

Taliban Financial Accountability and Aid Integrity Act

To prevent United States funds from benefiting the Taliban.

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ONE-PAGE SUMMARY

The problem

American money is not supposed to reach the Taliban. It has. SIGAR documented at least \$10.9 million in taxes and fees paid by U.S.-funded partners to Taliban-controlled entities and called it a fraction of the total. The payments are legal under OFAC General License 20. The United Nations shipped at least \$3.8 billion in U.S. currency into Afghanistan through January 2024, and the Taliban-run central bank buys those dollars. H.R. 260 asks for reports. It does not reach the UN, the development banks, or the license that makes the payments lawful.

What the bill does

- **Title I.** No U.S. assistance for Afghanistan, directly or through any international organization, unless the Secretary of State certifies six safeguards, including reporting of every payment to the Taliban at every award tier and currency conversion that keeps dollars away from the central bank.
- **Title II.** Treasury must amend General License 20 within 90 days: report payments over \$10,000; no payment of levies aimed at aid groups; humanitarian activity still authorized. Mandatory blocking and visa sanctions on officials who divert aid or detain aid workers.
- **Title III.** The U.S. trustee of the Afghan Fund may not consent to any transfer to the central bank, and the \$3.5 billion blocked at the New York Fed stays blocked, until Treasury certifies the bank is independent of the Taliban. The pending Supreme Court case is unaffected.
- **Titles IV and V.** Suspension of assistance to governments and NGOs that knowingly fund the Taliban, with a standard, a waiver, and notice to Congress. State OIG becomes the auditor SIGAR's closure left missing. OMB certifies unobligated Afghanistan balances by account before a rescission amount is fixed.

The ask

H.R. 260 is on the Senate calendar (No. 330) with a committee substitute. Offer this text as a substitute amendment when the bill is taken up, or introduce it as a standalone bill and refer it to Foreign Relations. The Afghan-ally relocation language (section 505) is severable and restores the House coalition.

Cost

CBO scored the House-passed H.R. 260 at less than \$500,000 over 2025–2030. This draft adds a bracketed authorization for the State OIG (section 501(c)) and a rescission (section 506) that is expected to exceed it once OMB certifies the balances. Net effect: deficit reduction, amount to be fixed with CBO.

DISCUSSION DRAFT WITH DRAFTER'S NOTE

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Revision of October 2, 2026. Supersedes the September 16, 2026 draft. Every citation was checked against the source listed in Annex A; changes from the prior draft are listed in Annex B.

What this bill does

The Taliban are a designated terrorist organization. They have not changed. They shelter al-Qaeda, they have taken Americans hostage, and they have barred women and girls from school, work, and public life. No American dollar should reach them. That is the goal of this bill.

Here is the limit. The Taliban budget is financed entirely from domestic revenue: customs, taxes, mining, tolls, and fees. The World Bank puts that revenue at 272.4 billion afghanis, about \$4.0 billion, for the fiscal year that ended in March 2026. Foreign aid is off-budget. No U.S. statute reaches that money. A statute can do four things:

- **Control every U.S. dollar**, whether it goes to Afghanistan directly or through the United Nations and the development banks.
- **Close the sanctions exception.** OFAC General License 20 (February 25, 2022) makes it lawful to pay taxes, fees, and import duties to Taliban-run ministries. SIGAR found that U.S.-funded partners paid at least \$10.9 million to Taliban-controlled entities and called that figure a fraction of the total, because the UN agencies did not report what their subawardees paid.
- **Keep the Afghan central bank reserves out of Taliban hands by statute**, not by policy.
- **Put a personal cost on the officials and front organizations that steal aid.**

This draft does those four things. It does not claim more.

Where things stand on October 2, 2026

- **The USAID money has been cut off.** In April 2025 the State Department terminated every remaining USAID award for Afghanistan, about \$563 million, including the World Food Programme awards. The stated reason was credible and longstanding concern that the funding was benefiting the Taliban. The terminations were not reversed. Any State Department humanitarian funding that continues is small and unreported. This bill writes the April 2025 decision into law. No future administration can restart the money without the safeguards in Title I.
- **H.R. 260 is stalled in the Senate.** It passed the House by voice vote on June 23, 2025. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported it with an amendment in the nature of a substitute on February

10, 2026 (Calendar No. 330), without a written report. It has not had a floor vote. The Senate companion is S. 226 (Sheehy).

- **H.R. 260 is reports and a strategy.** The House-passed text requires four reports and a strategy. The Senate substitute adds a one-sentence suspension clause with no standard, no definition of “assistance,” no waiver, and no notice to Congress; a rescission that lists CERP twice and labels one entry “DFC”; and a sense of Congress on normalization. Neither version mentions the United Nations, the development banks, or General License 20. CBO scored the House version at less than \$500,000 over 2025–2030 (April 21, 2025). No CBO estimate of the Senate substitute has been published.
- **SIGAR is gone.** Congress set its termination at January 31, 2026 (section 7809 of Public Law 118–159). Its final report was issued December 3, 2025. No office has a dedicated Afghanistan mandate today.
- **The Afghan Fund holds more than \$3.9 billion and has disbursed nothing to the Afghan people.** The board acts by unanimous consent of four trustees, one of them from the Treasury Department. That veto is policy. Title III makes it law.
- **The other \$3.5 billion is in litigation.** It is blocked at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York under Executive Order 14064. On August 26, 2025, the Second Circuit held 2–1 that the 9/11 families cannot execute against it (Havlish v. Taliban). Rehearing en banc was denied March 19, 2026. A petition for certiorari, No. 26–292, was docketed September 4, 2026; the response is due October 5, 2026. Section 302 keeps this bill out of that case.
- **The Haqqani bounties were withdrawn.** In March 2025 the State Department removed the Rewards for Justice offers for Sirajuddin Haqqani (\$10 million), Abdul Aziz Haqqani (\$5 million), and Yahya Haqqani (\$5 million). All three remain Specially Designated Global Terrorists. The Haqqani Network remains a Foreign Terrorist Organization. Section 503 requires the explanation Congress has not received.

