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United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues

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Vita Bite
Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division

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United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues

SUMMARY

Congressional debate over U.N. funding focuses on the following 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?

The U.N. system includes the parent U.N. organization, a number of affiliated agencies, voluntary funds and programs, and peacekeeping operations. Participating states finance the system with voluntary and assessed contributions. For nearly 60 years, the United States has been the single largest financial contributor to the U.N. system.

Both Congress and the executive branch have been pressing U.N. system organizations to reform, especially to improve management and budgeting practices. Indeed, Congress linked payment of U.S. financial arrears to U.N. reforms. In recent years the United Nations has undertaken reforms including a restructuring of its financial assessment system, allowing the United States to pay some of its arrears.

FY2006. The Bush Administration requested \$1.2965 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) of which \$931.362 million is for U.N. system organizations including \$438,952 million for the U.N. regular budget. The Administration also requested \$1.0355 billion

for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA), as well as \$780 million in supplemental FY2005 funding for that account. In addition, \$281.908 million was requested for U.N. voluntary contributions to organizations in the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account including \$114 million for UNICEF and \$95 million for UNDP. Fifty million dollars for voluntary contributions to IAEA programs was requested in another account.

FY2005. The Bush Administration requested \$1.194 billion for U.S. assessed contributions for international organizations (CIO); \$650 million for assessed contributions for U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA); and \$304.45 million for voluntary contributions for the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account. In addition, \$53 million was requested for voluntary contributions to IAEA in another account.

FY2004. P.L. 108-199, the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2004 included \$1.010 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO); \$550.2 million for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA)); and \$321.65 for voluntary contributions for the international organizations and programs account. In addition, \$53 million for voluntary IAEA programs was appropriated in another account.

MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

During the 2005 U.N. Summit, September 14-16, the participants by consensus (without a vote) agreed to an outcome document which included some reform measures, but the details of such measures were mainly left for continued discussions during the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

On July 20, the Senate agreed to its version of H.R. 3057, including for FY2006: \$1.166 billion for assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO), \$1.035 billion for assessed contributions to international peacekeeping activities (CIPA), and \$330 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the international organizations and programs (IO & P) account. As passed by the House, H.R. 3057, included \$328.958 million for voluntary contributions to the IO& P account. On June 16, 2005, the House agreed to H.R. 2862, providing funding for Science, the Departments of States, Justice, and Commerce for FY2006. The measure included \$1.166 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) and \$1.035 billion for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA).

On July 20, 2005, the House Committee on International Relations agreed to H.R. 2601, authorizing appropriations for the Department of State for FY2006 and FY2007, including assessed U.S. funding for international organizations and U.N. peacekeeping operations. As adopted, H.R. 2601 included the Henry J. Hyde United Nations Reform Act of 2005, H.R. 2745 as passed by the House.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

The United States has been, and remains, the single largest contributor to the U.N. system. For calendar year 2002, U.S. contributions to the U.N. system totaled more than \$3.0 billion. The total included about \$533 million in assessed contributions to the U.N. regular budget and U.N. affiliated agencies; about \$750 million in assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities; about \$50 million for war crimes tribunals; and about \$1.7 billion in voluntary contributions to U.N.-affiliated organizations and programs. 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 is focused on the following 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? 3) How should the United States address its accumulated arrearages?

U.N. System Financing

The United Nations (U.N.) system is made up of variously interconnected components including specialized agencies, voluntary funds and programs, peacekeeping operations, and the parent United Nations organization itself. The system is financed by contributions from participant states. The contributions are usually made in two ways: more than half are

voluntary contributions and the rest are assessed contributions — required “dues” at levels established by the membership of the organizations involved.

Assessed contributions finance the regular budget of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Financial assessments are one of the legal obligations accepted by a country when it joins one of these organizations. Thus, the organizations have a regular source of income from their members to enable them to carry out authorized programs. Most current peacekeeping operations are funded through special assessed accounts. U.S. assessed contributions are included within the State Department’s budget. Congress authorizes these funds as part of the “Foreign Relations Authorization Act” and appropriates the money in the “State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary” appropriations legislation. 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 peacekeeping is funded in the contributions to international peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account.

