. budget level for the 2004-2005 biennium.

**Voluntary Contributions.** On February 7, 2005, the Administration requested \$281,908,000 for voluntary contributions for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account including \$114 million for UNICEF and \$95 million for UNDP. Fifty million dollars for IAEA voluntary programs was requested in another account.

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<sup>30</sup> H.R. 3057 was passed by the House as the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act but the Senate used this bill, H.R. 3057, as its vehicle for appropriating funds for Foreign Operations and for the State Department.

<sup>31</sup> In this instance, the WTO is the World Tourism Organization, not the World Trade Organization. On December 1, 2005, the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization changed the acronym of the organization in English and Russian to **UNWTO**.

On June 28, 2005, the House passed H.R. 3057, including \$328,958,000 for voluntary contributions for FY2006 for the IO&P account as had been recommended by the House Committee on Appropriations in its report, H.Rept. 109-152. The Committee also recommended that of the amounts appropriated in the account, not less than \$110 million be for the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), not less than \$127 million for the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), \$5 million for the U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (of which \$3.5 million for the Fund and \$1.5 million for the Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women), and noted the importance of the U.N. Environment Program (UNEP) work in the Palestinian territories.

H.R. 3057, as passed by the Senate on July 20, 2005, included a total of \$330 million for FY2006 for U.S. voluntary contributions to programs in the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account as had been recommended by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in its report, S.Rept. 109-96. The Committee also recommended that of the amounts appropriated in the account, \$128 million be for UNICEF, and \$110 million for UNDP. The Committee recommended \$10 million for the proposed U.N. Democracy Fund in another account, and recommended that \$10 million for the World Food Program (WFP) come from funds for USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance.

On March 10, 2005, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported on S. 600 (S.Rept. 109-35), authorizing \$281,908,000 for voluntary contributions for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account. An authorization bill was not passed.

The Foreign Operations and Related Programs Appropriations Act for FY2006, H.R. 3057, signed November 4, 2005, P.L. 109-102, included \$329,458,000 for U.S. voluntary contributions to the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account. The conference report (H.Rept. 109-265) recommended that \$127 million be for UNICEF and \$110 million for UNDP; \$50 million was recommended from another account for IAEA voluntary programs.

**U.N. Peacekeeping Accounts.** The Administration requested \$1,035,500,000 for FY2006 for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA). P.L. 109-108 included the requested \$1,035,500,000 for FY2006 U.S. assessed peacekeeping activities.

## Tables on U.S. Contributions: FY2004-FY2008 and FY2009 Request

**Table 1. U.S. Contributions to Recent U.N. System Assessed  
Regular Budgets**  
(in millions of \$)

	<b>FY2004 Actual</b>	<b>FY2005 Actual</b>	<b>FY2006 Actual</b>	<b>FY2007 Actual</b>	<b>FY2008 Estimate</b>	<b>FY2009 Request</b>
United Nations (U.N.)	340.472	362.193	438.909	422.699	495.704	452.560
U.N. Capital Master Plan (UN/CMP)	—	6.00	9.825	22.110	85.435	75.535
U.N. — War Crimes Tribunals	32.656	35.039	31.606	32.556	35.303	36.538
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	72.457	89.716	84.661	93.382	98.713	113.345
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	68.462	79.829	79.092	84.753	96.476	101.784
International Civil Aviation Agency (ICAO)	12.629	12.650	14.894	15.149	16.872	18.530
International Labor Organization (ILO)	68.055	63.107	62.064	67.743	72.368	77.166
International Maritime Organization (IMO)	1.366	1.479	1.571	1.630	1.574	1.641
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	7.976	7.655	7.746	8.083	8.457	8.428
United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	84.138	76.754	70.924	73.479	77.285	80.184
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	1.697	1.770	1.710	1.736	1.815	1.862
World Health Organization (WHO)	93.615	96.110	95.680	101.421	101.421	106.573
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	1.058	1.137	1.086	.944	1.010	1.006
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	9.963	12.143	10.538	11.236	12.083	11.938
<b>Total</b>	<b>794.542</b>	<b>845.598</b>	<b>910.306</b>	<b>936.921</b>	<b>1,104.516</b>	<b>1,087.090</b>

**Table 2. U.S. Voluntary Contributions to U.N. Programs  
Financed Through the Foreign Assistance Act  
(International Organizations and Programs)**  
(in millions of \$)

	<b>FY2004 Actual</b>	<b>FY2005 Actual</b>	<b>FY2006 Actual</b>	<b>FY2007 Actual</b>	<b>FY2008 Estimate</b>	<b>FY2009 Request</b>
U.N. Development Program (UNDP)	101.398	108.128	108.900	108.900	97.365	75.300
U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF)	119.292	124.000	125.730	125.730	127.955	124.500
U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)	0.994	1.984	3.218	3.218	3.218	0.950
UNIFEM Trust Fund	—	0.992	1.485	1.485	1.785	—
UNESCO Intl. Contributions for Scientific, Educational, & Cultural Activities	1.889	0.837	0.990	0.990	0.992	1.000
WMO Voluntary Coop. Program	1.988	1.984	1.881	1.881	1.885	1.900
U.N. Environment Program (UNEP)	10.935	10.912	10.159	10.159	10.415	9.524
Montreal Protocol Multilateral Fund	20.876	21.328	21.285	21.285	18.846	19.000
International Conservation Programs (includes CITES, ITTO, Ramsar, U.N. Forum on Forests)	6.362	6.349	5.890	5.890	6.447	5.900
U.N. [Voluntary] Fund for Victims of Torture	5.468	6.944	6.517	6.517	6.943	5.006
Climate Change Fund for IPCC and UNFCCC	5.567	5.952	5.940	5.940	5.455	5.320
ICAO Aviation Security Fund	0.994	0.992	0.941	0.941	0.947	0.950
U.N. Voluntary Funds for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights	1.491	1.488	1.485	1.485	1.414	1.400
U.N. High Commissioner/Human Rights	—	—	—	—	6.943	—
IAEA Voluntary Programs <sup>a</sup>	52.687	52.576	49.500	53.300	51.083	50.000
U.N. Center for Human Settlements (UN-HABITAT)	0.746	0.149	0.149	0.149	0.992	1.000
IMO Maritime Security Programs	—	0.099	0.396	0.396	0.397	0.400

	<b>FY2004 Actual</b>	<b>FY2005 Actual</b>	<b>FY2006 Actual</b>	<b>FY2007 Actual</b>	<b>FY2008 Estimate</b>	<b>FY2009 Request</b>
U.N. International Democracy Fund <sup>b</sup> (UNIDF) now U.N. Democracy Fund (UNDEF)	—	[10.000]	10.000	—	—	14.000
U.N. Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA)	—	—	0.805	0.805	2.976	2.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>355.540</b>	<b>344.714</b>	<b>367.546</b>	<b>349.071</b>	<b>346.058</b>	<b>318.150</b>

**Note:** Does not include U.S. contributions to U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Programs (\$255 million in FY2002) and to U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) (\$119 million in FY2002), both financed through the Migration and Refugee Assistance Account; World Food Program commodities donations; WHO Special Programs; U.N. Volunteers; and U.N. International Drug Control Program.

- a. Requested and Appropriated under Non-Proliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs account.  
b. Funded from other accounts in FY2005 and FY2006.

## Other Basic Information

### Scale of Assessments

Article 17 of the U.N. Charter requires each U.N. member state, including the United States, to contribute to the expenses of the organization, as assessed by the General Assembly.<sup>32</sup> The U.N. General Assembly has adopted a scale of assessments — which is based generally on a country's capacity to pay — that requires the United States to pay the maximum or 22% of the U.N. regular budget, while 53 members pay the minimum or 0.001%. If there were no maximum and minimum assessment levels for the U.N. regular budget and assessments were based exclusively on a ratio of a country's gross national product, the United States would be assessed about 30% and some very small and poor countries might be assessed less than 0.001%.

Regardless of the size of assessment, each member has one vote on U.N. budget decisions, although budgets since 1988 have been adopted by consensus.<sup>33</sup> Some experts have maintained that the General Assembly budget decision process, by one

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<sup>32</sup> The United Nations Charter was ratified by the United States August 8, 1945 and entered into force October 24, 1945. There are currently 192 members of the United Nations.

<sup>33</sup> Article 18 of the U.N. Charter: "Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote." Paragraph 2 of this article states that "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include ... budgetary questions."

nation, one vote, that commits a few member states to pay a major percentage of that budget, is unfair and that other principles should replace one nation, one vote on budget issues.<sup>34</sup> When this issue came up between 1985 and 1988, the Assembly decided that every effort would be made to adopt the U.N. regular budget by consensus. In this way, any member state, including the major contributors, might prevent consensus on a budget resolution. The intention was to give major contributing nations a stronger voice in budget matters.