How this draft differs from H.R. 260

Comparison is to the House-passed text (June 23, 2025) and the Senate committee substitute (February 10, 2026).

- **Covers the United Nations and the multilateral banks.** H.R. 260 reaches only “foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations.”
- **Acts on OFAC General License 20,** the legal basis for tax and fee payments. H.R. 260 does not mention it.
- **Defines every operative term** and uses one term, “covered payment,” for the regulated conduct.

- **Replaces the Senate substitute's suspension clause (§ 2(d))** with a knowing-and-material standard, an August 15, 2021 start date, a determination deadline, notice and cure for NGOs, a national-security waiver with congressional notification, and a termination rule.
- **Preserves a humanitarian exception** consistent with UN Security Council Resolutions 2615 (2021) and 2664 (2022), with safeguards as the condition of funding rather than a blanket cutoff.
- **Codifies Afghan Fund release conditions and the Executive Order 14064 blocking.** H.R. 260 asks for reports about them.
- **Names an auditor.** State OIG leads; GAO reviews. SIGAR no longer exists.
- **Fixes the rescission.** The Senate substitute lists accounts with errors and no amount. This draft requires OMB to certify balances by Treasury account symbol before Congress fixes a number.
- **Restores the Afghan-ally relocation language** the Senate substitute dropped. It is severable.
- **Adds findings.** Each finding is sourced in Annex A.

Tradeoffs the sponsor must decide

- **Section 203(b) (extractive-sector sanctions) is discretionary.** Making it mandatory would reach Chinese, Russian, Uzbek, and Iranian counterparties and is the only provision that affects real regime revenue. It is also the provision most likely to conflict with other U.S. priorities in Central Asia.
- **Section 101 permits U.S. humanitarian funding to resume under conditions.** A sponsor who wants a permanent prohibition should strike the certification pathway. The cost is that the United States loses its only source of influence over how UN cash operations are run.
- **Title III and the Supreme Court petition.** The Second Circuit majority noted that a state-sponsor-of-terrorism designation for Afghanistan would change the analysis under the Terrorism Risk Insurance Act. This draft takes no position on the 9/11 families' claims and preserves the President's designation authority (section 302). A sponsor who wants to decide those questions is making a separate decision.
- **Section 505 restores Afghan-ally relocation language** to recover the bipartisan House coalition. It is severable.

Status of this text

This is a policy draft in legislative form. It is not the product of the Office of Legislative Counsel, and the drafter is not a lawyer. Statutory, regulatory, executive-order, and factual citations were checked on October 2, 2026 against the sources in Annex A. Items marked "confirm" in Annex A were verified from a secondary source (a CRS product or contemporaneous reporting of an official statement) and should be checked against the primary document before circulation. Bracketed items require sponsor decisions or agency data.

[DISCUSSION DRAFT]

119TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

H. R. / S. ____

A BILL

To prevent United States funds from benefiting the Taliban, to condition United States contributions to international organizations operating in Afghanistan, to restrict sanctions authorizations that permit payments to Taliban-controlled entities, to protect the reserves of the Afghan central bank, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Taliban Financial Accountability and Aid Integrity Act”.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

- (1) **ADMITTED; ALIEN.**—The terms “admitted” and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).
- (2) **AFGHAN FUND.**—The term “Afghan Fund” means the Fund for the Afghan People, a foundation organized under the laws of Switzerland and established on September 14, 2022, and any successor.
- (3) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional committees” means the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Financial Services, and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.
- (4) **COVERED ORGANIZATION.**—The term “covered organization” means any public international organization, nongovernmental organization, contractor, or other entity that receives United States assistance, at any tier, for activities in Afghanistan.
- (5) **COVERED PAYMENT.**—The term “covered payment” means any tax, fee, duty, levy, permit or license charge, utility payment, rent, in-kind transfer, or other transfer of funds or value made to, or collected by, the Taliban or a Taliban-controlled entity.
- (6) **DA AFGHANISTAN BANK.**—The term “Da Afghanistan Bank” means the central bank of Afghanistan and any successor.
- (7) **FOREIGN PERSON.**—The term “foreign person” means an individual or entity that is not a United States person.

- (8) GOOD.—The term “good” means any article, natural or man-made substance, material, supply, or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment, and excluding technical data.
- (9) HAWALA.—The term “hawala” means an informal value transfer system in which brokers settle obligations among themselves without the contemporaneous physical or electronic movement of funds.
- (10) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—The term “humanitarian assistance” means humanitarian assistance and other activities that support basic human needs in Afghanistan, as described in United Nations Security Council Resolution 2615 (2021).
- (11) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result, means that a person has actual knowledge, or should have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the result.
- (12) PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.—The term “public international organization” means the United Nations and its funds, programs, and specialized agencies, any organization designated under section 1 of the International Organizations Immunities Act (22 U.S.C. 288), and any international financial institution, as defined in section 1701(c)(2) of the International Financial Institutions Act (22 U.S.C. 262r(c)(2)).
- (13) TALIBAN.—The term “Taliban” means—
- (A) the Taliban, designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13224 (50 U.S.C. 1701 note; relating to blocking property and prohibiting transactions with persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism), as amended by Executive Order 13268 (July 2, 2002);
 - (B) the Haqqani Network, designated as a foreign terrorist organization under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1189) and as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13224; and
 - (C) any successor to, affiliate of, or person acting for or on behalf of, an entity described in subparagraph (A) or (B).
- (14) TALIBAN-CONTROLLED ENTITY.—The term “Taliban-controlled entity” means any ministry, directorate, municipality, agency, or instrumentality exercising governmental authority in Afghanistan under the direction of the Taliban, including Da Afghanistan Bank, and any enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, 50 percent or more by the Taliban or by one or more such entities.
- (15) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—The term “United States assistance” means assistance of any kind furnished under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.), the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 (22 U.S.C. 2601 et seq.), the Food for Peace Act (7 U.S.C. 1691 et seq.), or any Act making appropriations for the Department of State, foreign operations, and related programs, including voluntary contributions to public international organizations.
- (16) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term “United States person” means—
- (A) a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States;
 - (B) an entity organized under the laws of the United States or of any jurisdiction within the United States, including a foreign branch of such an entity; or
 - (C) any person in the United States.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

