

# MARKUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES

---

## MARKUP

BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

April 9, 2025

### **Serial No. 119–13**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



Available: <http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/>, <http://docs.house.gov/>, or <http://www.govinfo.gov>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE

60–515 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2025

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BRIAN J. MAST, Florida, *Chairman*

|                                               |                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| MICHAEL T. McCAUL, Texas                      | GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York, <i>Ranking Member</i> |
| CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey              | BRAD SHERMAN, California                          |
| JOE WILSON, South Carolina                    | GERALD E. CONNOLLY, Virginia                      |
| SCOTT PERRY, Pennsylvania                     | WILLIAM R. KEATING, Massachusetts                 |
| DARRELL ISSA, California                      | AMI BERA, California                              |
| TIM BURCHETT, Tennessee                       | JOAQUIN CASTRO, Texas                             |
| MARK E. GREEN, Tennessee                      | DINA TITUS, Nevada                                |
| ANDY BARR, Kentucky                           | TED LIEU, California                              |
| RONNY JACKSON, Texas                          | SARA JACOBS, California                           |
| YOUNG KIM, California                         | SHEILA CHERFILUS-McCORMICK, Florida               |
| MARIA ELVIRA SALAZAR, Florida                 | GREG STANTON, Arizona                             |
| BILL HUIZENGA, Michigan                       | JARED MOSKOWITZ, Florida                          |
| AUMUA AMATA COLEMAN RADEWAGEN, American Samoa | JONATHAN L. JACKSON, Illinois                     |
| WARREN DAVIDSON, Ohio                         | SYDNEY KAMLAGER-DOVE, California                  |
| JAMES R. BAIRD, Indiana                       | JIM COSTA, California                             |
| THOMAS H. KEAN, JR, New Jersey                | GABE AMO, Rhode Island                            |
| MICHAEL LAWLER, New York                      | KWEISI MFUME, Maryland                            |
| CORY MILLS, Florida                           | PRAMILA JAYAPAL, Washington                       |
| RICHARD McCORMICK, Georgia                    | GEORGE LATIMER, New York                          |
| KEITH SELF, Texas                             | JOHNNY OLSZEWSKI JR, Maryland                     |
| RYAN K. ZINKE, Montana                        | JULIE JOHNSON, Texas                              |
| JAMES C. MOYLAN, Guam                         | SARAH McBRIDE, Delaware                           |
| ANNA PAULINA LUNA, Florida                    | BRADLEY SCOTT SCHNEIDER, Illinois                 |
| JEFFERSON SHREVE, Indiana                     | MADELEINE DEAN, Pennsylvania Q04                  |
| SHERI BIGGS, South Carolina                   |                                                   |
| MICHAEL BAUMGARTNER, Washington               |                                                   |
| RYAN MACKENZIE, Pennsylvania                  |                                                   |

James Langenderfer, *Majority Staff Director*

Sajit Gandhi, *Minority Staff Director*



# C O N T E N T S

## REPRESENTATIVES

|                                                         | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Opening Statement of Chairman Brian Mast .....          | 1    |
| Opening Statement of Ranking Member Gregory Meeks ..... | 2    |

## BILLS AND AMENDMENTS

|                                                                          |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| H.R. 747 .....                                                           | 4   |
| H.R. 1998 .....                                                          | 12  |
| H.R. 2635 .....                                                          | 20  |
| H.R. 2503 .....                                                          | 35  |
| H.R. 2619 .....                                                          | 49  |
| Amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs .....                                    | 64  |
| H.R. 1422 .....                                                          | 69  |
| Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 1422 by Mr. Lawler ..... | 85  |
| Amendment in the nature of a substitute by Mr. Lawler .....              | 101 |
| H.R. 2683 .....                                                          | 120 |
| Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 2683 by Mr. Lawler ..... | 130 |
| H.R. 260 .....                                                           | 141 |
| Amendment offered by Mr. Meeks .....                                     | 151 |
| Amendment offered by Mr. Keating .....                                   | 162 |
| Amendment offered by Ms. Kamlager-Dove .....                             | 166 |
| Amendment offered by Ms. Johnson .....                                   | 171 |
| H.R. 2643 .....                                                          | 176 |

## APPENDIX

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Hearing Notice .....     | 192 |
| Hearing Minutes .....    | 194 |
| Hearing Attendance ..... | 195 |
| Markup Summary .....     | 196 |

## VOTES

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| To Report H.R. 2619 .....                                           | 198 |
| To Report H.R.2683 as amended .....                                 | 199 |
| Jacobs Amendment #24 to H.R. 2619 .....                             | 200 |
| Johnson Amendment #2 to H.R. 260 .....                              | 201 |
| Meeks Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #22 to H.R. 260 ..... | 202 |

## MARKUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES

---

Wednesday, April 9, 2025

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Brian Mast (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman MAST. A quorum being present, the Committee on Foreign Affairs will come to order. The committee is meeting today for consideration of a number of bills. Before we begin that, we will start with the Pledge of Allegiance.

All. I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

### OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN BRIAN MAST

Chairman MAST. The committee is meeting today for consideration of H.R. 747, To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes, introduced by Representative Barr.

H.R. 1998, To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy and for other purposes, introduced by Representative Jackson of Illinois.

H.R. 2635, To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes, introduced by Representative Kim.

H.R. 2619, To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes; introduced by Representative Baumgartner.

H.R. 1422, To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes, introduced by Representative Lawler.

H.R. 2503, To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes; introduced by Representative Kean.

H.R. 2683, To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018; introduced by Representative Lawler.

H.R. 260, To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes; introduced by Representative Burchett.

H.R. 2643, To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities; introduced by Ranking Member Meeks.

The chair announces that requests for recorded votes may be rolled and I may recess at any point. Without objection, so ordered.

Pursuant to House rules, I request that members have the opportunity to submit views for any committee report that may be produced on today's measures. Without objection, so ordered.

I now recognize Ranking Member Meeks for any opening statement that he may have.

#### **OPENING STATEMENT OF RANKING MEMBER GREGORY MEEKS**

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just before I turn to the en bloc, I want to raise an issue that I think should concern all of us on both sides of the aisle and that is our shared responsibility to conduct oversight of the agencies within our jurisdictions. Late last month, the administration notified us of its intent to reorganize USAID, an agency that it has already tried to gut. I have sent and despite sending repeated letters requesting more information, the State Department has failed to respond in a meaningful way. So I know that we may differ on how best to deliver foreign assistance, but we should all agree that Congress has a duty to conduct oversight. And that is why every Democrat on this committee has signed a letter asking you to call Secretary Rubio to testify publicly on this proposed reorganization and to also hold the notifications to all of our requests for information are satisfied.

I am hoping, Mr. Chairman, that we can work together and we can commit that we will be bringing the Secretary forward to testify sometime in the very, very near future.

Chairman MAST. Does the Ranking Member yield back?

Mr. MEEKS. I just wanted—I hope that we can work on that so that we can get that done.

Chairman MAST. I will respond when you are finished.

Mr. MEEKS. So thank you again. I support the four bills en bloc. Oh, they haven't called the bills up yet.

Chairman MAST. Not quite yet.

Mr. MEEKS. I will wait. I yield back at this particular time.

Chairman MAST. That was just your opening statement. Very good. I now recognize myself for an opening statement and simply to respond to the Ranking Member, I know Secretary Rubio looks forward to coming before our committee. We have already had Pete Marocco, Director of the Office of Foreign Assistance right here in this room before our committee and these and other individuals look forward to joining us as well, to speak about the wastage,

fraud, and abuse that they have been rooting out of agencies and the reconstruction of these agencies for the purpose of creating the best possible command and control for any of these agencies to make sure the maximum accountability for any U.S. taxpayer dollar being sent out the door by the Department of State or any underlying agencies for the purpose of going to foreign countries, foreign NGO's, foreign nonprofit, foreign terrorist organizations, or foreign anything else.

In that, we will now return to consideration—we will begin consideration of an en bloc package of bills. Pursuant to notice, I now call up the measures and their amendments that were circulated in advance which, without objection, will be considered en bloc and each measure is considered as read and the amendments to each are considered as read and are agreed to. And without objection after remarks, the committee will vote to order measures—the measures favorably, reported en bloc, as amended, if amended. And each measure, so amended, shall be reported as a single amendment in the nature of a substitute. Reading that, I always feel like I am in a Monty Python movie because it uses the word amendment so many times.

The measures en bloc packages are, as I already stated, H.R. 747, to oppose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, and to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl.

H.R. 1998, To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy and for other purposes.

H.R. 2635, To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Province and for other purposes.

H.R. 2503, To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes.

[The Bills H.R. 747, H.R. 1998, H.R. 2635, and H.R. 2503 follows:]

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 747

To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 28, 2025

Mr. BARR (for himself, Mr. NUNN of Iowa, and Mr. MURPHY) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on Financial Services, Oversight and Government Reform, and the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Stop Chinese Fentanyl  
5 Act of 2025”.



1 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

2 It is the sense of Congress that the Government of  
3 the People's Republic of China should—

4 (1) work with the United States Government to  
5 identify a list of unregulated chemicals used to cre-  
6 ate precursor chemicals that bear increased scrutiny;

7 (2) require the proper labeling of chemical and  
8 equipment shipments in accordance with inter-  
9 national rules;

10 (3) immediately implement “know-your-cus-  
11 tomer” procedures for chemical shipments; and

12 (4) direct all relevant departments and agen-  
13 cies, including the National Narcotics Control Com-  
14 mission, the Ministry of Public Security, the General  
15 Administration of Customs, and the National Med-  
16 ical Products Administration of the Government of  
17 the People's Republic of China to establish new rules  
18 to crack down on precursor trafficking and enforce  
19 such rules swiftly.

20 **SEC. 3. AMENDMENTS TO THE FENTANYL SANCTIONS ACT.**

21 (a) **DEFINITIONS.**—Section 7203(5) of the Fentanyl  
22 Sanctions Act (21 U.S.C. 2302(5)) is amended—

23 (1) by striking “The term ‘foreign opioid traf-  
24 ficker’ means any foreign person” and inserting the  
25 following: “The term ‘foreign opioid trafficker’—

26 “(A) means any foreign person”;

1           (2) by striking the period at the end and insert-  
2       ing “; and”; and

3           (3) by adding at the end the following:

4           “(B) includes—

5                 “(i) any entity of the People’s Repub-  
6       lic of China that the President deter-  
7       mines—

8                 “(I) produces, manufactures, dis-  
9       tributes, sells, or knowingly finances  
10       or transports any goods described in  
11       clause (i) or (ii) of paragraph (8)(A);  
12       and

13                “(II) fails to take credible steps,  
14       including through implementation of  
15       appropriate know-your-customer pro-  
16       cedures or through cooperation with  
17       United States counternarcotics ef-  
18       forts, to detect or prevent opioid traf-  
19       ficking; and

20                “(ii) any senior official of the Govern-  
21       ment of the People’s Republic of China or  
22       other Chinese political official that—

23                “(I) has significant regulatory or  
24       law enforcement responsibilities with

1 respect to the activities of an entity  
2 described in clause (i); and  
3 “(II) aids and abets, including  
4 through intentional inaction, opioid  
5 trafficking.”.

6 (b) IDENTIFICATION OF FOREIGN OPIOID TRAF-  
7 FICKERS.—Section 7211 of the Fentanyl Sanctions Act  
8 (21 U.S.C. 2311) is amended—

9 (1) in subsection (a)(1)(A), by adding at the  
10 end before the semicolon the following: “, including  
11 whether the heads of the National Narcotics Control  
12 Commission, the Ministry of Public Security, the  
13 General Administration of Customs, and the Na-  
14 tional Medical Products Administration of the Gov-  
15 ernment of the People’s Republic of China are for-  
16 eign opioid traffickers”; and

17 (2) in subsection (c), by striking “5 years” and  
18 inserting “10 years”.

19 **SEC. 4. AMENDMENTS TO THE INTERNATIONAL EMER-**  
20 **GENCY ECONOMIC POWERS ACT AND THE**  
21 **TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT.**

22 (a) PERIODIC EVALUATION.—Section 203 of the  
23 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
24 U.S.C. 1702) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
25 lowing:

1 “(d) PERIODIC EVALUATION.—

2 “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the authority granted to  
3 the President under this section is exercised with re-  
4 spect to a covered national emergency, the President  
5 shall transmit to the appropriate congressional com-  
6 mittees, not less frequently than annually, a periodic  
7 evaluation in writing that—

8 “(A) assesses the effectiveness of the exer-  
9 cise of such authority in resolving the covered  
10 national emergency;

11 “(B) considers the views of public- and pri-  
12 vate-sector stakeholders; and

13 “(C) discusses any potential changes to the  
14 exercise of the authority for the purpose of  
15 more effectively resolving the covered national  
16 emergency.

17 “(2) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection—

18 “(A) the term ‘appropriate congressional  
19 committees’ means—

20 “(i) the Committee on Foreign Af-  
21 fairs, the Committee on Financial Services,  
22 and the Committee on Oversight and Ac-  
23 countability of the House of Representa-  
24 tives; and

1 “(ii) the Committee on Homeland Se-  
2 curity and Governmental Affairs, the Com-  
3 mittee on Foreign Relations, and the Com-  
4 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban  
5 Affairs of the Senate; and

6 “(B) the term ‘covered national emergency’  
7 means a national emergency that—

8 “(i) the President has declared, within  
9 the preceding 5-year period, with respect  
10 to any national emergency regarding inter-  
11 national drug trafficking; and

12 “(ii) has not terminated.”.

13 (b) CONSULTATION AND REPORTS.—Section 204 of  
14 the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
15 U.S.C. 1703) is amended—

16 (1) by striking “the Congress” each place it ap-  
17 pears and inserting “the appropriate congressional  
18 committees”; and

19 (2) by adding at the end the following:

20 “(e) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES  
21 DEFINED.—In this section, the term ‘appropriate congres-  
22 sional committees’ has the meaning given that term in sec-  
23 tion 203(d)(2).”.

1           (3) AUTHORITY TO ISSUE REGULATIONS.—Sec-  
2       tion 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
3       Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1704) is amended—

4           (A) by striking “The President” and in-  
5       serting “(a) The President”; and

6           (B) by adding at the end the following:

7       “(b) In issuing regulations under subsection (a) pur-  
8       suant to a covered national emergency (as defined in sec-  
9       tion 203), the President shall—

10           “(1) consider the costs and benefits of available  
11       statutory and regulatory alternatives;

12           “(2) evaluate the costs and benefits for the pur-  
13       pose of expeditiously resolving the applicable na-  
14       tional emergency;

15           “(3) establish criteria for the eventual termi-  
16       nation of the applicable national emergency; and

17           “(4) include in the basis and purpose incor-  
18       porated in the regulations—

19           “(A) an explanation of how the regulations  
20       will resolve the applicable national emergency;  
21       and

22           “(B) a discussion of the costs and bene-  
23       fits.”.

1 SEC. 5. EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
2 GOODS.

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—A requirement to block and pro-  
4 hibit all transactions in all property and interests in prop-  
5 erty pursuant to this Act or any amendment made by this  
6 Act shall not include the authority or a requirement to  
7 impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

8 (b) GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term  
9 “good” means any article, natural or manmade substance,  
10 material, supply or manufactured product, including in-  
11 spection and test equipment, and excluding technical data.

Æ

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1998

To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 10, 2025

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the “Sanction Sea Pirates  
5 Act of 2025”.

### 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

7 Congress finds the following:

8 (1) In 2011, there were 212 attempted attacks  
9 against vessels off of the Somali coast, more than



1 1,000 crew were held hostage, and 35 seafarers were  
2 killed.

3 (2) Over the past decade through the beginning  
4 of 2023, rates of piracy in the Western Indian  
5 Ocean subsided.

6 (3) Houthi attacks against commercial vessels  
7 in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden since the Hamas  
8 terrorist attack against Israel on October 7th have  
9 impacted global shipping markets.

10 (4) There has been a surge in Somali pirate at-  
11 tacks, beginning in the fall of 2023 and lasting into  
12 2024, that has coincided with and taken advantage  
13 of Houthi aggression.

14 (5) On March 12, 2024, Somali pirates hi-  
15 jacked a Bangladeshi-flagged ship and took its crew  
16 hostage.

17 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

18 It is the sense of Congress that—

19 (1) the United States Government should seek  
20 to stop piracy all around the world, including off the  
21 Somali Coast and in the Gulf of Aden;

22 (2) high seas pirates, and the criminal networks  
23 and enterprises with whom they are affiliated,  
24 should be sanctioned upon identification; and

1           (3) the United States should seek to work with  
2       allies and partners around the globe to combat pi-  
3       racy around the globe and to curb the surge in pi-  
4       racy off of the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of  
5       Aden.

6   SEC. 4. SANCTIONS.

7       (a) IN GENERAL.—The President shall impose sanc-  
8       tions described in subsection (b) with respect to any for-  
9       eign person the President determines knowingly engages  
10      in piracy.

11      (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
12      scribed in this subsection are the following:

13           (1) ASSET BLOCKING.—Notwithstanding the re-  
14      quirements of section 202 of the International  
15      Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701),  
16      the President may exercise of all powers granted to  
17      the President by that Act to the extent necessary to  
18      block and prohibit all transactions in all property  
19      and interests in property of the foreign person if  
20      such property and interests in property are in the  
21      United States, come within the United States, or are  
22      or come within the possession or control of a United  
23      States person.

24           (2) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—An alien who the Sec-  
2 retary of State or the Secretary of Homeland  
3 Security (or a designee of one of such Secre-  
4 taries) knows, or has reason to believe, is de-  
5 scribed in subsection (a) is—

6 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

7 (ii) ineligible for a visa or other docu-  
8 mentation to enter the United States; and

9 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
10 or paroled into the United States or to re-  
11 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
12 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
13 seq.).

14 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

15 (i) IN GENERAL.—The issuing con-  
16 sular officer, the Secretary of State, or the  
17 Secretary of Homeland Security (or a des-  
18 ignee of one of such Secretaries) shall, in  
19 accordance with section 221(i) of the Im-  
20 migration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
21 1201(i)), revoke any visa or other entry  
22 documentation issued to an alien described  
23 in subparagraph (A) regardless of when  
24 the visa or other entry documentation is  
25 issued.

1 (ii) EFFECT OF REVOCATION.—A rev-  
2 ocation under clause (i)—

3 (I) shall take effect immediately;  
4 and

5 (II) shall automatically cancel  
6 any other valid visa or entry docu-  
7 mentation that is in the alien's pos-  
8 session.

9 (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

10 (1) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
11 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Sanctions under sub-  
12 section (b)(2) shall not apply with respect to the ad-  
13 mission of an alien if admitting or paroling the alien  
14 into the United States is necessary to permit the  
15 United States to comply with the Agreement regard-  
16 ing the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed  
17 at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered into  
18 force November 21, 1947, between the United Na-  
19 tions and the United States, or other applicable  
20 international obligations.

21 (2) EXCEPTION RELATING TO THE PROVISION  
22 OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—Sanctions under  
23 this section may not be imposed with respect to  
24 transactions or the facilitation of transactions for—

1 (A) the sale of agricultural commodities,  
2 food, medicine, or medical devices;

3 (B) the provision of humanitarian assist-  
4 ance;

5 (C) financial transactions relating to hu-  
6 manitarian assistance; or

7 (D) transporting goods or services that are  
8 necessary to carry out operations relating to  
9 humanitarian assistance.

10 (3) EXCEPTION FOR INTELLIGENCE, LAW EN-  
11 FORCEMENT, AND NATIONAL SECURITY ACTIVI-  
12 TIES.—Sanctions under this section shall not apply  
13 to any authorized intelligence, law enforcement, or  
14 national security activities of the United States.

15 (d) CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.—In any judicial re-  
16 view of a determination made under this section, if the  
17 determination was based on classified information (as de-  
18 fined in section 1(a) of the Classified Information Proce-  
19 dures Act) such information may be submitted to the re-  
20 viewing court ex parte and in camera. This subsection may  
21 not be construed to confer or imply any right to judicial  
22 review.

23 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.—

24 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
25 ercise all authorities provided to the President under

1 sections 203 and 205 of the International Emer-  
2 gency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and  
3 1704) to carry out this section.

4 (2) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
5 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
6 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
7 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to a person that violates,  
8 attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
9 violation of regulations promulgated to carry out  
10 this section to the same extent that such penalties  
11 apply to a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
12 scribed in section 206(a) of that Act.

13 (f) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-  
14 tion of sanctions imposed with respect to a foreign person  
15 under this section if the President certifies to the Com-  
16 mittee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives  
17 and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate  
18 not later than 15 days before such waiver is to take effect  
19 that the waiver is crucial to the national security interests  
20 of the United States.

21 (g) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

22 (1) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
23 son” means an individual or entity that is not a  
24 United States person.

1           (2) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
2   “United States person” means—

3           (A) a United States citizen;

4           (B) a permanent resident alien of the  
5   United States; or

6           (C) an entity organized under the laws of  
7   the United States or of any jurisdiction within  
8   the United States, including a foreign branch of  
9   such an entity.

10          (3) PIRACY.—The term “piracy” means any act  
11   in violation of one or more provisions of chapter 81  
12   of title 18, United States Code.

Æ

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2635

To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 3, 2025

Mrs. KIM (for herself, Mr. BERA, and Mr. MEEKS) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

## A BILL

To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the “Uyghur Policy Act of  
5 2025”.

### 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

7 Congress finds the following:



1           (1) The People's Republic of China (PRC) con-  
2       tinues to repress the distinct Islamic, Turkic identity  
3       of Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and reli-  
4       gious minority groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Au-  
5       tonomous Region (XUAR) in northwestern China  
6       and other areas of their habitual residence.

7           (2) Uyghurs, and other predominantly Muslim  
8       ethnic minorities historically making up the majority  
9       of the XUAR population, have maintained through-  
10      out their history a distinct religious and cultural  
11      identity.

12          (3) Human rights, including freedom of religion  
13      or belief, and respect for the Uyghurs' unique Mus-  
14      lim identity are legitimate interests of the inter-  
15      national community.

16          (4) The PRC has ratified the International  
17      Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights,  
18      and is thereby bound by its provisions. The PRC has  
19      also signed the International Covenant on Civil and  
20      Political Rights.

21          (5) An official campaign to encourage Han Chi-  
22      nese migration into the XUAR has placed immense  
23      pressure on those who seek to preserve the ethnic,  
24      cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions of the

1 Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority  
2 groups.

3 (6) PRC authorities have supported an influx of  
4 Han Chinese economic immigrants into the XUAR,  
5 implemented discrimination against Uyghurs and  
6 other minorities in hiring practices, and provided un-  
7 equal access to healthcare services.

8 (7) PRC authorities have manipulated the stra-  
9 tegic objectives of the international war on terror to  
10 mask their increasing cultural and religious oppres-  
11 sion of the Muslim population residing in the  
12 XUAR.

13 (8) Following unrest in the region, in 2014,  
14 Chinese authorities launched their “Strike Hard  
15 against Violent Extremism” campaign, in which du-  
16 bious allegations of widespread extremist activity  
17 were used as justification for gross human rights  
18 violations committed against Uyghurs and members  
19 of other minority communities in the XUAR.

20 (9) PRC authorities have made use of the legal  
21 system as a tool of repression, including for the im-  
22 position of arbitrary detentions and for torture  
23 against members of the Uyghur community and  
24 other minority populations.

1       (10) Uyghurs and Kazakhs who have secured  
2       citizenship or permanent residency outside of the  
3       PRC have attested to repeated threats, harassment,  
4       and surveillance by PRC officials.

5       (11) Reporting from international news organi-  
6       zations has found that over the past decade, family  
7       members of Uyghurs and other minority groups liv-  
8       ing outside of the PRC have gone missing or been  
9       detained to force Uyghur expatriates to return to  
10      the PRC or silence their dissent.

11      (12) In 2017, Radio Free Asia's Uyghur Serv-  
12      ice was the first media organization to report on the  
13      PRC's vast, mass arbitrary-detention program in the  
14      XUAR in 2017.