On April 28, 2006, however, this practice of consensus on U.N. budget matters was broken when the Fifth Committee (on administrative and budgetary matters) voted, 108 in favor, to 50 (including the United States) against, with 3 abstentions, on a resolution that would define how Secretary-General Annan would carry out the 23 proposals he had presented in his report, *Investing in the United Nations: for a stronger organization worldwide*. The resolution was sponsored by the Group of 77 and China. This vote in the Fifth Committee was followed, on May 8, 2006, by a vote in plenary on the same resolution.<sup>35</sup>

In December 2007, during General Assembly consideration of the 2008-2009 U.N. regular budget, the United States voted against a related resolution — A/RES/62/236, *Questions relating to the proposed programme budget for the biennium 2008-2009*, but joined the consensus on the resolution that approved a biennial budget of \$4.17 billion.<sup>36</sup> U.S. representatives characterized the budget resolution as an initial budget, with items to be added to the original budget later in the 62<sup>nd</sup> session. The United States was particularly concerned over the “piece meal” and “ad hoc” approach.<sup>37</sup>

On December 11, 2007, when U.S. Ambassador Mark Wallace addressed the General Assembly’s Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) on the status of the 2008-2009 budget, he made the following observations:

The Secretary-General has proposed an “initial” budget of \$4.19 billion for the biennium 2008/2009. As we all know, this \$4.19 billion proposal represents only a part of the actual budget. In addition the Secretary-General simultaneously but separately identified various “add ons” to the base budget that would bring the actual 2008/2009 budget up to approximately \$4.8 billion. The 2006/2007 approved budget was \$3.799 billion though it ultimately totaled \$4.17 billion. The 2008/2009 projected budget of \$4.8 billion represents a 15% increase over the 2006/2007 budget.

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<sup>34</sup> Some have suggested weighted voting in the Assembly, based on population or other criteria.

<sup>35</sup> The vote in plenary was 121 in favor, to 50 (including the United States) against, with 2 abstentions.

<sup>36</sup> A/RES/62/237. *Programme budget for the biennium 2008-2009*. The Fifth Committee acted on both draft resolutions on December 21, 2007; they were adopted in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on December 22, 2007. See also, U.S. Department of State. *Voting Practices in the United Nations, 2007*, pages 138 and 154-155.

<sup>37</sup> Wallace, Mark. Explanation of vote, December 22, 2007, in the Fifth Committee. U.S. Mission to the United Nations (USUN) Press Release #387 (07).

The proposed regular budget with just the “add ons” already identified by the Secretary-General makes this budget the largest regular budget in the history of the U.N. This budget also represents the largest increase in the history of the U.N. on a dollar basis. Moreover, even this \$4.8 billion figure is not what any of us expect as the final budget because it does not take into account additional proposals that have more recently been identified or which we can expect during the course of the biennium.

We expect that the final actual total budget of the 2008/2009 biennium to be in excess of approximately \$5.2 billion. Accordingly, such a final budget is likely to represent an increase of 25% or more from the 2006/2007 budget. And let's remember what such an increase actually funds. As my colleagues from the G77 and China rightly point out in paragraph 30 of the Draft Resolution before us: “approximately 75 percent of the budget resources are related to salaries and common staff cost...” The budget increase does not go directly to humanitarian or development aid but rather to increasing the size of the UN Secretariat bureaucracy.

We all agree that the piecemeal, ad hoc approach of the current budget is inconsistent with sound budgeting practices. See paragraphs 9, and 35 of the Draft Resolution on the 2008/2009 biennium budget. Moreover, we are concerned that no substantial cuts or offsets have been proposed by the Secretary-General or member states to this largest of all U.N. budget increases.<sup>38</sup>

For calendar year 2008, the top three contributors (United States, Japan, and Germany) were assessed a total of 47.201% of the U.N. regular budget. The top 10 contributors, which include four of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, pay 76.092% of the total U.N. regular budget according to the scale of assessments adopted in December 2006 by the General Assembly for CY2007-2009.

**Table 3. Top 10 U.N. Regular Budget Contributors for 2008**

Member State	Percentage of Budget	Assessments for 2008 in U.S. \$
United States <sup>a</sup>	22.00	453,338,391
Japan	16.624	342,558,973
Germany	8.577	176,740,154
United Kingdom <sup>a</sup>	6.642	136,866,982
France <sup>a</sup>	6.301	129,840,236
Italy	5.079	104,659,349
Canada	2.977	61,344,927
Spain	2.968	61,159,470
China <sup>a</sup>	2.667	54,956,977
Mexico	2.257	46,508,398

a. Permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

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<sup>38</sup> Statement by Ambassador Mark D. Wallace, U.S. Representative for U.N. Management and Reform, on the 2008/2009 U.N. Budget, in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, December 11, 2007. See enclosed materials.

For 2008, the other permanent member of the Security Council, the Russian Federation, was assessed at 1.20%, or \$24,727,549.<sup>39</sup>

In 2006, then-U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton suggested that the U.N. General Assembly consider the use of different economic data, in forming the scale of assessments. Ambassador Bolton proposed that the scale of assessments be based on

purchasing power parity (PPP) in our calculation of gross national income. PPP is the numbers of units of a country's currency needed to buy in the country the same amounts of goods and services in a different country. At this time, the assessment is based on Gross National Income (GNI) as determined by Gross Domestic Product. ... The World Bank currently uses PPPs as an analytical tool, but not for income comparisons.<sup>40</sup>

In its July 10, 2006 report, the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended “that the current rate of assessment should not be increased, and that the United Nations consider economic factors such as purchasing power parity and foreign currency rates.”<sup>41</sup> The House Appropriations Committee, noting that China’s “U.N. assessment rate” was low relative to its “real GDP growth,” directed the State Department to report “as to whether the current assessment formula should be revised.”<sup>42</sup>

The U.N. Committee on Contributions is a standing committee of 18 members selected by the Assembly on the basis of broad geographical representation, personal qualifications and experience. This Committee advises the Assembly on the scale of assessments, recommending assessment levels for new member states, reviewing appeals for a change of assessment, and examining applications of Article 19 against countries in arrears on payment of their assessed contributions. Each third year, the Committee reviews the scale and, based on instructions from the Assembly, recommends revisions in the scale for the next three-year period. The Committee met June 5 to 30, 2006, to carry out this review and to recommend a scale for the period 2007-2009.<sup>43</sup> A U.S. national is a member of this committee.

On December 22, 2006, the U.N. General Assembly, without a vote, approved a new scale of assessments for the period 2007-2009.<sup>44</sup> The U.S. assessment remained at 22%, while other assessment levels were changed. The level for Japan

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<sup>39</sup> See *Assessment of Member States' Advances to the Working Capital Fund for the biennium 2008-2009 and Contributions to the United Nations Regular Budget for 2008*. U.N. document, ST/ADM/SER.B/719, pages 8-13.

<sup>40</sup> Statement to House Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Science, State, Justice and Commerce, April 5, 2006, p. 3, at [<http://www.state.gov/p/io/rls/rm/64140.htm>].

<sup>41</sup> S.Rept. 109-277, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> H.Rept. 109-520, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> Its report, issued on August 4, 2006, did not recommend a scale for 2007-2009 (see U.N. document A/61/11).

<sup>44</sup> A/RES/61/237.



was set at 16.624%, down from 19.468% in 2006; the level for China was increased from 2.053% to 2.667% for 2007. In all, the assessment levels for 78 U.N. member states were increased, while the assessment levels for 51 U.N. member states were reduced. The assessment levels for 62 states, including the United States, remained unchanged.

Specialized agencies, while linked to the United Nations, are autonomous organizations, with their own executive, legislative, and budgetary powers. Some agencies follow the U.N. scale in making assessments; other agencies use their own formulas, which often result in lower U.S. assessments. The U.S. assessment levels for these agencies for CY2005, CY2006, CY2007, and CY2008 are as follows:<sup>45</sup>

**Table 4. U.S. Assessment Levels:  
U.N. Specialized Agencies and IAEA**

Agency	CY2005	CY2006	CY2007	CY2008
International Labor Organization (ILO)	22 %	22 %	22 %	22 %
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	22 %	22 %	22 %	22 %
U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	22 %	22 %	22 %	22 %
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	25 %	25 %	25 %	25 %
World Health Organization (WHO)	22 %	22 %	22 %	22 %
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	5.69 %	5.69 %	5.69 %	5.87 %
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	8.88 %	8.759 %	8.809 %	8.759 %
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	21.64 %	21.64 %	21.64 %	21.64 %
International Maritime Organization (IMO)	3.48 %	3.44 %	3.4 %	3.24 %
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	6.6 %	6.59 %	6.608 %	6.608 %
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	25.88 %	25.95 %	25.95 %	25.72 %

<sup>45</sup> The CY2005 percentages are from the U.N. System Chief Executives Board for Coordination, *Budgetary and Financial Situation of Organizations of the United Nations System. Note by the Secretary-General...*, U.N. document, A/59/315. The CY2006 and CY2007 figures are from information transmitted to Congress by the Department of State in the Congressional Budget Justification, for FY2007, FY2008, and FY2009.