- (1) The Taliban was designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist under Executive Order 13224 on July 2, 2002. The Haqqani Network was designated as a foreign terrorist organization in September 2012. Sirajuddin Haqqani was designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on March 11, 2008. None of those designations has been revoked.
- (2) The World Bank reports that the Taliban budget has been financed entirely from domestic revenue since 2022, and that domestic revenue reached 272.4 billion afghanis, approximately \$4,000,000,000, in the fiscal year ending March 2026. Foreign assistance to Afghanistan is delivered off-budget.
- (3) The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction reported in July 2024 that the United Nations purchased and transported at least \$3,800,000,000 in United States currency to Afghanistan between December 2021 and January 2024, and that those shipments benefit the Taliban.
- (4) The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction reported in May 2024 that 38 of 65 responding implementing partners had paid at least \$10,900,000 in taxes, fees, duties, and utility charges to Taliban-controlled entities, and that the figure likely represents only a fraction of such payments because United Nations agencies did not collect data from subawardees.
- (5) General License 20, issued by the Office of Foreign Assets Control on February 25, 2022, under parts 594 and 597 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, authorizes the payment of taxes, fees, and import duties to governing institutions in Afghanistan, including institutions led by individuals whose property is blocked.
- (6) In April 2025, the Department of State terminated the remaining United States Agency for International Development assistance awards for Afghanistan, including awards to the World Food Programme, citing credible and longstanding concerns that the funding was benefiting the Taliban.
- (7) The Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction terminated on January 31, 2026, pursuant to section 7809 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2025 (Public Law 118–159). No successor has been designated.
- (8) In 2022, approximately \$3,500,000,000 in reserves of Da Afghanistan Bank was transferred to the Afghan Fund, whose board of trustees acts by unanimous consent of four trustees, including a representative of the Department of the Treasury. The Afghan Fund holds more than \$3,900,000,000 and has made no disbursement for the benefit of the Afghan people.
- (9) Approximately \$3,500,000,000 in additional reserves of Da Afghanistan Bank remains blocked at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York pursuant to Executive Order 14064 (87 Fed. Reg. 8391; relating to protecting certain property of Da Afghanistan Bank for the benefit of the people of Afghanistan).
- (10) In March 2025, the Department of State withdrew Rewards for Justice offers of \$10,000,000 for information on Sirajuddin Haqqani and \$5,000,000 each for information on Abdul Aziz Haqqani and Yahya Haqqani, while confirming that each remains a Specially Designated Global Terrorist and that the Haqqani Network remains a foreign terrorist organization.
- (11) The Taliban have detained United States citizens since August 2021 and released them only after direct negotiation, including releases in 2025 and 2026. United Nations monitoring reports continue to document

the presence of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and its relationship with the Taliban. Taliban edicts bar women and girls from secondary and higher education, most employment, and public life.

SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States—

- (1) that no United States assistance be provided to the Taliban, and that the benefit the Taliban derive from assistance intended for the Afghan people be reduced to the lowest level consistent with the delivery of life-saving aid;
- (2) that every covered payment made with United States funds be recorded, reported, and audited;
- (3) that the reserves of the Afghan central bank held outside Afghanistan remain beyond Taliban control; and
- (4) that officials and organizations that divert or coerce humanitarian assistance bear personal financial consequences.

TITLE I—UNITED STATES FUNDS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 101. CONDITIONS ON UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE FOR ACTIVITIES IN AFGHANISTAN.

(a) PROHIBITION.—No United States assistance may be obligated or expended for activities in Afghanistan, including through a contribution to a public international organization that is designated or allocated for such activities, except in accordance with subsection (b).

(b) CERTIFICATION.—United States assistance may be made available to a covered organization for activities in Afghanistan only if the Secretary of State certifies to the appropriate congressional committees, not less than 15 days before obligation, that the organization—

- (1) records and reports quarterly to the Secretary all covered payments made by the organization and by each subrecipient and contractor at any tier;
- (2) maintains independent third-party monitoring of program delivery and beneficiary selection;
- (3) grants the Inspector General of the Department of State and the Comptroller General of the United States access to records relating to activities in Afghanistan funded in whole or in part by the United States;
- (4) converts foreign currency through competitive procedures with vetted private financial institutions, uses electronic payment where feasible, and has adopted written procedures designed to minimize the acquisition of United States dollars by Da Afghanistan Bank;
- (5) does not permit the Taliban or any Taliban-controlled entity to select beneficiaries, staff, vendors, or locations; and
- (6) suspends activities in any district in which it determines that assistance is being diverted, and reports the suspension to the Secretary within 30 days.

(c) **UNEARMARKED CONTRIBUTIONS.**—The Secretary shall seek, as a condition of any unearmarked voluntary contribution to a public international organization that conducts activities in Afghanistan, the written agreement of the organization to the reporting described in subsection (b)(1) with respect to those activities.