15      (13) Credible evidence from human rights orga-  
16      nizations, think tanks, and journalists confirms that  
17      more than 1,000,000 Uyghurs and members of other  
18      ethnic minority groups have been imprisoned in  
19      extrajudicial "political reeducation" centers.

20      (14) Independent accounts from former detain-  
21      ees of "political reeducation" centers describe inhu-  
22      mane conditions and treatment including forced po-  
23      litical indoctrination, torture, beatings, rape, forced  
24      sterilization, and food deprivation.

1           (15) Former detainees also confirmed that they  
2       were told by guards that the only way to secure re-  
3       lease was to demonstrate sufficient political loyalty  
4       to the PRC Government.

5           (16) Popular discourse surrounding the ongoing  
6       atrocities in the XUAR and advocacy efforts to as-  
7       sist Uyghurs remains muted in most Muslim major-  
8       ity nations around the world.

9           (17) Former Secretary of States Antony  
10      Blinken and Michael Pompeo and Secretary of State  
11      Marco Rubio confirmed that the PRC Government  
12      has committed genocide and crimes against human-  
13      ity against Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious  
14      minorities in the XUAR.

15          (18) Government bodies of multiple nations  
16      have also declared that PRC Government's atrocities  
17      against such populations in the XUAR constitute  
18      genocide, including the parliaments of the United  
19      Kingdom, Belgium, Czechia, Lithuania, the Nether-  
20      lands, and Canada.

21   **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

22      It is the Sense of Congress that—

23          (1) the Government of the People's Republic of  
24      China should immediately open the Xinjiang Uyghur  
25      Autonomous Region (XUAR) to regular, trans-

1 parent, and unmanipulated visits by members of the  
2 press, international organizations including the Of-  
3 fice of the United Nations High Commissioner for  
4 Human Rights, academic and human rights research  
5 institutions, as well as foreign delegations including  
6 from the United States Congress;

7 (2) the Government of the People's Republic of  
8 China should recognize, and take tangible steps to  
9 protect and preserve, the distinct ethnic, cultural, re-  
10 ligious, and linguistic identity of Uyghurs and mem-  
11 bers of other ethnic and religious minority groups in  
12 the XUAR;

13 (3) the Government of the People's Republic of  
14 China should cease all government-sponsored crack-  
15 downs, imprisonments, and detentions of people  
16 throughout the XUAR aimed at repressing their eth-  
17 nic, cultural, political, or religious identities;

18 (4) the Government of the People's Republic of  
19 China should cease all government-sponsored  
20 transnational repression of Uyghurs, including the  
21 detainment, harassment, intimidation, and surveil-  
22 lance of the family members of exiled Uyghurs and  
23 Uyghur activists;

24 (5) it is commendable for countries to provide  
25 shelter and hospitality to Uyghurs and other minor-

1       ity group members in exile, as Turkey, Albania, and  
2       Germany have done;

3           (6) urges all countries, especially fellow democ-  
4       racies and those with sizeable Muslim populations,  
5       to condemn and address the plight of Uyghurs and  
6       other minority communities in the XUAR;

7           (7) the Government of the People's Republic of  
8       China should immediately and unconditionally re-  
9       lease all prisoners that have been detained for their  
10      ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic identities,  
11      for expressing their political or religious beliefs in  
12      the XUAR, or for being related to members of the  
13      Uyghur diaspora or activist community including—

14           (A) Ekper Asat, who participated in the  
15      Department of State's International Visitors  
16      Leadership Program in 2016, was incarcerated  
17      after returning to the XUAR, and is now serv-  
18      ing a 15 year prison sentence on charges of “in-  
19      citing ethnic hatred and ethnic discrimination”;

20           (B) Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a retired medical  
21      doctor and Uyghur, who was wrongfully de-  
22      tained in the XUAR on September 11, 2018,  
23      and unjustly sentenced to 20 years in prison in  
24      retaliation for her sister's advocacy for Uyghur  
25      human rights issues; and

1 (C) Kamile Wayit, a university student  
2 and Uyghur, who was wrongfully detained on  
3 December 12, 2022, after returning to the  
4 XUAR while on break from studying during the  
5 winter holiday;

6 (8) the Government of the People's Republic of  
7 China should facilitate access for international hu-  
8 manitarian organizations, including the Inter-  
9 national Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent  
10 Societies, to the “political reeducation” centers in  
11 the XUAR to ensure prisoners are not being mis-  
12 treated and are receiving necessary medical care;  
13 and

14 (9) the Department of State should continue to  
15 facilitate the unhindered dissemination of informa-  
16 tion to the international community on issues re-  
17 garding the human rights, religious freedom, and  
18 transnational repression of Uyghurs and members of  
19 other minority groups in the XUAR.

20 **SEC. 4. UNITED STATES STRENGTHENING OF COORDINA-**  
21 **TION ON UYGHUR ISSUES.**

22 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, as appro-  
23 priate, shall—

1           (1) prioritize policies, programs, and projects to  
2       support the Uyghurs and members of other ethnic  
3       and religious minority groups in the XUAR;

4           (2) vigorously promote the policy of seeking to  
5       protect the distinct ethnic, religious, cultural, and  
6       linguistic identity of the Uyghurs and other minority  
7       groups and seek improved protection of human  
8       rights in the XUAR;

9           (3) direct the State Department to maintain  
10      close contact with Uyghur religious, cultural, and  
11      political leaders, including seeking regular travel to  
12      the XUAR and to Uyghur populations in Central  
13      Asia, Turkey, Albania, Germany, and other parts of  
14      Europe;

15          (4) lead coordination efforts for the release of  
16      political prisoners in the XUAR who are being de-  
17      tained for exercising their human rights or being rel-  
18      atives of exiled Uyghurs;

19          (5) consult with the United States Congress on  
20      policies relevant to the XUAR and the Uyghurs;

21          (6) coordinate with relevant Federal agencies to  
22      administer aid to Uyghur rights advocates;

23          (7) make efforts to establish contacts with for-  
24      eign ministries of other countries, especially in Eu-  
25      rope, Central Asia, and members of the Organisation



1 of Islamic Cooperation, to pursue a policy of pro-  
2 moting greater respect for human rights and reli-  
3 gious freedom for Uyghurs and other ethnic and re-  
4 ligious minority groups from the XUAR;

5 (8) utilize the Organisation of Islamic Coopera-  
6 tion and United States Strategic Dialogue to ad-  
7 dress Uyghur rights, working with the Organisation  
8 of Islamic Cooperation individual member states to  
9 develop and implement joint initiatives and pro-  
10 grams aimed at promoting awareness of Uyghur  
11 rights, and support Uyghur victims of detainment,  
12 harassment, and transnational repression;

13 (9) support independent media authorized  
14 under PL 111/202 22 U.S.C. 6208 of the 111th  
15 Congress that conduct reporting and investigative  
16 journalism focused on the XUAR, including in local  
17 languages, to ensure that further PRC human rights  
18 abuses are reported on;

19 (10) work with international partners to raise  
20 awareness concerning acts of transnational repres-  
21 sion against Uyghur Americans or Uyghurs exiled in  
22 the United States;

23 (11) develop and implement strategies to pre-  
24 vent and respond to the transnational repression of

1 Uyghur Americans and Uyghurs exiled in the United  
2 States;

3 (12) establish a reporting mechanism for indi-  
4 viduals to report incidents of transnational repres-  
5 sion; and

6 (13) submit an annual report, including a clas-  
7 sified annex if necessary, to Congress on actions  
8 taken by the United States to address and prevent  
9 transnational repression against Uyghurs in the  
10 United States, and recommendations for further leg-  
11 islative or policy measures.

12 (b) SUPPORT.—The Secretary of State shall ensure  
13 the Department of State has adequate resources, staff,  
14 and administrative support to carry out this section.

15 (c) TERMINATION.—This section shall terminate on  
16 the date that is 5 years after the date of the enactment  
17 of this Act.

18 **SEC. 5. FUNDING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES TO CON-**  
19 **DUCT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE ISLAMIC**  
20 **WORLD ON THE UYGHUR SITUATION.**

21 Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for the  
22 United States Speaker Program of the Bureau of Edu-  
23 cational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State,  
24 \$250,000 for each of fiscal years 2025, 2026, and 2027  
25 is authorized to be made available to support human

1 rights advocates working on behalf of the Uyghurs and  
2 members of other ethnic and religious minority groups  
3 from the XUAR that are persecuted in the PRC, whose  
4 names may be provided by the Department of State in  
5 consultation with representatives of the global Uyghur  
6 community, to speak at global public diplomacy forums,  
7 particularly those in which Organisation of Islamic Co-  
8 operation countries and other Muslim-majority countries  
9 are present, on issues regarding the human rights and reli-  
10 gious freedom of Uyghurs and members of other ethnic  
11 and religious minority groups persecuted in the PRC.

12 **SEC. 6. NO ADDITIONAL FUNDS AUTHORIZED.**

13 No additional funds are authorized to carry out the  
14 requirements of this Act. Such requirements shall be car-  
15 ried out using amounts otherwise authorized.

16 **SEC. 7. ACCESS TO DETENTION FACILITIES AND PRISONS**  
17 **AND THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS.**

18 (a) **STRATEGY ON POLITICAL REEDUCATION AND**  
19 **DETENTION FACILITIES.**—Not later than 180 days after  
20 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of  
21 State, in consultation with the heads of other relevant  
22 Federal departments and agencies, develop a strategy to  
23 cooperate with like-minded partners to pressure the Peo-  
24 ple's Republic of China to—

1           (1) close all detention facilities and “political  
2       reeducation” camps housing Uyghurs and members  
3       of other ethnic minority groups in the XUAR;

4           (2) allow unhindered access to detention facili-  
5       ties and “political reeducation” camps in the XUAR  
6       by independent media, researchers, international or-  
7       ganizations and the Office of the United Nations  
8       High Commissioner for Human Rights for a com-  
9       prehensive assessment of the human rights situation;  
10      and

11          (3) protect human rights and preserve the dis-  
12      tinct religious and cultural identity of the Uyghurs  
13      and the other religious and ethnic minority commu-  
14      nities in the XUAR.

15      (b) REPORT ON STRATEGY AND IMPLEMENTATION.—

16   Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of  
17   this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Com-  
18   mittee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives  
19   and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate  
20   a report, including a classified annex if necessary, that in-  
21   cludes—

22          (1) the strategy developed pursuant to sub-  
23      section (a); and

1           (2) all the steps taken to implement such strat-  
2       egy pursuant to the objectives described in sub-  
3       section (a).

4   **SEC. 8. REQUIREMENT FOR UYGHUR LANGUAGE TRAINING.**

5       (a) UYGHUR LANGUAGE TRAINING AND STAFFING.—  
6       The Secretary of State shall take such steps as may be  
7       necessary to ensure that—

8           (1) Uyghur language training is available to  
9       Foreign Service officers as appropriate; and

10          (2) every effort is made to ensure that at least  
11       1 Uyghur-speaking member of the Foreign Service  
12       (as such term is defined by section 103 of the For-  
13       eign Service Act of 1980 (22 U.S.C. 3903)) is as-  
14       signed to each United States diplomatic or consular  
15       post in China.

16       (b) REPORT.—No later than 1 year after the date  
17       of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
18       2 years, the Foreign Service Institute shall submit to the  
19       Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representa-  
20       tives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Sen-  
21       ate a report that outlines all the steps taken to implement  
22       subsection (a).

1 SEC. 9. UYGHUR CONSIDERATIONS AT THE UNITED NA-  
2 TIONS.

3 The President should direct the United States Per-  
4 manent Representative to the United Nations to use the  
5 voice, vote, and influence of the United States to—

6 (1) oppose any efforts to prevent consideration  
7 of the gross violation of internationally recognized  
8 human rights in the XUAR in any body of the  
9 United Nations;

10 (2) oppose any efforts to prevent the participa-  
11 tion of any Uyghur human rights advocates in non-  
12 governmental fora hosted by or otherwise organized  
13 under the auspices of any body of the United Na-  
14 tions; and

15 (3) support the appointment of a special  
16 rapporteur or working group for the XUAR for the  
17 purposes of monitoring human rights violations and  
18 abuses in the XUAR, and for making reports avail-  
19 able to the High Commissioner for Refugees, the  
20 High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Human  
21 Rights Commission, the General Assembly, and  
22 other United Nations bodies.

Æ

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2503

To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 31, 2025

Mr. KEAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

## A BILL

To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Undersea Cable Con-  
5       trol Act”.

1 **SEC. 2. STRATEGY TO ELIMINATE THE AVAILABILITY TO**  
2 **FOREIGN ADVERSARIES OF ITEMS REQUIRED**  
3 **FOR SUPPORTING UNDERSEA CABLES.**

4 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—The President, acting through the  
5 Secretary of Commerce and in coordination with the Sec-  
6 retary of State, shall develop a strategy to eliminate the  
7 availability to foreign adversaries of items required for  
8 supporting undersea cables consistent with United States  
9 policy described in section 1752 of the Export Control Re-  
10 form Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C. 4811).

11 (b) **MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.**—The strategy re-  
12 quired under subsection (a) shall include the following:

13 (1) An identification of items required for sup-  
14 porting the construction, maintenance, or operation  
15 of an undersea cable project.

16 (2) An identification of United States and mul-  
17 tilateral export controls and licensing policies for  
18 items identified pursuant to paragraph (1) with re-  
19 spect to foreign adversaries.

20 (3) An identification of United States allies and  
21 partners that have a share of the global market with  
22 respect to the items so identified, including a de-  
23 tailed description of the availability of such items  
24 without restriction in sufficient quantities and com-  
25 parable in quality to those produced in the United  
26 States.



1           (4) A description of ongoing negotiations with  
2 other countries to achieve unified export controls  
3 and licensing policies for items so identified to elimi-  
4 nate availability to foreign adversaries.

5           (5) To the extent practicable, an identification  
6 of all identified entities under the control, ownership,  
7 or influence of a foreign adversary that support the  
8 construction, operation, or maintenance of undersea  
9 cables.

10          (6) A description of efforts taken to promote  
11 United States leadership at international standards-  
12 setting bodies for equipment, systems, software, and  
13 virtually defined networks relevant to undersea ca-  
14 bles, taking into account the different processes fol-  
15 lowed by such bodies.

16          (7) A description of the presence and activities  
17 of foreign adversaries at international standards-set-  
18 ting bodies relevant to undersea cables, including in-  
19 formation on the differences in the scope and scale  
20 of the engagement of foreign adversaries at such  
21 bodies compared to engagement at such bodies by  
22 the United States and its allies and partners, and  
23 the security risks raised by the proposals of foreign  
24 adversaries at such bodies.

25       (c) REPORT.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
2       after the date of the enactment of this Act and an-  
3       nually thereafter for 3 years, the President shall  
4       submit to the appropriate congressional committees  
5       a report that contains the strategy required under  
6       subsection (a).

7           (2) FORM.—Each report required under this  
8       subsection shall—

9           (A) be submitted in unclassified form, but  
10       may contain a classified annex; and

11          (B) be made available on a publicly acces-  
12       sible Federal Government website.

13       (d) AGREEMENT.—

14           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after  
15       the date of the enactment of this Act, the President  
16       shall seek to—

17           (A) establish bilateral or multilateral  
18       agreements with allies and partners identified  
19       pursuant to subsection (b)(3) to seek to elimi-  
20       nate the availability to foreign adversaries of  
21       items identified pursuant to subsection (b)(1);  
22       and

23           (B) include in such agreements penalty  
24       provisions for noncompliance.

1           (2) BRIEFINGS.—The President shall brief the  
2 congressional committees specified in subsection  
3 (c)(1) on negotiations to establish agreements de-  
4 scribed in paragraph (1) beginning not later than 30  
5 days after receipt of the report required under sub-  
6 section (a) and every 180 days thereafter until each  
7 such agreement is established.

8           (e) ACTIONS.—

9           (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Commerce  
10 shall evaluate the export, reexport, and in-country  
11 transfer of the items identified pursuant to sub-  
12 section (b)(1) for appropriate controls under the Ex-  
13 port Administration Regulations, including by evalu-  
14 ating, for each item so identified, whether to add the  
15 technology to the Commerce Control List maintained  
16 under title 15, Code of Federal Regulations.

17           (2) LEVELS OF CONTROL.—

18           (A) IN GENERAL.—In determining the  
19 level of control appropriate for items identified  
20 pursuant to subsection (b)(1), including re-  
21 quirements for a license or other authorization  
22 for the export, reexport, or in-country transfer  
23 of any such technology, the Secretary of Com-  
24 merce (in coordination with the Secretary of  
25 Defense, the Secretary of State, and the heads

1 of other Federal agencies, as appropriate) shall  
2 take into account the potential end uses and  
3 end users of the item.

4 (B) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—At a min-  
5 imum, it is the policy of the United States to  
6 work with its allies and partners to control the  
7 export, reexport, or in-country transfer of tech-  
8 nologies identified pursuant to subsection (b)(1)  
9 to or in a country subject to an embargo, in-  
10 cluding an arms embargo, imposed by the  
11 United States.

12 (3) NOTIFICATION.—Not later than 1 year  
13 after the date of enactment of this Act, and annually  
14 thereafter for 3 years, the President, acting through  
15 the Secretary of Commerce, shall submit to the ap-  
16 propriate congressional committees an unclassified  
17 notification describing the results of actions taken  
18 pursuant to this subsection in the preceding period,  
19 including a description of—

20 (A) the individual items evaluated for con-  
21 trols; and

22 (B) the rationale, including United States  
23 national security and foreign policy consider-  
24 ations, for adding or not adding an item to the  
25 Commerce Control List maintained under title

1           15, Code of Federal Regulations, pursuant to  
2           the evaluation under paragraph (1) with respect  
3           to such item.

4       (f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

5           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
6       TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
7       mittees” means—

8           (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
9           the House of Representatives; and

10          (B) the Committee on Banking, Housing,  
11          and Urban Affairs of the Senate.

12          (2) FOREIGN ADVERSARY.—The term “foreign  
13       adversary” has the meaning given such term in sec-  
14       tion 8(c) of the Secure and Trusted Communications  
15       Networks Act of 2019 (47 U.S.C. 1607(c)).

16          (3) ITEM.—The term “item” has the meaning  
17       given such term in the Export Administration Regu-  
18       lations (15 C.F.R. 772.1).

Chairman MAST. I would like to recognize Representative Meeks again for any opening statement that he may have on the en bloc package.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and again, I support the four bills on the en bloc, and I want to thank you and the sponsors of each of the bills for working with me to reach a bipartisan consensus, working together in that regard.

I do want to highlight two bills in the en bloc. First, let me acknowledge Representative Jackson's piracy bill, H.R. 1998, attacks on maritime shipping endangers innocent lives, raise of goods, and destabilizes local communities. Unfortunately, they have become more common. Ships traversing the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden now face two major threats from the Houthis, who continue to perpetuate piracy on the high seas and from Somalia pirates, who are plundering and pillaging at rates unseen in a decade. Sanctioning pirates makes sense and I think Representative Jackson for his leadership on this bill.

I am also a proud cosponsor of Representative Kim's Uyghur policy at H.R. 2635. This committee has played an important leadership role in pushing for the protection of Uyghurs and other minorities in Xinjiang in the face of genocide and forced labor. But our work isn't done because Beijing's repression isn't done. This is all a good bipartisan bill and I hope that it serves as a clear signal to the Trump administration about what Congress wants because thus far, the Trump administration has cut congressionally authorized programs that support human rights in China, including for projects focused on empowering Chinese and Uyghur-related diaspora groups to combat transnational repression and promote religious freedom. And despite the fact that Radio Free Asia helped break the story about Chinese program of detention, re-education, and forced labor in Xinjiang, this administration is now trying to shutter Radio Free Asia as we speak.

So I thank Representative Kim and Representative Bera for their leadership on this bill and with that, I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Thank you, Ranking Member Meeks. So any other members seek recognition?

Any Republicans seek recognition first? Representative Perry is recognized.

Mr. PERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't know—I kind of am seeking recognition to see if I can get some questions answered regarding H.R. 1998 which is to require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy and for other purposes. I just don't know mechanically how that is going to happen, and so that is why I am seeking some answers. I don't think anybody on the committee left of right supports the piracy generally conducted by the Houthis or those associated with the Houthis, but I don't know if we know these people's names. I don't know if they have anything to sanction. I don't know if we are going to sanction their john boat, or their flipflops, or their t-shirts, or their AK-47. I don't know if we are going to sanction people in Iran that are supporting the Houthis, so I don't know, Mr. Chairman, if you will engage in a colloquy. Do you understand how this sanction regime is going to work? I am all for ending the piracy, I just don't literally understand mechanically how this is going to happen.

Chairman MAST. Thank you, Representative Perry. I am free to engage with you.

Mr. PERRY. Yes, sir.

Chairman MAST. Is Representative Jackson here right now? He will be able to obviously speak in a moment about it, but obviously, this goes to the administration to go out there and look at any alien that the Secretary deems under the Secretary of Homeland Secretary has in need of being sanctioned. Right? I mean that is the obvious part of this. The Secretaries of these administrations through our intelligence will go out there and figure out exactly which individuals, which quite often will be let's say classified information because of the sources and methods by which they find these individuals, but just like we are looking at the targeting of individuals connectedly, they will seek individuals in the same way to target with sanctions that maybe won't be targeted connectedly. And so to say that in the best way that I can, not in a classified environment. I hope that answers your question.

Mr. PERRY. So to be clear, would this be sanctions on people supporting piracy that aren't necessarily involved in the piracy itself?

Chairman MAST. I think this should be looked at as being written in an open way to target anybody that has been a part of these piracy activities.

Mr. PERRY. Okay.

Chairman MAST. In any way, shape, or form that the administration can say they were financing, they were providing intelligence, they were looking for the targets of opportunity, they were a part of the network of conducting attacks of piracy on the targets of opportunity in any way, shape, or form, I would consider that the scope of this policy.

Mr. PERRY. All right, and I would yield to Representative Jackson.

Chairman MAST. I will recognize him in a minute, if you are yielding back.

Mr. PERRY. I am yielding my—

Chairman MAST. Unless you are trying to have a colloquy with—

Mr. PERRY. I would like to have a colloquy with Mr. Jackson.

Chairman MAST. I think we still have—is the clock going? I don't even see the clock going right now.

Mr. PERRY. I am not in charge of the clock, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MAST. Very good. Somebody didn't start the clock, so we will make sure we start that from now on and Representative Jackson is recognized.

Mr. Jackson of Illinois. Thank you, Congressman Perry and thank you to Congressman Mast, the chairman. Due to the nature of this, this is classified information, and it has to deal with primary and secondary sources that are fueling these organizations that are making these attacks, so I would leave it at that. But these came out of briefings. I yield back.

Mr. PERRY. Mr. Chairman, I yield.

Chairman MAST. Thank you for the questions, both of you, and the comments, both of you. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative AMO.

Mr. AMO. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak in support of the Uyghur Policy Act of 2025. I am proud to co-sponsor this piece of legislation. For decades, Uyghurs have been a politically persecuted minority by the Chinese Communist Party. But starting in 2001, the CCP ramped up its authoritarian crackdowns, stripping away rights, separating families, and subjecting Uyghurs to inhumane conditions just because of their culture, heritage, and religion.

Professor Ilham Tohti, one of the many Uyghur victims suffering at the hands of Xi's regime. Professor Tohti is an economist who has spent his life focused on promoting peaceful relations and mutual understanding. Yet, in a cruel twist of fate, he has been horrifically punished for his work. Since 2014, he has been detained as a political prisoner. He has had no contact with his family or loved ones since 2017.

In Congress, I am proud to be an advocate for Professor Tohti on Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission elevating his story and pushing for his release. It is why I wholeheartedly support the Uyghur Policy Act to help Professor Tohti and other Uyghur prisoners just like him.