## Arrearages

Under Article 19 of the U.N. Charter, countries with arrears totaling more than the member's assessments for the two preceding years lose their vote in the U.N. General Assembly. As of October 13, 2008, seven countries were in that status.<sup>46</sup> On October 13, 2008, however, the U.N. General Assembly decided that the seven countries would be permitted to vote in the Assembly until the end of its 63<sup>rd</sup> session, in September 2009.<sup>47</sup>

According to the United Nations, despite U.S. arrears payments, the United States, as of December 31, 2007, owed assessed contributions of \$1,557,414,338. These arrearages broke out in the following way:

\$392,873,605 for the U.N. regular budget;  
 \$16,172,281 for International Tribunals;  
 \$64,204,580 for the Capital Master Plan; and  
 \$1,084,163,872 for peacekeeping assessed accounts.<sup>48</sup>

## Funding the U.N. War Crimes Tribunals

The U.N. Security Council has created two war crimes tribunals to investigate and prosecute those accused of serious crimes against humanity under specified circumstances. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (ICTY) was set up in 1993 to investigate and prosecute those accused of genocide, crimes against humanity, or violations of international humanitarian law on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was created in November 1994 to investigate and prosecute persons accused of genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law in the territory of Rwanda between January 1 and December 31, 1994, and also Rwandan citizens suspected of such acts or violations in the territory of neighboring states. Each tribunal is under the Council requirement and timetable to complete its work by December 31, 2010.

The General Assembly decided that each tribunal would be financed through a special assessed account and that U.N. member states would be assessed to contribute to those accounts in a unique way. Half of the annual budget of each would be paid on the basis of the scale of assessments used for contributions to the U.N. regular budget, and half of each account would be funded on the basis of the scale of

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<sup>46</sup> See U.N. documents A/63/350 and General Assembly Resolution 63/4. See also at [<http://www.un.org/ga/art19.shtml>].

<sup>47</sup> In 1999, the United States “narrowly avoided” losing its vote in the U.N. General Assembly. Enactment of the Helms-Biden agreement in late 1999 enabled the United States to pay nearly all of its 1999 regular budget assessment before the end of the year and some of its previous arrearages (see Department of State. United States Participation in the United Nations for 1999, pp. 99-100, at [<http://www.state.gov/p/io/rls/rpt/1999/c5700.htm> in] part 7.

<sup>48</sup> These figures are taken from a release issued by the Office of the Spokesperson of the U.N. Secretary-General.

assessments used for contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operation accounts. For the United States, this means that half of its contribution to each tribunal's account is based on 22%, its regular budget assessment rate, and half is based on 26.08%, its peacekeeping account assessment rate in 2007. Thus, the U.S. contribution for each tribunal is funded from the Contributions to International Organizations account and from the Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities account.

## The United Nations Capital Master Plan

On December 22, 2006, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved a budget of \$1.88 billion (\$1,876.7 million) for the U.N. Capital Master Plan (CMP) to be completed during the period 2006 to 2014. The financing plan approved in the same resolution (A/RES/61/251) was based on a mix of one-time and five equal multiyear assessments, using the regular budget assessment scale for 2007 for all multiyear assessments. This action by the Assembly marked the end of six years of discussion, debate, study, reports, and negotiations on both a strategy for renovating the 50 year-old U.N. headquarters complex and a plan for financing that project.

On December 10, 2007, the U.N. General Assembly, by consensus, approved an accelerated strategy for the renovation of the U.N. complex, with completion scheduled for 2013 instead of 2016. Under this plan, the entire Secretariat building would be emptied in one phase instead of four phases. The increased cost of leasing additional swing space would be offset by the lowered cost of the Secretariat building renovation. The Assembly authorized the leasing of additional swing space but kept the budget and payment schedule unchanged.

The main buildings in the United Nations headquarters complex in New York City were constructed between 1949 and 1952.<sup>49</sup> The Dag Hammarskjold Library was completed in 1961. Since that time, no substantial renovation of the buildings has occurred. An examination of conditions in the complex was made by architects, engineers, and other consultants in 1998 and 1999. According to a 2001 report by the then U.S. General Accounting Office (now the U.S. Government Accountability Office), the major systems in the buildings — plumbing, electrical, and chilled and hot water — had passed their “economic life expectancy” and the buildings no longer met New York City and State safety, fire, and building codes.<sup>50</sup>

**Initial Solution.** After his initial June 2000 Capital Master Plan proposal for the renovation of the headquarters complex, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented a second report to the U.N. General Assembly in August 2002. This report served as the basis for General Assembly approval in December 2002 of a plan for the CMP renovation (A/RES/97/292). That plan involved the renovation of the seven buildings on the site, including the Secretariat building, General Assembly building, Conference building, Dag Hammarskjold Library, and South Annex. The plan

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<sup>49</sup> This includes the Secretariat building, the General Assembly building, and the Conference building.

<sup>50</sup> U.S. Comptroller General, *United Nations: Planning for Headquarters Renovation is Reasonable; United States Needs to Decide Whether to Support Work*, June 2001, GAO-01-788 (Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, 2001), p. 23.

envisioned construction of a “swing space” building located close to the headquarters complex to provide space for all of the staff in the Secretariat building and for meetings. The swing space building cost was not included in the CMP financing. It would be built and financed by the United Nations Development Corporation, a separate public benefit corporation set up by New York State in 1968 to develop offices and other facilities for U.N.-related activities.<sup>51</sup>

In September 2005, direct CMP costs were estimated at \$1.2 billion. The initial financing plan called for a loan from the host government, the United States. Early discussions had envisioned that this might be an interest-free loan, as was the \$65 million loan from the United States to finance original construction of the headquarters complex. In March 2005, the U.S. government offered to the United Nations an interest-bearing loan of \$1.2 billion to finance the Capital Master Plan and to be provided in three installments over a period of three years. The loan would be repaid to the United States over 30 years with interest charged at 5.54% annually. The U.N. membership, through a General Assembly resolution, would have to authorize the Secretary-General to sign a loan agreement. Once signed, the U.S. loan offer would be kept on the table as an option for financing the CMP. The Assembly did not authorize the Secretary-General to sign the loan agreement. In addition, the New York State Legislature did not approve construction of a swing space building.

**Final Approved Solutions.** On July 19, 2005, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed Louis Frederick Reuter, IV, of the United States, to the post of Assistant Secretary-General- Executive Director of the Capital Master Plan. On November 17, 2005, Mr. Reuter reported to the General Assembly, recommending a phased approach under which the Secretariat building would be renovated in four phases, in 10-floor increments, starting at the top.<sup>52</sup> Affected staff would be relocated to leased office space. The General Assembly building would be renovated in a single phase, with a large temporary building constructed on the North Lawn as the site for Assembly activities during the renovation. That North Lawn facility would then serve as a site for conferences while the conference building was renovated in two phases.<sup>53</sup>

The total cost of this approach was estimated at \$1.587 billion. In examining possible financing for the project, Mr. Reuter determined that the “most viable” would be through a multiyear assessment of U.N. member states to a special assessed account for the CMP. He also recommended establishment of a working operating reserve fund at the level of 20% of anticipated annual expenditures to ensure a stable cash flow, believed to be an essential precondition for uninterrupted financing of project costs. This reserve fund should be set up before the construction phase of the

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<sup>51</sup> Development of this swing space building, to be located on a portion of a public park at First Avenue between 41<sup>st</sup> and 42<sup>nd</sup> Streets, required state legislative approval. The New York State Legislature did not approve development of this “swing space” or Consolidation building.

<sup>52</sup> Original plans envisioned that the Secretariat building would be entirely vacated during its renovation.

<sup>53</sup> United Nations. Secretary-General. *Third Annual Progress Report on the Implementation of the Capital Master Plan*. New York, United Nations, 2005. U.N. document A/60/550.

project and total at least \$45 million, financed through a separate assessment. It would be phased out at the end of the construction phase and credited back to member states.<sup>54</sup>

While the Assembly, in May 2006, considered some aspects of the CMP, it did not approve a new strategy and financing plan until a year after they were recommended.<sup>55</sup> On December 22, 2006, the Assembly, in A/RES/61/251, approved the CMP, including scope options, to be completed from 2006-2014, at a total revised project budget not to exceed \$1,876.7 million. The Assembly apportioned, for the period from 2007 to 2011, the amounts applicable, based on each member states' assessment option of either a one-time payment, based on its share of \$1,716.7 million or equal multiyear payments over five years, in accordance with the regular budget rates of assessment applicable for 2007 for all assessments for the CMP, using the scale of assessments for the period 2007-2009.<sup>56</sup> The Assembly also appropriated \$42 million for 2007 for the design and pre-construction phases of the capital master plan, including swing space requirements. The Assembly approved establishment of a working capital reserve of \$45 million under the CMP account. Member states were to make advances to the working capital reserve in accordance with the regular budget rates of assessment applicable for 2007. Finally, the Assembly approved establishment of a letter of credit facility, with the stipulation that any drawdown on the letter of credit should be a last resort and solely for the purpose of funding the CMP.