(d) **EMERGENCY WAIVER.**—The Secretary may waive subsection (b), other than paragraph (1), for periods of not more than 180 days upon determining and reporting to the appropriate congressional committees that the waiver is necessary to respond to famine, natural disaster, or epidemic and describing the alternative safeguards in effect.

SEC. 102. MANDATORY AWARD TERM ON COVERED PAYMENTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, each Federal agency shall include in every grant, cooperative agreement, contract, and contribution agreement funding activities in Afghanistan a term requiring the recipient, and each subrecipient and subcontractor, to report each covered payment, including the payee, amount, date, legal basis asserted by the payee, and whether the payment was made under duress.

(b) **CONSEQUENCE.**—A knowing failure to report a covered payment shall be grounds for suspension or termination of the award and referral for suspension and debarment.

(c) **PROTECTION OF BENEFICIARIES.**—No report under this Act shall contain personally identifiable information of any individual recipient of assistance or of any Afghan national employed by a covered organization.

SEC. 103. INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

(a) **VOICE AND VOTE.**—The Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States Executive Director at each international financial institution to use the voice and vote of the United States to oppose any loan, grant, or other financing that is disbursed to or through the Taliban or a Taliban-controlled entity.

(b) **OFF-BUDGET ASSISTANCE.**—With respect to financing for basic human needs delivered in Afghanistan through public international organizations or nongovernmental organizations, the Executive Director shall advocate for safeguards equivalent to those in section 101(b) and shall oppose financing that lacks them.

SEC. 104. INDEPENDENT AUDIT OF CASH SHIPMENTS AND CURRENCY CONVERSION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of State, through the United States Mission to the United Nations and United States representatives on the executive boards of United Nations funds and programs, shall seek an independent external audit of the purchase, transport, deposit, distribution, and conversion of currency shipped to Afghanistan by the United Nations since August 15, 2021.

(b) **ALTERNATIVES PLAN.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a plan to reduce reliance on physical currency shipments, including the use of vetted private

banks with restored correspondent relationships, electronic and mobile payment, and a humanitarian exchange facility that settles outside Da Afghanistan Bank.

TITLE II—SANCTIONS

SEC. 201. REVISION OF GENERAL LICENSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury shall amend each general license issued under the Global Terrorism Sanctions Regulations (31 C.F.R. part 594) or the Foreign Terrorist Organizations Sanctions Regulations (31 C.F.R. part 597) that authorizes transactions involving governing institutions in Afghanistan, including General License 20 (February 25, 2022), so that the license—

- (1) requires any United States person that makes covered payments exceeding \$10,000 in the aggregate in a calendar year to report those payments to the Office of Foreign Assets Control;
- (2) does not authorize a covered payment that is not required by a law or regulation of general application, including any levy imposed specifically on humanitarian or development activities, their staff, or their beneficiaries;
- (3) does not authorize any transfer to a person sanctioned under section 202; and
- (4) continues to authorize transactions ordinarily incident and necessary to humanitarian assistance and activities supporting basic human needs in Afghanistan, consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 2615 (2021) and 2664 (2022).

(b) REPORT.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall report annually to the appropriate congressional committees the aggregate covered payments reported under subsection (a)(1), by category of payee.

SEC. 202. SANCTIONS FOR DIVERSION AND COERCION OF ASSISTANCE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the President shall impose the sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect to any foreign person the President determines—

- (1) is an official of the Taliban or a Taliban-controlled entity who knowingly directed or carried out the diversion of humanitarian assistance, the coercion of a covered organization, or the detention of humanitarian personnel;
- (2) is an organization established or controlled by the Taliban that holds itself out as a nongovernmental organization for the purpose of receiving assistance; or
- (3) knowingly provided significant financial, material, or technological support to a person described in paragraph (1) or (2) in connection with the conduct described.

(b) REPORT IN LIEU.—If the President makes no determination under subsection (a) in a reporting period, the President shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report explaining why, including a description of credible information received.

(c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions described in this subsection are the following:

(1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President shall exercise all of the powers granted to the President under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent necessary to block and prohibit all transactions in property and interests in property of the foreign person if such property and interests in property are in the United States, come within the United States, or are or come within the possession or control of a United States person.

(2) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—

(A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An alien described in subsection (a) is—

(i) inadmissible to the United States;

(ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other documentation to enter the United States; and

(iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted or paroled into the United States or to receive any other benefit under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

(B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—An alien described in subsection (a) is subject to revocation of any visa or other entry documentation regardless of when the visa or other entry documentation is issued. A revocation under this subparagraph shall, in accordance with section 221(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1201(i)), take effect immediately and automatically cancel any other valid visa or entry documentation that is in the possession of the alien.

SEC. 203. TALIBAN COMMERCIAL REVENUE.

(a) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for 7 years, the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees an assessment of Taliban revenue by source, including customs, taxation, mining and hydrocarbon concessions, transit fees, and narcotics, and shall identify each foreign counterparty to a concession or contract with a Taliban-controlled entity valued at more than \$10,000,000.

(b) AUTHORIZATION.—The President may impose the sanctions described in section 202(c) with respect to any foreign person identified under subsection (a) that the President determines knowingly engaged in a significant transaction with a Taliban-controlled entity in the mining or hydrocarbon sector of Afghanistan.

SEC. 204. EXCEPTIONS, WAIVER, TERMINATION, IMPLEMENTATION, AND PENALTIES.**(a) EXCEPTIONS.—**

- (1) **HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES.**—Sanctions under this title shall not apply to transactions authorized under section 201(a)(4) or otherwise ordinarily incident and necessary to the provision of humanitarian assistance or activities supporting basic human needs in Afghanistan.
- (2) **INTELLIGENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.**—Sanctions under this title shall not apply to any activity subject to the reporting requirements under title V of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or to any authorized intelligence or law enforcement activities of the United States.
- (3) **COMPLIANCE WITH UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT.**—Sanctions under section 202(c)(2) shall not apply with respect to an alien if admitting or paroling the alien into the United States is necessary to permit the United States to comply with the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947, between the United Nations and the United States (22 U.S.C. 287 note), or other applicable international obligations.
- (4) **IMPORTATION OF GOODS.**—The authorities and requirements to impose sanctions under this title shall not include the authority or a requirement to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

(b) **WAIVER.**—The President may waive the application of sanctions under this title with respect to a person upon certifying to the appropriate congressional committees, not less than 15 days in advance, that the waiver is in the national security interest of the United States.