This bipartisan bill will direct the Secretary of State to work toward the release of political prisoners and hold the Chinese Government accountable for their human rights abuses against the Uyghurs. We must speak out against the ongoing human rights abuses in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region. This bill is an important step toward fulfilling that obligation and fighting back against China's oppression.

I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Any other representatives seek recognition?  
Representative Barr?

Mr. BARR. Thank you. I move to strike the last word and speak in support of my legislation, H.R. 747, included in the en bloc. This bill is titled The Stop Chinese Fentanyl Act.

Mr. Chairman, the fentanyl crisis, as you know, is one of the largest threats to our country and continues to plague so many of our families and neighbors across the United States. Drug overdoses are the leading cause of death for Americans age 18 to 45 and fentanyl is responsible for nearly 70 percent of these deaths. Deaths involving synthetic opioids continued to rise in 2022, which 73,838 overdose deaths. Each one of these is a terrible tragedy. From September 2023 to August 2024, 57,997 Americans died of an opioid overdose. In 2023, 1,984 Kentuckians lost their lives to a drug overdose. Sadly, I have met with many of my constituents who have lost loved ones to this epidemic.

Unfortunately, this scourge has spread with the help, the malign help of our greatest strategic threat, the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party. In just the past 2 years, the Office of Foreign Asset Control, or OFAC, at Treasury, sanctioned more than 300 targets for drug trafficking. We know that China has historically been and remains the primary source of fentanyl in global circulation through the production of precursor chemicals and outsourcing final production to cartel laboratories, mainly in Mexico and then exploitation of our open southern border over the



last 4 years. That is why it is paramount to not only secure our southern border but that this committee pass my legislation being considered here today, H.R. 747, The Stop Chinese Fentanyl Act, which passed the House on suspension last Congress.

My bill amends the Fentanyl Sanctions Act to expand the definition of “foreign opioid trafficker” to include certain Chinese entities and government officials who have failed to take steps to prevent opioid trafficking, subjecting them to sanctions. This bill requires the President to determine whether the heads of the Chinese National Narcotics Control Commission, the Ministry of Public Security, the General Administration of Customs, and the national medical Products Administration of the Government of the People’s Republic of China are foreign opioid traffickers and we suspect many are.

We must attack the production of fentanyl by targeting the source of precursors in China. Make no mistake, Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors and senior government and Chinese political officials’ culpability does not end when their precursor products land in Mexico or illegally cross our southern border. We must look at every step of fentanyl’s deadly supply chain and hold our adversaries accountable. This is a real, urgent, and massive national security crisis. The threat from China is multi-faceted, but there are entities and persons in China who are literally complicit in poisoning and killing Americans. This bill targets the sources of the fentanyl surge and I encourage my colleagues to support this legislation once again in a bipartisan way and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Thank you, Representative Barr. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Dean is recognized.

Mr. DEAN. Thank you, Chairman Mast and Ranking Member Meeks. I, too, rise in support of Congressman Barr’s legislation, H.R. 747, the Stop Chinese Fentanyl Act of 2025. I think it is a very aptly named numbered bill because I have for a long time called what we are suffering here in this country a jetliner a day of souls who die, who perish every single day, hundreds of Americans die every single day in my State of Pennsylvania, just like your State and everybody else’s. It is a jetliner a day and we have to do everything we possibly can to land that plane. That is why I thank you, Representative Barr for this.

The opioid crisis continues to ravage my community. Like you, Representative Barr, I have been to too many funerals. I have visited with too many families who are struggling with young people, not so young people, struggling with addiction. As some of you may know, it is a deeply personal issue for me. My son, Harry, was addicted to opioids and is now by the grace of God and his own hard work, been in recovery for more than 12 years and is helping others find recovery and also helping others who are dealing with grievous losses.

The numbers have gone down recently, I do want to note that. We went from about 110,000 people dying of overdose a year in this country. Think of that number, 110,000 people a year. In the most recent 12-month period, it is down to about 84,000 a year, but that number is so cold. It is 84,000 people dying a year of overdose. We

have to continue to find out what is going right that the numbers are coming down, but how do we bring that number all the way down so that communities and families are not ravaged by these losses.

We need to address the crisis from every angle, from ensuring those suffering from substance use disorder have access to needed healthcare. In my State of Pennsylvania, through Medicaid, 100,000 people are working toward their own recovery through Medicaid. May we not cut Medicaid and the support that they need to thrive because you can thrive in recovery as my son is.

We need to target all parts of the supply chain which this bill does by sanctioning entities that produce synthetic opioid precursors, drop them down here in the United States, then ship them to Mexico only to come back as poison for our community. So I appreciate Congressman Barr's leadership on this bill and on this issue. I encourage all my colleagues to join me in supporting H.R. 747, may we land this plane. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Representative Kim is recognized.

Mrs. KIM. Thank you, Chairman Mast, and Ranking Member Meeks for holding today's markup and for considering my bipartisan bill, H.R. 2635, The Uyghur Policy Act. I also want to thank my colleagues, Representative Ami Bera and again Ranking Member Meeks, for joining me in introducing this bill as original cosponsors and I would like to also thank Representative Amo for speaking in support of this bill and sponsoring it as well.

Under the Chinese Communist Party or CCP, Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities have been victims to genocide in modern day concentration camps simply because of their linguistic, cultural, and religious identity. Meanwhile, Uyghur human rights advocates and family members of detainees are intimidated and harassed by the CCP's transnational repression campaigns abroad. The fact that this happens here on U.S. soil is unacceptable.

The Uyghur Policy Act directs the Secretary of State to lead and coordinate all U.S. Government policies, programs, and projects that support Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region. It also ends to protect individuals in the Uyghur diaspora community who are subject to the CCP's transnational repression. The Uyghur Policy Act passed the House last Congress with broad bipartisan support. The version we are considering today has common-sense edits that also protect Uyghur advocates and diaspora members outside of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region and creates a mechanism for them to report incidents of transnational repression. It also incorporates technical changes from the standard version of the bill.

Without authorizing any new funding, the Uyghur Policy Act will equip the U.S. with the tools needed to support the basic human rights and distinct identities of Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities who are subject to the CCP's inhumane treatment.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill and also the en bloc that I see many of the bills including the Chinese Fentanyl Act of 2025 introduced by Representative Barr. Thank you so much and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Kean is recognized.

Mr. KEAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to begin by thanking Chairman Mast for his leadership on this issue and for working alongside me to address these concerns. The Undersea Cable Control Act, H.R. 2503, is a targeted, bipartisan effort to protect the U.S. national security and technology by limiting access to undersea cable infrastructure from foreign adversaries, especially, the Chinese Communist Party. Undersea cables carry 99 percent of trans-oceanic digital traffic, enabling trillions in daily financial transactions, according to the International Cable Protection Committee, and adding \$649 billion to the U.S. economy in 2019 alone. They are the digital backbone for the modern global economy and they are vulnerable.

This bill directs Departments of Commerce and State to develop a strategy to eliminate foreign adversaries' access to key technologies used in undersea cables. It also strengthens our export controls, requires transparency in public reporting, and fosters cooperation with allies to safeguard our standards and our infrastructure.

I urge my colleagues to support the Undersea Cable Control Act and I thank this committee for considering this important piece of legislation. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? I now recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I rise in support of this en bloc package and I want to thank each of the members for their work on these bills on both sides of the aisle. It is important work. I know it is thoughtful and it is done with a great deal of deliberation. H.R. 747, To Stop Chinese Fentanyl, it is important that we go out there and as we look at laws, we pay attention to the semantics of what we are doing and by expanding the definition of who is identified as a foreign opioid trafficker, we are doing something that better enables us to go out there and stop the spread of these opioids across our borders and to combat every individual that is a part of moving these opioids across our borders and distributing them, manufacturing them, selling them. It is an important part of this process for us. And I applaud the work on that piece of legislation.

For H.R. 2543, The Underseas Cable Control Act, it is common sense for the United States of America to prevent foreign adversaries from gaining access to items necessary for supporting undersea cable projects. We don't support our adversaries and if we are supporting our adversaries, then we are being stupid about policy, so I applaud this piece of legislation that is making sure that that is not the case for the United States of America as it relates to undersea cables.

H.R. 2635, The Uyghur Policy Act of 2025. It chastises China for the continued oppression of Uyghur Muslims and it requires them to cease all government-sponsored crackdowns, imprisonments, and detentions of people throughout their aimed areas and repressing these ethnic, cultural, and political and religious identities. As we look at China and we look at other countries across the globe, trying to decide whether they want to align with the United States of America and our allies or China and their allies, this should be a laughable idea for any nation across Latin America or Africa or Europe or anywhere else that they look at the globe and they say

I want to align with China and Xi and Russia and Putin and North Korea and Kim and the Ayatollahs of Iran versus aligning with the United States of America and NATO and EU and Israel and Australia and Japan and our allies and the lifestyles that the world can clearly see our populations are afforded versus what is afforded by the governments of countries like China and the repression that they conduct on their own people to include the imprisonment and the detention of these ethnic and cultural groups. And so I applaud the work on this piece of legislation as well.

And the final piece of legislation I will speak on this en bloc package, The Sanction Sea Pirates Act of 2025. It needs to be the policy of the United States of America to deter and combat piracy. It has affected us for many years and this piece of legislation authorizes the President to sanction any foreign persons, any, that is the important word here, that knowingly engage in piracy off the coast of Somalia or in the Gulf of Aden. That is a worthy cause for the United States of America considering the way that we have been affected by piracy throughout those waters.

And again, I just want to applaud each of the members for their work on these pieces of legislation and there being no—do any other members seek recognition, first of all? Very good. There being no further discussion, does any member wish to offer to an amendment to the en bloc package?

There being no amendments, the committee will proceed to consider the noticed items en bloc. Pursuant to the previous order, the question occurs on the measures en bloc, as amended, if amended.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the measures considered en bloc are agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table and staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

Pursuant to the previous order of the committee, each measure is ordered favorably reported, as amended, if amended, and each measure, so amended, shall be reported as a single amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 2619, No Pay Days for Hostage Takers Act.

[The Bill H.R. 2619 follows:]

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2619

To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 3, 2025

Mr. BAUMGARTNER (for himself, Mr. MOSKOWITZ, Ms. TENNEY, Mr. AMODEI of Nevada, and Ms. SALAZAR) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “No Paydays for Hos-  
5 tage-Takers Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1           (1) The Islamic Republic of Iran has a long his-  
2       tory of hostage-taking and wrongful detention of  
3       United States nationals, including its illegal deten-  
4       tion of 52 American diplomats from 1979 to 1981.

5           (2) The Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and  
6       Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741  
7       et seq.), named in honor of Robert Levinson, the  
8       longest-held hostage in United States history who is  
9       presumed to have been killed by the regime while in  
10      Iranian custody, authorizes sanctions with respect to  
11      foreign persons who are responsible for or complicit  
12      in hostage-taking or unlawful or wrongful detention  
13      of United States nationals abroad.

14 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

15       It shall be the policy of the United States to under-  
16      take additional actions and impose strict penalties to deter  
17      the Government of Iran and other hostile governments and  
18      non-state actors from hostage-taking or wrongfully detain-  
19      ing United States nationals.

20 **SEC. 4. REPORT AND CERTIFICATION ON RESTRICTED IRA-**  
21 **NIAN FUNDS RELEASED TO QATAR.**

22       (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
23      date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days  
24      thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
25      Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Fi-

1 nancial Services of the House of Representatives and the  
2 Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on  
3 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate the  
4 following:

5 (1) A report on the \$6,000,000,000 in funds  
6 transferred from restricted Iranian accounts in the  
7 Republic of South Korea to restricted accounts in  
8 Qatar on or after August 9, 2023.

9 (2) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
10 dence or intelligence exists that any of the funds  
11 transferred have been used for any purpose other  
12 than humanitarian purposes.

13 (3) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
14 dence or intelligence exists that the funds trans-  
15 ferred have enabled the Government of Iran to in-  
16 crease spending on defense, intelligence, or malign  
17 foreign activities.

18 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
19 quired by subsection (a)(1) shall include the following:

20 (1) An itemized list of all transactions involving  
21 the use of funds transferred, including the value of  
22 such transactions, the parties to such transactions,  
23 the financial institutions involved, the goods pur-  
24 chased in each transaction, the destinations and end  
25 user of such goods, the date on which the United

1 States was notified of such transaction, and the date  
2 the transaction occurred.

3 (2) The quantity of funds described in sub-  
4 section (a)(1) in restricted accounts in Qatar at the  
5 beginning and end of each reporting period.

6 (3) A thorough description of the process the  
7 United States Government utilized during the re-  
8 porting period to review transactions involving the  
9 use of funds transferred in order to verify that such  
10 transactions were humanitarian in nature.

11 **SEC. 5. REVIEW AND DETERMINATION AND REPORTS ON**  
12 **SANCTIONS UNDER THE ROBERT LEVINSON**  
13 **HOSTAGE RECOVERY AND HOSTAGE-TAKING**  
14 **ACCOUNTABILITY ACT.**

15 (a) REVIEW AND DETERMINATION.—Not later than  
16 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
17 on an annual basis thereafter for 6 years, the President  
18 shall—

19 (1) review all cases of the hostage-taking of a  
20 United States national in Iran or at the direction of  
21 the Government of Iran and all cases of the unlawful  
22 or wrongful detention of a United States national in  
23 Iran or at the direction of the Government of Iran  
24 that have occurred during the preceding 10-year pe-  
25 riod; and



1           (2) make a determination as to whether any  
2       foreign person, based on credible evidence—

3           (A) is responsible for or complicit in, or re-  
4       sponsible for ordering, controlling, or otherwise  
5       directing, the hostage-taking of the United  
6       States national or the unlawful or wrongful de-  
7       tention of the United States national; or

8           (B) knowingly provides financial, material,  
9       or technological support for, or goods or serv-  
10      ices in support of, an activity described in sub-  
11      paragraph (A).

12      (b) REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after the  
13      date of the enactment of this Act, and on an annual basis  
14      thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
15      appropriate congressional committees a report that—

16           (1) identifies all foreign persons with respect to  
17      which the President has made a determination under  
18      subsection (a)(2); and

19           (2) with respect to each such foreign person—  
20           (A) states whether sanctions have been im-  
21      posed under section 306 of the Robert Levinson  
22      Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Ac-  
23      countability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741d) or will be  
24      imposed within 30 days of the date of the sub-  
25      mission of the report; and

1 (B) for whom sanctions have not been im-  
2 posed or will not be imposed under section 306  
3 of such Act, provides a description of the spe-  
4 cific authority under which otherwise applicable  
5 sanctions are being waived, have otherwise been  
6 determined not to apply, or are not being im-  
7 posed and a complete justification of the deci-  
8 sion to waive or otherwise not apply the sanc-  
9 tions authorized by such sanctions programs  
10 and authorities.

11 **SEC. 6. REQUIREMENT TO LIMIT TRAVEL OF IRANIAN DIP-**  
12 **LOMATS AT THE UNITED NATIONS.**

13 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

14 (1) United States visa restrictions on sanc-  
15 tioned individuals often contain exceptions for activi-  
16 ties in order to permit the United States to comply  
17 with the Agreement regarding the headquarters of  
18 the United Nations signed at Lake Success June 26,  
19 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
20 between the United Nations and the United States.

21 (2) Section 6 of Public Law 80–357 (commonly  
22 known as the “United Nations Headquarters Agree-  
23 ment Act”) provides “Nothing in the agreement  
24 shall be construed as in any way diminishing,

1       abridging, or weakening the right of the United  
2       States to safeguard its own security.”.

3           (3) Congress has directed the President to use  
4       the President’s authority, including the authorities  
5       contained in section 6 of Public Law 80–357, to  
6       deny any individual’s admission to the United States  
7       as a representative to the United Nations if the  
8       President determines that such individual has been  
9       found to have been engaged in espionage activities  
10      or a terrorist activity directed against the United  
11      States or its allies and may pose a threat to United  
12      States national security interests.

13      (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
14      gress that Iran’s longstanding hostage-taking and wrong-  
15      ful detention of United States nationals, assassination  
16      plots against United States nationals outside and within  
17      the United States, and intelligence activities are a security  
18      or terrorist threat to the United States and United States  
19      interests and shall be a primary consideration in limiting  
20      travel of Iranian diplomats seeking admission to the  
21      United States for United Nations activities and their fam-  
22      ily members.

23      (c) DENIAL OF VISAS.—Section 407(a)(1) of the For-  
24      eign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1990 and  
25      1991 (8 U.S.C. 1102 note) is amended—

- 1 (1) by striking “(1)” and inserting “(1)(A)”;
- 2 (2) by striking “and” at the end and inserting
- 3 “or”; and
- 4 (3) by adding further at the end the following:
- 5 “(B) has been sanctioned pursuant to Executive
- 6 Order 13224 (66 Fed. Reg. 49079; relating to block-
- 7 ing property and prohibiting transactions with per-
- 8 sons who commit, threaten to commit, or support
- 9 terrorism) or Executive Order 13382 (70 Fed. Reg.
- 10 38567; relating to blocking property of weapons of
- 11 mass destruction proliferators and their supporters)
- 12 as of the date of the enactment of the No Paydays
- 13 for Hostage-Takers Act; and”.
- 14 (d) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date
- 15 of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for
- 16 3 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-
- 17 gressional committees a report on whether the President
- 18 has taken action to restrict the travel of Iranian diplomats
- 19 seeking admission to the United States for United Nations
- 20 activities and their family members and identifying each
- 21 such instance in which visas were denied or travel was re-
- 22 stricted.
- 23 **SEC. 7. REPORT ON BLOCKED IRANIAN ASSETS.**
- 24 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-
- 25 ment of this Act, and annually thereafter for 3 years, the

1 President shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
2 committees a report that includes the following:

3 (1) An itemized list of any identifiable assets  
4 with a valuation of more than \$100,000 belonging to  
5 Iranian individuals and entities that are or have  
6 been blocked or otherwise frozen pursuant to any  
7 sanctions program under any jurisdiction globally, in  
8 the prior 2 years.

9 (2) Any changes to the status of such assets,  
10 including unblocking, unfreezing, or transferring  
11 such assets, in the prior 2 years.

12 (3) With respect to any changes identified in  
13 paragraph (2), whether the United States Govern-  
14 ment took any action, including waiving of sanc-  
15 tions, that related to such unblocking or unfreezing,  
16 and a justification for any such United States ac-  
17 tions.

18 **SEC. 8. REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO FREEZE**  
19 **AND SEIZE IRANIAN ASSETS.**

20 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
21 gress that the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the  
22 Treasury, and the Attorney General should, to the extent  
23 practicable—

24 (1) carry out a coordinated international effort  
25 to find, restrain, freeze, and where appropriate and

1       legally authorized, seize, confiscate or forfeit the as-  
2       sets of those individuals and entities that have been  
3       sanctioned in connection with Iran's malign activi-  
4       ties, including hostage-taking, wrongful detention,  
5       and human rights violations; and

6               (2) work with foreign governments—

7                   (A) to share intelligence of financial inves-  
8                   tigations, as appropriate;

9                   (B) to oversee the assets identified pursu-  
10                  ant to paragraph (1); and

11                  (C) to provide technical assistance to help  
12                  governments establish the necessary legal  
13                  framework to carry out asset forfeitures.

14       (b) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
15       of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
16       3 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
17       gressional committees a report on actions described in  
18       subsection (a).

19       **SEC. 9. DETERMINATION AND REPORT ON INVALIDATING**  
20               **UNITED STATES PASSPORTS FOR TRAVEL TO**  
21               **IRAN.**

22       (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

23               (1) The Secretary of State maintains authority  
24       to restrict the use of United States passports for  
25       travel to or use in a country or area which the Sec-

1       retary has determined is a country or area in which  
2       there is imminent danger to the public health or  
3       physical safety of United States travelers, in accord-  
4       ance with section 51.63 of title 22, Code of Federal  
5       Regulations.

6           (2) In 2017, the Secretary of State declared  
7       United States passports invalid for travel to, in, or  
8       through North Korea, unless specially validated for  
9       such travel, after United States citizen Otto  
10      Warmbier suffered grievous injuries in North Ko-  
11      rean custody, which led to his death.

12          (3) The ban on use of United States passports  
13      for travel to North Korea was renewed in 2023.

14      (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
15      gress that the Secretary of State should declare United  
16      States passports invalid for travel to, in, or through Iran  
17      due to the imminent danger to the public health and phys-  
18      ical safety of United States travelers stemming from the  
19      threat of wrongful detention or being taken hostage by the  
20      Iranian regime.

21      (c) DETERMINATION AND REPORT.—Not later than  
22      90 days after the date of enactment of this Act and annu-  
23      ally thereafter for 3 years, the Secretary of State shall  
24      determine and report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

1 of the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
2 Foreign Relations of the Senate—

3 (1) whether the travel of United States persons  
4 to Iran presents an imminent danger to the public  
5 health or physical safety of United States travelers;  
6 and

7 (2) whether the Secretary is exercising his au-  
8 thority to declare United States passports invalid for  
9 travel to, in, or through Iran.

10 **SEC. 10. STRATEGY TO DETER HOSTAGE-TAKING.**

11 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
12 ment of this Act, the President shall develop and submit  
13 to Congress a strategy to deter and prevent wrongful de-  
14 tention and hostage-taking by United States adversaries,  
15 including identifying penalties for wrongful detention and  
16 hostage-taking, identifying clear United States Govern-  
17 ment policies barring the payment of ransom or trans-  
18 actions that could be viewed as ransom by the United  
19 States Government, and detailing plans to coordinate with  
20 United States allies and partners on such strategy.

21 **SEC. 11. DEFINITIONS.**

22 In this Act:

23 (1) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-**  
24 **TEES.**—the term “appropriate congressional commit-

25 **tees”** means—



1 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and  
2 the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of  
3 Representatives; and

4 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations  
5 and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Sen-  
6 ate.

7 (2) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
8 son”—

9 (A) means an individual or entity that is  
10 not a United States person; and

11 (B) includes a foreign state (as such term  
12 is defined in section 1603 of title 28, United  
13 States Code).

14 (3) UNITED STATES NATIONAL.—The term  
15 “United States national” has the meaning given that  
16 term in section 307(2) of the Robert Levinson Hos-  
17 tage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability  
18 Act (22 U.S.C. 1741e(2)).

Chairman MAST. The bill was circulated in advance and the Clerk shall designate the bill.

THE CLERK. H.R. 2619, to require a report on sanctions——

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

Is there any discussion on the bill?

Representative Amo is recognized.

Mr. AMO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Iran's hostage taking diplomacy is an affront to international law, respectable State conduct, and human decency. There must be consequences for such actions and a strategy to combat this malign policy and bring our people home.

Balancing these equities is not easy and it is not simple. That is why we need a plan and that is why I support this bill. Look, there are some things that I would like to see changed in this bill. I am worried that some language in the text would undermine long standing treaty obligations that the United States has upheld for decades under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

I want to make sure that we uphold our sovereign obligations during this period of uncertainty and unsteadiness. We also need to balance freedom to travel with national interests.

When we negotiated this bill last Congress, Ranking Member Meeks secured some changes to the text which did not necessarily fix all of his concerns, but represented a reasonable compromise for achieving bipartisan legislation. And so we look forward to further discussing this bill with its new sponsor, Republican Baumgartner, alongside Chairman Mast, and will vote yes to advance this legislation at this time. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Baumgartner is recognized.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let's be clear. This bill is about stopping the business model of hostage taking and elicit arms dealing. Iran is running a criminal enterprise, kidnap Americans, hold them for years, and then cash in when the deal is made. Every time we send money, even with conditions, we tell them that the scam works. Well, that stops now. This bill ends this practice and we say something else loud and clear. If you are a terrorist or a WMD proliferator under U.S. sanctions, you don't get to stroll into New York and play diplomat. That kind of hypocrisy ends here.

I am proud to stand with colleagues on both sides of the aisle who know that American lives aren't bargaining chips and that real deterrence means real consequences. I thank you for hearing this bill, Mr. Chair. And with that, I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Thank you, Representative Baumgartner. Do any other members seek recognition?