**Design, Planning, and Pre-construction Funding.** Between 2000 and 2006, the U.N. General Assembly appropriated \$160 million for various pre-renovation activities. In December 2002, the General Assembly in A/RES/97/292 had created a special assessed account for the CMP. The following table from a November 2006 GAO report provides an annual breakdown:

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<sup>54</sup> Mr. Reuter listed a number of changes that had a "serious impact on the viability" of the original CMP strategy. These included failure of plans for the UNDC-5 building (the swing space building); significant increases in swing space costs (commercial lease costs continued to rise); additional costs resulting from updating the project documentation (these included changes in building code requirements and in security and redundancy systems and rapid inflation of construction costs); and significant changes in costing parameters (construction inflation accelerated to 11% and tight labor and material markets). The last change was attributed to major increases in construction activity in the City after the events of September 11, 2001, as well as the demands for construction materials after major hurricane activity.

<sup>55</sup> In May 2006, CMP Executive Director Louis Frederick Reuter resigned, explaining, "I have been frustrated by a number of factors, all working together, including the lack of clear support by many major stakeholders and difficulties of working within UN practice as it applies to a large building project." U.N. News Service, May 4, 2006, at [<http://www.un.org/apps/news/printnews.asp?nid=18358>]

<sup>56</sup> This amount, \$1,716.7 million, plus the \$160 million in pre-renovation activities already appropriated, totals \$1,876.7 million, which was approved by the Assembly as the budget cost for the CMP.

**Table 5. U.N. Appropriations for Headquarters Renovation,  
2000-2006**  
(dollars in millions)

Year	Purpose	Appropriation Amount
2000	Design concepts and cost analysis	\$8.
2003	Continued design, project management and preconstruction services	25.5
2005	Continued design, project management and preconstruction services	17.8
2005	Continued design, project management and preconstruction services	8.2
2006	Design, preconstruction and swing space	23.5
2006	Construction and fit-out of North Lawn building; lease, design and fit-out of off-site library and office space	77.
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$160.</b>

**Note:** Except for the \$8 million appropriated in 2000 “through an allotment from the U.N. regular budget,” all amounts were funded “through cash assessments on member states specifically for the CMP.” See U.S. Government Accountability Office, United Nations, *Renovation Planning Follows Industry Practices, but Procurement and Oversight Could Present Challenges*, Report to Congressional Requesters, November 2006, GAO-07-31, p. 17.

**U.S. Contributions to the CMP and Congress.** The initial anticipated plan for financing implementation of the CMP was to have been a \$1.2 billion loan from the United States. Congress, in 2004, appropriated a \$6 million U.N. Capital Master Plan Loan Subsidy in P.L. 108-447, signed December 8, 2004.<sup>57</sup> U.S. contributions to the assessed budgets of the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations are financed in the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account under the State Department. The language in P.L. 108-447, is

... of which up to \$6,000,000, to remain available until expended, may be used for the cost of a direct loan to the United Nations for the cost of renovating its headquarters in New York: *Provided*, That such costs, including the cost of modifying such loan, shall be as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974: *Provided further*, That these funds are available to subsidize total loan principal of up to \$1,200,000,000....

In short, Congress appropriated an amount to subsidize the cost or the “assumed default risk” (from the State Department appropriations justification for FY2005) of the \$1.2 billion interest bearing loan, not the \$1.2 billion amount of the loan.

A second category of contributions, also financed under the State Department Appropriations Act, the CIO account, relates to the design and pre-construction

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<sup>57</sup> Division B, of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005, Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State...Appropriations Act, 2005

planning and activities for implementation of the CMP. According to State Department budget information, the following U.S. contributions have been made available for CMP assessments:

**Table 6. U.S. Contributions to the Capital Master Plan Account**

<b>Fiscal Year</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Comments</b>
FY2003	\$5,550,000	
FY2005	\$6,000,000 Actual	Loan subsidy to cover assumed default risk of a \$1.2 billion interest bearing loan
FY2006	\$10,595,000 Requested \$9,825,000 Actual	[\$5,720,000 + \$4,875,000 (1 <sup>st</sup> yr of interest cost on the loan)] The loan was not activated.
FY2007	\$22,100,000 Estimate	
FY2008	\$85,435,000 Requested	Would provide for U.S. share of first annual assessment (\$75,500,000) plus the U.S. share of a working reserve fund (\$9,900,000) [The total U.S. assessment over the five-year period is \$377.7 million.]
FY2009	\$75,535,000 Requested	Second annual payment toward construction costs.

Congress also provided that funds be available for a U.S. government inter-agency task force to examine, coordinate, and oversee U.S. participation in the U.N. headquarters renovation project. Up to \$1,000,000 was set aside for such a task force, which had been recommended by the then General Accounting Office (GAO) in June 2001.<sup>58</sup> The Department of State Appropriations Act, 2003, included a provision that “funds ... may be available” for such a task force.<sup>59</sup> This provision has been included in each subsequent appropriations act, including in Division J of H.R. 2764, the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2008.<sup>60</sup> In addition, Section 412 of the Department of State and Related Agency Appropriations Act, 2006, includes the following language:

It is the sense of the Congress that the amount of any loan for the renovation of the United Nations headquarters building located in New York, New York, should not exceed \$600,000,000: Provided, That if any loan exceeds

<sup>58</sup> The \$1,000,000 was included in the FY2003 request.

<sup>59</sup> 117 Stat. 86 in P.L. 108-7, February 20, 2003 (Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003).

<sup>60</sup> P.L. 110-161 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008).

\$600,000,000, the Secretary of State shall notify the Congress of the current cost of the renovation and cost containment measures.<sup>61</sup>

This provision is in both the House-passed and the Senate-reported versions of the Department of State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Act, 2008, H.R. 2764, section 697. This provision was not in H.R. 2764, as it was passed by the Senate and it is not in the final Act as passed by Congress and signed by the President.

**Problems and Issues.** As of January 2008, the U.N. Secretary-General has not yet set up an advisory board that would advise him on financing matters and on overall project issues relating to the CMP.<sup>62</sup> This board, suggested by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in June 2000 was approved by the General Assembly in December 2002 as an independent and impartial advisory board.<sup>63</sup> The U.N. Board of Auditors, Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS), and the Assembly's Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions all urged the appointment of such an advisory board. In 2005, the U.N. Board of Auditors noted that prominent candidates had declined to serve on the Board. The explanations included that service on the board would require enormous knowledge of the plan itself and an ongoing time commitment, that board members would take on an implied liability that was seen as undesirable, that such advice would be better obtained from working experts in the respective fields, and that those persons prominent in the respective fields might also be potential competitors and participation in the advisory board would make them ineligible to compete as contractors.<sup>64</sup>

Also cited as problems were the lack of an executive director for the CMP for significant periods of time and under-staffing in the CMP office. On July 2, 2007, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Michael Adlerstein, a U.S. architect and project director, as Executive Director of CMP. After his appointment, Mr. Adlerstein evaluated the strategies approved by the Assembly in 2006 and recommended an accelerated strategy and other changes that were approved by the Assembly in 2007.

## Congress and Funding the U.N. System

Congress has, over the years, sought to influence the direction of the United Nations and U.S. policy at the United Nations and in its agencies. A variety of tools

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<sup>61</sup> 119 Stat. 2327, in P.L. 109-108, November 22, 2005 (Science, State, Justice, Commerce, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006).

<sup>62</sup> As of early October 2008, an advisory board had not been created. See *Sixth annual progress report on the implementation of the capital master plan; Report of the Secretary-General*. U.N. document A/63/477, p. 6. This report also provides updated information on the status of the CMP.

<sup>63</sup> A/RES/97/292.

<sup>64</sup> U.N. document A/60/5 (vol. V), p. 10, para. 39. See also, A/60/550, p. 20-21.



has been used, from “sense of Congress” resolutions to restrictions placed in authorization and appropriations legislation. Congressional committees have held hearings to educate and to carry out their oversight functions. U.S. nominees to be ambassadors at the United Nations or its agencies have been queried on various aspects of U.S. policy and U.N. activity. Congress has reduced or increased executive branch funding requests, has withheld funding of the U.S. proportionate share that would finance particular programs or tied release of U.S. contributions to executive branch certifications once certain policy goals had been met.

## U.S. Withholding

Beginning in 1980, Congress prohibited contribution of the U.S. proportionate share for a number of U.N. programs and activities of which Congress did not approve, including the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, for projects benefitting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO), construction of a conference center in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and for implementation of General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX) (Zionism equals racism). In addition, the Administration withheld the U.S. proportionate share of funds for the Preparatory Commission for the Law of the Sea and funds relating to taxes paid by U.S. citizens employed by the United Nations.