(c) **TERMINATION.**—Sanctions imposed on a person under this title shall terminate if the President certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the person has ceased the conduct for which sanctions were imposed and has provided credible assurance that the person will not resume such conduct.

(d) **IMPLEMENTATION.**—The President may exercise all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this title.

(e) **PENALTIES.**—A person that violates, attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of this title or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out this title shall be subject to the penalties set forth in subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) of that section.

TITLE III—AFGHAN CENTRAL BANK RESERVES

SEC. 301. CONDITIONS ON TRANSFER OF RESERVES TO DA AFGHANISTAN BANK.

(a) **AFGHAN FUND.**—The representative of the United States on the board of trustees of the Afghan Fund shall oppose, and may not consent to, any transfer of assets of the Afghan Fund to Da Afghanistan Bank or

to any Taliban-controlled entity unless the Secretary of the Treasury has certified to the appropriate congressional committees that—

- (1) Da Afghanistan Bank is demonstrably independent of Taliban political direction;
- (2) no individual subject to United States or United Nations sanctions holds a leadership or board position at Da Afghanistan Bank;
- (3) Da Afghanistan Bank has implemented anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism controls verified by an independent third-party monitor; and
- (4) the Taliban have met each condition described in section 504(b).

(b) **BLOCKED PROPERTY.**—Property of Da Afghanistan Bank blocked pursuant to Executive Order 14064 (50 U.S.C. 1701 note; relating to protecting certain property of Da Afghanistan Bank for the benefit of the people of Afghanistan) shall remain blocked, and may not be unblocked, licensed, or otherwise transferred to or for the benefit of Da Afghanistan Bank or a Taliban-controlled entity, unless the Secretary of the Treasury has made the certification described in subsection (a).

(c) **DIRECT PAYMENTS.**—This section does not prohibit a payment from the Afghan Fund made directly to a party outside Afghanistan for the benefit of the Afghan people, if the appropriate congressional committees are notified not less than 30 days in advance and the payment does not pass through Da Afghanistan Bank or a Taliban-controlled entity.

(d) **REPORT.**—The Secretary of the Treasury shall report semiannually for 7 years to the appropriate congressional committees on the balance, investment earnings, governance, and activities of the Afghan Fund and on the status of property described in subsection (b).

SEC. 302. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION RELATING TO PENDING LITIGATION.

Nothing in this title shall be construed—

- (1) to affect any claim, judgment, or judicial proceeding pending on the date of the enactment of this Act relating to property of Da Afghanistan Bank;
- (2) to determine whether such property is immune from attachment or execution under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 (28 U.S.C. 1602 et seq.) or is subject to section 201 of the Terrorism Risk Insurance Act of 2002 (28 U.S.C. 1610 note); or
- (3) to limit the authority of the President to determine that the government of Afghanistan is a state sponsor of terrorism under any provision of law.

TITLE IV—THIRD-PARTY SUPPORT TO THE TALIBAN

SEC. 401. SUSPENSION OF UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.

(a) DETERMINATION.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of State shall determine and report to the appropriate congressional committees whether any foreign government or nongovernmental organization that receives United States assistance has, on or after August 15, 2021, knowingly provided material budgetary, financial, or military support directly to the Taliban.

(b) EXCLUSIONS.—For purposes of subsection (a), support does not include humanitarian assistance delivered to the Afghan people, covered payments authorized under a general license described in section 201(a), commercial trade, the provision of consular or diplomatic facilities, or support to United States Government activities.

(c) SUSPENSION.—United States assistance to a government or organization that is the subject of an affirmative determination under subsection (a) shall be suspended beginning 30 days after the determination, other than humanitarian assistance, assistance for democracy and human rights, and assistance the suspension of which the Secretary certifies to the appropriate congressional committees would harm the national security interest of the United States.

(d) NOTICE AND CURE.—Before making an affirmative determination with respect to a nongovernmental organization, the Secretary shall provide written notice of the basis for the proposed determination and not less than 30 days to respond or cure.

(e) TERMINATION.—A suspension under subsection (c) shall end when the Secretary certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the support has ceased.

SEC. 402. REGIONAL STRATEGY.

Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a strategy to discourage financial, military, and diplomatic support to the Taliban by foreign governments, which shall identify for each relevant government the specific United States instruments available, the interests that would be affected by their use, and measurable objectives.

TITLE V—OVERSIGHT AND GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 501. INSPECTOR GENERAL AND COMPTROLLER GENERAL.

(a) LEAD INSPECTOR GENERAL.—The Inspector General of the Department of State, appointed under chapter 4 of title 5, United States Code, shall serve as lead inspector general for United States assistance

and sanctions implementation relating to Afghanistan, shall have access to the records of the former Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, including records transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration, and shall report semiannually to the appropriate congressional committees on compliance with this Act.

(b) COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—Not later than 2 years after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall review the accuracy of reporting under sections 101, 102, and 201 and report the results to the appropriate congressional committees.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There is authorized to be appropriated \$[___] for each of fiscal years 2027 through 2033 to carry out this section.

SEC. 502. RETROSPECTIVE REPORT ON CASH ASSISTANCE.