Seeing none, I recognize myself for 5 minutes. I want to thank Representative Baumgartner for his work on this piece of legislation. It is important, one, to just acknowledge what is taking place, provide findings and statements of policy acknowledging what the Iranian regime's long history of hostage taking and wrongful detention of U.S. nationals has done, when it has taken place, how it has

taken place, and as a result, recognized what we need to do to combat that.

Various sections of this bill I find specifically important. Section 6, which requires the President to provide to Congress an itemized list of blocked or frozen assets belonging to Iranian persons globally with a valuation of more than \$10,000. I look forward to reading that list. Section 7, which urges the administration to carry out coordinated international efforts to find, freeze, seize, and confiscate assets of individuals and entities who have been sanctioned for involvement in Iran's hostage taking. This is how we fight back. This is one of the ways, one of the tools in our tool chest to fight back and I look forward to seeing this piece of legislation pass.

I will conclude my comments there and ask if there is any further discussion on the bill since I have spoken. Do you have an amendment? I heard that, but we are not quite to amendments yet, so we will get to you.

There being no further discussion on the bill, the committee will move for consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

Representative Jacobs is recognized.

Ms. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk. [The Amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 2619**  
**OFFERED BY MS. JACOBS OF CALIFORNIA**

Strike section 9 and insert the following:

1   **SEC. 9. REPORT ON STRATEGY TO COMMUNICATE RISKS**  
2                           **FOR TRAVEL TO IRAN.**

3           (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
4   gress that the Secretary of State should engage in a strat-  
5   egy to underscore the imminent danger to the public  
6   health and physical safety of United States travelers stem-  
7   ming from the threat of wrongful detention or being taken  
8   hostage by the Iranian regime.

9           (b) DETERMINATION AND REPORT.—Not later than  
10  90 days after the date of enactment of this Act and annu-  
11  ally thereafter for 3 years, the Secretary of State shall  
12  determine and report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
13  of the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
14  Foreign Relations of the Senate—

15               (1) whether the travel of United States persons  
16           to Iran presents an imminent danger to the public  
17           health or physical safety of United States travelers;

18               (2) steps that the Secretary is taking to com-  
19           municate the risks of wrongful detention in the Is-

1       lamic Republic of Iran to the general public, in both  
2       the English and Persian language; and

3           (3) whether additional steps or authorities are  
4       needed to underscore the risks of wrongful detention  
5       in Iran and deter Iranian authorities from engaging  
6       in wrongful detention of United States citizens and  
7       individuals with residence in the United States.



Chairman MAST. The Clerk shall distribute the amendment.

THE CLERK. Amendment to H.R. 2619 offered by Ms. Jacobs of California.

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with. The Representative is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am incredibly proud that San Diego has a strong, vibrant diaspora community including from Iran. Annually, tens of thousands of Americans travel to Iran to reunite with relatives to celebrate milestones and to maintain the familial bonds that distance and politics stretch, but never break. That is why I find Section 9 of H.R. 2619 which says that the Secretary of State should invalidate U.S. passports for travel to and/or through Iran to be so concerning. Restricting the freedom of movement of ordinary families in the U.S. doesn't make any sense and doesn't strengthen our national security. The State Department has already recognized and warned Americans of the risks of traveling to Iran, like kidnapping, detention or instability.

Instead of imposing punitive restrictions on our citizens, we should enhance our strategies to protect them. Rather than an outright ban, my amendment would direct the State Department to report to Congress the current dangers associated with travel to Iran, assess the efficacy of existing advisories, and propose enhanced measures for communicating risks and protecting our citizens abroad. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment which uphold our core values while working to protect Americans abroad. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The gentlelady yields back. Does any member seek recognition?

Representative Baumgartner is recognized.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I recommend that we oppose this amendment. The U.S. Secretary of State has the authority to restrict travel based on risks. This is precisely what we have seen done across both Republican and Democratic administrations for countries with similar track records of hostage taking like North Korea. These authorities are clearly outlined in the findings this amendment seeks to cut.

I oppose this amendment which clearly seeks to downplay the regime's long standing track record of taking American citizens hostage. The Iranian regime has threatened to take even more hostages as tensions with U.S. over the nuclear program rise. Our government needs to be proactive to address this risk, not reactive and we should oppose this amendment. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The representative yields back. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Amo is recognized.

Mr. AMO. Chairman, I support Representative Jacob's amendment. This amendment addresses the concerns I previously shared about restrictions on Americans' freedom of movement where the—were the Secretary of State to take the step to invalidate U.S. passports for travel to Iran. I appreciate the serious risks that U.S. travelers to Iran may encounter and have welcomed the State Department's Level 4 travel advisory, warning Americans not to trav-

el to Iran due to the risk of kidnapping, the arbitrary arrest, and detention of U.S. citizens, and the danger of civil unrest.

I also welcome efforts to expand indicators in travel advisories specifically related to the risk of wrongful detention abroad, but it is not a small thing to potentially limit the freedom of movement of thousands of Americans including Iranian-Americans with loved ones in Iran by invalidating U.S. passports for travel to Iran. So I support Representative Jacobs' amendment which asks only for precisely what we need here, a more detailed understanding of the imminent danger to public health or physical safety of U.S. travelers to Iran, what the State Department is doing to communicate travel risks, and what more it needs to do so effectively. I yield.

Chairman MAST. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself. I rise in opposition to this amendment. Section 9 specifically of the bill proposed maintains authority to restrict the use of United States passports for travel to use in countries or areas that the Secretary has deemed is a country or area in which there is an imminent danger to the public health and safety of United States' travelers. This is something that in 2017, the Secretary of State declared the United States passports invalid for travel to in North Korea. This was reaffirmed for North Korea in 2023. It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of State should declare United States passports invalid for travel to, in, and through Iran due to the imminent dangers that we know exist and that are fluid on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis. We see these threats not going away, but certainly morphing on a daily basis. And we see that certainly as demonstrated as a result of the individuals detained there. There is absolutely imminent threat and I do again say that I rise in opposition to this amendment. I yield back the balance of my time to myself, I guess.

Is there any further discussion on this amendment? All right. Thank you. There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Jacobs. All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no. No.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it——

Ms. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MAST. And the amendment is not agreed to.

Ms. JACOBS. I request a roll call vote.

Chairman MAST. A roll call vote has been requested.

Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Are there any further amendments?

There being no further amendments, further proceedings on this measure are postponed.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 1422, the Enhanced Iran Sanctions Act of 2025.

The bill was circulated in advance and the clerk shall designate the bill.

THE CLERK. "H.R. 1422, To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and"——

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

[The bill H.R. 1422 follows:]



119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1422

To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 18, 2025

Mr. LAWLER (for himself and Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the “Enhanced Iran Sanc-  
5 tions Act of 2025”.

1 **SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

2 It is the policy of the United States—

3 (1) that, in accordance with the Iran Nuclear 2  
4 Weapons Capability and Terrorism Monitoring Act  
5 of 2022 (22 U.S.C. 8701 note; Public Law 117–  
6 4263), the United States must—

7 (A) ensure that the Islamic Republic of  
8 Iran does not acquire a nuclear weapons capa-  
9 bility;

10 (B) protect against aggression from the Is-  
11 lamic Republic of Iran manifested through its  
12 missiles and drone programs; and

13 (C) counter regional and global terrorism  
14 of the Islamic Republic of Iran in a manner  
15 that minimizes the threat posed by state and  
16 non-state actors to the interests of the United  
17 States;

18 (2) to fully enforce sanctions against all persons  
19 involved in the international logistical chain that  
20 provide support to the energy sector of the Islamic  
21 Republic of Iran;

22 (3) through such sanctions, to deny the Islamic  
23 Republic of Iran the financial resources required—

24 (A) to fund and facilitate international ter-  
25 rorism;

1 (B) to finance the development of weapons  
2 of mass destruction;

3 (C) to engage in destabilizing efforts  
4 abroad; and

5 (D) to repress the rights of Iranian citi-  
6 zens; and

7 (4) to strengthen coherence among members of  
8 the international community in enforcing sanctions  
9 on the malign activity of the Islamic Republic of  
10 Iran.

11 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

12 In this Act:

13 (1) ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms “admitted”  
14 and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in  
15 section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality  
16 Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)).

17 (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
18 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
19 mittees” means—

20 (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
21 the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
22 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs  
23 of the Senate; and

24 (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
25 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-

1           mittee on Financial Services of the House of  
2           Representatives.

3           (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
4           son” means a person that is not a United States  
5           person, including the government of a foreign coun-  
6           try.

7           (4) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
8           respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
9           means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
10          have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
11          result.

12          (5) PROPERTY; INTEREST IN PROPERTY.—The  
13          terms “property” and “interest in property” have  
14          the meanings given the terms “property” and “prop-  
15          erty interest”, respectively, in section 576.312 of  
16          title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, as in effect on  
17          the day before the date of the enactment of this Act.

18          (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
19          “United States person” means—

20                (A) an individual who is a United States  
21                citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for perma-  
22                nent residence to the United States;

23                (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
24                the United States or any jurisdiction within the

1 United States, including a foreign branch of  
2 such an entity; or

3 (C) any person in the United States.

4 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO PER-**  
5 **SONS ENGAGED IN LOGISTICAL TRANS-**  
6 **ACTIONS OF OIL, GAS, LIQUEFIED NATURAL**  
7 **GAS, AND PETROCHEMICAL PRODUCTS FROM**  
8 **THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN.**

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of the en-  
10 actment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanc-  
11 tions described in subsection (b) with respect to any for-  
12 eign person, including any bank or foreign financial insti-  
13 tution, insurance provider, flagging registry, pipeline con-  
14 struction or operation facility for liquefied natural gas,  
15 that—

16 (1) the President determines knowingly engaged  
17 in, on or after such date of enactment, any trans-  
18 action involved in, relating or incident to the proc-  
19 essing, export, or sale of oil, condensates, gas, lique-  
20 fied natural gas, or other petrochemical products in  
21 whole or in part from the Islamic Republic of Iran;

22 (2) is a subsidiary, successor, or alias of a for-  
23 eign person described in paragraph (1);

24 (3)(A) directly or indirectly owns or controls a  
25 50 percent or greater interest in or is owned or con-

1 trolled by a 50 percent or greater interest of a for-  
2 eign person or foreign persons subject to sanctions  
3 pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2); and

4 (B) directly or indirectly conducts a significant  
5 transaction with, for, or on behalf of a foreign per-  
6 son described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of section  
7 3(b) of the Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act  
8 (22 U.S.C. 8572);

9 (4) the President determines is a corporate offi-  
10 cer of a foreign person described paragraph (1), (2),  
11 or (3); or

12 (5) is an immediate family member of a foreign  
13 person described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3).

14 (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
15 scribed in this subsection are the following:

16 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President  
17 shall, pursuant to the International Emergency Eco-  
18 nomic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), block  
19 and prohibit all transactions in property and inter-  
20 ests in property of a foreign person subject to sanc-  
21 tions pursuant to subsection (a)(1) if such property  
22 and interests in property are in the United States,  
23 come within the United States, or are or come with-  
24 in the possession or control of a United States per-  
25 son.

1           (2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMIS-  
2           SION, OR PAROLE.—

3           (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—In  
4           the case of an alien subject to sanctions pursu-  
5           ant to subsection (a), the alien is—

6                   (i) inadmissible to the United States;

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

9           and

10                   (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
11           or paroled into the United States or to re-  
12           ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
13           tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
14           seq.).

15           (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

16                   (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
17           entry documentation of an alien described  
18           in subparagraph (A) shall be revoked, re-  
19           gardless of when such visa or other entry  
20           documentation was issued.

21                   (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
22           tion under clause (i) shall—

23                   (I) take effect immediately; and

1 (II) automatically cancel any  
2 other valid visa or entry documenta-  
3 tion that is in the alien's possession.

4 (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

5 (1) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
6 GOODS.—

7 (A) IN GENERAL.—The requirement to im-  
8 pose sanctions under this section shall not in-  
9 clude the authority or a requirement to impose  
10 sanctions on the importation of goods.

11 (B) GOOD DEFINED.—In this paragraph,  
12 the term “good” means any article, natural or  
13 manmade substance, material, supply, or manu-  
14 factured product, including inspection and test  
15 equipment, and excluding technical data.

16 (2) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
17 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT  
18 ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under subsection (b)(2)  
19 shall not apply with respect to an alien if admitting  
20 or paroling the alien into the United States is nec-  
21 essary—

22 (A) to permit the United States to comply  
23 with the Agreement regarding the Head-  
24 quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake  
25 Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force



1 November 21, 1947, between the United Na-  
2 tions and the United States, or other applicable  
3 international obligations; or

4 (B) to carry out or assist authorized law  
5 enforcement activity in the United States.

6 (3) EXCEPTION FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSIST-  
7 ANCE.—

8 (A) IN GENERAL.—Sanctions under this  
9 section shall not apply to—

10 (i) the conduct or facilitation of a  
11 transaction for the provision of agricultural  
12 commodities, food, medicine, medical de-  
13 vices, or humanitarian assistance, or for  
14 humanitarian purposes; or

15 (ii) transactions that are necessary for  
16 or related to the activities described in  
17 clause (i).

18 (B) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

19 (i) the term “agricultural commodity”  
20 has the meaning given that term in section  
21 102 of the Agricultural Trade Act of 1978  
22 (7 U.S.C. 5602);

23 (ii) the term “medical device” has the  
24 meaning given the term “device” in section

1           201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
2           metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321); and

3           (iii) the term “medicine” has the  
4           meaning given the term “drug” in section  
5           201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
6           metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

7           (4) EXCEPTION FOR SAFETY OF VESSELS AND  
8           CREW.—Sanctions under this section shall not apply  
9           with respect to a person providing provisions to a  
10          vessel otherwise subject to sanctions under this sec-  
11          tion if such provisions are intended for the safety  
12          and care of the crew aboard the vessel, the protec-  
13          tion of human life aboard the vessel, or the mainte-  
14          nance of the vessel to avoid any environmental or  
15          other significant damage.

16          (d) WAIVER.—

17               (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
18               case-by-case basis for a period of not more than 180  
19               days, waive the application of sanctions imposed  
20               with respect to a foreign person under this section  
21               if the President—

22                       (A) certifies to the appropriate congres-  
23                       sional committees that the waiver is vital to the  
24                       national interests of the United States; and

1 (B) submits with the certification required  
2 under subparagraph (A) a detailed justification  
3 explaining the reasons for the waiver.

4 (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVER.—The President  
5 may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver issued  
6 under paragraph (1) for additional periods of not  
7 more than 180 days if the President—

8 (A) determines that the renewal of the  
9 waiver is vital to the national interests of the  
10 United States; and

11 (B) not less than 15 days before the waiv-  
12 er expires, submits to the appropriate congres-  
13 sional committees a report on the renewal of  
14 the waiver that includes—

15 (i) a justification for the renewal of  
16 the waiver; and

17 (ii) a detailed plan to phase out the  
18 need for any such waiver issued with re-  
19 spect to such foreign person.

20 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.—

21 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
22 ercise all authorities provided under sections 203  
23 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
24 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out  
25 subsection (b)(1).

1           (2) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, at-  
2       tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
3       violation of subsection (b)(1) or any regulation, li-  
4       cense, or order issued to carry out that subsection  
5       shall be subject to the penalties set forth in sub-  
6       sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
7       national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
8       U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that  
9       commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a)  
10      of that section.

11      (f) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—

12           (1) Subsection (a)(3)(A) shall be construed to  
13      be consistent with Frequently Asked Questions 398  
14      through 402, published by the Office of Foreign As-  
15      sets Control on August 11, 2020, and August 13,  
16      2014, or any successors to such frequently asked  
17      questions.

18           (2) For purposes of determinations under sub-  
19      section (a) that a foreign person engaged in activi-  
20      ties described in such subsection (a), a foreign per-  
21      son shall not be determined to know that petroleum  
22      or petroleum products originated from Iran if such  
23      person relied on a certificate of origin or other docu-  
24      mentation confirming that the origin of the petro-  
25      leum or petroleum products was a country other

1 than Iran, unless such person knew or had reason  
2 to know that such documentation was falsified.

3 (3) Nothing in this section may be construed to  
4 affect the availability of any existing authorities to  
5 issue waivers, exceptions, exemptions, licenses, or  
6 other authorization.

7 **SEC. 5. INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP ON IRANIAN SANC-**  
8 **TIONS.**

9 (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—Not later than 180 days after  
10 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of  
11 State shall establish a working group to be known as the  
12 “Interagency Working Group on Iranian Sanctions” (re-  
13 ferred to in this section as the “Working Group”).

14 (b) **MEMBERSHIP.**—The Working Group shall be  
15 composed one or more representatives from each of the  
16 following:

17 (1) The Department of State.

18 (2) The Department of the Treasury.

19 (3) The Department of Justice. Such other  
20 Federal departments or agencies as the Secretary of  
21 State determines appropriate.

22 (c) **CHAIR.**—The President shall designate a Chair  
23 of the Working Group.

24 (d) **MULTILATERAL CONTACT GROUP.**—

1           (1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Working Group  
2       shall endeavor to establish a multilateral contact  
3       group with like-minded nations to coordinate inter-  
4       national efforts to enforce sanctions imposed with  
5       respect to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

6           (2) DUTIES.—The multilateral contact group  
7       shall—

8           (A) share information on evolving sanc-  
9       tions frameworks to identify areas of difference  
10      or enforcement gaps;

11          (B) share information on newly-designated  
12      entities;

13          (C) raise awareness of new sanctions eva-  
14      sion practices; and

15          (D) coordinate on new measures to curb  
16      Iranian malign activity, including uranium en-  
17      richment activities, ballistic missile production,  
18      and support for terrorism.

19 **SEC. 6. PRIVATE SECTOR REPORTING ON PERSONS EN-**  
20 **GAGED IN SANCTIONABLE ACTIVITIES OR**  
21 **SANCTIONS EVASION.**

22       Section 36(b) of the State Department Basic Au-  
23      thorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708(b)) is amended—

24          (1) in paragraph (13), by striking “; or” and  
25      inserting a semicolon;

1           (2) in paragraph (14), by striking the period at  
2           the end and inserting “; or”; and

3           (3) by adding at the end the following para-  
4           graph:

5           “(15) the identification a person described in  
6           section 4(a) of the Enhanced Iran Sanctions Act of  
7           2025 or any person that has attempted or is at-  
8           tempting to evade sanctions imposed under such Act  
9           with proceeds generated by the sale of intercepted  
10          oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, petrochemical prod-  
11          ucts, or related products from the Islamic Republic  
12          of Iran.”.

Æ

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute, circulated to members in advance, shall be considered as read and will be treated as the original text for purposes of amendment.

[The amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Lawler follows:]



**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE**  
**TO H.R. 1422**  
**OFFERED BY M**\_\_\_\_.

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Enhanced Iran Sanc-  
3 tions Act of 2025”.

4 **SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

5       It is the policy of the United States—

6           (1) to fully enforce sanctions against the Is-  
7 lamic Republic of Iran, including with respect to  
8 Iran’s petroleum and petrochemical sectors;

9           (2) through such sanctions, to deny Iran finan-  
10 cial resources—

11           (A) to advance its nuclear weapons capa-  
12 bilities;

13           (B) to finance the development of weapons  
14 of mass destruction;

15           (C) to support missile and drone prolifera-  
16 tion;

17           (D) to fund and facilitate international ter-  
18 rorism;

1 (E) to engage in destabilizing efforts  
2 abroad, including the targeting of United States  
3 citizens; and

4 (F) to repress the rights of Iranian citi-  
5 zens; and

6 (3) to strengthen coherence among members of  
7 the international community with respect to enforce-  
8 ing sanctions against malign activities of Iran.

9 **SEC. 3. EXPANDING THE REWARDS FOR JUSTICE PROGRAM**  
10 **TO COVER PERSONS VIOLATING OR EVADING**  
11 **UNITED STATES SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAN.**

12 Section 36(b) of the State Department Basic Au-  
13 thorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708(b)) is amended—

14 (1) in paragraph (14), by striking “; or” and  
15 inserting a semicolon;

16 (2) in paragraph (15), by striking the period at  
17 the end and inserting “; or”; and

18 (3) by adding at the end the following para-  
19 graph:

20 “(16) the identification of each person de-  
21 scribed in section 4(a) of the Enhanced Iran Sanc-  
22 tions Act of 2025 or section 3 of the Stop Harboring  
23 Petroleum Act (22 U.S.C. 8572) that has attempted  
24 or is attempting to evade sanctions imposed under  
25 either such Act with proceeds generated by trans-

1 actions related to oil, condensates, or other petro-  
2 leum or petrochemical products from the Islamic Re-  
3 public of Iran.”.

4 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO PER-**  
5 **SONS ENGAGED IN TRANSACTIONS RELATED**  
6 **OR INCIDENTAL TO OIL, CONDENSATES, PE-**  
7 **TROLEUM OR PETROCHEMICAL PRODUCTS**  
8 **FROM IRAN.**

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of the en-  
10 actment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanc-  
11 tions described in subsection (b) with respect to any for-  
12 eign person that the President determines—

13 (1) has knowingly engaged in any significant  
14 transaction related or incidental to the processing,  
15 refining, export, transfer or sale of oil, condensates,  
16 or other petroleum or petrochemical product in  
17 whole or in part from Iran;

18 (2) is a subsidiary of a foreign person described  
19 in paragraph (1);

20 (3)(A) directly or indirectly owns or controls a  
21 50 percent or greater interest in or is owned or con-  
22 trolled by a 50 percent or greater interest of a for-  
23 eign person or foreign persons subject to sanctions  
24 pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2); and

1 (B) directly or indirectly conducts a significant  
2 transaction with, for, or on behalf of a foreign per-  
3 son described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of section  
4 3(b) of the Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act  
5 (22 U.S.C. 8572);

6 (4) is corporate officer, principle executive offi-  
7 cer, or other person performing similar functions of  
8 either such officer, of a foreign person described  
9 paragraph (1); or

10 (5) is an immediate family member of a foreign  
11 person described in paragraph (1) who demonstrably  
12 benefits from any activity described in paragraph  
13 (1).

14 (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
15 scribed in this subsection are the following:

16 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President  
17 shall, pursuant to the International Emergency Eco-  
18 nomic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), block  
19 and prohibit all transactions in property and inter-  
20 ests in property of a foreign person subject to sanc-  
21 tions pursuant to subsection (a) if such property and  
22 interests in property are in the United States, come  
23 within the United States, or are or come within the  
24 possession or control of a United States person.

1           (2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMIS-  
2       SION, OR PAROLE.—

3           (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—In  
4       the case of an alien subject to sanctions pursu-  
5       ant to subsection (a), the alien is—

6                   (i) inadmissible to the United States;  
7                   (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
8       documentation to enter the United States;  
9       and

10                   (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
11       or paroled into the United States or to re-  
12       ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
13       tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
14       seq.).

15       (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

16           (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
17       entry documentation of an alien described  
18       in subparagraph (A) shall be revoked, re-  
19       gardless of when such visa or other entry  
20       documentation was issued.

21           (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
22       tion under clause (i) shall—

23                   (I) take effect in accordance with  
24       section 221(i) of the Immigration and

1                   Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1201(i));

2                   and

3                   (II) cancel any other valid visa or  
4                   entry documentation that is in the  
5                   alien's possession.

6           (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

7           (1) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
8           NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Sanctions under sub-  
9           section (a) shall not apply with respect to an alien  
10          if admitting or paroling the alien into the United  
11          States is necessary to permit the United States to  
12          comply with the Agreement regarding the Head-  
13          quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Suc-  
14          cess June 26, 1947, and entered into force Novem-  
15          ber 21, 1947, between the United Nations and the  
16          United States, or other applicable international obli-  
17          gations.

18          (2) EXCEPTION FOR AUTHORIZED INTEL-  
19          LIGENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—  
20          Sanctions under subsection (a) shall not apply with  
21          respect to activities subject to the reporting require-  
22          ments under title V of the National Security Act of  
23          1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any authorized in-  
24          telligence, law enforcement, or national security ac-  
25          tivities of the United States.

