

# Appendix A

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*The Committee Inquiry*

The Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives initiated its inquiry into the United Nations' Oil-for-Food program in March 2004. In April 2004, Committee staff interviewed senior officials at UN headquarters in New York including officials of the United States Mission to the United Nations (USUN), and the United Kingdom Mission to the UN (UKUN), UN officials from the Office of the Iraq Program (OIP) and the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS).

In May 2004, Committee staff traveled to Amman and London. In Amman, staff met with numerous officials assigned to the U.S. Embassy, Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) staff, members of an Iraqi Trade Ministry mission in Amman, and the acting president of the Iraqi Bureau of Supreme Audit. Staff also met with members of the Jordanian government including the Planning Minister, as well as two UN officials affiliated with Iraq and the OFF Program. In London, staff met with UK government officials and parliamentarians academics, and Iraqi exiles.

In June 2004, Committee staff traveled to Rome to meet a former Iraqi ministry official, a U.S. Agency for International Development official, and a World Food Program official. In Dubai, staff met with Iraqi banking officials and UAE government officials.

In July 2004, staff traveled again to Amman and Turkey. In Amman, investigators met with Jordanian banking officials and Iraqi ministry officials traveling from Baghdad. In Turkey, staff met with officials of the U.S. Embassy, as well as Turkish officials with knowledge of the OFF program.

In December 2004, staff traveled to interview witnesses in London and Munich, Germany. While in London, staff met with representatives of the Weir Company, a UK-based engineering firm which had admitted to paying kickbacks to Iraq in exchange for favorable treatment of a pending contract. In Munich, staff met with Paul Condon, a former UN sanctions official.

In October 2005, staff traveled to interview witnesses in Egypt and Cyprus. While in Egypt, staff met with Egyptian Foreign Minister Abdul Ahmed Gheit, representatives of the Egyptian Central Bank, and officials of the Egyptian General Petroleum Corporation. In Cyprus, they met with and interviewed officials of the Cypriot Central Bank, Cypriot Attorney General Petros Clerides, MOKAS, the Financial Intelligence Unit, and Benon Sevan, the former Executive Director of the UN's Office of Iraq Program.

In general, the inquiry and the subsequent search for information has proven to be challenging and at times, difficult to verify. Much of what has been discovered provides a fascinating look into the tyrannical rule of a corrupt leader and his regime. Using a

program intended to help feed the Iraqi people, the Hussein regime corrupted nearly every aspect of the Oil-for-Food program for its own self-interested purposes. It is the opinion of the Committee that the Oil-for-Food Program actually extended Saddam's rule, not restricted it, as was originally intended. Because the program was compromised from its inception, as several U.S. officials warned would be the case, it was doomed to devolve into abuse and corruption.

Committee staff has met and interviewed more than 180 witnesses with in-depth knowledge of the program and has pursued a number of lines of inquiry.

#### *Hearings Held*

The Committee and its Subcommittees held numerous hearings on United Nations issues including but not limited to the Oil-for-Food program.

In 2004, the Full Committee held two hearings on the Oil-for-Food Program. The first, on April 28, 2004, was titled "The United Nations Oil-for-Food Program: Issues of Accountability and Transparency," had six private witnesses giving testimony: Howar Zaid, United Nations Liaison Office; Danielle Pletka, American Enterprise Institute; Claudia Rosett, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies; John G. Ruggie, Harvard University; Michael Soussan, former coordinator of the Oil-for-Food Program; and Joseph A. Christoff, Government Accountability Office. The other hearing was titled "The Oil-for-Food Program: Tracking the Funds," and was held on November 17, 2004. Testimony was received from two witnesses: Charles A. Duelfer, Special Advisor to the Director of Central Intelligence on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, Central Intelligence Agency; and Everett Schenk, Chief Executive Officer, BNP-Paribas, North America.