In addition, beginning in 1993, the United States recognized a lower peacekeeping assessment level than that applied by the United Nations, and since October 1, 1995, was limited by U.S. law (sec. 404 of P.L. 103-236) to a 25% peacekeeping assessment level. Section 402 of P.L. 107-228, signed into law on September 30, 2002, raised the 25% cap on U.S. peacekeeping assessments allowing payment of U.S. current peacekeeping assessments in full. The only current U.S. withholding for the U.N. regular budget is for programs relating to the Palestinians. In addition, since no waiver of the 25% cap on U.S. contributions for U.N. peacekeeping was enacted for CY2006, the United States is withholding from its contributions for U.N. peacekeeping the difference between the U.N. assessment of about 26.7% and the U.S. statutory limit of 25%.

On December 13, 2005, Senator Biden introduced S. 2095 which would raise the U.S. peacekeeping assessment cap to 27.1% for calendar years 2005 and 2006.<sup>65</sup> On June 22, 2006, the Senate passed S. 2766, the National Defense Authorization Act for FY2007, including an amendment that would set the cap for U.S. contributions at 27.10% for assessments made for U.N. peacekeeping operations for CY2005, 2006, and 2007. This provision was dropped during conference consideration of the John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007, H.R. 5122.<sup>66</sup> Thus, at the start of the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, the cap on funds available for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping accounts is 25%. On

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<sup>65</sup> “A bill to ensure payment of United States assessments for United Nations peacekeeping operations in 2005 and 2006.”

<sup>66</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007*. Conference Report to Accompany H.R. 5122. H.Rept. 109-702 (109<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session), p. 826. This bill was signed by the President on October 17, 2006.

January 25, 2007, Senator Biden introduced S. 392, a bill providing that for assessments made during calendar years 2005 through 2008, U.S. funding for U.N. peacekeeping assessments would be at 27.1%. President Bush's FY2008 budget request included language identical to that in S. 392.<sup>67</sup> S. 392 was not acted on by the Senate. H.R. 2764 was enacted with a provision recognizing 21.7 % as the cap for payment of peacekeeping assessments made in calendar year 2008.

## Contributions Reporting Requirement

On June 22, 2006, the Senate passed S. 2766, the National Defense Authorization Act for FY2007. Section 1213 would require the President to submit to Congress an annual report on all U.S. government contributions, both assessed and voluntary, made during each fiscal year (FY) to the entire U.N. system. The report would include (1) the total amount of all U.S. assessed and voluntary contributions to the United Nations and U.N. affiliated agencies and related bodies; (2) the approximate percentage of U.S. contributions to each U.N. affiliated agency or body in such FY when compared with all contributions to such agency or body from any source; and (3) for each contribution, the amount, a description of the contribution (including whether assessed or voluntary), the department or agency responsible for each contribution, the purpose of each contribution, and the U.N. or U.N. affiliated agency or related body receiving such contribution. This provision was an amendment proposed by Senator Warner for Senate Inhofe, was agreed to by Unanimous Consent, and received little, if any, debate. This provision became law as section 1225 of P.L. 109-364 (H.R. 5122), John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007, signed by the President on October 17, 2006.<sup>68</sup>

On June 28, 2006, during House consideration of H.R. 5672, the State Department Appropriations Act, Representative Scott Garrett offered an identical amendment. Representative Garrett pointed out that Congress cannot make decisions on funding the United Nations without knowing the "total amount of money that we are spending for the U.N. and its programs and its services." After a point of order was raised, that the amendment "constituted legislation in an appropriation bill," Representative Garrett withdrew his amendment.

Over the years, two or three reporting requirements have provided data on annual U.S. contributions to international organizations; some of them still exist while one has been terminated. An annual report on U.S. contributions to international organizations for a fiscal year has been issued by the State Department since the first one, which covered FY1952, was transmitted to Congress in January 1953. This report is required by P.L. 81-806, September 21, 1950 (64 Stat. 902), section 2 which requires the Secretary of State to report annually on the extent and disposition of all U.S. contributions (assessed and voluntary) to all international organizations in which the United States participates. The report does not include

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<sup>67</sup> S. 392 was reported without amendment favorably from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 16, 2007 (S.Rept. 110-130).

<sup>68</sup> The State Department's report on U.S. contributions to the United Nations and U.N. system for fiscal years 2006 and 2007 was received in the House on June 9, 2008.

the international financial institutions, organizations with fewer than three members, the cost to the U.S. government of salaries and expenses of U.S. employees detailed to such organizations, loans which are to be repaid, and two-party contractual or other arrangements between an U.S. agency and the organization.

The report was last published, as a House document or State Department publication, in July 1993, for FY1991. The final published report was 170 pages and included three tables of special interest: U.S. Contributions to International Organizations, FY1946-1991; U.S. Contributions to the United Nations, Specialized Agencies, International Atomic Energy Agency, Calendar Years 1946-1991; and United Nations, Specialized Agencies, Special Programs, and the International Atomic Energy Agency: Total Program (Expenditures or Authorizations), Calendar Years 1946-1991. As issued for FY2004, this 10-page report might be viewed as a minimum response to the reporting requirement and the absence of the last three charts means that information on U.S. contributions to the U.N. system in an organized fashion no longer exists.

Another reporting requirement, adopted in 1980 (P.L. 96-533, Title VII, section 703) and terminated in 1998 (P.L. 105-362, section 1301 (b)(2)), required a semiannual report on all U.S. government voluntary contributions to international organizations. One weakness of the resulting reports was that they were just sheets of paper from any U.S. government agency involved in the exercise, provided without organization or analysis.

A third report required annually on U.S. participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations (22 U.S.C. 287b (c)) was added to the United Nations Participation Act. It includes data on U.S. assessed and voluntary contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations on a calendar year basis and was originally required from the President (now the State Department). This report is not published but is transmitted to the appropriate committees. The *2005 Annual Report to the Congress on United Nations Peacekeeping* was received in the Senate and referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on July 12, 2006. The same report was received and referred to the House Committee on International Relations on July 11, 2006.<sup>69</sup> The *2006 Annual Report to the Congress on United Nations Peacekeeping* was sent to Congress on August 9, 2007.

## United Nations Reform

Reform of the United Nations has been a persistent issue over the history of the organization. The drafters of the Charter anticipated that changes might be required and provided, in Article 109 of the Charter, for the convening of a conference of U.N. member states to review the Charter at least at the ten-year mark of its entry into force. That conference was never convened. Article 108 of the Charter provided for formal amendment of the Charter which has occurred on three occasions. One involved enlargement of the Security Council and two involved enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. Congress has also sought change at the United

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<sup>69</sup> EC-7491, cited in Congressional Record [daily edition] July 12, 2006: S7414; EC 8437, cited in Congressional Record [daily edition] July 11, 2006: H5044.

Nations. Recent congressional efforts, especially in the post-Cold War era, have been directed toward a more effective and efficient organization that works within budgetary constraints.

**Kassebaum-Solomon Provisions.** Between 1985 and 1988, a number of factors combined to create concern among some in Congress over the use of regular budget funds and the direction of voting in the U.N. General Assembly. Some in Congress viewed many U.N. member states as voting “against” the United States in the Assembly. In 1985, Congress adopted the Kassebaum-Solomon amendment (Section 143, Foreign Relations Authorization Act, FY1986-1987, H.R. 2068, P.L. 99-93, August 17, 1985) that reduced U.S. assessed contributions by 20% unless steps were taken by the United Nations to give the major contributors to the U.N. regular budget an influence on budget questions proportionate to their rates of assessment.<sup>70</sup>

In December 1985, in response to the issues raised by the Kassebaum-Solomon amendment and accompanying congressional debate, the U.N. General Assembly established a Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to “review the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning” of the United Nations and to offer recommendations for streamlining the organization. This Group of 18 proposed 71 recommendations, most of which were approved by the 1986 Assembly session. In addition, the 1986 Assembly adopted a revised “planning, programming and budgeting process” that sought to ensure an influential role for major contributing countries by, among other changes, using consensus as a basic decision-making mechanism.

On December 22, 1987, Congress recognized that both the U.N. membership and the U.N. Secretary-General had started to respond to its concerns. Title VII of the State Department Authorization Act, FY1988-1989, H.R. 1777, P.L. 100-204, created a new payment schedule that tied full funding of U.S. contributions to the U.N. regular budget to further progress toward reform by providing that:

- 40% of the contribution could be paid on October 1, of each year;
- a second 40% could be paid when the President certified that progress was being made in implementing U.N. reform in three areas:
  - 1) consensus decision-making on budget questions,
  - 2) reductions in U.N. secretariat staffing, and
  - 3) reductions in the number of Soviet U.N. employees on fixed-term contracts.
- the remaining 20% could be paid 30 days after Congress had received the certification, unless Congress passed a joint resolution prohibiting the payment.

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<sup>70</sup> This amendment applied to the United Nations and to any specialized agencies for which the United States was assessed more than 20% in regular budget contributions. For specialized agencies, 1987 legislation revising the original provision required a Presidential determination to Congress that each affected agency made substantial progress toward adoption and implementation of reform budget procedures before any contribution over 20% could be paid.

Although no deadline was given for submission of the President's certification report, release of up to 60% of the funds appropriated for the U.N. regular budget was dependent on submission of the report and its acceptance by the Congress.