1           (3) EXCEPTION FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSIST-  
2           ANCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAN.—

3           (A) IN GENERAL.—Sanctions under sub-  
4           section (a) shall not apply to—

5                 (i) the conduct or facilitation of a  
6                 transaction for the provision of agricultural  
7                 commodities, food, medicine, medical de-  
8                 vices, or humanitarian assistance, or for  
9                 humanitarian purposes to or for the people  
10                of Iran; or

11               (ii) transactions that are necessary for  
12               or related to the activities described in  
13               clause (i).

14           (B) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

15                 (i) the term “agricultural commodity”  
16                 has the meaning given that term in section  
17                 102 of the Agricultural Trade Act of 1978  
18                 (7 U.S.C. 5602);

19                 (ii) the term “medical device” has the  
20                 meaning given the term “device” in section  
21                 201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
22                 metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321); and

23                 (iii) the term “medicine” has the  
24                 meaning given the term “drug” in section

1                   201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
2                   metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

3                   (4) EXCEPTION FOR SAFETY OF VESSELS AND  
4                   CREW.—Sanctions under subsection (a) shall not  
5                   apply with respect to a person providing provisions  
6                   to a vessel otherwise subject to sanctions under this  
7                   section if such provisions are intended for the safety  
8                   and care of the crew aboard the vessel, the protec-  
9                   tion of human life aboard the vessel, or the mainte-  
10                  nance of the vessel to avoid any environmental or  
11                  other significant damage.

12                  (d) WAIVER.—

13                  (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
14                  case-by-case basis for a period of not more than 180  
15                  days, waive the application of sanctions imposed  
16                  with respect to a foreign person under subsection (a)  
17                  if the President—

18                         (A) certifies to the appropriate congres-  
19                         sional committees that the waiver is vital to the  
20                         national interests of the United States; and

21                         (B) submits with the certification required  
22                         under subparagraph (A) a detailed justification  
23                         explaining the reasons for the waiver.

24                  (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVER.—The President  
25                  may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver issued



1 under paragraph (1) for additional periods of not  
2 more than 180 days if the President—

3 (A) determines that the renewal of the  
4 waiver is vital to the national interests of the  
5 United States; and

6 (B) not less than 15 days before the waiv-  
7 er expires, submits to the appropriate congres-  
8 sional committees a report on the renewal of  
9 the waiver that includes—

10 (i) a justification for the renewal of  
11 the waiver;

12 (ii) a detailed plan to phase out the  
13 need for any such waiver issued with re-  
14 spect to such foreign person; and

15 (iii) for reoccurring waivers, steps  
16 taken to implement or otherwise further  
17 the plan described in clause (ii).

18 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS; PENALTIES.—

19 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
20 ercise all authorities provided under sections 203  
21 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
22 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out  
23 subsection (a).

24 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
25 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the

1 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
2 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
3 section.

4 (3) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
5 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
6 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
7 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to any person who violates,  
8 attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
9 violation of any prohibition of this section, or an  
10 order or regulation prescribed under this section, to  
11 the same extent that such penalties apply to a per-  
12 son that commits an unlawful act described in sec-  
13 tion 206(a) of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1705(a)).

14 (f) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—Consistent with  
15 the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–172; 50  
16 U.S.C. 1701 note), the requirement to impose sanctions  
17 under subsection (a) shall cease to be effective beginning  
18 on the date that is 30 days after the date on which the  
19 President certifies to the appropriate congressional com-  
20 mittees that—

21 (1) the Government of Iran no longer repeat-  
22 edly provides support for international terrorism as  
23 determined by the Secretary of State pursuant to—

1 (A) section 1754(c)(1)(A) of the Export  
2 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
3 4318(c)(1)(A));

4 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
5 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

6 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
7 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

8 (D) any other related provision of law; and

9 (2) Iran has ceased the pursuit, acquisition,  
10 and development of, and verifiably dismantled its,  
11 nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and bal-  
12 listic missiles and ballistic missile launch technology.

13 **SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.**

14 In this Act:

15 (1) **ADMITTED; ALIEN.**—The terms “admitted”  
16 and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in  
17 section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality  
18 Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)).

19 (2) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-**  
20 **TEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
21 mittees” means—

22 (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
23 the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
24 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs  
25 of the Senate; and

1 (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
2 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
3 mittee on Financial Services of the House of  
4 Representatives.

5 (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
6 son” means a person that is not a United States  
7 person, including the government of a foreign coun-  
8 try.

9 (4) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
10 respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
11 means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
12 have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
13 result.

14 (5) PROPERTY; INTEREST IN PROPERTY.—The  
15 terms “property” and “interest in property” have  
16 the meanings given the terms “property” and “prop-  
17 erty interest”, respectively, in section 560.325 of  
18 title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, as in effect on  
19 the day before the date of the enactment of this Act.

20 (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
21 “United States person” means any United States  
22 citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized  
23 under the laws of the United States or any jurisdic-  
24 tion within the United States (including foreign  
25 branches), or any person in the United States.

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in significant transactions related or incidental to the processing, refining, export, transfer or sale of oil, condensates, or other petroleum or petrochemical products in whole or in part from the Islamic Republic of Iran.”.



Chairman MAST. Is there any discussion on this bill?

Mr. LAWLER. Yes. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MAST. Representative Lawler is recognized.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Iranian oil trade and regime's massive profits from it must be shut down immediately. Iran has made billions of dollars from its oil trade with revenues skyrocketing due to the Biden administration's failure to enforce meaningful sanctions. Under 4 years of President Biden alone, Iran brought in more than \$200 billion in oil profits.

Let me be clear: Iran's oil revenues directly finance its brutal oppression at home, Iranian enrichment and missile development programs, and its proxy terrorism across the Middle East and around the globe. This money flows to the world's most dangerous terrorists in the Middle East and around the world, including Hamas, the PIJ, the Houthis, and more.

Last week, witnesses testified before this committee that the IRGC and Quds Force control nearly half of Iran's oil exports. This clearly demonstrates the close ties between Iran's oil industry and its proxy terror operations. And if I have anything to say about it, this revenue stream will be terminated.

My bill before us today, the Enhanced Iran Sanctions Act, will give the Trump administration the tools it needs to end the Iranian oil trade once and for all. It presents enablers of this trade with a clear choice: stop doing business with Iranian oil or lose access to U.S. dollars, our markets, and all the benefits that come along with that access.

This legislation places secondary sanctions on additional entities enabling Iran's oil exports, including foreign banks facilitating transactions; insurers backing tankers transporting Iranian oil; shipping registries, and pipeline developers.

We are determined to dismantle this illicit trade from every angle. Iran's oil trade survives only because a network of enablers chooses profit over principle, willingly supporting a regime that sponsors terrorism. This bill ensures their days are numbered.

Without these enablers, the regime's oil operation will collapse, and that's what we're counting on. This bill makes clear it's U.S. policy to rigorously enforce sanctions against all entities involved in the illicit oil trade, and it will be a huge step to get there and make this policy a reality.

I strongly support this bill because it's essential to fully implement our maximum pressure campaign against Iran. I'm proud to have worked on this bipartisan legislation alongside my colleague and Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee Ranking Member Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick, and urge all of my colleagues to vote yes on this bill today.

I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the bill?

Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I support the ANS by Representative Lawler. You know, in a bipartisan way, this committee is acutely aware of the nefarious activities of Iran and the need to starve them of the funding required

to operate their illicit nuclear program and support their terrorist proxies.

With Iran so close to having enough highly enriched uranium for multiple nuclear bombs, we must move quickly. We know that China is helping Iran by purchasing Iranian oil and gas, despite current primary sanctions.

This legislation bolsters current law by tactically increasing the scope of sanctions to address ongoing Iran-China sanctions evasion by adding authorities to sanction a bank or foreign financial institutions, insurer provider, flagging registry, pipeline construction, or operation facility for liquified natural gas that supports this illegal trade.

I would like to thank the bill's sponsor, Mr. Lawler, for working with us to make this a responsible sanctions package by including a national security waiver, a humanitarian waiver, and a waiver for the safety of a ship's crew. And I ask this committee to help us maintain these provisions as the legislation moves through a future conference process.

Again, I support this amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 1422 and ask for its passage, and I yield the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. The Representative yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Cherfilus-McCormick is recognized.

Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the chairman and the ranking member for considering my bipartisan bill H.R. 1422, the Enhanced Iran Sanctions Act. I also want to thank Congressman Lawler for partnering with me in advancing this bipartisan bill.

One of the main tools to help curb Iran's development of nuclear weapons and its continued funding of its terrorist proxies is sanctions. The United States must take all necessary measures to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon and to halt its support for terrorism.

The Enhanced Iran Sanctions Act strengthens sanctions on foreign entities enabling Iran's illicit oil trade. This legislation is about protecting American interests, defending our allies, and standing firm against a regime that threatens global security, but it also is a statement of our values. We believe in freedom, in democracy, and in the right of people everywhere to live life without fear of State violence.

This is not about abandoning democracy or diplomacy. On the contrary, we know that diplomacy is strongest when backed by leverage. This bill helps restore that leverage.

We also ensure that this legislation includes humanitarian protections because we do not and will not punish the Iranian people for the actions of their government.

This is a targeted approach that strikes at the heart of the regime's ability to fund terror and repression without closing the door to engagement, if and when Iran is ready for that course.

This bipartisan legislation will tie-in sanctions on Iranian oil, a crucial source of its revenue for the regime, enhancing the security of the United States and our regional allies, including Israel.

I want to thank my colleagues, over 175 of them, who have co-sponsored this legislation. I urge my colleagues to support this critical piece of legislation, and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The Representative yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the bill?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I want to thank the sponsors and the authors of this bill, Representative Lawler, Representative Cherfilus-McCormick.

This is common-sense legislation and it supports the President's maximum pressure campaign against Iran. Iran has absolutely been an enemy of the United States of America for many decades. They have killed my friends, our service members on the battlefield. They've attacked our allies in attack after attack after attack.

This bill authorizes the sanctions on foreign persons engaged in refining, processing, transferring, or selling oil, condensates, petroleum, petrochemicals, or products from Iran, which is the main funding arm for Iran to support their terrorist activities.

So, I applaud this work and I support this piece of legislation. I rise in support of it.

And in that, is there any further discussion on this?

All right. There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments.

Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk and I ask for its consideration at this time.

Chairman MAST. Representative Lawler, you are recognized.

The clerk shall distribute the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute.

While they are distributing the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute, the clerk shall report the amendment.

THE CLERK. "Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 1422 offered by Mr. Lawler of New York."

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with.

[The amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Lawler follows:]



**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE**  
**TO H.R. 1422**  
**OFFERED BY M**\_\_\_\_.

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Enhanced Iran Sanc-  
3 tions Act of 2025”.

4 **SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

5       It is the policy of the United States—

6           (1) to fully enforce sanctions against the Is-  
7 lamic Republic of Iran, including with respect to  
8 Iran’s petroleum and petrochemical sectors;

9           (2) through such sanctions, to deny Iran finan-  
10 cial resources—

11           (A) to advance its nuclear weapons capa-  
12 bilities;

13           (B) to finance the development of weapons  
14 of mass destruction;

15           (C) to support missile and drone prolifera-  
16 tion;

17           (D) to fund and facilitate international ter-  
18 rorism;

1 (E) to engage in destabilizing efforts  
2 abroad, including the targeting of United States  
3 citizens; and

4 (F) to repress the rights of Iranian citi-  
5 zens; and

6 (3) to strengthen coherence among members of  
7 the international community with respect to enforce-  
8 ing sanctions against malign activities of Iran.

9 **SEC. 3. EXPANDING THE REWARDS FOR JUSTICE PROGRAM**  
10 **TO COVER PERSONS VIOLATING OR EVADING**  
11 **UNITED STATES SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAN.**

12 Section 36(b) of the State Department Basic Au-  
13 thorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708(b)) is amended—

14 (1) in paragraph (14), by striking “; or” and  
15 inserting a semicolon;

16 (2) in paragraph (15), by striking the period at  
17 the end and inserting “; or”; and

18 (3) by adding at the end the following para-  
19 graph:

20 “(16) the identification of each person de-  
21 scribed in section 4(a) of the Enhanced Iran Sanc-  
22 tions Act of 2025 or section 3 of the Stop Harboring  
23 Petroleum Act (22 U.S.C. 8572) that has attempted  
24 or is attempting to evade sanctions imposed under  
25 either such Act with proceeds generated by trans-

1 actions related to oil, condensates, or other petro-  
2 leum or petrochemical products from the Islamic Re-  
3 public of Iran.”.

4 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO PER-**  
5 **SONS ENGAGED IN TRANSACTIONS RELATED**  
6 **OR INCIDENTAL TO OIL, CONDENSATES, PE-**  
7 **TROLEUM OR PETROCHEMICAL PRODUCTS**  
8 **FROM IRAN.**

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of the en-  
10 actment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanc-  
11 tions described in subsection (b) with respect to any for-  
12 eign person that the President determines—

13 (1) has knowingly engaged in any significant  
14 transaction related or incidental to the processing,  
15 refining, export, transfer or sale of oil, condensates,  
16 or other petroleum or petrochemical product in  
17 whole or in part from Iran;

18 (2) is a subsidiary of a foreign person described  
19 in paragraph (1);

20 (3)(A) directly or indirectly owns or controls a  
21 50 percent or greater interest in or is owned or con-  
22 trolled by a 50 percent or greater interest of a for-  
23 eign person or foreign persons subject to sanctions  
24 pursuant to paragraph (1) or (2); and

1 (B) directly or indirectly conducts a significant  
2 transaction with, for, or on behalf of a foreign per-  
3 son described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of section  
4 3(b) of the Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act  
5 (22 U.S.C. 8572);

6 (4) is corporate officer, principle executive offi-  
7 cer, or other person performing similar functions of  
8 either such officer, of a foreign person described  
9 paragraph (1); or

10 (5) is an immediate family member of a foreign  
11 person described in paragraph (1) who demonstrably  
12 benefits from any activity described in paragraph  
13 (1).

14 (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
15 scribed in this subsection are the following:

16 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President  
17 shall, pursuant to the International Emergency Eco-  
18 nomic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), block  
19 and prohibit all transactions in property and inter-  
20 ests in property of a foreign person subject to sanc-  
21 tions pursuant to subsection (a) if such property and  
22 interests in property are in the United States, come  
23 within the United States, or are or come within the  
24 possession or control of a United States person.

1           (2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMIS-  
2       SION, OR PAROLE.—

3           (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—In  
4       the case of an alien subject to sanctions pursu-  
5       ant to subsection (a), the alien is—

6           (i) inadmissible to the United States;

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

10          (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
11       or paroled into the United States or to re-  
12       ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
13       tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
14       seq.).

15          (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

16          (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
17       entry documentation of an alien described  
18       in subparagraph (A) shall be revoked, re-  
19       gardless of when such visa or other entry  
20       documentation was issued.

21          (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
22       tion under clause (i) shall—

23               (I) take effect in accordance with  
24       section 221(i) of the Immigration and

1                   Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1201(i));  
2                   and  
3                   (II) cancel any other valid visa or  
4                   entry documentation that is in the  
5                   alien's possession.

6           (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

7           (1) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
8           NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Sanctions under sub-  
9           section (a) shall not apply with respect to an alien  
10          if admitting or paroling the alien into the United  
11          States is necessary to permit the United States to  
12          comply with the Agreement regarding the Head-  
13          quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Suc-  
14          cess June 26, 1947, and entered into force Novem-  
15          ber 21, 1947, between the United Nations and the  
16          United States, or other applicable international obli-  
17          gations.

18          (2) EXCEPTION FOR AUTHORIZED INTEL-  
19          LIGENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—  
20          Sanctions under subsection (a) shall not apply with  
21          respect to activities subject to the reporting require-  
22          ments under title V of the National Security Act of  
23          1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any authorized in-  
24          telligence, law enforcement, or national security ac-  
25          tivities of the United States.

1           (3) EXCEPTION FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSIST-  
2       ANCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAN.—

3           (A) IN GENERAL.—Sanctions under sub-  
4       section (a) shall not apply to—

5           (i) the conduct or facilitation of a  
6       transaction for the provision of agricultural  
7       commodities, food, medicine, medical de-  
8       vices, or humanitarian assistance, or for  
9       humanitarian purposes to or for the people  
10      of Iran; or

11          (ii) transactions that are necessary for  
12      or related to the activities described in  
13      clause (i).

14          (B) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

15          (i) the term “agricultural commodity”  
16      has the meaning given that term in section  
17      102 of the Agricultural Trade Act of 1978  
18      (7 U.S.C. 5602);

19          (ii) the term “medical device” has the  
20      meaning given the term “device” in section  
21      201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
22      metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321); and

23          (iii) the term “medicine” has the  
24      meaning given the term “drug” in section

1                   201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cos-  
2                   metic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

3                   (4) EXCEPTION FOR SAFETY OF VESSELS AND  
4                   CREW.—Sanctions under subsection (a) shall not  
5                   apply with respect to a person providing provisions  
6                   to a vessel otherwise subject to sanctions under this  
7                   section if such provisions are intended for the safety  
8                   and care of the crew aboard the vessel, the protec-  
9                   tion of human life aboard the vessel, or the mainte-  
10                  nance of the vessel to avoid any environmental or  
11                  other significant damage.

12                  (d) WAIVER.—

13                  (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
14                  case-by-case basis for a period of not more than 180  
15                  days, waive the application of sanctions imposed  
16                  with respect to a foreign person under subsection (a)  
17                  if the President—

18                         (A) certifies to the appropriate congres-  
19                         sional committees that the waiver is vital to the  
20                         national interests of the United States; and

21                         (B) submits with the certification required  
22                         under subparagraph (A) a detailed justification  
23                         explaining the reasons for the waiver.

24                  (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVER.—The President  
25                  may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver issued



1 under paragraph (1) for additional periods of not  
2 more than 180 days if the President—

3 (A) determines that the renewal of the  
4 waiver is vital to the national interests of the  
5 United States; and

6 (B) not less than 15 days before the waiv-  
7 er expires, submits to the appropriate congres-  
8 sional committees a report on the renewal of  
9 the waiver that includes—

10 (i) a justification for the renewal of  
11 the waiver;

12 (ii) a detailed plan to phase out the  
13 need for any such waiver issued with re-  
14 spect to such foreign person; and

15 (iii) for reoccurring waivers, steps  
16 taken to implement or otherwise further  
17 the plan described in clause (ii).

18 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS; PENALTIES.—

19 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
20 ercise all authorities provided under sections 203  
21 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
22 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out  
23 subsection (a).

24 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
25 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the

1 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
2 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
3 section.

4 (3) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
5 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
6 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
7 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to any person who violates,  
8 attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
9 violation of any prohibition of this section, or an  
10 order or regulation prescribed under this section, to  
11 the same extent that such penalties apply to a per-  
12 son that commits an unlawful act described in sec-  
13 tion 206(a) of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1705(a)).

14 (f) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—Consistent with  
15 the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–172; 50  
16 U.S.C. 1701 note), the requirement to impose sanctions  
17 under subsection (a) shall cease to be effective beginning  
18 on the date that is 30 days after the date on which the  
19 President certifies to the appropriate congressional com-  
20 mittees that—

21 (1) the Government of Iran no longer repeat-  
22 edly provides support for international terrorism as  
23 determined by the Secretary of State pursuant to—

1 (A) section 1754(c)(1)(A) of the Export  
2 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
3 4318(c)(1)(A));

4 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
5 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

6 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
7 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

8 (D) any other related provision of law; and

9 (2) Iran has ceased the pursuit, acquisition,  
10 and development of, and verifiably dismantled its,  
11 nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and bal-  
12 listic missiles and ballistic missile launch technology.

13 **SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.**

14 In this Act:

15 (1) ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms “admitted”  
16 and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in  
17 section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality  
18 Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)).

19 (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
20 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
21 mittees” means—

22 (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
23 the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
24 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs  
25 of the Senate; and

1 (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
2 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
3 mittee on Financial Services of the House of  
4 Representatives.

5 (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
6 son” means a person that is not a United States  
7 person, including the government of a foreign coun-  
8 try.

9 (4) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
10 respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
11 means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
12 have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
13 result.

14 (5) PROPERTY; INTEREST IN PROPERTY.—The  
15 terms “property” and “interest in property” have  
16 the meanings given the terms “property” and “prop-  
17 erty interest”, respectively, in section 560.325 of  
18 title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, as in effect on  
19 the day before the date of the enactment of this Act.

20 (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
21 “United States person” means any United States  
22 citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized  
23 under the laws of the United States or any jurisdic-  
24 tion within the United States (including foreign  
25 branches), or any person in the United States.

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in significant transactions related or incidental to the processing, refining, export, transfer or sale of oil, condensates, or other petroleum or petrochemical products in whole or in part from the Islamic Republic of Iran.”.



1 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
2 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
3 section.

4 (3) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
5 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
6 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
7 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to any person who violates,  
8 attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
9 violation of any prohibition of this section, or an  
10 order or regulation prescribed under this section, to  
11 the same extent that such penalties apply to a per-  
12 son that commits an unlawful act described in sec-  
13 tion 206(a) of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1705(a)).

14 (f) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—Consistent with  
15 the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–172; 50  
16 U.S.C. 1701 note), the requirement to impose sanctions  
17 under subsection (a) shall cease to be effective beginning  
18 on the date that is 30 days after the date on which the  
19 President certifies to the appropriate congressional com-  
20 mittees that—

21 (1) the Government of Iran no longer repeat-  
22 edly provides support for international terrorism as  
23 determined by the Secretary of State pursuant to—

1 (A) section 1754(c)(1)(A) of the Export  
2 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
3 4318(c)(1)(A));

4 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
5 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

6 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
7 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

8 (D) any other related provision of law; and

9 (2) Iran has ceased the pursuit, acquisition,  
10 and development of, and verifiably dismantled its,  
11 nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and bal-  
12 listic missiles and ballistic missile launch technology.

13 **SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.**

14 In this Act:

15 (1) ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms “admitted”  
16 and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in  
17 section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality  
18 Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)).

19 (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
20 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
21 mittees” means—

22 (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
23 the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
24 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs  
25 of the Senate; and

1 (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
2 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Com-  
3 mittee on Financial Services of the House of  
4 Representatives.

5 (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
6 son” means a person that is not a United States  
7 person, including the government of a foreign coun-  
8 try.

9 (4) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
10 respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
11 means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
12 have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
13 result.

14 (5) PROPERTY; INTEREST IN PROPERTY.—The  
15 terms “property” and “interest in property” have  
16 the meanings given the terms “property” and “prop-  
17 erty interest”, respectively, in section 560.325 of  
18 title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, as in effect on  
19 the day before the date of the enactment of this Act.

20 (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
21 “United States person” means any United States  
22 citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized  
23 under the laws of the United States or any jurisdic-  
24 tion within the United States (including foreign  
25 branches), or any person in the United States.



Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in significant transactions related or incidental to the processing, refining, export, transfer or sale of oil, condensates, or other petroleum or petrochemical products in whole or in part from the Islamic Republic of Iran.”.



Chairman MAST. And the Representative is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank my colleague, the ranking member of the Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee, Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick, as well as the ranking member of this entire committee, the Representative Gregory Meeks of New York, for working with us to make this a bipartisan bill to address some of the concerns of my colleagues.

I'm happy to introduce this amendment, so that we can advance this bill forward with broad bipartisan support.

I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The Representative yields back.

Do any other Representatives seek recognition?

Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I support the amendment and thank Mr. Lawler for working with us. It matches what we have talked about, a good bipartisan bill.

So, thank you, Mr. Lawler.

I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself.

I, too, rise in support of the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, do any members wish to offer an amendment to the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute?

Seeing none. Thank you.

There being no further amendments, the question now occurs on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Representative Lawler.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

There being no further discussion on amendments, I move that the committee report H.R. 1422, as amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor of reporting to the House with a favorable recommendation, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Chairman, can we have a roll call vote?