The Full Committee held three hearings in 2005. The first was held on March 15, 2005, and was titled "U.N. Reform: Challenges and Prospects." Testimony was received from three witnesses: Richard C. Holbrooke, former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations; Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations; and Richard S. Williamson, former U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations. The second hearing, titled "Reforming the United Nations: Budget and Management Perspectives," was held on May 19, 2005. Testimony was heard from three witnesses: Mark Lagon, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, U.S. Department of State; Catherine Bertini, former Under-Secretary-General for Management, United Nations; and former Senator Tim Wirth, president of the United Nations Foundation. Finally, on Sept 28, 2005 the Committee held a hearing titled "United Nations Rhetoric or Reform: Outcome of the High Level Event." Testimony was received from U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, John Bolton. Mark Malloch Brown, chief of staff to the Secretary General of the United Nations, also briefed the Committee.

The Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations held three hearings on issues related to the United Nations Reform Act. The first was held

on March 1, 2005, titled "United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case for Peacekeeping Reform." Testimony was received from Kim Holmes, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, U.S. Department of State; Princeton N. Lyman, former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs; Nile Gardiner, The Heritage Foundation; and Anneke Van Woudenberg, Human Rights Watch. On April 19, 2005, the Subcommittee held a hearing entitled "The United Nations Commission on Human Rights: Protector or Accomplice?" with Assistant Secretary-General Danilo Turk of the Department of Political Affairs at the United Nations testifying. On May 18, 2005, the Subcommittee held a hearing titled "U.N. Peacekeeping Reform: Seeking Greater Accountability and Integrity." Testimony was received from Philo L. Dibble, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Organization Affairs, U.S. Department of State; Eric Schwartz of the Council on Foreign Relations; and Victoria Holt of the Henry L. Stimson Center.

The Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations held numerous hearings on United Nations-related issues. The first, on February 9, 2005, was titled "The Volcker Interim Report on United Nations Oil-for-Food Program." Testimony was heard from Nile Gardiner, Heritage Foundation; George A. Lopez, Senior Fellow, Joan Kroc Institute for International Peace; and Nimrod Raphaeli, MEMRI. The second hearing was titled "United Nations Operations: Integrity and Accountability," and was held on March 2, 2005. Testimony was heard from Patrick F. Kennedy, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations for Management and Reform; and Joseph A. Christoff, Government Accountability Office. The Subcommittee held another U.N.-related hearing on March 17, 2005, titled "The United Nations Oil-for-Food Program: The Cotecna and Saybolt Inspection Firms." Testimony was received from three private witnesses: John Denson of the Saybolt Group, Houston Texas; Dr. Rehan Mullick, former research officer for the United Nations Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq; and Evelyn Suarez, an attorney representing Cotecna S.A. The final U.N.-related hearing held by the Subcommittee, titled "The Role of BNP-Paribas SA in the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program," and was held on April 28, 2005. Testimony was heard from several officials of BNP-Paribas SA: Everett Schenck, Patricia Herbert, William Vassallo, and Harold Lehmann. On July 28, 2005, the Subcommittee held a hearing titled "Syria and the Oil-for-Food Program." Testimony was heard from Elizabeth Dibble, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs; Dwight Sparlin, Director of Operations, Policy and Support, Division for Criminal Investigations Internal Revenue Service, and Vic Comras, Minister Counselor, United States Department of State, retired.

The Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation held a hearing on March 17, 2005, titled "The United Nations and the Fight Against Terrorism," Testimony was heard from Vic Comras, former member of the United Nations al-Qaeda monitoring group; and Anne Bayefsky, The Hudson Institute. [Vic Did this person testify in his capacity as a retired State Dept official or a former UN expert? May want to clarify, because the preceding two paragraphs both mention Comras in different capacities]

*Subpoenas Issued by the Committee*

In order to obtain information important to the investigation, the Committee issued several subpoenas for documents and testimony. Subpoenas were necessary in order to obtain the requested information, especially regarding information directly about the Oil-for-Food program and UN contractors.

<b>August 9, 2004</b>	BNP for documents
<b>November 2, 2004</b>	BNP for witness testimony
<b>February 11, 2005</b>	BNP for documents
	Cotecna for documents
	Bayoil (David Chalmers) for documents
<b>February 15, 2005</b>	Bayoil Supply & Trading for documents
<b>April 15, 2005</b>	BNP for documents
	BNP for witness testimony
<b>April 29, 2005</b>	Robert H. Parton of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program for documents
<b>August 26, 2005</b>	IHC Services, Inc. for documents