On September 13, 1988, President Reagan certified that progress had been made, and announced release of an initial \$44 million in calendar year 1987 regular budget contributions to the United Nations; a later certification resulted in release of \$144 million in calendar year 1988 regular budget funds. Reagan also called on the State Department to develop a plan to pay over \$500 million in arrears to the entire U.N. system over the next three to five years. It would take several years, however, for the U.S. arrears built up over time to be paid to the United Nations.

**Office of Internal Oversight Services.** In 1993, Congress provided that 10% of the U.S. assessed contribution to the U.N. regular budget be available only when the Secretary of State had certified to Congress that "the United Nations has established an independent office with responsibilities and powers substantially similar to offices of Inspectors General authorized by the Inspector General Act of 1978...."<sup>71</sup> Many in Congress believed that an independent mechanism was needed to reduce and eliminate instances of "waste, fraud, and abuse" at the United Nations. On November 16, 1993, U.S. ambassador Madeleine Albright proposed that the United Nations establish such a post. On July 29, 1994, the General Assembly established an Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) headed by an Under-Secretary General appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General with the approval of the General Assembly.<sup>72</sup> Eleven annual reports on the activities of the Office through June 30, 2005, have been submitted to the General Assembly, and the Office has undertaken an increasing number of monitoring, auditing, and investigative activities.<sup>73</sup>

**The Helms-Biden Agreement and Payment of Arrears.** The U.S. government pressed for U.N. reform in the 1990s, linking payment of past arrears to reforms. These arrears, to both the United Nations, U.N. specialized agencies, and a few non-U.N. organizations originated from the non-payments of the mid-1980s; others derived from the placement of a cap on U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping account contributions. High-level negotiations between the Clinton Administration and congressional leaders led to agreement on an arrearage payment plan linked to reform "benchmarks," popularly known as the Helms-Biden agreement. The 106<sup>th</sup> Congress enacted P.L. 106-113 including the Helms-Biden agreement conditioning arrears payments on U.N. reforms.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Department of State Appropriations Act, 1994, H.R. 2519, P.L. 103-121, October 27, 1993.

<sup>72</sup> U.N. General Assembly Resolution A/RES/48/218B.

<sup>73</sup> See OIOS website at [<http://www.un.org/Depts/oios/>] for links to annual reports to the Assembly and to other reports issued publicly.

<sup>74</sup> Title IX, The United Nations Reform Act of 1999, in the State Department Authorization Act, FY2000-2001, as part of an Omnibus Appropriations Act, FY2000, P.L. 106-113, signed November 29, 1999.

P.L. 106-113 incorporated the Helms-Biden agreement and authorized appropriations for payment of some U.S. arrears to international organizations provided certain conditions were met and certified by the Secretary of State. The agreement authorized payment of \$819 million (\$100 million of FY1998 funds, \$475 million of FY1999 funds, and \$244 million of FY2000 funds), and authorized \$107 million owed by the United Nations to the United States for peacekeeping to be forgiven provided the United Nations applied the \$107 million to reduce U.S. peacekeeping account arrears.

Among the U.S. conditions was reduction of U.S. regular budget assessments to 22% (from 25%) and reduction of U.S. peacekeeping assessments to 25% (from about 30%). In December 2000, the U.N. General Assembly agreed on a financial restructuring of both the regular and peacekeeping assessment structures. As a result the U.S. share of the regular budget was reduced from 25% to 22% and for peacekeeping from about 30.4% to 28.14%, initially, and falling in subsequent years to about 26.5% currently.

**Task Force on the United Nations.** Appropriations legislation (P.L. 108-447) for FY2005 included a provision directing that \$1.5 million of the money appropriated for the U.S. Institute for Peace be used for the expenses of a Task Force on the United Nations. The Institute was directed to create a task force consisting of no more than a total of 12 experts to study U.N. efforts to meet the goals of its Charter and recommend an actionable agenda for the United States on the United Nations. The Task Force was co-chaired by former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich, and former Senate majority leader, George Mitchell. The Task Force report was released on June 15, 2005.<sup>75</sup> Among its recommendations, the Task Force suggested: creation of an Independent Oversight Board and a Chief Operating Officer; authorizing the U.N. Secretary-General to replace top officials without Assembly approval; sunset provisions for all programs and activities; disclosure standards for top officials; greater independence for the Department of Peacekeeping; and improvement of the U.N. capacity to stop genocide and mass killing.

**Congress and U.N. Reform: 2005-2006.** On June 17, 2005, the House, by a vote of 221 to 184, passed H.R. 2745, the Henry J. Hyde United Nations Reform Act of 2005. The wide-ranging and complex measure would require numerous State Department certifications and reports. The measure would withhold 50% of U.S. assessed dues to the U.N. regular budget beginning with calendar year 2007 (financed from U.S. FY2008 funds), if 32 of 40 changes were not in place, including 15 mandatory reforms. Among the changes sought by the legislation were: changing funding for 18 U.N. programs to be totally voluntary; creation of an independent Oversight Board; establishment of a U.N. Office of Ethics; barring membership on human rights bodies to countries under U.N. investigation for human rights abuses; reduction in funding for U.N. General Assembly Affairs and Conference Services as well as for public information; and reform in U.N. peacekeeping and establishment

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<sup>75</sup> See [<http://www.usip.org/un/index.html>] for home page of the Task Force and links to its June 2005 report: *American Interests and UN Reform* and its December 2005 update: *The Imperative for Action: An Update*.

of a Peacebuilding Commission. No new or expanded peacekeeping operations would be allowed until the Secretary of State had certified that U.N. peacekeeping reforms had been achieved.

During floor debate on H.R. 2745 in 2005, a number of additional provisions were adopted including limiting U.S. contributions to the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA); calling for zero nominal growth in the assessed budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies; requiring the Independent Oversight Board to evaluate the final report of the Independent Inquiry Committee on the Oil for Food Program; requiring the U.S. Office of Management and Budget to provide Congress with a report on all U.S. contributions to the United Nations; and calling for lifting the prohibition on use of gratis military personnel. The Bush Administration expressed reservations about the House legislation because of its withholding provisions and because it would infringe on the President's authority to carry out foreign affairs. H.R. 2745, as passed by the House, was included in H.R. 2601, Foreign Relations Authorization for FY2006 and 2007 as passed by the House on July 20, 2005.

A U.N. reform measure was also introduced in the Senate, S. 1383. The Senate measure would allow the President to withhold 50% of U.S. contributions to the United Nations if the President determined that the United Nations was not making sufficient progress on reforms. No Foreign Relations Authorization Act was passed in 2005.

**Reform Initiatives in the United Nations.**<sup>76</sup> In 1997, Kofi Annan, after being elected U.N. Secretary-General on a reform platform, announced a two-track reform program. The first track included immediate managerial changes within the Secretary-General's authority to execute, while the second track included reform measures requiring consultation and/or approval by U.N. member governments. Among the first track initiatives were: reducing the budget, staffing levels, and documentation; creating a code of conduct for U.N. staff; reorienting the Department of Public Information; consolidating administrative, financial, personnel, procurement and other services; consolidating economic and social departments; streamlining technical support; and improving integration of development activities at the country level.

Second track proposals focused on U.N. core missions and on improving management and efficiency. They included creating a new management and leadership structure by establishing a Deputy Secretary-General, a Senior Management Group, and a Strategic Planning Unit; overhauling human resources policies and practices including changing the management culture, eliminating 1,000 jobs and reducing administrative costs; and promoting sustainable development as a central U.N. priority. The proposals also called for improving peacekeeping and strengthening post-conflict peace-building capacity; bolstering international efforts to combat crime, drugs and terrorism by consolidating activities in Vienna; establishing a Department for Disarmament and Arms Regulation; enhancing humanitarian activities by replacing the Department of Humanitarian Affairs; and

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<sup>76</sup> See [<http://www.un.org/reform/>]. From this site, see Useful links and Key Documents.

revamping public information functions. The proposals also called for the following: refocusing the work of the General Assembly on priority issues and reducing the length of sessions; establishing a ministerial-level commission to review the U.N. Charter and specialized agency constitutions; and designating the General Assembly session in the year 2000 as “a Millennium Assembly” to focus on preparing the United Nations for the 21st century.

The U.N. General Assembly in 1997 affirmed many policy formulations and management changes proposed by Secretary-General Annan including establishing a Deputy Secretary-General post.<sup>77</sup> In December 2000, the U.N. General Assembly authorized implementation of results based budgeting for the 2003-2003 biennium budget. On June 29, 2001, Secretary-General Annan was elected to a second five-year term, to start January 1, 2002. Urging the United Nations to align its activities to doing what matters in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in September 2002, Secretary-General Annan submitted a report, *Strengthening of the United Nations: An Agenda for Further Change*, calling for additional reforms.<sup>78</sup>

On December 2, 2004, a group appointed by the Secretary-General, called the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, issued its report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*.<sup>79</sup> The report acknowledged failures and shortcomings in the organization and offered many recommendations for significant changes including enlarging the Security Council, creating a Peacebuilding Commission, and strengthening the role of the Secretary-General. Many of these recommendations required implementation by U.N. member states. Drawing on some of the proposals in the High-level Panel’s report, the Secretary-General on March 21, 2005, issued his own report, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*.<sup>80</sup> The Secretary-General hoped that these reform proposals would form the basis for discussion and final decision at a U.N. summit, scheduled for September 2005.