Chairman MAST. Yes. A roll call vote has been requested.

And pursuant to the previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Mr. LAWLER. Yes. I mean, sorry.

Chairman MAST. Do you want to take yes for an answer?

Mr. LAWLER. Yes. Sure. Yes. I withdraw my request.

Chairman MAST. Very good. A roll call vote is not requested.

Without objection, no roll call vote. So ordered.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

And staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

And we'll pull up the next piece of legislation.

Thank you.

All right. Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 2683, the Remote Access Security Act.

The bill was circulated in advance.

The clerk shall designate the bill.

THE CLERK. "H.R. 2683, To provide for control of remote access for items under the"——

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

[The bill H.R. 2683 follows:]

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2683

To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 7, 2025

Mr. LAWLER (for himself, Ms. CROCKETT, Mr. MCCORMICK, Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE, Mr. MOOLENAAR, and Mr. HUIZENG) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

## A BILL

To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Remote Access Secu-  
5 rity Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. CONTROL OF REMOTE ACCESS OF ITEMS UNDER**  
7 **THE EXPORT CONTROL REFORM ACT OF 2018.**

8 The Export Control Reform Act of 2018 is amended  
9 as follows:

1           (1) In section 1742 (50 U.S.C. 4801), by add-  
2       ing at the end the following:

3           “(15) REMOTE ACCESS.—The term ‘remote ac-  
4       cess’ means—

5           “(A) access to an item subject to the juris-  
6       diction of the United States by a foreign person  
7       through a network connection, including the  
8       internet or a cloud computing service, from a  
9       location other than where the item is physically  
10      located; or

11          “(B) any other form of access specified in  
12      regulations promulgated by the Secretary.”.

13          (2) In section 1752 (50 U.S.C. 4811)—

14           (A) in paragraph (1)—

15           (i) in subparagraph (A), by inserting  
16           “or remote access of such items” after  
17           “export of items”; and

18           (ii) in subparagraph (B), by inserting  
19           “or remote access of such items” after  
20           “export of items”; and

21           (B) in paragraph (2)—

22           (i) in the matter preceding subpara-  
23           graph (A), by striking “and in-country  
24           transfer of items” and inserting “in-coun-

1 try transfer, and remote access of items”;  
2 and

3 (ii) in subparagraph (A), by inserting  
4 “or remote access” after “the release”.

5 (3) In section 1753 (50 U.S.C. 4812)—

6 (A) in subsection (a)—

7 (i) in paragraph (1), by striking  
8 “and” at the end;

9 (ii) in paragraph (2)(F), by striking  
10 the period at the end and inserting “;  
11 and”; and

12 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
13 lowing:

14 “(3) the remote access of items subject to the  
15 jurisdiction of the United States by a foreign per-  
16 son.”;

17 (B) in subsection (b)—

18 (i) in paragraph (6), by striking  
19 “and” at the end;

20 (ii) in paragraph (7), by striking the  
21 period at the end and inserting “; and”;  
22 and

23 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
24 lowing:

1 “(8) regulate the remote access of items de-  
2 scribed in (a)(3).”; and

3 (C) in subsection (c)—

4 (i) by striking “or in-country trans-  
5 fer” each place it appears and inserting  
6 “in-country transfer, or remote access”;  
7 and

8 (ii) by striking “subsections (b)(1) or  
9 (b)(2)” and inserting “subsections (b)(1),  
10 (b)(2), or (b)(8)”.

11 (4) In section 1754 (50 U.S.C. 4813)—

12 (A) in subsection (a)—

13 (i) in paragraph (3), by striking “and  
14 in-country transfers” and inserting “in-  
15 country transfers, and remote access”;

16 (ii) in paragraph (4), by striking “and  
17 in-country transfers” and inserting “in-  
18 country transfers, and remote access”;

19 (iii) in paragraph (5), by striking  
20 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
21 “in-country transfers, and remote access”;

22 (iv) in paragraph (6), by striking  
23 “United States export control” and insert-  
24 ing “United States control”;

1 (v) in paragraph (7), by striking “ex-  
2 port controls” and inserting “controls”;

3 (vi) in paragraph (10), by striking “or  
4 in-country transferred” and inserting “in-  
5 country transferred or accessed remotely”;

6 (vii) in paragraph (11), by adding at  
7 the end before the semicolon the following:  
8 “or remote access”; and

9 (viii) in paragraph (15), by adding at  
10 the end before “; and” the following: “or  
11 remotely access (including the provision  
12 thereof”;

13 (B) in subsection (b), by striking “or in-  
14 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
15 transfer, or remote access”; and

16 (C) in subsection (d)(1)(A), by striking “or  
17 in-country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
18 transfer, or remote access (including the provi-  
19 sion thereof”.

20 (5) In section 1755 (50 U.S.C. 4814)—

21 (A) in subsection (b)(2)—

22 (i) in subparagraph (C), by striking  
23 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
24 “in-country transfers, and remote access  
25 (including the provision thereof”;



- 1 (ii) in subparagraph (E), by striking  
2 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
3 “in-country transfers, and remote access  
4 (including the provision thereof)”; and  
5 (B) in subsection (c), by striking “export  
6 controls” and inserting “controls”.
- 7 (6) In section 1756 (50 U.S.C. 4815)—  
8 (A) in subsection (a), in the matter pre-  
9 ceding paragraph (1), by striking “and in-coun-  
10 try transfer” and inserting “in-country trans-  
11 fer, and remote access”; and  
12 (B) in subsection (b), by striking “or in-  
13 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
14 transfer, or provide remote access to”.
- 15 (7) In section 1757 (50 U.S.C. 4816)—  
16 (A) in subsection (a), by striking “or in-  
17 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
18 transfer, or remote access”; and  
19 (B) in subsection (c)(2), by striking “ex-  
20 port controls” and inserting “controls”.
- 21 (8) In section 1760 (50 U.S.C. 4819)—  
22 (A) in subsection (a)(2)(F)—  
23 (i) in clause (ii), by striking “any ex-  
24 port control document or any report” and  
25 inserting “any document or report”; and

1 (ii) in clause (iii), by striking “or in-  
2 country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-  
3 try transfer, or remote access”;

4 (B) in subsection (c)(1)(C), by striking “or  
5 in-country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
6 transfer, or remotely access (including the pro-  
7 vision thereof)”;

8 (C) in subsection (e)(1)(A)—

9 (i) in clause (i), by striking “or in-  
10 country transfer outside the United States  
11 any item” and inserting “in-country trans-  
12 fer outside the United States any item or  
13 remotely access any item (or provide such  
14 access)”;

15 (ii) in clause (ii), by striking “or in-  
16 country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-  
17 try transfer of items, or provide remote ac-  
18 cess to items”.

19 (9) In section 1761 (50 U.S.C. 4820)—

20 (A) in subsection (a)(5), by striking “or in-  
21 country transferred” and inserting “in-country  
22 transferred, or remotely accessed”;

23 (B) in subsection (h)(1)(B), by striking  
24 “or in-country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-

1           try transfer of items, or provide remote access  
2           to items”.

3           (10) In section 1767(b)(2)(A) (50 U.S.C.  
4           4825(b)(2)(A)), by striking “and in-country trans-  
5           fer” and inserting “in-country transfer, or remote  
6           access”.

Æ

Chairman MAST. Is there any discussion on the bill?

Representative Lawler is recognized.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to extend my thanks to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for their partnership on this critical national security legislation.

Today, China represents one of our Nation's greatest geopolitical threats. The Chinese Communist Party actively undermines our security by stealing intellectual property, launching cyberattacks, and exploiting every loophole possible to gain access to cutting-edge U.S. technology.

Their goal is clear: to surpass the United States economically and militarily, and they are willing to do whatever it takes, including using our own technology against us. We cannot stand idle and allow that to happen.

Right now, our export control policies have a significant loophole that puts America's security at risk. China is working tirelessly to exploit our advanced technology and it's clear why we need immediate action.

U.S. export control policies are governed by the Export Control Reform Act of 2018, or ECRA, which empowers the Bureau of Industry and Security to restrict sensitive technologies from falling into adversarial hands.

Under this law, export controls apply specifically to the export, re-export, or in-country transfer of controlled items. Unfortunately, existing authorities don't cut it anymore. Today, as technology has developed rapidly in the last few years, many sensitive technologies can be accessed remotely through cloud services.

As a result, companies aligned with the Chinese Communist Party have been exploiting remote access loopholes and are using American technology to advance their AI development, military capabilities, and potentially much worse.

As threats evolve, our laws must evolve to keep pace. The Remote Access Security Act clearly defines remote access and adds remote access provisions straight into ECRA, empowering BIS with the authority to extend existing export controls to cloud-based technologies.

We collaborated directly with BIS to craft tight, effective language to close this loophole, and we worked in a bipartisan manner, because protecting American technology and our national security is a priority for us all.

Our goal here is clear, and it is to end the exploitation of our export control swiftly and effectively, and I urge all of my colleagues here and in the Senate to move quickly to pass this legislation into law.

And I want to thank some of my cosponsors, co-leads on this: Brad Sherman of California, Jasmine Crockett of Texas, and Rich McCormick of Georgia.

And this is something that has broad support, including from the chair and the ranking member of the China Select Committee, as well as the chair and ranking member South and Central Asia Subcommittee in this Congress and this committee.

So, I thank Chairman Mast for allowing this bill to come to the markup and look forward to its passage.

I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Is there any further discussion on the bill?

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments.

Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk and I ask for its consideration at this time.

Chairman MAST. You weren't recognized, but you stated it anyway.

The clerk shall distribute the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you.

Chairman MAST. The clerk shall report the amendment.

THE CLERK. "Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 2683 offered by Mr. Lawler of New York."

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with.

[The amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Lawler follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 2683  
OFFERED BY MR. LAWLER OF NEW YORK**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Remote Access Secu-  
3 rity Act”.

4 **SEC. 2. CONTROL OF REMOTE ACCESS OF ITEMS UNDER**  
5 **THE EXPORT CONTROL REFORM ACT OF 2018.**

6       The Export Control Reform Act of 2018 is amended  
7 as follows:

8           (1) In section 1742 (50 U.S.C. 4801), by add-  
9 ing at the end the following:

10           “(15) REMOTE ACCESS.—The term ‘remote ac-  
11 cess’ means access on a purposeful, knowing, reck-  
12 less, or negligent basis to an item subject to the ju-  
13 risdiction of the United States under this Act by a  
14 foreign person through a network connection, includ-  
15 ing the internet or a cloud computing service, from  
16 a location other than where the item is physically lo-  
17 cated if the Secretary determines that the use of the  
18 item could pose a serious risk to the national secu-

1 rity or foreign policy of the United States. Nothing  
2 in this paragraph may be construed to lower the req-  
3 uisite mens rea required to be proven for criminal li-  
4 ability under section 1760.”.

5 (2) In section 1752 (50 U.S.C. 4811)—

6 (A) in paragraph (1)—

7 (i) in subparagraph (A), by inserting  
8 “or remote access of such items” after  
9 “export of items”; and

10 (ii) in subparagraph (B), by inserting  
11 “or remote access of such items” after  
12 “export of items”; and

13 (B) in paragraph (2)—

14 (i) in the matter preceding subpara-  
15 graph (A), by striking “and in-country  
16 transfer of items” and inserting “in-coun-  
17 try transfer, and remote access of items”;  
18 and

19 (ii) in subparagraph (A), by inserting  
20 “or remote access” after “the release”.

21 (3) In section 1753 (50 U.S.C. 4812)—

22 (A) in subsection (a)—

23 (i) in paragraph (1), by striking  
24 “and” at the end;

1 (ii) in paragraph (2)(F), by striking  
2 the period at the end and inserting “;  
3 and”; and

4 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
5 lowing:

6 “(3) the remote access of items subject to the  
7 jurisdiction of the United States by a foreign per-  
8 son.”;

9 (B) in subsection (b)—

10 (i) in paragraph (6), by striking  
11 “and” at the end;

12 (ii) in paragraph (7), by striking the  
13 period at the end and inserting “; and”;  
14 and

15 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
16 lowing:

17 “(8) regulate the remote access of items de-  
18 scribed in subsection (a)(3).”; and

19 (C) in subsection (c)—

20 (i) by striking “or in-country trans-  
21 fer” each place it appears and inserting  
22 “in-country transfer, or remote access”;  
23 and



1 (ii) by striking “subsections (b)(1) or  
2 (b)(2)” and inserting “subsections (b)(1),  
3 (b)(2), or (b)(8)”.

4 (4) In section 1754 (50 U.S.C. 4813)—

5 (A) in subsection (a)—

6 (i) in paragraph (3), by striking “and  
7 in-country transfers” and inserting “in-  
8 country transfers, and remote access”;

9 (ii) in paragraph (4), by striking “and  
10 in-country transfers” and inserting “in-  
11 country transfers, and remote access”;

12 (iii) in paragraph (5), by striking  
13 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
14 “in-country transfers, and remote access”;

15 (iv) in paragraph (6), by striking  
16 “United States export control” and insert-  
17 ing “United States control”;

18 (v) in paragraph (7), by striking “ex-  
19 port controls” and inserting “controls”;

20 (vi) in paragraph (10), by striking “or  
21 in-country transferred” and inserting “in-  
22 country transferred or accessed remotely”;

23 (vii) in paragraph (11), by adding at  
24 the end before the semicolon the following:  
25 “or remote access”; and

1 (viii) in paragraph (15), by adding at  
2 the end before “; and” the following: “or  
3 remotely access (including the provision  
4 thereof)”;

5 (B) in subsection (b), by striking “or in-  
6 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
7 transfer, or remote access”; and

8 (C) in subsection (d)(1)(A), by striking “or  
9 in-country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
10 transfer, or remote access (including the provi-  
11 sion thereof)”.

12 (5) In section 1755 (50 U.S.C. 4814)—

13 (A) in subsection (b)(2)—

14 (i) in subparagraph (C), by striking  
15 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
16 “in-country transfers, and remote access  
17 (including the provision thereof)”;

18 (ii) in subparagraph (E), by striking  
19 “and in-country transfers” and inserting  
20 “in-country transfers, and remote access  
21 (including the provision thereof)”;

22 (B) in subsection (c), by striking “export  
23 controls” and inserting “controls”.

24 (6) In section 1756 (50 U.S.C. 4815)—

1 (A) in subsection (a), in the matter pre-  
2 ceding paragraph (1), by striking “and in-coun-  
3 try transfer” and inserting “in-country trans-  
4 fer, and remote access”; and

5 (B) in subsection (b), by striking “or in-  
6 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
7 transfer, or provide remote access to”.

8 (7) In section 1757 (50 U.S.C. 4816)—

9 (A) in subsection (a), by striking “or in-  
10 country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
11 transfer, or remote access”; and

12 (B) in subsection (c)(2), by striking “ex-  
13 port controls” and inserting “controls”.

14 (8) In section 1760 (50 U.S.C. 4819)—

15 (A) in subsection (a)(2)(F)—

16 (i) in clause (ii), by striking “any ex-  
17 port control document or any report” and  
18 inserting “any document or report”; and

19 (ii) in clause (iii), by striking “or in-  
20 country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-  
21 try transfer, or remote access”;

22 (B) in subsection (c)(1)(C), by striking “or  
23 in-country transfer” and inserting “in-country  
24 transfer, or remotely access (including the pro-  
25 vision thereof”;

1 (C) in subsection (e)(1)(A)—

2 (i) in clause (i), by striking “or in-  
3 country transfer outside the United States  
4 any item” and inserting “in-country trans-  
5 fer outside the United States any item or  
6 remotely access any item (or provide such  
7 access)”; and

8 (ii) in clause (ii), by striking “or in-  
9 country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-  
10 try transfer of items, or provide remote ac-  
11 cess to items”.

12 (9) In section 1761 (50 U.S.C. 4820)—

13 (A) in subsection (a)(5), by striking “or in-  
14 country transferred” and inserting “in-country  
15 transferred, or remotely accessed”; and

16 (B) in subsection (h)(1)(B), by striking  
17 “or in-country transfer” and inserting “in-coun-  
18 try transfer of items, or provide remote access  
19 to items”.

20 (10) In section 1767(b)(2)(A) (50 U.S.C.  
21 4825(b)(2)(A)), by striking “and in-country trans-  
22 fer” and inserting “in-country transfer, or remote  
23 access”.

1 **SEC. 3. CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.**

2 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of Commerce shall  
3 ensure that the appropriate congressional committees are  
4 kept fully and currently informed of any anticipated pro-  
5 mulgation of regulations to control the remote access of  
6 items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018, as  
7 amended by section 2, including ensuring such committees  
8 are informed, in a classified setting as necessary, on—

9 (1) the national security risk that would be ad-  
10 dressed by the regulations;

11 (2) how the method of the regulations addresses  
12 the national security risk; and

13 (3) how the regulations may impact the econ-  
14 omy of the United States.

15 (b) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing in this sec-  
16 tion may be construed to require the approval of the ap-  
17 propriate congressional committees as a condition prece-  
18 dent to the exercise of an authority under the Export Con-  
19 trol Reform Act of 2018, as amended by section 2.

20 (c) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**  
21 **FINED.**—In this section, the term “appropriate congres-  
22 sional committees” means—

23 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the  
24 House of Representatives; and

1           (2) the Committee on Banking, Housing, and  
2    Urban Affairs of the Senate.



Chairman MAST. Representative Lawler is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Again, this amendment is an effort to address some concerns from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle and make sure that this bill is bipartisan and has strong bipartisan support, as we seek to crack down on China's efforts to use U.S. technology against us.

So, I thank my colleagues for working with me and look forward to its passage.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I support the ANS by Representative Lawler.

The Biden administration imposed unprecedented semiconductor export controls against China in October 2022 and tightened those controls in 2023, 2024, and 2025.

Since the initial controls, PRC companies and others have been trying to find workarounds to circumvent these safeguards. One such avenue has been assessing chips remotely via cloud computing.

For instance, in 2023, the Financial Times reported that some PRC artificial intelligence companies were skirting U.S. controls to access high-end U.S. chips through the use of cloud providers.

The bill in front of us today provides the Bureau of Industry and Security the statutory authority to control not just the physical export of technology, but also remote access to it.

The bill amends the Export Control Reform Act of 2018 to add a definition of "remote access" and provides authority to control remote access items.

I want to thank Chairman Mast and Representative Lawler for working with me on this bipartisan ANS, and I was able to secure some important changes that make the bill stronger.

First, we require national security justification for any new regulations consistent with the version of the bill that passed the House last Congress.

We also added a congressional consultation section to ensure that this committee is informed about new regulations in a timely manner, so that we can conduct proper oversight.

So, I support this measure and I urge all of my colleagues to do so, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. The Representative yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I want to thank the Representatives for their work on this bill and this amendment in the nature of a substitute.

It's important. It closed a loophole in our Export Control Reform Act of 2018 by amending the law and adding the term "remote access," something that wasn't considered appropriately at the time.

This bill provides a definition for "remote access" and reassurances to innocent companies that they're not going to be held liable for an export control violation if they are hacked.

And it ensures that Congress is kept fully informed of any anticipated regulations of remote access items.

And so, again, I want to thank the members for their work on this piece of legislation.

Again, do any other members seek recognition before I close this out?

No? There being no further discussion, do any other members wish to offer an amendment to the Lawler amendment in the nature of a substitute?

There being no further amendments, the question now occurs on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Representative Lawler.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. LAWLER. No roll call.

Chairman MAST. No roll call vote has been requested.

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MAST. We'll get there.

Representative Lawler, hold on one moment.

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report out H.R. 2683, as amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor of moving it to the House with a favorable recommendation, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. LAWLER. And I request a roll call vote, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MAST. A roll call vote has been requested.

Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

And on to the next piece of legislation.

Thank you.

Are you ready? All right.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 260, the No Tax Dollars for Terrorists Act.

The bill was circulated in advance.

And the clerk shall designate the bill.

THE CLERK. "H.R. 260, To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes."

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

[The bill H.R. 260 follows:]



119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. R. 260

To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes.

---

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 9, 2025

Mr. BURCHETT (for himself, Ms. GREENE of Georgia, Ms. MACE, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. BIGGS of Arizona, Mrs. LUNA, Mr. CRENSHAW, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. McCAUL, Ms. DE LA CRUZ, Ms. BOEBERT, Mr. MILLS, Ms. TENNEY, and Mr. NORMAN) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

## A BILL

To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “No Tax Dollars for  
5 Terrorists Act”.

1 **SEC. 2. STRATEGY TO OPPOSE FINANCIAL OR MATERIAL**  
2 **SUPPORT BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND NON-**  
3 **GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO THE**  
4 **TALIBAN.**

5 (a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
6 United States—

7 (1) to oppose the provision of financial or mate-  
8 rial support by foreign countries and nongovern-  
9 mental organizations to the Taliban, particularly  
10 those countries and organizations that receive  
11 United States-provided foreign assistance; and

12 (2) to review United States-provided financial  
13 assistance to such foreign countries and nongovern-  
14 mental organizations that have provided financial or  
15 material support to the Taliban.

16 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 30 days after the date  
17 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall  
18 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
19 port identifying—

20 (1) foreign countries and nongovernmental or-  
21 ganizations that have provided financial or material  
22 support to the Taliban, including—

23 (A) the amount of United States-provided  
24 foreign assistance each country or organization  
25 receives, if any;

1 (B) the amount of financial or material  
2 support each country or organization has pro-  
3 vided to the Taliban; and

4 (C) a description of how the Taliban has  
5 utilized such financial or material support; and

6 (2) efforts the United States has taken since  
7 August 2021 to oppose foreign countries and non-  
8 governmental organizations from providing financial  
9 or material support to the Taliban, particularly  
10 those foreign countries and organizations that re-  
11 ceive United States-provided foreign assistance.

12 (c) STRATEGY AND REPORTS.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after  
14 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
15 of State shall develop a strategy to discourage for-  
16 eign countries and nongovernmental organizations  
17 from providing financial or material support to the  
18 Taliban, including by using United States-provided  
19 foreign assistance to discourage countries and orga-  
20 nizations from providing such support to the  
21 Taliban. Not later than 60 days after the date of the  
22 enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall  
23 implement the strategy required by this paragraph.

24 (2) REPORTS.—

1 (A) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than the  
2 date on which the strategy required by para-  
3 graph (1) is completed, the Secretary of State  
4 shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
5 committees a report detailing the strategy and  
6 a plan for its implementation.

7 (B) SUBSEQUENT REPORTS.—Not later  
8 than 180 days after the date on which the  
9 strategy required by paragraph (1) is com-  
10 pleted, and every 180 days thereafter, the Sec-  
11 retary of State shall submit to the appropriate  
12 congressional committees a report on the imple-  
13 mentation of the strategy, including the impact  
14 of the strategy in discouraging foreign countries  
15 and nongovernmental organizations from pro-  
16 viding financial or material support to the  
17 Taliban.

18 **SEC. 3. REPORT ON DIRECT CASH ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS**  
19 **IN AFGHANISTAN.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the  
21 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State,  
22 in consultation with the Administrator of the United  
23 States Agency for International Development, shall submit  
24 to the appropriate congressional committees a report on  
25 United States Government-funded direct cash assistance

1 programs in Afghanistan during the period beginning on  
2 August 1, 2021, and ending on the date that is 30 days  
3 after the date of enactment of this Act.

4 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
5 quired by subsection (a) shall, with respect to such direct  
6 cash assistance programs, include—

7 (1) an identification of implementing partners  
8 and recipients;

9 (2) a description of method of payments;

10 (3) a description of how and where currency ex-  
11 changes occur;

12 (4) a description of how hawalas are used and  
13 the oversight mechanism in place regarding use of  
14 hawalas to transfer funds; and

15 (5) a description of how oversight is conducted,  
16 including information on how the Department of  
17 State prevents the Taliban from accessing cash as-  
18 sistance under such programs.