Voluntary contributions finance special programs and special apparatus created by the U.N. system, such as the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA). These contributions are entirely up to the individual country, and no country is obliged to contribute to these programs. U.S. voluntary contributions are financed through the foreign assistance authorization and appropriation legislation.

U.N. Assessed Budgets

Scale of Assessments

The regular budgets of the U.N. and specialized agencies are funded by required contributions from member states. The United States is required by Article 17 of the U.N. Charter (a treaty ratified by the United States on August 8, 1945) to contribute to the expenses of the organization. The scale of assessments — which is based generally on a country’s capacity to pay — requires the United States to pay the maximum or 22% of the U.N. regular budget, while 48 members pay the minimum or 0.001%. The U.S. assessment for 2005 is \$439.612 million. 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.

Specialized agencies, while linked to the United Nations, are autonomous in 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.

If there were no maximum and minimum assessment levels for the U.N. regular budget and charges 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%. In 2005, the top 3 contributors (United States, Japan, and

Germany) were assessed a total of 50.13% of the U.N. regular budget. The top 10 contributors (paying 76.44% of the total) to the regular U.N. budget according to the scale of assessments adopted by the General Assembly for 2005 were as follows.

Table 1. Top Ten U.N. Regular Budget Contributors for 2005

Member State	Percent of Budget	Assessments for 2005 in millions of U.S.\$
United States*	22.00	439.612
Japan	19.47	389.016
Germany	8.66	173.087
United Kingdom*	6.13	122.432
France*	6.03	120.494
Italy	4.89	97.614
Canada	2.81	56.210
Spain	2.52	50.356
China*	2.05	41.024
Mexico	1.88	37.627

*Permanent members of the U.N. Security Council

For 2005, the other permanent member of the Security Council, the Russian Federation, was assessed at 1.10%, \$21.981 million.

U.N. Reform

Because of unpredictable, partial and in some cases, non-payment of assessed contributions by member countries, the United Nations functions under cash shortage problems. Many see resolution of the financial crisis as inextricably linked to U.N. system reform and restructuring. Some argue that serious reform initiatives can strengthen the confidence of member countries in the ability of the organizations to use funds effectively. Others, however, warn that without timely payment of adequate funds, the system may not function effectively.

U.S. Role in U.N. Reform. The U.S. government has pressed for U.N. reform and linked payment of past arrears to reforms. 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 106th Congress enacted P.L.106-113 including a Helms-Biden agreement conditioning arrears payments on U.N. reforms.

More recently, on June 8, 2005, the House Committee on International Relations favorably reported H.R. 2745, the Henry J. Hyde United Nations Reform Act of 2005. The wide-ranging and complex measure requires 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 are not in place including 15 mandatory reforms. Among the changes sought by the legislation are: 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 General Assembly affairs and conference services as well as for public information; and reform in U.N. peacekeeping and establishment 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.

The measure was passed (by vote of 221 to 184) by the House on June 17, 2005. During floor debate a number of additional provisions were adopted including limiting U.S. contributions to the U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA); calling for zero nominal growth in the assessed budgets of the United Nations and its specialized agencies; the Independent Oversight Board is to evaluate the final report of the Independent Inquiry Committee on the Oil for Food Program; the U.S. Office of Management and Budget is to provide congress a report on all U.S. contributions to the United Nations; and calls for lifting of the prohibition on gratis military personnel. The Bush Administration has expressed reservations about the House legislation because of its withholding provisions and because it infringes 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.

A U.N. reform measure has also been 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.

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. It released its report on June 15, 2005. Among its recommendations, the Task Force suggested: creation of an Independent Oversight Board and a Chief Operating Officer; allowing the U.N. Secretary-General to replace top officials; sunset provisions for all programs and activities; disclosure standards for top officials; more independence for the Department of Peacekeeping; and improve the capacity to stop genocide and mass killing.