This meeting, at the start of the 60<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly, also commemorated the organization’s 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary.<sup>81</sup> The 2005 U.N. Summit, meeting September 14-16, 2005, agreed, without a vote, to the 2005 World Summit Outcome resolution which included some reform measures, but the details of such measures were mainly left for continued discussions during the 60th and into the 61st (to start September 2006) session of the U.N. General Assembly.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Louise Frechette of Canada was Deputy Secretary-General from March 2, 1998 through March 31, 2006. British national Mark Malloch Brown started as Deputy on April 1, 2006.

<sup>78</sup> U.N. document A/57/387.

<sup>79</sup> [<http://www.un.org/reform/highlevelpanel/index.shtml>].

<sup>80</sup> [<http://www.un.org/largerfreedom>]

<sup>81</sup> See [<http://www.un.org/summit2005/>].

<sup>82</sup> U.N. General Assembly Resolution 60/1 [A/RES/60/1]. Additional changes include the following: In May 2005, the Secretary-General appointed Christopher Burnham to be U.N. Under Secretary-General for Management. (Burnham had previously been at the U.S. Department of State in a similar capacity). This U.N. position has been held by Americans (continued...)



The Bush Administration also expressed support for U.N. reforms. It called for measures to improve internal oversight and accountability, to identify cost savings, and to allocate resources to high priority programs and offices. It expressed support for creation of a Peacebuilding Commission, for replacement of the Commission on Human Rights with a smaller action-oriented Human Rights Council, and support for a Democracy Fund (originally proposed by President Bush in September 2004). The U.S. government expressed its openness to Security Council reform and expansion, but not at the expense of effectiveness.

As of August 9, 2006, several reform measures have been put into place. These include creation of the Peacebuilding Commission, establishment and operation of a new U.N. Human Rights Council to replace the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, U.N. Democracy Fund, U.N. Ethics Office, strengthened financial disclosure requirements and whistleblower protections, and Central Emergency Response Fund. In addition, the General Assembly has held at least 20 meetings of an Informal Plenary on Mandate Review. This review involves 9,000 mandates that are five years or older, with the goal of eliminating or reducing those tasks no longer relevant. No decisions have been taken as a result of this review. (See CRS Report RL33848, *United Nations Reform: U.S. Policy and International Perspectives*, by Luisa Blanchfield, for a further and updated discussion of U.N. reform issues.)

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<sup>82</sup> (...continued)

in recent years. Burnham's predecessor, Catherine Bertini, had been preceded by Joseph Connor. The number of U.N. Secretariat staff had been cut from about 12,000 in 1985 to about 9,000 today. The U.N. regular budget for the 2000-2001 biennium was \$2.562 billion (or a little less than \$1.3 billion per year). The regular budget for 2002-2003 was \$2.891 billion; and the regular budget for 2004-2005 was \$3.608 billion.

## Appendix A. Congress and Funding the U.N. System: FY2004-FY2005

### Assessed Budgets

**FY2004.** For FY2004, President Bush requested \$1,010,000,000 for the CIO account, of which \$745.8 million was for assessed contributions to U.N. system organizations (of which \$340.7 million was for the U.N. regular budget), and \$550.2 million for assessed contributions to the CIPA account.

On September 5, 2003, the Senate Appropriations Committee, reporting in S.Rept. 108-144 on S. 1585, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, recommended \$921,888,000 for the CIO account and \$482,649,000 for the CIPA account. The Committee deleted \$71,429,000 requested funding for a U.S. return to membership in the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), noting that the Committee did not consider UNESCO reformed. The Committee directed that the Inspector General of the Department of State conduct an annual audit of UNESCO to determine the status of reform, the qualifications of UNESCO's staff, its procedures for hiring and promoting personnel, a detailed breakdown of expenditures, and how U.S. membership would advance the goals of the UNESCO and U.S. priorities.

The Senate Appropriations Committee also deleted \$11,779,000 from requested funding for the U.N. regular budget because the Committee did not want to provide funding for the U.N. Commission on Human Rights which, in its view, had too long been dominated by known human rights violators. In addition, of the funds made available for the U.S. contribution to the U.N. regular budget, \$10 million was to be used to reimburse New York City for unanticipated costs in providing protection to foreign officials associated with the United Nations in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. The Committee also expressed its views on war crimes tribunals, directing the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to complete its work by 2004 and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to complete its work by 2006. The Committee also expressed its support for the Special Court for Sierra Leone and Directed the U.N. Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to provide the necessary support for the Court.

On July 23, 2003, the House, by a vote of 400 in favor, to 21 against, passed H.R. 2799, making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State for FY2004, providing the requested \$1.010 billion for assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) and \$550.2 million for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA). In its report (H.Rept. 108-221) on this measure, the House Committee on Appropriations had included the full amount requested by the President for a U.S. return to membership in UNESCO. The Committee noted that it expected the Department of State to work aggressively to ensure that UNESCO employs more Americans, especially at senior levels. The Committee also noted that if the 2004-2005 UNESCO budget is increased, that increase should focus on management and administrative reforms identified by the General Accounting Office. The Committee urged the Department of State to consider the appointment of a single representative with the rank of ambassador to

represent the United States at UNESCO and at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, both at Paris, France. During floor debate on H.R. 2799, an amendment offered by Representative Ron Paul to strike funding for UNESCO was defeated by a vote of 145 in favor of the amendment to 279 against the amendment.

P.L. 108-199 (H.R. 2673, signed January 23, 2004), the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2004, included \$1,010,463,000 for U.S. contributions to international organizations (CIO) account, and \$550,200,000 for U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account, as requested by the President. The measure included a requirement that non-defense spending be cut by 0.59% across the board.

**FY2005.** On February 2, 2004, the Bush Administration requested \$1.194 billion for U.S. assessed Contributions to International Organizations (CIO), of which \$819 million was for assessed U.N. system organizations including \$362.2 million for the U.N. regular budget and \$6 million for the U.N. Capital Master Plan, a loan subsidy relating to the renovation of the U.N. headquarters complex in New York. In addition, he requested \$650 million for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA).

On July 1, 2004, the House Committee on Appropriations reported H.R. 4754 as an original measure. The Committee recommended full funding of the request for CIO and CIPA. The Committee expressed its support for the U.S. policy of zero nominal growth budgets for international organizations and noted that if the United Nations proposed exceeding its \$3.16 billion biennial budget, the Committee should be notified before consideration and adoption of such a proposal. While recommending full payment of U.S. assessed U.N. budget dues, the Committee expressed concern about allegations of corruption in the U.N. Oil-for-Food Program. It noted that the United Nations needed to do more about the crises in Sudan. It also expressed concern over charges of sexual abuse of minors by some associated with U.N. peacekeeping operations. The Committee included \$6 million for costs of a direct loan of up to \$1.2 billion to the United Nations for renovating U.N. headquarters in New York.

On July 8, 2004, the House, by a vote of 397 to 18, passed H.R. 4754, appropriating \$1.194 billion for U.S. assessed Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) and \$650 million for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA). During House floor consideration of the bill, a number of amendments were offered to reduce or cut CIO funding. On July 7, 2004, Representative Ron Paul's amendment to prohibit funds for UNESCO failed by a vote of 135 to 333, and his amendment to prohibit U.S. contributions to the United Nations or U.N. affiliated agencies failed by a vote of 83 to 335. The next day, Representative Smith's (Michigan) amendment to reduce CIO funding by \$20 million to express concern about the alleged corruption in the U.N. Oil-for-Food program failed by a vote of 129 to 291.

On September 15, 2004, the Senate Committee on Appropriations reported (S.Rept. 108-344) on S. 2809, funding the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State for FY2005. The Committee recommendation of \$1.020 billion for U.S.

assessed Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) was \$173,380,000 below the amount requested by the Administration; and the \$574 million recommended for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) was \$76 million below the amount requested by the Administration. The Committee recommended allocation of \$70 million for the IAEA, \$12.7 million for the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), \$1.35 million for the International Maritime Organization (IMO), and \$1.1 million for the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). The Committee also recommended \$6 million to subsidize the cost of a \$1.2 billion loan to the United Nations for renovation of its headquarters. The Committee also recommended that the Department of State urge the United Nations to make available to congressional committees investigating the Oil-for-Food program all relevant documents, and ensure that the Volcker Inquiry was conducted rigorously.<sup>83</sup>

The conference committee in H.Rept. 108-792, expressed concern that the U.N. Oil for Food Program was marred by allegations of corruption and that it abetted a tyrannical regime and undermined the international community's good will. It directed the Department of State to bring all necessary resources to bear on investigation of the Oil for Food Program and provide all requested documents to the U.S. Congress and to provide any requested assistance to the U.N. Secretary-General's Independent Inquiry Committee.