19 (c) HAWALA DEFINED.—In this section, the term  
20 “hawala” means a system of transferring money through  
21 a network of money lending brokers.

22 **SEC. 4. REPORT ON STATUS OF AFGHAN FUND.**

23 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the  
24 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days  
25 thereafter, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the

1 Administrator of the United States Agency for Inter-  
2 national Development and the Secretary of the Treasury,  
3 shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees  
4 a report on the status of the Afghan Fund.

5 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
6 quired by subsection (a) shall include—

7 (1) a list of Taliban members working at Da  
8 Afghanistan Bank or serving on the Bank's board;  
9 and

10 (2) a description of—

11 (A) the Taliban's influence over Da Af-  
12 ghanistan Bank;

13 (B) the Afghan Fund's board of trustees,  
14 including how the Fund's trustees were vetted  
15 and selected, and what United States agencies  
16 were involved in the vetting and selection proc-  
17 ess;

18 (C) the conditions necessary for funds in  
19 the Afghan Fund to be released to Da Afghani-  
20 stan Bank;

21 (D) how the Afghan Fund's board of trust-  
22 ees will decide on the type and appropriateness  
23 of the Fund's activities, including what kind of  
24 information will inform the board's decisions

1           and how the board will collect and verify this  
2           information; and

3           (E) a description of what controls have  
4           been put into place to ensure funds are not di-  
5           verted to or misused by the Taliban or other ac-  
6           tors when the Fund begins making disburse-  
7           ments.

8   **SEC. 5. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**  
9           **FINED.**

10          In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-  
11   mittees’” means—

12           (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
13           Committee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-  
14           resentatives; and

15           (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
16           the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

Chairman MAST. Is there any discussion on the bill?

Mr. BURCHETT. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MAST. Representative Burchett is recognized.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This bill, H.R. 260, focuses on three main issues.

And this bill was brought to my attention by Navy SEAL Sean Rind and a friend of his, Legend, who goes by that name because of his death threats. He's a former—he's an Afghani that fought on our side.

It does three things, Mr. Chairman.

It keeps financial and material support out of the hands of the Taliban.

No. 2, it reports on cash assistance programs.

And three, reporting on the Afghan Fund and the Afghan Central Bank.

Since December 2021, Mr. Chairman, the United States has sent over \$5 billion in cash to Kabul. This money has been taxed and stolen by the Taliban. Yet, we continue to send it, oddly enough. And that definitely needs to end.

The State Department needs to ensure that any daggum aid, whether financial or material, does not go to terrorists in Afghanistan.

We need to have a clear understanding of the influence the Taliban on not just international aid, but the Afghan banking system as well. They will hate us for free, Mr. Chairman.

When this bill was originally introduced at the end of 2023, it did not mention nongovernmental organizations, or NGO's, in Afghanistan. However, our understanding of the reality on the ground has changed.

During a hearing last year, former Secretary of State Antony Blinken admitted—and he admitted—that over \$10 million had been paid to the Taliban.

Contacts within Taliban resistance forces have provided me with a different narrative. According to them, nearly all of the cash and aid sent to Afghanistan ends up in the hands of the Taliban.

It is time we know what is going on and implement a strategy to make sure this aid goes to those who need it.

I want to thank you and I yield back the remainder of my time.

Chairman MAST. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion?

Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

During the last Congress, I was very pleased to work with Mr. Burchett, my friend, to negotiate a bipartisan agreement on this bill, that this bill passed through the committee unanimously. And it passed the House on the House floor under suspension of the rules.

Earlier this month, I also agreed with the Majority to send this bill straight to the floor for consideration. Unfortunately, the bill's sponsor would not agree. And instead, the text we have before us does not include any of the bipartisan changes we had previously negotiated. I intend to seek amendments to improve this legislation and restore many of the safeguards that have been removed.



I believe the history of this legislation shows our willingness to negotiate in good faith on this issue. Oversight of U.S. policy and assistance in Afghanistan does not have to be a partisan topic.

We've long shared bipartisan support for Afghan allies who stood with us during our war effort in Afghanistan and for vulnerable groups, especially women and girls, and for the need to conduct rigorous oversight of our spending in the country.

It is the Trump administration who was threatening to upend that consensus. The administration has moved to shutter key program support and our Afghan allies.

Just last week, in the dead of the night, the Trump administration appears to have unilaterally terminated more than \$560 million in humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan—in contravention of appropriations law and without any consultation or briefing with Congress, despite numerous requests.

So, how does risking a humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan advance U.S. national security? How does abandoning vulnerable Afghans or undercutting NGO's' help with the most vulnerable serve our interests? These are serious questions that demand answers.

So, in the absence of amendments, my personal judgment is to oppose this bill.

And with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. The Representative yields back.

Do any other Representatives seek recognition?

Representative Self is recognized.

Mr. SELF. Mr. Chairman, I have a simple question. On page 4 of the bill, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Administrator of USAID—I just want to make sure that that reads correctly in light of the recent changes.

Thank you.

Chairman MAST. Which line are you reading?

Mr. SELF. I'm looking at line 22 on page 4.

Chairman MAST. Say that again? Line what?

Mr. SELF. Line 22—

Chairman MAST. Line 22?

Mr. SELF [continuing]. on page 4.

Chairman MAST. Very good.

One moment, Mr. Self.

Thank you, Mr. Self.

There is an error there and it will be corrected in terms of a technical change when it comes to the floor.

Does that satisfy your question? Do you yield back?

Mr. SELF. Absolutely, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Thank you for bringing that up, Mr. Self. I appreciate it.

Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

This bill requires the Department of State to develop and implement a strategy to discourage foreign countries and nongovernment organizations, NGO's, from providing financial and material support to the Taliban.

That's important for the United States of America. We don't have an embassy there. We don't have diplomatic relations with the Taliban, and they are a terrorist organization.

This includes by using U.S.-provided foreign assistance to discourage countries and organizations from providing support to the Taliban. We don't want American tax dollars in any way, shape, or form going to the Taliban.

And my colleague Mr. Meeks pointed out that this was a bill that was discussed in the last Congress. And one of the things that I would point out—and I strongly encourage discussion with your members about any consideration of voting no on this, as we come to this as a recorded vote later.

Because in the last Congress, that was negotiated months before there was a SIGAR report released that spoke of their groundbreaking findings about how taxpayer dollars were benefiting the Taliban through NGO's, No. 1, and No. 2, just how many NGO's refused to even speak to SIGAR and talk about what they were using dollars for. That negotiation took place before that, as one of the things that should be discussed about any consideration of possibly voting no on this bill.

It is important for us that we have transparency where our dollars are going, or not going—I would agree with you—and that includes through NGO's, and especially NGO's that are working with the Taliban.

That concludes my remarks for this.

Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments.

Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.  
[The Amendment offered by Mr. Meeks follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 260  
OFFERED BY MR. MEEKS OF NEW YORK**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 **SECTION 1. STRATEGY TO OPPOSE FINANCIAL OR MATE-**  
2 **RIAL SUPPORT BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO**  
3 **THE TALIBAN.**

4 (a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
5 United States to oppose the provision of financial or mate-  
6 rial support by foreign countries to the Taliban that is  
7 inconsistent with United States law or policy.

8 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
9 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall  
10 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
11 port identifying, to the maximum extent possible—

12 (1) foreign countries that have provided finan-  
13 cial or material support to the Taliban since Sep-  
14 tember 1, 2021, that is inconsistent with United  
15 States law or policy, including—

16 (A) the amount of United States-provided  
17 foreign assistance each country receives, if any;

1 (B) the amount of financial or material  
2 support each country has provided to the  
3 Taliban; and

4 (C) a description of how the Taliban has  
5 utilized such financial or material support; and

6 (2) efforts the United States has taken since  
7 September 1, 2021, to oppose foreign countries from  
8 providing financial or material support to the  
9 Taliban if doing so is inconsistent with United  
10 States law or policy.

11 (c) STRATEGY AND REPORTS.—

12 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
13 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Sec-  
14 retary of State shall develop a strategy to discourage  
15 foreign countries from providing financial or mate-  
16 rial support to the Taliban that is inconsistent with  
17 United States law or policy.

18 (2) REPORTS.—

19 (A) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than the  
20 date on which the strategy required by para-  
21 graph (1) is completed, the Secretary of State  
22 shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
23 committees a report detailing the strategy and  
24 a plan for its implementation.

25 (B) SUBSEQUENT REPORTS.—

1 (i) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180  
2 days after the date on which the strategy  
3 required by paragraph (1) is completed,  
4 and annually thereafter for 5 years, the  
5 Secretary of State shall submit to the ap-  
6 propriate congressional committees a re-  
7 port on the implementation of the strategy,  
8 including the impact of the strategy in dis-  
9 couraging foreign countries from providing  
10 financial or material support to the  
11 Taliban that is inconsistent with United  
12 States law or policy.

13 (ii) FORM.—The report required by  
14 this subparagraph shall be submitted in  
15 unclassified form, but may contain a clas-  
16 sified annex if necessary.

17 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES  
18 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-  
19 gressional committees” means—

20 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
21 Committee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-  
22 resentatives; and

23 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
24 the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

1 **SEC. 2. REPORT ON DIRECT CASH ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS**  
2 **IN AFGHANISTAN.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Administrator of the United  
4 States Agency for International Development, in consulta-  
5 tion with the Secretary of State, shall submit to the appro-  
6 priate congressional committees a report on United States  
7 Government-funded direct cash assistance programs in Af-  
8 ghanistan during the period beginning on August 1, 2021,  
9 and ending on the date that is 30 days after the date of  
10 enactment of this Act. The report shall be submitted in  
11 conjunction with the submission of the Fiscal Year 2023  
12 Annual Financial Report of the United States Agency for  
13 International Development.

14 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
15 quired by subsection (a) shall, with respect to such direct  
16 cash assistance programs, include—

- 17 (1) a description of method of payments;
- 18 (2) a description of how and where currency ex-  
19 changes occur;
- 20 (3) a description of if and how hawalas are  
21 used and the oversight mechanisms in place regard-  
22 ing use of hawalas to transfer funds in United  
23 States Government funded direct cash assistance  
24 programs in Afghanistan; and

1           (4) a description of safeguards, including over-  
2       sight processes, to prevent the Taliban from access-  
3       ing cash assistance under such programs.

4       (c) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-  
5       FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate congres-  
6       sional committees” means—

7           (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
8       Committee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-  
9       resentatives; and

10          (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
11       the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

12       **SEC. 3. REPORT ON STATUS OF AFGHAN FUND.**

13       (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
14       date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter,  
15       the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate con-  
16       gressional committees a report on the status of the Afghan  
17       Fund.

18       (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
19       quired by subsection (a) shall include, to the maximum  
20       extent possible—

21           (1) a description of the Taliban’s influence over  
22       Da Afghanistan Bank, including a list of Taliban  
23       members employed by such Bank or serving on its  
24       board of directors;

1           (2) a description of the Afghan Fund's board of  
2 trustees, including the process for vetting and selec-  
3 tion of trustees;

4           (3) the conditions necessary for the United  
5 States Government to support disbursements from  
6 the Afghan Fund to Da Afghanistan Bank;

7           (4) how the Afghan Fund's board of trustees  
8 determines the Fund's activities, including what  
9 kind of information will inform the board's decisions,  
10 and how the board will collect and verify this infor-  
11 mation; and

12           (5) a description of what controls have been put  
13 into place to ensure funds and disbursements are  
14 not diverted to or misused by the Taliban.

15       (c) SUNSET.—This section shall terminate on the  
16 date that all disbursements from the Afghan Fund have  
17 been made.

18       (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES  
19 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-  
20 gressional committees” means—

21           (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
22 Committee on Financial Services of the House of  
23 Representatives; and



1           (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
2           the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Af-  
3           fairs of the Senate.



Chairman MAST. Representative Meeks is recognized.

The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

THE CLERK. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 260 offered by Mr. Meeks of New York. Strike all—

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with and Representative Meeks is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS. This amendment is actually very simple. It is the version of the bill which passed this committee in a unanimous recorded vote and the House by a voice vote in the last Congress.

It restores a number of the changes that I believe keep the legislation focused on its intended purpose, to curb genuine financial and military—and material support for the Taliban.

For example, it clarifies that the bill applies only to assistance that is inconsistent with U.S. law or policy. Without that kind of clarifying language a foreign partner who is doing exactly what Republicans say they want other countries to do step up to share foreign assistance burdens with the United States could be cited in this report.

This amendment also ensures implementing partners are not a risk—not put at risk by the report on cash assistance, makes technical changes that would make the bill more realistic to implement, and prevents reports of strategies which continue indefinitely, another long-standing Republican pet peeve.

These are common-sense fixes that I believe we could have made before this markup, just as we did in the last Congress. Nevertheless, I hope that my colleagues would once again unanimously support this language and then we can start moving and try to have a bipartisan bill. And with that I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Olszewski is recognized.

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to applaud you and this committee for bringing forward a slate of bills that are—I believe will have strong bipartisan support today because I do believe our approach to foreign policy should be rooted in bipartisanship whenever possible. That is why I am speaking in strong support of Ranking Member Meeks' amendment which would reaffirm this committee's commitment to bipartisanship.

As the ranking member has already stated Democrats and Republicans came together last Congress to overwhelmingly pass a negotiated and bipartisan bill. That included critical protections for NGO's providing humanitarian assistance in vulnerable areas that may be under control of the Taliban.

I am concerned this bill's new reporting requirements will threaten the safety of international aid workers. Afghanistan continues to be one of the most violent countries for aid workers. Dozens have lost their lives, many more risk kidnapping, sexual assault, and other forms of violence. We should be protecting these lifesaving workers, not exposing them to additional risks.

To be clear, we should be doing everything we can to ensure taxpayer dollars are not being diverted or misused by the Taliban, however, with 23 million people in Afghanistan roughly half its

population requires humanitarian assistance. So we should not take lightly this life or death impact and any disruption of U.S. foreign assistance for those living under the Taliban's repressive rule.

Apart from the material changes to the bill I want to beat the drum again that rejecting this amendment is abandoning a bill negotiated last Congress that secured unanimous committee approval before advancing to the House floor and passing under suspension. Foreign affairs need not be a partisan issue. It is about safeguarding American interests and promoting global stability.

So again, I know our markup to date and the success of this bill in last Congress shows that we can negotiate and work together to find these bipartisan wins. I urge my colleagues to reject that approach and return to the bipartisan framework being offered by the ranking member so that our committee and our country may continue to be served well. I urge my colleagues to vote in support of this amendment and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other representatives seek recognition? Representative Burchett is recognized.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I understand this amendment is a copy of the legislation that passed our committee last Congress, but I oppose the amendment for a couple of reasons: First, since the previous bill's introduction in 2023 we have been made aware of seriously concerning activity as it relates to how the Taliban treats non-governmental organizations, or NGO's.

Now we know about 70 percent—70 percent, Mr. Chairman—of the aid work being in Afghanistan is done by NGO's. They should absolutely be included in this legislation. Small NGO's do not have the protection of an organization like the United Nations. Everybody knows that. And if the State Department is to implement a strategy to keep tax dollars out of the hands of the Taliban, NGO's should have that protection. They should have that protection.

Now here is the fact that you need to listen to: Also, it is estimated there are around 1,000 NGO's operating in Afghanistan today. A thousand. We need to know who these groups are that are receiving our tax dollars.

Second, there is a weekly influx of cash being sent to Kabul. Anti-Taliban contacts tell me approximately \$40 million—\$40 million—in cash is flown to Afghanistan weekly. That is American taxpayers' dollars. In November 2022 alone 280 million was flown to Kabul. This year over 200 million has been delivered. This cash is deposited into the Afghanistan International Bank and then it is transferred to Afghanistan's Central Bank. Afghanistan's Central Bank is currently under control of the Taliban. I don't trust the Taliban to properly distribute \$40 million every week only to aid workers. I don't see how anybody can on either side of the aisle, Mr. Chairman.

The State Department must move quickly to end this practice, which is why the reporting timeline has been shortened compared to last Congress' version of the bill. Every week, every week, Mr. Chairman, is \$40 million that we cannot account for going to the Taliban.

I would sincerely urge my colleagues to vote against this amendment and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. The representative yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes. And I rise in opposition to this amendment in the nature of a substitute and would again encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to rise against this amendment because there has been an important change that has taken place to what is the meatiest part of this amendment, and that addresses whether NGO's are or are not included in who will be reported on.

If there are dollars going out the door from an American taxpayer to a foreign country, foreign NGO, foreign adversary, foreign terrorist organization of which—when we are talking about the Taliban, it is pretty much all of the above. The American people deserve to know and their representatives deserve to know where are those dollars going, not—the alternative is literally this amendment is asking that we cover our eyes and say I don't want to know where that money is going. It is going to an NGO? I am covering my eyes; I am covering my ears. Don't tell me who is spending the money and what they are actually spending the money on.

That is what the request of this ANS is, especially in light of again what I mentioned previously. There was a SIGAR report that came out, a Special Investigator General on Afghanistan that released their groundbreaking report on the tens of millions of dollars that were spent by NGO's going directly to the Taliban. That is not disputed. That is something that was actually taking place. Tens of millions of dollars of American taxpayer dollars going directly to the Taliban.

And beyond that, the fact that there were hundreds, if not thousands of NGO's that wouldn't even report to the Special Investigator General about what they were doing. Basically saying no, I am not going to tell you or here is a middle finger, or here is whatever. Sorry, we are not going to let you know what it is that we are doing. Go pound sand.

That is what has changed since the previous negotiation and what is being put forward right now in this amendment in the nature of a substitute. There was no SIGAR report at that time. To this moment right now—and in my opinion that is undoubtedly the most important, and the media's part of why to oppose this ANS and to go with the Burchett version of this bill. Because we deserve that accountability of where those dollars are going.

And it would be wholly irresponsible for any of us to say again, I am going to cover my eyes, I am going to cover my ears. Don't tell me what NGO's those dollars are going to and don't tell me what those NGO's are doing with those dollars and don't tell the NGO's that they have to report back to us about what is going on there. And it really begs even a further question, which is if it is a non-government organization why are they receiving dollars from the government? That is an even bigger question, but I suggest that be addressed at a different time.

Again I will make these points: SIGAR found that the Taliban has received tens of millions of dollars, American taxpayer dollars via NGO's operating in Afghanistan. Fact. Unfortunately, we do not have a list of those NGO's. Hasn't been given to us. This legislation would change that. The U.S. has turned a blind eye to

NGO's and foreign countries propping up the Taliban regime, and that is going to change.

And for too long these NGO's have carried out misguided programming that enables the Taliban to strengthen their grip on the country. And again, the worst part of that is that there has been no transparency about it from the State Department and in fact I think ignoring, really in many cases, what was that SIGAR report?

So that concludes my comments on this amendment in the nature of a substitute, which I recommend a no vote on.

Do any other members seek recognition?

All right. No other members seek recognition. There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Meeks.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

Aye. Nay. No. I am sorry I am a no.

I am used to saying aye. You almost got me.

All those in favor—let's try this one more time. All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

Chairman MAST. In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a roll call.

Chairman MAST. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed. Are there any further amendments?

Mr. KEATING. I have an amendment at the desk, Mr. Chairman. [The Amendment offered by Mr. Keating follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 260****OFFERED BY MR. KEATING OF MASSACHUSETTS**

Page 3, line 21, after the period insert the following:  
“The strategy shall include efforts to support Afghan women and girls who are suffering under Taliban edicts, in a way that does not support the Taliban, and efforts to relocate eligible, fully vetted, at-risk Afghans and Afghan allies located inside and outside of Afghanistan to the United States or third countries.”.



Chairman MAST. Very good. The representative is recognized.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise to address a grave and—I am sorry. You are going to distribute the amendment.

Chairman MAST. Let me get to that. One moment. There we go. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

THE CLERK. Amendment to H.R. 260 offered by Mr. Keating of Massachusetts. Page 3—

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with and the representative is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise to address a grave and pressing issue, the Taliban's systematic oppression of women, girls, and Afghan nationals who courageously served alongside U.S. Forces during our mission in Afghanistan. My amendment ensures that the State Department remains focused on a strategy to support these vulnerable groups, support for which has or years had strong bipartisan support within this committee.

I firmly believe that it is critical the U.S. continues to deprive the Taliban of the financial resources it desires and ensures that foreign governments are not materially supported supporting the so-called Taliban government.

That is why in the last Congress I supported a bipartisan version of this legislation that Ranking Member Meeks has introduced as an amendment in the nature of a substitute. I had hoped that there would be bipartisan consensus on that matter.

Yet, the Taliban's resurgence in Afghanistan poses significant threats to U.S. counterterrorism and human rights issues. In particular, the Taliban's continued persecution of women and girls and their targeting of Afghans who bravely supported the United States throughout the war is despicable and necessitates congressional action.

Since retaking Afghanistan the Taliban has imposed draconian measures that have effectively erased women from public life. Last year the Taliban enacted new vice and virtue laws requiring women to fully cover their bodies, including their faces, in public. These laws also prohibit women from speaking or having their voices heard outside their homes. Afghanistan remains the only country where girls are banned from education beyond the sixth grade. This denial not only violates their basic rights, but it also has far-reaching consequences for the country's development and stability.

At the same time the Taliban are hunting down the interpreters, guides, and support staff who are indispensable to our operations in Afghanistan, often placing themselves and their families in grave danger to assist our troops.

We must honor our commitments to support and protect these heroes. This is why I strongly support expediting special immigration visas and advocating for the International Organization for Migration Refugee Progressing Center that was established in Pakistan.

My amendment ensures that any State Department strategy to counter the Taliban includes consideration of the groups that most need our support: women, girls, and our Afghan allies who risked

their lives for us. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I support the Keating amendment. Support for the Afghans who fought and worked alongside the United States in Afghanistan, as well as Afghan women and girls who have face sustained oppression under the Taliban, have long been areas of strong bipartisan agreement. This amendment will ensure the department regularly reports on how the administration is advancing those important goals.

There have been reports that the administration is considering dismantling the CARE Office at the State—at State that leads Afghan relocations despite a bipartisan law that I was proud to work with Ms. Titus and Mr. Bard and Chairman McCaul to enact in the last Congress to formally authorize CARE and the Office of the Special Envoy for Afghan Women and Girls. The department has not been responsive to requests to provide additional information on these changes.

Supporting Mr. Keating's amendment will send a message that these congressional priorities are too important for the administration to neglect. Yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes. The Burchett bill requires that there be a strategy, development of a strategy to discourage foreign countries and non-government organizations from providing financial and material support to the Taliban. That is the purpose of this bill.

I want to thank my colleagues on the other side for working with us to come to a conclusion on an amendment that I can support. And this amendment, what it would do is it would insert the following about strategy: "The strategy shall include efforts to support Afghan women and girls who are suffering under the Taliban edicts in a way that," as the purpose of this bill states, "does not support the Taliban and efforts to relocate eligible fully vetted, at-risk Afghans and Afghan allies located inside and outside of Afghanistan to the United States or third countries."

And I think those are very important things to mention. It has to be in a way that does not support the Taliban. And as we look at individuals moving out of their country or origin, they have to be fully vetted.

So I do rise in support of this amendment. I want to thank my colleagues across both sides of the aisle for working with us and the author of the bill as well.

Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Baumgartner is recognized.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I am encouraged by those words and would like to support the amendment as well, too.

When I worked in Helmand Province off base in Southern Afghanistan I still remember hiring our first female Afghan employee on our counter-narcotics team and the threats that she went through from the Taliban to have that position, and still remember talking to her husband and the cultural aspects of her working for us. My wife and I have been successful in working with other



Americans to get a number of our Afghan counterparts we worked with into the U.S. who are targeted by the Taliban, but there are still a number of our team members who are in Afghanistan and Pakistan and at risk of retribution, so I very much support the underlying aims of this amendment. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Keating.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk.