The Bush Administration has also expressed support for U.N. reforms. It has called for measures to improve internal oversight and accountability, to identify cost savings, and to allocate resources to high priority programs and offices. It has 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 has expressed its openness to Security Council reform and expansion, but not at the expense of effectiveness.

U.N. Reform Efforts. In 1994, the General Assembly established an Office of Internal Oversight Services headed by an Under-Secretary General appointed by the U.N.

Secretary-General with the approval of the General Assembly. Ten annual reports on the activities of the office through June 30, 2004, have been submitted to the General Assembly, and the Office has undertaken an increasing number of monitoring, auditing, and investigative activities.

In 1997, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced a two-track reform program. The first track included immediate managerial changes within the Secretary-General's authority to affect, 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 1000 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 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 formulation and management changes proposed by Secretary-General Annan including establishing a Deputy Secretary-General post. Louise Frechette of Canada was named to the Deputy post. In December 2000, the U.N. General Assembly authorized implementation of results based budgeting for the 2003-2003 biennium budget. In 2001, Secretary-General Annan (whose first term expired at the end of 2001) was elected to another five-year term. Urging the United Nations to align its activities to doing what matters in the 21st century, in September 2002, Secretary-General Annan submitted a report calling for additional reforms.

On December 2, 2004, a group appointed by the Secretary-General, called the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, issued its report titled, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. The report acknowledges failures and shortcomings in the organization and offers 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 would require 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*. The Secretary-

General hoped that these reform proposals would form the basis for discussion and perhaps final decision at a U.N. summit in September 2005. The 2005 U.N. Summit (September 14-16) without a vote agreed to an outcome document which included some reform measures, but the details of such measures were mainly left for continued discussions during the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

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 in recent years (Catherine Bertini, preceded by Joseph Connor). U.N. Secretariat staff has been cut from about 12,000 in 1985 to less than 9,000 today. The 1998-99 U.N. budget (\$2.532 billion or a little less than \$1.3 billion per year) was smaller than that for 1996-97 (\$2.608 billion). The budget for the 2000-2001 biennium was \$2.562 billion and that for 2002-2003 was \$2.891 billion. The budget for 2004-2005 is \$3.608 billion.

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 for 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, for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and for implementation of General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX) (racism equals Zionism). 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 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.

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 February 14, 2005, 23 countries were in that status.

According to the United Nations, despite recent U.S. arrears payments, the United States (as of December 31, 2004), still owed assessed contributions of \$ 975.0 million (\$240.5 million for the U.N. regular budget, \$12.0 million for International Tribunals, and \$722.5 million for peacekeeping). The U.S. government, however, because of U.S. statutory and policy withholdings, estimated that U.S. outstanding contributions are lower than the U.N. figures.

The Helms-Biden Agreement and Payment of U.N. Arrears

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 it to reduce U.S. arrears.

P.L. 106-113 required that State Department certification for release of FY1998 funds include stipulations that neither the United Nations nor any U.N. affiliated agency has required the United States to violate the Constitution or cede sovereignty, taxed U.S. nationals, created a standing army, charged the United States interest on arrears, borrowed externally, or exercised authority or control over any U.S. national park, wildlife preserve, monument or property. In December 1999 the certification was made and \$100 million was paid to the United Nations.

Release of FY1999 appropriated arrearage funds required additional certification that the assessment ceiling for the U.N. regular budget had been reduced to 22% and to 25% for U.N. peacekeeping.

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 somewhat lower in subsequent years.

The changed assessment scale met the requirement of the Helms-Biden agreement for reduction of the regular budget scale to 22%, in order to release the second tranche of arrears payment. The new peacekeeping scale, however, while a substantial reduction, did not meet the Helms-Biden requirement of 25%. On October 5, 2001, the President signed into law P.L. 107-46 (S. 248) which raised the percentage for U.S. peacekeeping assessments from 25 to 28.15 as a condition for release of arrears funds, thereby making available \$582 million (FY1999 appropriations of \$475 million, plus \$107 million credit to the United Nations against U.S. arrears).