Not later than 120 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on United States-funded direct cash assistance in Afghanistan from August 15, 2021, through the date of the enactment of this Act, describing implementing partners by type, methods of payment, the locations and counterparties of currency exchange, the use and oversight of hawala, all known covered payments, and each documented instance of diversion or coercion.

SEC. 503. REPORT ON REWARDS FOR JUSTICE AND THE HAQQANI NETWORK.

Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report, in unclassified form with a classified annex if necessary, on—

- (1) the rationale for the withdrawal in March 2025 of reward offers under section 36 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708) for information on Sirajuddin Haqqani, Abdul Aziz Haqqani, and Yahya Haqqani, and for any other change since September 1, 2021, to reward offers relating to members of the Haqqani Network;
- (2) the designation status of the Haqqani Network and of each such individual;
- (3) all engagements by officers or employees of the United States Government with such individuals since September 1, 2021; and
- (4) any information received since September 1, 2021, regarding attacks planned, directed, or carried out by such individuals against United States personnel or civilians.

SEC. 504. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON NORMALIZATION; CONDITIONS.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that the United States should not recognize or normalize relations with the Taliban unless the Taliban have met each condition described in subsection (b).

(b) CONDITIONS DESCRIBED.—The conditions described in this subsection are that the Taliban—

- (1) verifiably expel al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups from Afghanistan;
- (2) cease hostage-taking and the persecution of Afghans who worked with the United States or the former Islamic Republic of Afghanistan;
- (3) repeal edicts restricting the education, employment, movement, and expression of women and girls; and
- (4) respect the rights of ethnic and religious minorities, including Hazara communities.

SEC. 505. AFGHAN ALLIES.

The strategy required by section 402 shall include measures to protect and relocate eligible, fully vetted Afghans who worked for or on behalf of the United States and who face reprisal.

SEC. 506. RESCISSION.

(a) CERTIFICATION.—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall certify to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and the House of Representatives, by Treasury appropriation fund symbol and fiscal year, the unobligated and unexpired balances of amounts allocated for assistance for Afghanistan pursuant to section 653(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2413(a)) or by congressional notification.

(b) RESCISSION.—Of the balances so certified, \$[] are hereby permanently rescinded. [Amount and account symbols to be inserted following OMB technical assistance and a Congressional Budget Office estimate. The account list in section 4(c) of the Senate committee substitute to H.R. 260 may be used as the starting inventory after correction of its duplicate and mislabeled entries.]

SEC. 507. RULES OF CONSTRUCTION; SUNSET.

(a) CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this Act shall be construed to recognize any government of Afghanistan, to authorize the use of military force, to limit the authority of the President under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, Executive Order 13224, or Executive Order 14064, or to prohibit life-saving humanitarian assistance delivered in accordance with title I.

(b) SUNSET.—This Act, other than title III, shall cease to have effect 7 years after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 508. SEVERABILITY.

If any provision of this Act, or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance, is held to be invalid, the remainder of this Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

Crosswalk: documented problem to operative provision

PROBLEM	PROVISION	MECHANISM
UN and multilateral banks outside scope of H.R. 260 (House text and Senate substitute)	Secs. 2(12), 101, 103	Public international organizations defined and covered; certification as funding condition; voice and vote at the banks
Dollars accumulate at Taliban-run central bank through currency conversion (\$3.8 billion in UN cash shipments, Dec. 2021–Jan. 2024)	Secs. 101(b)(4), 104	Conversion procedures as funding condition; independent audit; alternatives plan
Tax and fee payments lawful under OFAC General License 20	Sec. 201	Reporting threshold; exclusion of aid-specific levies; humanitarian authorization preserved under UNSCR 2615 and 2664
UN agencies and partners do not track payments	Secs. 101(b)(1), 102	Mandatory reporting at every award tier; debarment referral for knowing non-reporting
Officials coerce and divert with no personal cost	Sec. 202	Mandatory blocking and visa sanctions in standard form; report-in-lieu if none imposed
Regime revenue is domestic, not aid	Sec. 203	Annual revenue assessment; discretionary sector sanctions on foreign counterparties
Afghan Fund veto and EO 14064 blocking are policy, not law	Secs. 301, 302	U.S. trustee barred from consenting to transfers absent Treasury certification; blocking continued; pending litigation and designation authority unaffected
Senate substitute suspension clause (§ 2(d)) has no standard, waiver, or notice	Sec. 401	Knowing-and-material standard, start date, deadline, exclusions, notice and cure, waiver, termination
No auditor after SIGAR termination (Jan. 31, 2026)	Sec. 501	State OIG as lead; GAO accuracy review; authorization of appropriations
Senate substitute rescission (§ 4(c)) lists accounts with errors and no amount	Sec. 506	OMB certification by account symbol before an amount is fixed
Haqqani reward withdrawals (March 2025) unexplained to Congress	Sec. 503	30-day report with classified annex; statutory basis of program cited
Beneficiary exposure to reprisal	Sec. 102(c)	PII barred from all reports under the Act

Residual limits

- Non-U.S. donors can continue funding UN operations in Afghanistan without these safeguards; sections 101(c), 103, and 104 work only through U.S. influence inside those institutions.
- The Taliban budget is financed entirely from domestic revenue. Customs, taxation, and non-tax revenue are beyond the reach of any U.S. measure short of comprehensive secondary sanctions on Afghanistan's trade partners.
- Five years of evidence indicate financial pressure does not change Taliban policy. The draft is built to limit regime benefit and impose accountability, not on an assumption of behavioral change.

Annex A: Citation verification (checked October 2, 2026)

Status key: **Verified** = consistent with the primary source (statute, regulation, executive order, court docket, or agency publication). **Corrected** = prior draft was wrong or incomplete; fixed in this revision.

