## H. R. 1798

To prevent foreign states that do business, issue securities, or borrow money in the United States, and then fail to satisfy United States court judgments totaling \$100,000,000 or more based on such activities, from inflicting further economic injuries in the United States, from undermining the integrity of United States courts, and from discouraging responsible lending to poor and developing nations by undermining the secondary and primary markets for sovereign debt.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 6, 2011

Mr. Mack (for himself, Mr. King of New York, Ms. Loretta Sanchez of California, Mr. Carnahan, and Mrs. Maloney) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

## A BILL

To prevent foreign states that do business, issue securities, or borrow money in the United States, and then fail to satisfy United States court judgments totaling \$100,000,000 or more based on such activities, from inflicting further economic injuries in the United States, from undermining the integrity of United States courts, and from discouraging responsible lending to poor and developing nations by undermining the secondary and primary markets for sovereign debt.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Judgment Evading
- 5 Foreign States Accountability Act of 2011".
- 6 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE.
- 7 The purpose of this Act is to prevent foreign states
- 8 that do business, issue securities, or borrow money in the
- 9 United States, and then fail to satisfy United States court
- 10 judgments totaling \$100,000,000 or more based on such
- 11 activities, from inflicting further economic injuries in the
- 12 United States, from undermining the integrity of United
- 13 States courts, and from discouraging responsible lending
- 14 to poor and developing nations by undermining the sec-
- 15 ondary and primary markets for sovereign debt.
- 16 SEC. 3. FINDINGS.
- 17 Congress finds the following:
- 18 (1) Foreign states that do business, issue secu-
- rities, or borrow money in the United States, and
- then refuse to satisfy judgments of United States
- 21 courts entered against them in connection with dis-
- 22 putes resulting from these or other commercial ac-
- 23 tivities, directly or indirectly inflict billions of dollars
- of damage in the United States, and undermine the
- credibility of the United States courts.

- 1 (2) Foreign states that engage in such behavior 2 can infect the management of corporations and 3 other entities that they own or control with their 4 profligate and irresponsible habits. When negligent 5 ethical standards permit government officials to re-6 pudiate lawful judgments, the injury to United 7 States taxpayers is multiplied.
  - (3) The Republic of Argentina is a primary example of a foreign state that has incurred large debts in the United States, defaulted on those debts, and then refused to honor lawful judgments of United States and other courts ordering repayment. 2001. Argentina defaulted on more \$81,000,000,000 in sovereign debt, the largest such default in history. In 2005, after refusing all efforts by creditors to negotiate the terms of an exchange offer, Argentina unilaterally offered lenders approximately 27 cents on the dollar in its restructuring deal, far below the international norm for sovereign debt restructurings. Argentina repudiated the debts owed to the unprecedented proportion of bondholders who rejected that offer.
  - (4) Argentina still owes United States bond holders more than \$3,500,000,000. Overall, the default and restructuring by Argentina have cost

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- 1 United States bondholders, taxpayers, and share 2 holders more than \$10,000,000,000.
- 3 (5) Argentina has the capacity to pay its exter-4 creditors. Argentina now holds more than 5 \$54,000,000,000 in reserves. Argentina chose to pay 6 off its \$9,800,000,000 debt to the International 7 Monetary Fund in full in 2005, years before it was 8 due, and has similarly announced an intention to 9 pay sovereign creditors of the Paris Club, of which 10 the United States is owed \$360,000,000.
  - (6) United States bondholders have won numerous court rulings against Argentina relating to Argentina's default on debt owed to such bondholders and Argentina's decision to repeatedly ignore these judgments threatens the United States legal system. Despite having agreed to submit to the jurisdiction of the State of New York and to waive claims of sovereign immunity, Argentina is now contesting at least 170 lawsuits and refusing to honor 100 judgagainst it, totaling than ments more \$7,000,000,000.
  - (7) Argentina has demonstrated a similar disregard for claims brought by United States investors before the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), a tribunal of the World

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- 1 Bank. Argentina is the respondent in more ICSID 2 cases than any other nation, now accounting for 3 more than a quarter of the tribunal's caseload. It is important to note that Argentina's arguments for 5 nonpayment have been outright rejected by both the 6 Department of State and the ICSID. Argentina is 7 currently receiving \$5,810,000,000 from the World 8 Bank and has requested an additional 9 \$1,630,000,000 in funding. Argentina has behaved 10 in a manner that undermines the viability of the 11 ICSID process, thereby alarming the worldwide in-12 vestments of United States businesses that rely upon 13 this forum for adjudication of disputes.
  - (8) Argentina's debts are legitimate. Any assertion that the Argentine debt now outstanding was incurred by the repressive, nondemocratic regimes that ruled Argentina in the late 1970s and early 1980s is inaccurate. The bonds currently held by United States creditors were not incurred by non-democratic regimes; rather, they were issued by democratically elected Argentine governments.
  - (9) While it is true that the Argentine military junta—which caused tremendous suffering during a tyrannical 7-year reign—borrowed from foreign banks, 96 percent of that debt was refinanced in