P.L. 108-447, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, FY2005 included \$1.182 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) account of which up to \$6.0 million may be used for the cost of a direct loan of up to \$1.2 billion to the United Nations for renovating U.N. headquarters in New York; and \$490 million for assessed contribution to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account. The Secretary of State was to provide the Appropriations Committees with a copy of the most recent U.N. biennium budget and to notify the Committees of any United Nations action to increase funding for any U.N. program without identifying an offsetting decrease elsewhere in the U.N. budget. This caused the United Nations to exceed its adopted biennium budget for the 2004-2005 of \$3.16 billion. The measure included a rescission of 0.54% for any discretionary account in the act.

As already discussed, the measure directed that \$1.5 million of the money appropriated for the U.S. Institute for Peace be used for the expenses of a Task Force on the United Nations. The Institute was to create the task force consisting of no more than a total 12 experts drawn from the American Enterprise Institute, Brookings Institution, Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Hoover Institution, and the Heritage Foundation. The task force was to study U.N. efforts to meet the goals of its Charter and submit its report within 180 days of enactment.

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<sup>83</sup> Following press accounts of serious allegations, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan in April 2004 set up the "Volcker" Independent Inquiry Committee. Endorsed by the U.N. Security Council, the mandate of the Committee was to investigate the administration and management of the U.N. Oil-for-Food Program in Iraq. Paul Volcker chaired the Committee of three. See [<http://www.iic-offp.org>] for further information.

## U.N. Voluntary Programs

**FY2004.** President Bush requested \$314.6 million for FY2004 for voluntary contributions to the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account. An additional \$50 million was requested for IAEA voluntary contributions in another account.

On July 23, 2003, the House, by a vote of 370 to 50, passed H.R. 2800, making appropriations for foreign operations including \$194,550,000 for voluntary contributions to the IO&P account. H.R. 2800 included \$120 million for UNICEF and \$52.9 million for voluntary IAEA programs in other accounts. During House consideration, an amendment by Representative Nadler to withhold funds for the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) failed when a point of order was sustained against it.

The Consolidated Appropriations Act, FY2004 (P.L. 108-199, signed January 23, 2004) included \$321,650,000 for voluntary contributions to the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account, including \$120 million for UNICEF and \$102 million for the U.N. Development Program (UNDP). Appropriated in another account was \$53 million for voluntary contributions to the IAEA.

**FY2005.** The Administration requested \$304.45 million for voluntary contributions for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account for FY2005. In addition, \$53 million was requested for voluntary contributions to IAEA in another account.

On July 13, 2004, the House Appropriations Committee reported (H.Rept. 108-599) H.R. 4818 as an original measure. The Committee recommended \$323.45 million for voluntary contributions to the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account, \$19 million more than requested by the Administration. The Committee recommended not less than \$107 million for UNDP; not less than \$7 million for the U.N. Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture; not less than \$125 million for UNICEF; and \$3 million for UNIFEM (of which \$1 million would be for a first time contribution to the Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women).

On July 15, 2004, the House, by a vote of 365 to 41, passed H.R. 4818, including \$323.45 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account. The bill included \$53 million for a voluntary contribution to the IAEA in another account. During House floor debate on H.R. 4818, Representative Buyer introduced an amendment that prohibited any funds appropriated by this measure to be used by any U.S. government official to request the United Nations to assess the validity of elections in the United States. The amendment was agreed to by a vote of 243 to 161.

P.L. 108-447 included for FY2005, \$319,494,000 for voluntary contributions to the International Organizations and Programs account (IO&P) as well as \$53 million for voluntary contributions to IAEA appropriated in another account.

## **U.N. Peacekeeping Operations**

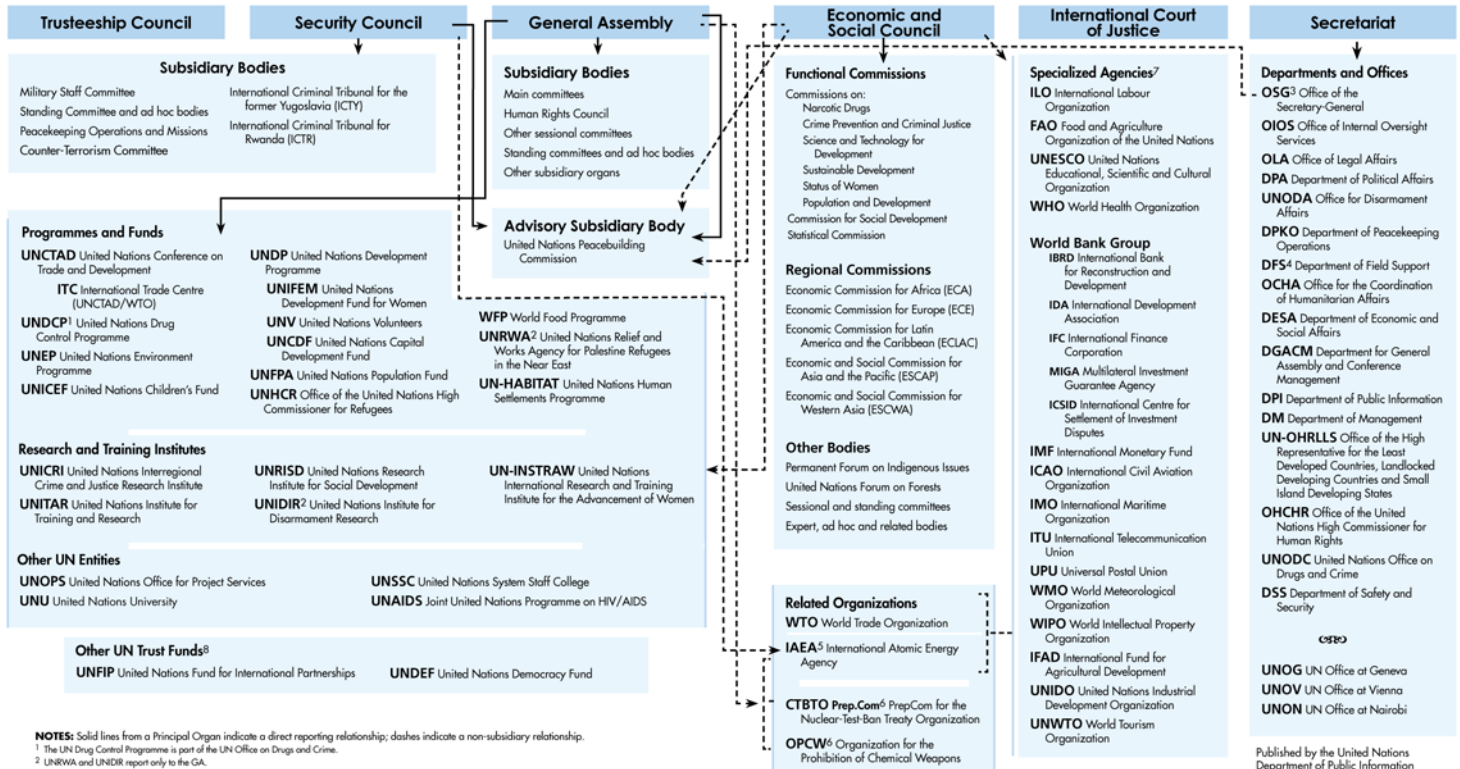
**FY2004.** P.L. 108-199, appropriating funds for the State Department, included \$550.2 million for FY2004 U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA), the amount requested by the President.

**FY2005.** The Administration requested \$650 million for FY2005 for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations. Another \$780 million was requested for U.N. peacekeeping in supplemental FY2005 appropriations. H.R. 1268, signed May 11, 2005, as P.L. 109-13, included \$680 million. The State Department Appropriations Act, FY2005, P.L. 108-447, included \$490 million for FY2005 U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities.

# Appendix B. The United Nations System: An Organizational Chart



## Principal Organs



**NOTES:** Solid lines from a Principal Organ indicate a direct reporting relationship; dashes indicate a non-subsidiary relationship.

<sup>1</sup> The UN Drug Control Programme is part of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime.

<sup>2</sup> UNRWA and UNIDIR report only to the GA.

<sup>3</sup> The United Nations Ethics Office, the United Nations Ombudsman's Office, and the Chief Information Technology Officer report directly to the Secretary-General.

<sup>4</sup> In an exceptional arrangement, the Under-Secretary-General for Field Support reports directly to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

<sup>5</sup> IAEA reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly (GA).

<sup>6</sup> The CTBTO Prep.Com and OPCW report to the GA.

<sup>7</sup> Specialized agencies are autonomous organizations working with the UN and each other through the coordinating machinery of the ECOSOC at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for coordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level.

<sup>8</sup> UNFIP is an autonomous trust fund operating under the leadership of the United Nations Deputy Secretary-General. UNDEF's advisory board recommends funding proposals for approval by the Secretary-General.

Source: [http://www.un.org/aboutun/chart.html].