Confirm = verified from a secondary source (a CRS product or contemporaneous reporting of an official statement); check the primary document before circulation. U.S. Code cross-references (rows 1–11) were checked against the codified text; open each section once at uscode.house.gov before circulation.

#	CITATION	USED IN	STATUS	SOURCE AND NOTE
1	22 U.S.C. 288 (International Organizations Immunities Act § 1)	Sec. 2(12)	Verified	U.S. Code, title 22. Definition of “international organization.”
2	22 U.S.C. 262r(c)(2) (International Financial Institutions Act § 1701(c)(2))	Sec. 2(12)	Verified	U.S. Code, title 22. Standard definition of “international financial institutions.”
3	22 U.S.C. 2413(a) (Foreign Assistance Act § 653(a))	Sec. 506(a)	Verified	U.S. Code, title 22. Allocation report within 30 days of enactment of appropriations.
4	22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.; 22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.; 22 U.S.C. 2601 et seq.; 7 U.S.C. 1691 et seq.	Sec. 2(15)	Corrected	Prior draft cited only the FAA. Citations added for the Arms Export Control Act, Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, and Food for Peace Act.
5	50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.; 1702; 1704; 1705(b)–(c) (IEEPA §§ 203, 205, 206)	Secs. 202, 204, 301	Corrected	Prior draft’s penalty clause was non-standard. Replaced with the formulation used in enacted sanctions statutes; implementation authority (§§ 203, 205) added.
6	5 U.S.C. chapter 4 (Inspector General Act, as recodified by Pub. L. 117–286, Dec. 27, 2022)	Sec. 501(a)	Verified	Recodified at 5 U.S.C. 401–424. Prior draft cited this only in the note; now in the operative text.
7	8 U.S.C. 1101; 1182(a); 1189; 1201(i) (INA §§ 101, 212(a), 219, 221(i))	Secs. 2(1), 2(13), 202(c)(2)	Corrected	Prior draft’s visa sanction had no INA cross-references. Standard inadmissibility and revocation text supplied; Haqqani Network FTO designation tied to INA § 219.
8	UN Headquarters Agreement (June 26, 1947; 22 U.S.C. 287 note)	Sec. 204(a)(3)	Corrected	Prior draft referred to the Agreement without citation or the standard exception language. Standard text supplied.
9	50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq. (National Security Act of 1947, title V)	Sec. 204(a)(2)	Verified	Standard intelligence-activities exception.
10	22 U.S.C. 2708 (State Department Basic Authorities Act § 36, Rewards for Justice)	Sec. 503(1)	Corrected	Statutory basis of the rewards program added; prior draft did not cite it.

#	CITATION	USED IN	STATUS	SOURCE AND NOTE
11	28 U.S.C. 1602 et seq.; 28 U.S.C. 1609; TRIA § 201 (28 U.S.C. 1610 note)	Sec. 302	Verified	New section. Havlish v. Taliban (2d Cir. Aug. 26, 2025) turned on FSIA § 1609 immunity and TRIA § 201.
12	Executive Order 13224 (Sept. 23, 2001; 50 U.S.C. 1701 note); Executive Order 13268 (July 2, 2002)	Secs. 2(13), 3(1), 507	Verified	EO 13268 terminated the EO 13129 emergency and added the Taliban to the EO 13224 Annex. The Taliban is an SDGT, not an FTO.
13	Executive Order 14064 (Feb. 11, 2022; 87 Fed. Reg. 8391)	Secs. 3(9), 301(b), 507	Corrected	Omitted from the prior draft. It is the legal basis for the FRBNY blocking and the 2022 transfer. The \$3.5 billion transfer was made under an unpublished specific license; no license number is cited.
14	31 C.F.R. part 594 (GTSR); 31 C.F.R. part 597 (FTOSR)	Secs. 3(5), 201(a)	Corrected	OFAC states the Afghanistan GLs were issued under both parts and EO 13224. Prior draft cited part 594 only.
15	OFAC General License 20 (Feb. 25, 2022); GLs 14–19 (Sept. 24–Dec. 22, 2021)	Secs. 3(5), 201(a)	Verified	ofac.treasury.gov Afghanistan-related sanctions page; FAQs 992–993. GL 20 authorizes taxes, fees, import duties, permits, licenses, and utilities. No amendment found through Oct. 2026. GLs are not codified in the CFR; cited by number and date.
16	UNSCR 2615 (Dec. 22, 2021); UNSCR 2664 (Dec. 9, 2022); UNSCR 2761 (Dec. 6, 2024)	Secs. 2(10), 201(a)(4), 204(a)(1)	Corrected	Prior draft cited 2664 only. 2615 is the Afghanistan-specific exemption from the 1988 regime asset freeze; 2664 is cross-cutting and also applies to the 1988 regime; 2761 made the 1267-regime application indefinite.
17	Taliban SDGT designation (July 2, 2002); Sirajuddin Haqqani SDGT (Mar. 11, 2008)	Sec. 3(1)	Verified	Treasury press releases; State RFJ release (2014); State statement (Mar. 2025).
18	Haqqani Network FTO designation (September 2012)	Sec. 3(1)	Confirm	State gives Sept. 7, 2012 as the designation date; the Federal Register notice is dated Sept. 19, 2012. Bill text uses “September 2012” to avoid the conflict.
19	Pub. L. 118–159 § 7809 (SIGAR termination Jan. 31, 2026)	Secs. 3(7), 501(a)	Confirm	CRS R45122 (Mar. 7, 2025) states the section number. Confirm against the enrolled text. Closure and Dec. 3, 2025 final report confirmed (Modern War Institute; Federal News Network). The \$250 million trigger in § 1229(o) of Pub. L. 110–181 was superseded and should not be cited.
20	H.R. 260, 119th Cong.: House passage June 23, 2025; SFRC reported with substitute Feb. 10, 2026, Calendar No. 330; S. 226 (Sheehy)	Note	Verified	congress.gov all-actions; GPO print BILLS-119hr260rs. Prior draft said “as reported”; no House report exists. Suspension clause and rescission appear only in the Senate substitute.
21	CBO estimate, H.R. 260 (Apr. 21, 2025)	Note	Verified	cbo.gov/publication/61340: less than \$500,000 over 2025–2030. Predates the Senate substitute; rescission unscored.
22	SIGAR 24–32-IP (July 2024): at least \$3.8 billion in UN cash shipments, Dec. 2021–Jan. 2024	Sec. 3(3); crosswalk	Verified	sigar.mil report PDF (archived). Supersedes the \$2.9 billion figure in SIGAR 24–12-IP.