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- 1 1993 when Argentina's "Brady Plan" restructuring 2 was completed. That restructuring was underwritten 3 by the United States Government. Prior to the 4 Brady Plan restructuring, Argentina had undergone 5 two "major restructurings" of its foreign debt—the
- 6 first in 1985, and the second in 1987.

- States creditors dates from the days of the Argentine military junta. Further, even if it were fair to characterize the debt issued in the 1993 Brady Plan restructuring as somehow derivative of junta-era debt—a notion that maligns the United States policymakers who approved and underwrote the Brady Plan on behalf of the American people—only five percent of the defaulted debt now held by United States creditors was issued during or before 1993. Ninety-five percent of the defaulted debt held by United States creditors was incurred after 1993 by freely elected Argentine governmental officials and has no relationship to the military junta.
- (11) Argentina's defaults have raised the costs of borrowing for both the public and private sectors. If the country took action to remediate its debts, its annual interest expense would certainly decline. Argentina's defaults have discouraged foreign direct in-

- vestment. One study from 2007 states that Argentina loses over \$6,000,000,000 in foreign direct investment every year as a result of its default and debt repudiation and the resultant risk profile.
  - (12) An October 2010 evaluation report by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an intergovernmental body that analyzes financial systems for criminal activity, gave Argentina the most negative evaluation of any G–20 nation. FATF evaluated Argentina on 49 financial standards, of which Argentina failed to meet 47 out of the 49 standards. Argentina was given an original timeline of three months, then an additional ten months to demonstrate compliance to the standards or face being blacklisted due to financial corruption and deficiencies in combating financing of terrorism (CFT) and anti-money laundering (AML) systems.
  - (13) Drawing further conclusions, FATF reported several shortcomings in Argentina's financial sector, most notably corruption and the poor enforcement of Argentine financial laws. The lack of enforcement has prompted wide-spread money laundering in Argentina's financial sector creating an environment that puts Argentina at risk of becoming

- a hub for terrorism and drug trafficking in the
  Western Hemisphere.
  - (14) Many persons in the United States are unaware of Argentina's irresponsible behavior and disregard for the rule of law. Further, United States citizens continue to invest in, lend to, and do business with Argentina and are unfamiliar with the associated risks.
    - (15) Those who are injured as a result of this conduct often have little or no recourse. Judgment evading foreign states and their state owned corporations enjoy a safe haven within their national borders, and this fact often presents an insurmountable obstacle to recovery for those who are injured by the behavior of those states.
    - (16) The absence of a remedy for defaults by such foreign states undermines nations that badly need to access capital from foreign lenders, with disproportionate harm falling on responsible and democratic nations. By undermining confidence in the secondary market for sovereign debt, judgment evading foreign states significantly increase the risk that primary lending to less-advantaged nations will be curtailed, depriving deserving sovereign borrowers of access to the international capital markets.

- 1 (17) Action by the United States Government 2 to combat this growing problem must include meas-3 ures that both protect against the irresponsible con-4 duct of judgment evading foreign states and their 5 state owned corporations, and motivate such states 6 and corporations to raise their standards of behav-7 ior.
- 8 (18) An effective means of achieving this impor-9 tant objective is to deprive judgment evading foreign 10 states and their state owned corporations of the 11 privilege of issuing securities or borrowing in the 12 United States, and requiring that warnings of their 13 irresponsible behavior be given to persons in the 14 United States who are contemplating investing in, 15 lending to, or doing business with such states and 16 businesses, until those states demonstrate that such 17 measures are no longer necessary.