However, because of another existing statutory prohibition on U.S. payment of more than 25% of U.N. assessed peacekeeping costs (sec. 404, P.L. 103-236), the United States continued to build up arrears in its assessed peacekeeping payments. P.L. 107-228 (H.R. 1646), the Foreign Relations Authorization for FY2003, changed the allowable level for U.S. peacekeeping assessments as follows: for calendar year 2001, 28.15%; for calendar year 2002, 27.9%; for calendar year 2003, 27.4%; and for calendar year 2004, 27.4%. P.L. 108-447 raised the cap to 27.1% for calendar year 2005.

Payment of the third installment of U.S. arrears from FY2000 appropriations required certification that the United Nations and designated U.N. specialized agencies (FAO, ILO, and WHO) had reduced the maximum assessment levels to 20% (waivable to 22%, in effect) and had instituted a number of other administrative reforms.

P.L. 107-228 also amended the Helms-Biden agreement to allow the third and last installment of arrears to be paid to each international organization upon certification of the conditions established for that agency or immediately if no conditions applied. Certification was made on October 21, 2002, and the final \$244 million was paid (\$30 million for U.N. peacekeeping arrears and the other \$214 million to other international organizations including U.N. system agencies).

FY2006 Funding for U.N. Assessed Budgets

The Administration requested \$1.2965 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) of which \$931.362 million was for assessed U.N. system organizations including \$438.952 million for the U.N. regular budget. In addition, \$1.0355 billion was requested for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA). Another \$780 million was requested for U.N. peacekeeping operations in supplemental FY2005 appropriations.

H.R. 3057 as passed by the Senate on July 20 included \$1.166 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to CIO (more than \$130 million below the Administration's request), and \$1.035 billion for assessed peacekeeping activities. 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 \$600,000. The Senate Committee on Appropriations requested a number of State Department reports during its considerations of the legislation: on assessment rates and other information 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 on changes in the World Tourism Organizations since U.S. withdrawal and potential benefits of U.S. participation.

H.R. 2862 as passed by the House (417-7) on June 16, 2005 appropriated \$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. The amount was taken 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.

S. 600, authorizing appropriations for foreign relations for FY2006 and FY2007, as reported (S.Rept. 109-35) by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, authorized \$1.2965 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO), and \$1.0355 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account.

FY2005 Funding for U.N. Assessed Budgets

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 causing 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.

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 is 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 is to study U.N. efforts to meet the goals of its Charter and submit its report within 180 days of enactment.

The conference committee 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.

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) is \$173.38 million below the amount requested by the Administration; and the \$574 million recommended for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) is \$76 million below the amount requested by the Administration. The Committee recommended allocation of \$70.0 million for the IAEA, \$12.7 million for ICAO, \$1.35 million for IMO, and \$1.1 million for WIPO. The Committee also recommended \$6.0 million to subsidize the cost of \$1.2 billion loan to the United Nations to finance the 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 is conducted rigorously.

H.R. 4754 as passed by the House (397 to 18) on July 8, 2004 appropriated \$1.19421 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 cut CIO funding. On July 7, Representative 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 vote of 129 to 291.

On July 1, 2004, the House Committee on Appropriations reported H.R. 4754 as an original measure. The Committee recommended full funding 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; U.N. need to do more about the crises in Sudan; and charges of sexual abuse of minors related to U.N. peacekeeping operations. The Committee included \$6 million for costs of a direct loan to the United Nations for costs of renovation U.N. headquarters in New York to subsidize up to \$1.2 billion total loan principal.

The Bush Administration requested \$1.19421 billion for U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations (CIO) of which \$819.0 million was for assessed U.N. system organizations including \$362.2 million for the U.N. regular budget and \$6.0 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 \$650 million was requested for assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA).