#	CITATION	USED IN	STATUS	SOURCE AND NOTE
23	SIGAR 24-22-AR (May 2024): 38 of 65 responding partners paid at least \$10.9 million	Sec. 3(4)	Verified	sigar.mil report PDF (archived). \$10.4M taxes; \$346,839 utilities; \$176,596 fees; \$9,215 customs.
24	World Bank Afghanistan Economic Monitor (Mar. 2026): AFN 272.4 billion (about \$4.03 billion); budget 100% domestically financed since 2022	Sec. 3(2); note	Verified	thedocs.worldbank.org. Prior draft's "most regime revenue is domestic" understated the point; aid is entirely off-budget.
25	April 2025 termination of remaining Afghanistan awards (about \$563 million; WFP) and stated rationale	Sec. 3(6); note	Confirm	State spokesperson statement as reported Apr. 8-9, 2025. Terminations not reversed for Afghanistan. Retrieve the State transcript before citing in a committee print.
26	Afghan Fund: established Sept. 14, 2022; Swiss foundation; unanimity rule; more than \$3.9 billion (Dec. 2024); no disbursement to benefit Afghans; Treasury trustee	Secs. 2(2), 3(8); note	Verified	afghanfund.ch; State press release (Sept. 14, 2022); State report to Congress on proposed uses; SIGAR quarterly (July 2024).
27	Havlish v. Taliban, 2d Cir. Aug. 26, 2025 (2-1); reh'g en banc denied Mar. 19, 2026; cert. petition No. 26-292 docketed Sept. 4, 2026, response due Oct. 5, 2026	Sec. 302; note	Verified	Second Circuit opinion; supremecourt.gov docket 26-292 (cross-referenced Nos. 26-293, 26-294).
28	Rewards for Justice withdrawals, March 2025 (\$10M; \$5M; \$5M); SDGT and FTO status unchanged	Secs. 3(10), 503	Confirm	State statement as reported Mar. 24-25, 2025. Retrieve the State statement before citing in a committee print.
29	FY2025 and FY2026 appropriations levels for Afghanistan; GAO reports 2023-2026	Not cited	Not verified	Deliberately omitted from findings. Pull from ForeignAssistance.gov, CRS, and gao.gov before adding.

Annex B: Changes from the September 16, 2026 draft

- **Drafter's note** rewritten in plain declarative form; all H.R. 260 references updated to the House-passed text (June 23, 2025) and the Senate committee substitute (Feb. 10, 2026); current status of SIGAR, the Afghan Fund, the FRBNY reserves litigation, the 2025 aid terminations, and the Haqqani rewards added.
- **Sec. 2 (Definitions)** alphabetized; added “admitted; alien,” “Afghan Fund,” “Da Afghanistan Bank,” “foreign person,” “good,” “humanitarian assistance,” and “United States person”; “Taliban” restated with EO 13224/13268 and INA § 219 citations; “United States assistance” given full statutory citations.
- **New Sec. 3 (Findings)** with eleven sourced findings; former Sec. 3 (Statement of Policy) renumbered Sec. 4. No other section numbers changed.
- **Sec. 201** now cites both 31 C.F.R. parts 594 and 597 and names General License 20; humanitarian authorization references UNSCR 2615 and 2664.
- **Sec. 202(c)** blocking and visa sanctions restated in the standard enacted form with INA cross-references.
- **Sec. 204** exceptions expanded to the standard four (humanitarian; intelligence and law enforcement; UN Headquarters Agreement with citation; importation of goods); implementation authority added; penalties clause conformed to IEEPA § 206.
- **Sec. 301** restructured: subsection (a) governs the Afghan Fund trustee; new subsection (b) continues the EO 14064 blocking by statute; the former cross-reference to a sense-of-Congress provision now points to operative conditions in Sec. 504(b).
- **New Sec. 302** rule of construction preserving pending litigation over Da Afghanistan Bank property and the President's state-sponsor-of-terrorism authority.
- **Sec. 401(b)** cross-references the general licenses described in Sec. 201(a).
- **Sec. 501(a)** cites 5 U.S.C. chapter 4 and provides for access to SIGAR records transferred to the National Archives.
- **Sec. 503** restructured into four numbered items; cites 22 U.S.C. 2708; names the March 2025 withdrawals.
- **Sec. 504** split into a sense of Congress and operative “conditions described.”
- **Sec. 506(b)** bracket notes the Senate substitute account list as a starting inventory after correction.
- **Sec. 507(a)** adds Executive Order 14064.

- **Crosswalk and residual limits** updated; Annexes A and B added.
- **Second pass, same day:** one-page summary with the ask, vehicle, and cost added ahead of the note; “humanitarian assistance” defined (Sec. 2(10), tied to UNSCR 2615) and later definitions renumbered; Sec. 301(b) reworded to continue the blocking without restricting termination of a national emergency under the National Emergencies Act; new Sec. 508 (severability); three statements in the note narrowed (USAID awards rather than all U.S. money; no dedicated auditor rather than no auditor; no published CBO estimate of the Senate substitute rather than “unscored”).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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