## 18 SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.

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- For purposes of this Act:
- 20 (1) AGENCY OR INSTRUMENTALITY OF A FOR-21 EIGN STATE.—The term "agency or instrumentality 22 of a foreign state" has the meaning given that term 23 in section 1603(b) of title 28, United States Code.
  - (2) FINAL JUDGMENT.—The term "final judgment" means any judgment of a United States dis-

- trict court, the Court of International Trade, or the court of any State, that is no longer eligible to be appealed to any court in the United States.
  - (3) FOREIGN STATE.—The term "foreign state" has the meaning given that term in section 1603(a) of title 28, United States Code, except that it does not include an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state.
  - (4) International organization.—The term "international organization" means an entity designated by the President as being entitled to enjoy the privileges, exemptions, and immunities provided by the International Organizations Immunities Act (22 U.S.C. 288 et seq.).
  - (5) Judgment evading foreign state" means any foreign state that—
    - (A) has one or more judgments entered against it by any United States district court, the Court of International Trade, or the court of any State, the combined amount of which judgments exceeds \$100,000,000;
    - (B) fails to satisfy in full any such judgment for a period of more than two years after the judgment becomes a final judgment, regard-

1	less of whether such judgment became a final
2	judgment before the date of the enactment of
3	this Act; and
4	(C) is not a foreign state eligible for—
5	(i) financing through the Inter-
6	national Development Association but not
7	from the International Bank for Recon-
8	struction and Development; and
9	(ii) debt relief under the Enhanced
10	HIPC Initiative (as defined in section
11	1625(e)(3) of the International Financial
12	Institutions Act) or under the Multilateral
13	Debt Relief Initiative.
14	(6) STATE OWNED CORPORATION OF A JUDG-
15	MENT EVADING FOREIGN STATE.—The term "state
16	owned corporation of a judgment evading foreign
17	state" means any corporation or entity, other than
18	a natural person—
19	(A) that is an agency or instrumentality of
20	a foreign state that is a judgment evading for-
21	eign state; or
22	(B) a majority of the shares or other own-
23	ership interest of which is held, either directly
24	or indirectly, by a judgment evading foreign
25	state or by an agency or instrumentality of a

1	foreign state that is a judgment evading foreign
2	state.
3	(7) State.—The term "State" means each of
4	the several States, the District of Columbia, and any
5	commonwealth, territory, or possession of the United
6	States.
7	SEC. 5. STATEMENT OF POLICY.
8	It shall be the policy of the United States—
9	(1) to advocate within the governing bodies of
10	international organizations, international financial
11	institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-
12	national Monetary Fund, and other foreign policy
13	settings for the full compensation and fair treatment
14	of United States taxpayers in whose favor judgments
15	have been awarded by the United States courts;
16	(2) to seek to protect the economic interests of
17	such taxpayers and other persons and of nations
18	that benefit from a reliable flow of foreign capital
19	by—
20	(A) restricting the access to the United
21	States capital markets of judgment evading for-
22	eign states and their state owned corporations;
23	(B) requiring that such persons be warned
24	of the dangers of investing in, lending to, or

1	doing business with such states and state owned
2	corporations; and
3	(C) call on the World Bank, the Inter-
4	national Monetary Fund, and other inter-
5	national financial institutions to vote against
6	providing funding or foreign capital to judg-
7	ment evading foreign states; and
8	(3) to further solidify the authority of the
9	United States courts by preventing judgment evad-
10	ing foreign states from willfully disregarding the
11	judgments of those courts.
12	SEC. 6. BAR ON ACCESS TO UNITED STATES LENDERS AND
13	INVESTORS.
14	(a) Measures With Respect to Judgment Evad-
15	ING FOREIGN STATES.—The Securities and Exchange
16	Commission shall—
17	(1) take all necessary measures to deny every
18	judgment evading foreign state access to United
19	States capital markets, including the ability, directly
20	or indirectly, to borrow money or sell securities in
21	the United States; and
22	(2) require that all periodic filings made by the
23	judgment evading foreign state with the Securities
24	and Exchange Commission under the securities laws

- page: "WARNING: THIS REPORT IS SUB-
- 2 MITTED BY A FOREIGN STATE THAT HAS
- 3 BEEN DETERMINED BY THE UNITED
- 4 STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
- 5 TO BE A JUDGMENT EVADING FOREIGN
- 6 STATE BASED UPON ITS FAILURE TO SAT-
- 7 ISFY OUTSTANDING UNITED STATES
- 8 COURT JUDGMENTS.".
- 9 (b) Measures With Respect to State Owned
- 10 Corporations of Judgment Evading Foreign
- 11 States.—If any judgment evading foreign state remains
- 12 in default on any final judgment for more than three
- 13 years, irrespective of whether such judgment became final
- 14 before the date of the enactment of this Act, the Securities
- 15 and Exchange Commission shall—
- 16 (1) take all necessary measures to deny any
- state owned corporation of a judgment evading for-
- eign state access to the United States capital mar-
- kets, including the ability to issue debt, equity or
- other securities, or borrow money, unless the pro-
- ceeds of such borrowing of securities issuance are to
- be used, in the first instance, to satisfy in full all
- final judgment against its parent judgment evading
- 24 foreign state; and