FY2004 Funding for U.N. Assessed Budgets

Appropriations. P.L. 108-199 (H.R. 2673), the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2004, included \$1.010,463 billion for assessed contributions for the international organizations (CIO) account, and \$550.2 million for assessed contributions for the contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA) account. The measure included a requirement that non-defense spending be cut by 0.59% across the board.

On September 5, 2003, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported (S.Rept. 108-144) on S. 1585 making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State including assessed contributions for international organizations and U.N. peacekeeping operations. The Committee recommended \$921.888 million for assessed contributions to international organizations and \$482.649 million for U.N. peacekeeping activities. The Committee deleted \$71.429 million requested funding for U.S. return to UNESCO, noting that the Committee did not consider UNESCO reformed. The Committee report 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 organization and U.S. priorities.

The Senate Appropriations Committee also deleted \$11.779 million from requested funding for the U.N. regular budget because the Committee did not want to provide funding for the U.N. Human Rights Commission which in its view had too long been dominated by known human rights violators. In addition, of the funds made available for U.S. contribution to the U.N. regular budget, \$10 million is to be for reimbursement of the city of New York 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. It directed 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 United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to provide the necessary support for the Court.

On July 23, 2003, the House passed H.R. 2799 (400-21) making appropriations for the Department of Commerce, Justice, and State for FY2004, including \$1.010 billion for

assessed contribution 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 Committee on Appropriations included the full amount requested by the President for U.S. return to UNESCO. The Committee noted that it expects the Department of State to work aggressively to ensure that UNESCO employs more Americans, especially at senior levels, and if the 2004-2005 UNESCO budget is increased that the increase should focus on management and administrative reforms identified by the General Accounting Office. The Committee also 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 in Paris, France.

During floor debate on H.R. 2799, an amendment offered by Representative Paul to strike funding for UNESCO was defeated by a vote of 145 to 279.

For FY2004 President Bush requested \$1.010 billion for the CIO account, of which \$745.8 million is for assessed contributions to U.N. system organization (of which \$340.7 million is for the U.N. regular budget), and \$550.2 million is for assessed contributions to the CIPA account.

Table 2. U.S. Contributions to Current U.N. Assessed Regular Budgets
(in millions of \$)

	FY2003 Actual	FY2004 Actual	FY2005 Estimate	FY2006 Request
United Nations	279.377	340.472	362.193	438.952
U.N. Capital Master Plan	5.550	—	6.00	10.595
U.N. — War Crimes Tribunals	25.811	32.656	35.039	36.793
Food and Agriculture Organization	72.457	72.457	82.65	83.788
International Atomic Energy Agency	57.984	68.462	82.650	83.788
International Civil Aviation Agency	12.464	12.629	13.649	14.894
International Labor Organization	56.661	68.055	65.229	63.648
International Maritime Organization	1.202	1.366	1.473	1.527
International Telecommunications Union	6.983	7.976	8.380	7.913
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	—	84.138	80.857	71.468
Universal Postal Union	1.563	1.697	1.854	1.728
World Health Organization	93.615	93.615	96.191	96.111
World Intellectual Property Organization	0.898	1.058	1.173	1.131
World Meteorological Organization	9.223	9.963	11.900	11.054
Total	623.788	794.542	860.273	931.362

U.N. Voluntary Programs

FY2006. The appropriate level of funding for U.N. voluntary programs continues to be a congressional concern. H.R. 3057 as passed by the Senate on July 20, included a total of \$330.0 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 come from funds for USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance.

H.R. 3057, as passed by the House on June 28, included \$328.958 million 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 UNDP, not less than \$127 million for UNICEF, \$5 million for 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 UNEP's work in the Palestinian territories.

S. 600, as reported by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (S.Rept. 109-35), authorized \$281.908 million for voluntary contributions for the international organizations and programs (IO&P).

The Administration requested \$281.908 million for voluntary contributions for the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account including \$114 million for UNICEF and \$95 million for UNDP. \$50 million for IAEA voluntary programs was requested in another account.