- 1 (2) require that all periodic filings made by 2 each state owned corporation of a judgment evading 3 foreign state with the Securities and Exchange Com-
- 4 mission under the securities laws bear the following
- 5 legend prominently on the cover page: "WARNING:
- 6 THIS REPORT IS SUBMITTED BY A STATE
- 7 OWNED CORPORATION OF A FOREIGN
- 8 STATE THAT HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY
- 9 THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY TO
- 10 BE A JUDGMENT EVADING FOREIGN STATE
- 11 BASED UPON ITS FAILURE TO SATISFY
- 12 OUTSTANDING UNITED STATES COURT
- 13 JUDGMENTS.".
- 14 SEC. 7. REQUESTS FOR AID OR ASSISTANCE FROM JUDG-
- 15 MENT EVADING FOREIGN STATES.
- 16 (a) BILATERAL ASSISTANCE.—Whenever any pro-
- 17 posal is made to a department, agency, or other instru-
- 18 mentality of the United States Government to extend aid,
- 19 a loan, or any other form of assistance to a judgment
- 20 evading foreign state, the head of the department, agency,
- 21 or other instrumentality may consider the proposal only
- 22 if it bears prominently the legend described in subsection
- 23 (c).
- (b) MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE.—Whenever any
- 25 proposal is made to an international organization to ex-

- 1 tend aid, a loan, or any other form of assistance to a judg-
- 2 ment evading foreign state, the Secretary of State shall
- 3 provide prompt notice of such proposal to the Congress.
- 4 Such notice shall bear prominently the legend described
- 5 in subsection (c).
- 6 (c) Legend Described.—The legend of a proposal
- 7 referred to in subsection (a) and the legend of a notice
- 8 referred to in subsection (b) is the following: "REQUEST
- 9 FOR GRANT-IN-AID OR LOAN BY A JUDGMENT
- 10 EVADING FOREIGN STATE.".
- 11 SEC. 8. REPORTS; RECOMMENDATIONS OF ADDITIONAL
- 12 MEASURES.
- 13 (a) Annual Reports to Congress.—Not later
- 14 than January 31 of each year, the Secretary of the Treas-
- 15 ury shall provide a report, in writing, to the Congress
- 16 identifying each judgment evading foreign state, and, for
- 17 each such judgment evading foreign state—
- 18 (1) quantifying the impact on the United States
- economy, and cost to United States taxpayers, of the
- 20 unsatisfied final judgments outstanding against the
- 21 judgment evading foreign state; and
- 22 (2) describing all measures that the Secretary
- of the Treasury and the Securities and Exchange
- 24 Commission have taken in the preceding year to
- carry out this Act.

- 1 (b) Consideration of Documents and Other In-
- 2 FORMATION.—The Secretary of the Treasury may con-
- 3 sider documents and other information received from third
- 4 parties and from judgment evading foreign states in pre-
- 5 paring each report under subsection (a).
- 6 (c) TERMINATION OF DESIGNATION.—At such time
- 7 as the Secretary of the Treasury determines that any
- 8 judgment evading foreign state no longer qualifies as a
- 9 judgment evading foreign state, the Secretary shall so cer-
- 10 tify to the Congress no later than in the next annual re-
- 11 port to Congress under subsection (a), at which time the
- 12 requirements and prohibitions under this Act shall no
- 13 longer apply to such former judgment evading foreign
- 14 state, or to any state owned corporation of such judgment
- 15 avoiding foreign state. The Secretary may consider docu-
- 16 ments and other information received from third parties
- 17 and from the judgment evading foreign state in making
- 18 this determination.
- 19 (d) Other Public Reports To Include Informa-
- 20 TION ABOUT JUDGMENT EVADING FOREIGN STATES.—
- 21 The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and
- 22 the Secretary of Commerce shall each reference the find-
- 23 ings of the Secretary of the Treasury from the Secretary's
- 24 most recent annual report to Congress under subsection
- 25 (a) relating to the unsatisfied final judgments outstanding

- 1 against the judgment evading foreign state in every report
- 2 prepared for the public relating to the country risk or in-
- 3 vestment climate of such judgment evading foreign state.
- 4 (e) Additional Measures.—The Secretary of the
- 5 Treasury shall recommend to the Congress in writing ad-
- 6 ditional measures to carry out the purposes of this Act.

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