FY2005. P.L. 108-447 included \$319.494 million 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.

H.R. 4818 as passed by the House (365 to 41) on July 15, 2004, included \$323.45 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account. \$53 million for a voluntary contribution to the IAEA was included in another account. During House floor debate on H.R. 4818, Representative Buyer introduced an amendment that prohibited use of 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.

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).

The Administration requested \$304.45 million for voluntary contributions for the international organizations and programs account. In addition, \$53 million was requested for voluntary contributions to IAEA in another account.

FY2004. P.L. 108-199 (H.R. 2673), the consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2004, included \$321.65 million for voluntary contributions to the international organizations and programs (IO&P) account including \$120 million for UNICEF and \$102 million for UNDP. \$53 million for voluntary contributions to IAEA was appropriated in another account.

On July 23, 2003, by a vote of 370 to 50, the House passed H.R. 2800 making appropriations for foreign operations including \$194.550 million for voluntary contributions to the IO&P account. H.R. 2800 includes \$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 United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) failed when a point of order was sustained against it.

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

Issues. An extremely contentious issue has been funding for the U. N. Population Fund (UNFPA). (For detailed discussion, see CRS Issue Brief IB96026, *Population Assistance and Family Planning Programs: Issues for Congress.*)

U.S. officials cite several reasons for restrained funding recommendations for what they consider to be, for the most part, popular and productive agencies. First, as in the assessed agencies, Administrations have expressed commitments to fiscal restraint in international organizations — to zero growth budgets or budget cuts — arguing that with countries cutting domestic spending, U.N. agencies cannot expect to remain untouched. Second, many believe that there are limits to the United Nations' institutional capacity to deal with world problems.

Members of Congress have been increasingly critical of funding for multilateral programs which are not always seen as serving primary U.S. interests. Recent congressional activity includes close scrutiny and critical review of international organization programs and a refocusing toward those which are deemed clearly to promote U.S. national interests such as the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The United States exercises considerable influence among voluntary agencies and many countries follow the U.S. lead in making voluntary contributions. If the United States contributes less than in earlier years, other donors may follow suit. This would magnify the reductions to U.N. voluntary programs considerably. A related concern is the cumulative effect of U.S. contribution cuts on voluntary agencies. U.S. cutbacks to one agency also affect programs in other agencies because many projects are joint, cooperative efforts by a number of U.N. agencies. Moreover, the financial crisis in the central U.N. organ and the specialized agencies also has ripple effects on programs throughout the voluntary system.

Congressional supporters of multilateral voluntary agencies fear that budget reductions may significantly affect these organizations' ability to continue their development work. These proponents point out that many U.N. voluntary agencies serve U.S. interests. They contend that many of these agencies are considered efficient and effective and, in some cases, may provide better development programs than occurs through bilateral channels. Table 3 summarizes recent U.S. funding actions for some U.N. voluntary programs.

Table 3. U.S. Voluntary Contributions to U.N. Programs Financed Through the Foreign Assistance Act (International Organizations and Programs)
(in millions of \$)

	FY2003 Actual	FY2004 Actual	FY2005 Estimate	FY2006 Request
U.N. Development Program (UNDP)	100.000	101.398	108.128	95.000
U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) ^a	119.220	119.292	124.000	114.000
U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)	1.000	0.994	1.984	0.950
UNIFEM Trust Fund	—	—	0.992	—
International Contributions for Scientific, Educational, & Cultural Activities	1.750	1.889	0.837	1.000
WMO Voluntary Coop. Program	2.000	1.988	1.984	1.900
U.N. Environment Program (UNEP)	10.500	10.935	10.912	9.524
Montreal Protocol Multilateral Fund	23.000	20.876	21.328	21.500
International. Conservation Programs ^b (CITES, ITTO, IUCN, Ramsar, CCD)	6.225	6.362	6.349	5.914
U.N. Voluntary Fund Torture Victims	5.000	5.468	6.944	4.750
Climate Stabilization Fund (IPCC, UNFCCC)	6.000	5.567	5.952	5.320
ICAO Aviation Security Fund	0.300	0.994	0.992	0.950
U.N. Voluntary Fund for Advisory Services & Technical Cooperation	1.500	1.491	1.488	1.425
IAEA Voluntary Programs ^c	52.900	52.687	52.576	50.000
Center for Human Settlements	0.250	0.746	0.149	—
IMO Maritime Security Programs	—	—	0.099	0.400
Reserve — To Be Allocated	—	—	24.800	—
U.N. International Democracy Fund (UNIDF)	—	—	—	10.000
U.N. Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA)	—	—	—	0.600
Total	329.645	355.540	369.514	323.233

Note: Does not include U.S. contributions to U.N. High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) Programs (\$255 million in FY2002) and to U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNWRA) (\$119 million in FY2002), 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. Appropriated under Child Survival Program in FY2002 and FY2003.
- b. Only CITES is a U.N. program.
- c. Requested and Appropriated under Non-Proliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs account.

U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

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. (For detailed discussion, see CRS Issue Brief IB90103, *United Nations Peacekeeping: Issues for Congress.*)

FY2006. The Administration requested \$1.0355 billion for FY2006 for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities (CIPA).

FY2005. P.L. 108-447 included \$490 million for FY2005 U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities. Another \$780 million was requested for U.N. peacekeeping in supplemental FY2005 appropriations. P.L. 109-13 included \$680 million. The Administration had requested \$650 million for FY2005 for U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations.

FY2004. P.L. 108-199 (H.R. 2673) included \$550.2 million for FY2004 U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping activities, the amount requested by the Bush Administration.

LEGISLATION

P.L. 109-13 (H.R. 1268)

Making emergency supplemental appropriations for FY2005. Introduced as an original bill on March 11, 2005. Reported (H.Rept. 109-16) by the House Appropriations Committee on March 11. Agreed to in House (388-43) on March 16. Reported (S.Rept. 109-52) by the Senate Committee on Appropriations on April 6, 2005. Agreed to in Senate on April 21. Conference report (H.Rept. 109-72) filed on May 3, House agreed to conference report on May 5, and the Senate on May 10. Signed into law on May 11, 2005.

H.R. 2601 (Christopher Smith)

To authorize appropriations for the Department of State for FY2006 and 2007. Introduced on May 24, and on June 9, the House Committee on International Relations voted 44-0 to favorably report the measure, H.Rept. 109-168. On July 20, passed House, 351-78. H.R. 2745, as passed by the House was added to this measure on July 19.

H.R. 2745 (Hyde)

To reform the United Nations. Introduced on June 7, 2005. House Committee on International Relations voted 25 to 22 to favorably report to the House on June 8. House agreed (221-184) to the measure, as amended, on June 17.

H.R. 2862 (Wolf)

Making appropriations for Science, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce for FY2006. Reported (H.Rept. 109-118) in the House as an original measure on Jun 10. House agreed (417-7) to the measure on June 16.

H.R. 3057 (Kolbe)

Making appropriations for foreign operations, and related programs for FY2006. Reported as an original bill on June 24, H.Rept. 109-152. Passed the House on June 28 by vote of 393-32. Reported by Senate Committee on Appropriations on June 30 with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, S.Rept. 109-96. Passed in Senate by vote of 98-1 on July 20.

S. 600 (Lugar)

To authorize appropriations for foreign relations for FY2006 and FY2007. Introduced as an original bill on March 10, 2005. Reported (S.Rept. 109-35) by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 10. Senate began consideration on April 5, 2005.

FOR ADDITIONAL READING

U.S. Department of State, *United States Participation in the United Nations. Report by the Secretary of State to Congress for the Year 2002*. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 2003. 237 p.

U.S. General Accounting Office. *United Nations: Reforms Progressing, but Comprehensive Assessments Needed to Measure Impact*. GAO-04-339. February 2004. Washington, 2004. 59 p.