[The Amendment offered by Ms. Kamlager-Dove follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 260**  
**OFFERED BY MS. KAMLAGER-DOVE OF**  
**CALIFORNIA**

Page 4, after line 17, insert the following:

1       (d) ADDITIONAL REPORT.—

2           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after  
3       the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
4       of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
5       committees a report on the decision to terminate  
6       the bounty on Sirajuddin Haqqani and other  
7       key members of the Haqqani Network under the Rewards  
8       for Justice program.

9           (2) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report  
10       required by this subsection shall include the following:  
11

12           (A) The status of the bounty on Sirajuddin  
13       Haqqani, Abdul Aziz Haqqani, and Yahya  
14       Haqqani under the Rewards for Justice program and the rationale for any changes made  
15       since September 1, 2021.  
16

17           (B) An identification of members of the  
18       Haqqani Network who are Specially Designated  
19       Global Terrorists and the status of the designa-

1           tion of the Haqqani Network as a foreign ter-  
2           rorist organization.

3           (C) A description of any United States  
4           Government engagements with Sirajuddin  
5           Haqqani, Abdul Aziz Haqqani, Yahya Haqqani,  
6           or the Haqqani Network since September 1,  
7           2021.

8           (D) Whether new information has emerged  
9           relating to the involvement of the Haqqani Net-  
10          work in terrorist attacks targeting the United  
11          States military or United States civilians.

12          (3) FORM.—The report required by this sub-  
13          section shall be submitted in unclassified form but  
14          may include a classified annex.



Chairman MAST. Very good. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

THE CLERK. Amendment to H.R. 260 offered by Ms. Kamlager-Dove of California. Page 4—

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with and the representative is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. Thank you, Mr. Chair. My primary concern is that this legislation is unfortunately out of sync with the administration's changing foreign policy and international assistance posture toward Afghanistan.

I agree with the sponsor that it is incredibly important for international assistance to be supporting the people of Afghanistan and not bad actors like the Taliban, but I don't know if this bill's focus is still relevant given that the administration has eliminated our foreign assistance tools and appears to have terminated all remaining humanitarian awards in Afghanistan just this past weekend. Ending these life-saving programs that previously received waivers rips away a lifeline for the most vulnerable Afghans.

Additionally, if the goal of the bill is to increase oversight of potential avenues of support for the Taliban, I think it is important to include the administration's growing engagement with the Taliban in the past month. In a move that gave up an important source of U.S. leverage the administration lifted \$20 million in bounties on the leaders of the Haqqani Network, a designated foreign terrorist organization that is responsible for some of the highest profile and deadliest attacks on Americans. If the administration is making concessions to the Taliban, Congress must be informed and consulted about what if anything we are receiving in return.

There has been a bipartisan consensus that any easing of U.S. pressure on the Taliban should be tied to meaningful progress on the rights of Afghan women and girls who suffer the greatest gender-based persecution on this planet. The administration should not change that policy without providing a justification to Congress and an opportunity for congressional input.

My amendment would bring Congress into the conversation on the most recent developments in the administration's Afghanistan policy and I urge my colleagues to support it. And with that, thank you, Mr. Chair, and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I support the amendment. I have long maintained that we should not be afraid to talk with the Taliban when it is in our interest to do so on issues like terrorism or the wrongful detention of Americans, but removing the bounties from Haqqani, however you pronounce it, is a major step that we should only make in exchange for significant concessions from the Taliban and after discussions with Congress. Thus far the department has failed to respond to the committee's requests for more information on this matter, so I believe mandating a report on this concerning—is concerning and unilateral foreign policy decisions is an appropriate step. Yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I rise in support of this amendment. The Haqqanis are a notorious terrorist organization who are guilty of killing American service members, my friends. Despite their efforts to rehabilitate themselves as Taliban officials—I don't know how much of a rehabilitation that is, but we will say that is what is taking place—the Haqqani Network is still a U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organization and they should be treated as such.

The administration has the right to remove individuals from the Rewards for Justice Program and we believe that they should be accountable for Congress for these decisions that are being made. And that is why we have in fact sent a letter as well to the Secretary of State asking for answers and responses about why the Haqqani Network has been removed.

I do urge my colleagues to support this amendment, and would ask again do any other members seek recognition? Representative Burchett is recognized.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too support this amendment and I want to thank my friend for presenting this. And I would also like to add that my friend Legend, who is the Afghan that goes by the code name Legend, had asked us to implement something of this sort. So I really appreciate my friend across the aisle and her heartfelt efforts on this.

Thank you, ma'am.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

Was that you, Representative Olszewski, or just——

Mr. OLSZEWSKI.

[Inaudible.]

Chairman MAST. Very good. There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Kamlager-Dove.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. I was just going to say, Mr. Chair——

Chairman MAST. The representative is recognized.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. I was just going to say to Congressman Burchett, you know, there was a movie made about your friend, right? I Am Legend.

Mr. BURCHETT. I believe that was Will Smith. I am not—but no, that was the zombies were taking over. That was a great movie, though.

It was actually a remake of a Charleton Heston movie. But anyway, we can talk about that later, but——

Chairman MAST. I don't mind going down this rabbit hole. It is Okay.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. I apologize.

Mr. BURCHETT. I am looking to my fashion consultant, Chairman Meeks, for a little help here.

Chairman MAST. Are there any further amendments?

Ms. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk and ask for its consideration, please.

[The Amendment offered by Ms. Johnson follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO H.R. 260**  
**OFFERED BY M**\_\_ . \_\_\_\_\_

Page 4, after line 17, insert the following:

1       (d) **ADDITIONAL REPORT.**—Not later than 30 days  
2 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
3 of State, in consultation with the Administrator of the  
4 United States Agency for International Development, shall  
5 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
6 port on the firing of John Sopko, Special Inspector Gen-  
7 eral for Afghanistan Reconstruction, and its effect on  
8 oversight of United States assistance to Afghanistan.



Chairman MAST. Very good. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall designate the amendment.

THE CLERK. Amendment to H.R. 260 offered by Ms. Johnson. Page 4, line 19, insert the following:

Chairman MAST. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with and the representative is now recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JOHNSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. My amendment requires a report to Congress from the Secretary of State in consultation with USAID Administrator on the firing of John for Afghanistan Reconstruction and its effort on the oversight of the United States to Afghanistan. The Office of the Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction was created on a bipartisan basis by Congress in 2008 to provide independent and objective oversight of Afghanistan reconstruction projects and activities.

Throughout its 16-year existence SIGAR has routinely provided detailed information on all obligations, expenditures, and revenues relating to U.S. involvement in Afghanistan including most notably the Afghanistan papers, which gave the American people a brutally honest view of the State of the war in Afghanistan in 2009.

Though the changing dynamics in Afghanistan SIGAR's comprehensive oversight prevented any potential duplication of efforts, assess programs across all agencies involved, and provided best judgment on risks that could expose U.S. assistance potential waste, fraud, and abuse, mismanagement, or mission failure.

Like the other inspector generals across the government these independent watchdogs are mission-driven to save taxpayer dollars. In fact, most recent numbers tell us that the inspector general oversight has collectively resulted in potential savings of about \$93.1 billion. That is a \$26 return on every dollar invested in that oversight.

And I know that this needs no introduction to this committee. Both Mr. Chairman and the bill author have repeatedly cited positive statements on behalf of Mr. Sopko and Sigar. But as this bill—as one of the first moves of this President, President Trump illegally purged 18 inspector generals. What was the need to fire Mr. Sopko before he could complete the final forensic audit required by the statute? What about SIGAR's outstanding criminal investigations on its research or lessons learned?

Already we know that putting—this is putting accountability at risk and I ask this court—this committee to strongly consider this amendment because government transparency and accountability is a priority for all of us here. And I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I support the Johnson amendment. I was glad to work with the majority on legislation to wind down the Special Inspector General of Afghanistan reconstruction in an orderly manner in the previous Congress. Given the impending sunset of the office, I would have to question why the—what the rationale is to fire Mr. Sopko unless you just have a



penchant, as President Trump seems to have, for firing inspector generals without proper justification.

I know that Mr. Sopko's work informed much of our committee's work on Afghanistan including, and I believe Mr. Burchett's bill. And I hope that my majority colleagues would join Ms. Johnson and I in seriously examining why he and other inspector generals for agencies under our jurisdiction were summarily terminated without providing justification to the U.S. Congress. With that, I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I will start by answering the question that was just posed by my colleague. Why fire the inspector general when the program was already winding down? That is an important point to make, one, that the program was already winding down. It was in last year's NDAA to wind down this program essentially by the end of this year. But why fire them? Why get rid of them? Why close this down if they are already winding down the program? Because if there is not a need to continue the SIGAR, then you wind it down sooner than that. That is the purpose of winding it down sooner. That is the purpose of ending this employment.

I think the SIGAR was outstanding work. I wish more of my colleagues thought that the SIGAR report was outstanding work. Last Congress I chaired the Foreign Affairs Oversight Subcommittee and I think truthfully—I guess I say this tongue-in-cheek, joking, that I think maybe Democrats should take some of the blame for ending Mr. Sopko's work because I don't think very many of them read the SIGAR report, and certainly didn't want to pay attention to the SIGAR report. So maybe that is part of the reason that we are winding this down. But to that point, it was good work that was done, but that work has come to an end.

I rise in opposition of this amendment, encourage other members to vote no on this amendment.

I will ask again, are there any further comments on the amendment? Representative Perry is recognized.

Mr. PERRY. I thank the chairman and I, too, will be voting no on this amendment. While I do think that the SIGAR did outstanding work, which was often derided by my friends and colleagues on the other side of the aisle during the duration of his tenure, what did trouble me near the end of his tenure is the reason for Mr. Burchett's bill in the first place, the point that we are sending millions and millions of tax dollars, American tax dollars to the Taliban every month, yet the SIGAR didn't seem to report much on that. And that is as much of an issue as anything else. Supporting our enemy. Supporting those who have said they defeated America. Supporting those who abuse children and women. American tax dollars going to support that.

Look, if you are going to take the good, you got to take the bad with the good. And if that was a bad report that the SIGAR didn't want to make, well, I appreciate that. But we need all the truth here, not just the truth that somebody wants to hear. And so I will follow the chairman—

Chairman MAST. Would the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. PERRY. I am sorry?

Chairman MAST. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. PERRY. Of course I will.

Chairman MAST. Thank you. And as you bring up this point again, I think it is important to recognize one of the big defining lines right now between the amendment in the nature of a substitute which will come for a vote and Representative Burchett's language about whether NGO's are going to report and be demanded to report about where American taxpayer dollars are going, or are we going to cover our eyes, close our—cover our ears, cover our eyes and just say we don't want to know what NGO's are doing with the money? Everybody else tell us what is going on with the money, but NGO's, you don't have to tell us because you are considered an NGO. And that makes no sense.

We do know for a fact that within SIGAR these NGO's were literally just telling the Special Investigator General pound sand, we are not telling you. Very few of them reported back to SIGAR. And the vast majority of them just said we are not going to tell you what we are doing. You can't make us. And that is about what the—what Representative Burchett is changing and I think it is why it is so important.

I will make this point again for when this comes up on a roll call vote I would absolutely encourage members on both sides of the aisle to think about the ramifications of voting to say NGO's don't have to report.

My colleague and my ranking member in his opening remarks pointed out that Congress has a duty to conduct oversight. And I think we all believe that. Congress has a duty to conduct oversight. I believe that as well. And there is bipartisanship in that. And that has to be for entities even if they are labeled NGO. That doesn't put some kind of special hedge of protection around them. Yes, many individuals and NGO's are doing dangerous work. There is no question about it. But that doesn't mean there is not accountability because there is dangerous work. Because in the end every—I hate to use the word power, but for lack of a better word, every power or authority that we have the opportunity to wield comes from We the People. Every dollar comes from We the People. And that has to be respected above all.

Mr. PERRY. And I would just in the remaining moments remind everybody that these NGO's likely aren't reporting to the SIGAR or anybody else because regardless of their name they are not run by the Taliban, the Haqqani Network, other terrorist organizations, taking U.S. tax dollars and funneling them to other terrorist organizations or their own one, which is the reason they wouldn't report, which is a reason that we need to just end this charade and get to the business that Mr. Burchett has brought to the floor. With that, I yield.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Johnson.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the yeas have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

Ms. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I request a roll call vote.

Chairman MAST. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement this vote will be postponed.

Are there any further amendments?

There being no further proceedings on this measure, the measure—there being no further amendments, further proceedings on this measure are postponed and we will move onto the next piece of legislation.

Pursuant to notice, I call up H.R. 2643, the Haiti Criminal Collusion Transparency Act of 2025.

[The Bill H.R. 2643 follows:]

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2643

To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 3, 2025

Mr. MEEKS (for himself, Mr. McCAUL, and Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Haiti Criminal Collu-  
5 sion Transparency Act of 2025”.

1 **SEC. 2. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
3 date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter  
4 for the following 5 years, the Secretary of State, in coordi-  
5 nation with other Federal agencies as appropriate, shall  
6 submit a report to the appropriate congressional commit-  
7 tees regarding the ties between criminal gangs and polit-  
8 ical and economic elites in Haiti. The report shall—

9 (1) identify and list prominent criminal gangs  
10 in Haiti as well as the leaders thereof, and describe  
11 their criminal activities including coercive recruit-  
12 ment, and identify their primary geographic areas of  
13 operations;

14 (2) list Haitian political and economic elites  
15 who have direct links to criminal gangs and any or-  
16 ganizations or entities controlled by these elites;

17 (3) describe in detail the relationship between  
18 the individuals listed pursuant to paragraph (2) and  
19 the criminal gangs identified pursuant to paragraph  
20 (1);

21 (4) describe in detail how Haitian political and  
22 economic elites use their relationships with criminal  
23 gangs to advance their political and economic inter-  
24 ests and agenda;

1           (5) include a list of each criminal organization  
2       assessed to be trafficking Haitians and other indi-  
3       viduals to the United States border;

4           (6) include an assessment of ties between polit-  
5       ical and economic elites, criminal gangs in Haiti,  
6       and transnational criminal organizations;

7           (7) include an assessment of how the nature  
8       and extent of collusion between political and eco-  
9       nomic elites and criminal gangs threatens the Hai-  
10      tian people and United States national interests and  
11      activities in the country; and

12          (8) include an assessment of potential actions  
13      that the Government of the United States could take  
14      to address the findings made pursuant to paragraph  
15      (6).

16      (b) FORM OF REPORT.—The report required under  
17      subsection (a) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but  
18      may include a classified annex.

19   **SEC. 3. SANCTIONS.**

20      (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
21      submission of the report to the appropriate committees,  
22      the President shall impose the sanctions described in sub-  
23      section (b) with respect to each foreign person identified  
24      pursuant to sections 2(a)(1) and 2(a)(2).

1 (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
2 scribed in this subsection are the following:

3 (1) PROPERTY BLOCKING.—Notwithstanding  
4 the requirements of section 202 of the International  
5 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701),  
6 the President may exercise of all powers granted to  
7 the President by that Act to the extent necessary to  
8 block and prohibit all transactions in all property  
9 and interests in property of the foreign person if  
10 such property and interests in property are in the  
11 United States, come within the United States, or are  
12 or come within the possession or control of a United  
13 States person.

14 (2) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—

15 (A) IN GENERAL.—An alien who the Sec-  
16 retary of State or the Secretary of Homeland  
17 Security (or a designee of one of such Secre-  
18 taries) knows, or has reason to believe, is de-  
19 scribed in subsection (a) is—

- 20 (i) inadmissible to the United States;  
21 (ii) ineligible for a visa or other docu-  
22 mentation to enter the United States; and  
23 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
24 or paroled into the United States or to re-  
25 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-

1 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
2 seq.).

3 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

4 (i) IN GENERAL.—The issuing con-  
5 sular officer, the Secretary of State, or the  
6 Secretary of Homeland Security (or a des-  
7 ignee of one of such Secretaries) shall, in  
8 accordance with section 221(i) of the Im-  
9 migration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
10 1201(i)), revoke any visa or other entry  
11 documentation issued to an alien described  
12 in subsection (a) regardless of when the  
13 visa or other entry documentation is  
14 issued.

15 (ii) EFFECT OF REVOCATION.—A rev-  
16 ocation under clause (i) shall take effect  
17 immediately and shall automatically cancel  
18 any other valid visa or entry documenta-  
19 tion that is in the alien's possession.

20 (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

21 (1) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
22 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Sanctions under this sec-  
23 tion shall not apply with respect to the admission of  
24 an alien if admitting or paroling the alien into the  
25 United States is necessary to permit the United



1 States to comply with the Agreement regarding the  
2 Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake  
3 Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force No-  
4 vember 21, 1947, between the United Nations and  
5 the United States, or other applicable international  
6 obligations.

7 (2) EXCEPTION RELATING TO THE PROVISION  
8 OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—Sanctions under  
9 this section may not be imposed with respect to  
10 transactions or the facilitation of transactions for—

11 (A) the sale of agricultural commodities,  
12 food, medicine, or medical devices to Haiti;

13 (B) the provision of humanitarian assist-  
14 ance to the people of Haiti;

15 (C) financial transactions relating to hu-  
16 manitarian assistance or for humanitarian pur-  
17 poses in Haiti; or

18 (D) transporting goods or services that are  
19 necessary to carry out operations relating to  
20 humanitarian assistance or humanitarian pur-  
21 poses in Haiti.

22 (d) IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.—

23 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
24 ercise all authorities provided to the President under  
25 sections 203 and 205 of the International Emer-

1       agency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and  
2       1704) to carry out this subtitle.

3           (2) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
4       of section 206(b) and (c) of the International Emer-  
5       gency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall  
6       apply to a person that violates, attempts to violate,  
7       conspires to violate, or causes a violation of regula-  
8       tions promulgated to carry out this section to the  
9       same extent that such penalties apply to a person  
10      that commits an unlawful act described in section  
11      206(a) of that Act.

12      (e) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-  
13     tion of sanctions or restrictions imposed with respect to  
14     a foreign person under this section if the President cer-  
15     tifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the  
16     waiver is important to the national interests of the United  
17     States.

18     **SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.**

19       In this Act:

20           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
21       TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
22       mittees” means—

23           (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
24       the House of Representatives;

1 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations of  
2 the Senate;

3 (C) the Committee on Financial Services of  
4 the House of Representatives;

5 (D) the Committee on Banking, Housing,  
6 and Urban Affairs of the Senate;

7 (E) the House Permanent Select Com-  
8 mittee on Intelligence;

9 (F) the Senate Select Committee on Intel-  
10 ligence;

11 (G) the Committee on Appropriations of  
12 the House of Representatives; and

13 (H) the Committee on Appropriations of  
14 the Senate.

15 (1) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
16 son” means an individual or entity that is not a  
17 United States person.

18 (2) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
19 “United States person” means—

20 (A) a United States citizen;

21 (B) a permanent resident alien of the  
22 United States; or

23 (C) an entity organized under the laws of  
24 the United States or of any jurisdiction within

1           the United States, including a foreign branch of  
2           such an entity.

3           (3) ECONOMIC ELITES.—The term “economic  
4           elites” means board members, officers, and execu-  
5           tives of groups, committees, corporations, or other  
6           entities that exert substantial influence or control  
7           over Haiti’s economy, infrastructure, or particular  
8           industries.

9           (4) POLITICAL ELITES.—The term “political  
10          elites” means current and former government offi-  
11          cials and their high-level staff, political party lead-  
12          ers, and political committee leaders.

13   SEC. 5. SUNSET.

14          The authorities provided by this Act shall cease to  
15          have effect on the date that is 5 years after the date of  
16          the enactment of this Act.

Æ

Chairman MAST. The bill was circulated in advance and the clerk shall designate the bill.

THE CLERK. H.R. 2643, to require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in—

Chairman MAST. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point. Is there any discussion on this bill? Representative Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing this bill forward and for Chairman Emeritus McCaul for co-leading this effort. I would also like to thank and recognize Representative Cherfilus-McCormick for her hard work on this legislation.

I know we all get this legislation introduced soon in the Senate though the prior Republican co-lead got a new job as Secretary of State. The jury is still out if that was a promotion or not, but we will be counting on Secretary Rubio to continue to prioritize Haiti from his new perch. And given what the chairman said earlier about oversight and bringing folks in—so I hope that we will have Secretary Rubio here soon so that we can oversight the State Department.

So, Mr. Chairman, there is no way to sugarcoat the current situation in Haiti. Approximately 1 million Haitians, including 700,000 children, have now been forced out of their homes by gang violence. In 2024 gangs killed more than 5,600 innocent Haitians with a further 2,212 people injured and 1,494 kidnapped for ransom. Gang activity is no longer confined to the outskirts of Port-au-Prince expanding to cities and regions of the country once free from such violence.

We ignore the ongoing crisis in Haiti at our own peril. Gangs able to out-gun the Haitian National Police and Multinational Security Support Mission continue to launch heavily armed attacks on ports, highways, critical infrastructure, police stations, courthouses, prisons, hospitals, businesses, and neighborhoods. They have committed gruesome massacres against civilians, even senior citizens. And for more than a year now they have dictated Haiti's security and political situation.

But not everyone in Haiti has suffered at the hands of gangs. Some members of the political and economic elite have enabled, armed, and benefited from the unrest in Haiti and are just as culpable as the gangs for these ongoing crises.

We have a duty to make sure that we identify and hold accountable those who fuel their country's chaos for their own profit. That is why I reintroduced the Haiti Criminal Collusion Transparency Act, which passed this committee and the House unanimously in the last Congress.

My bill requires the State Department to develop a report detailing the ties between the political and economic elite in Haiti and the criminal gangs that have run roughshod over the country. Should the State Department find criminal collusion between members of Haitians—of Haiti's political and economic elite and the gangs, the legislation would impose sanction on those individuals enabling the anarchy and suffering in Haiti.

The bill would also deny entry to the United States to those who are found to support gang activity, who also support kidnappings and rape to control and silence communities and coerce youth in and around the Port-au-Prince into the service of criminal activity. We cannot allow the gang leaders and those that support them to walk around with impunity. We just show the people of Haiti that they can chart a secure, stable, and democratic path and not allow the gangs to rule and dictate the reality on the ground.

The United States must hold accountable those that try to travel back and forth from Haiti and engage in heinous criminal activity.

So I thank the chairman. I thank Chairman Emeritus McCaul. I thank Representatives Fitzpatrick, Lawler, and Cherfilus-McCormick for supporting this measure and I ask that everyone else do the same. We cannot allow these individuals to go with and run around with impunity. And with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition? Representative Cherfilus-McCormick.

Ms. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to the Ranking Member Meeks and Chairman Emeritus McCaul for introducing this bipartisan piece of legislation which is truly important to not just me, but also my constituents.

Armed criminal gangs with the promotion of cartels continue to wreak havoc across Haiti fanning the flames of worsening humanitarian crisis that has left children hungry. By shining a light on the connection between violent criminal enterprises and Haiti's corrupt political and economic leaders this critical legislation will better address the chaos that has engulfed Haiti. It is our responsibility as neighbors and allies of Haiti as Americans to help Haiti strengthen its institutions and preserve the rule of law. The instability cannot continue any longer.

This bill empowers the Haitian people in their fight against not only the gangs, but also the cartels that finance, equip, and profit from the ongoing instability in Haiti. When Haiti is stable and firmly rooted in democracy, both Haitians and Americans benefit tremendously including the entire hemisphere. Immigration will be reduced and the region will also be more stable.

Once again, I sincerely thank Ranking Member Meeks and Chair Emeritus McCaul and also Chairman Mast for supporting this legislation and bringing us one step closer to ending this nightmare for the entire region. I urge my colleagues support this legislation and I yield back.

Chairman MAST. Do any other members seek recognition?

I recognize myself for 5 minutes.

I rise in support of H.R. 2643, The Haiti Criminal Collusion Transparency Act of 2025, and I thank the members for their work on this important piece of legislation.

Haitian green card holders are an important part of the American diaspora, and certainly the Florida diaspora as well. This bill requires the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress detailing ties between the criminal gangs that are destroying life in Haiti and political and economic elites within Haiti that are benefiting from these criminal gangs, a list of the prominent Haitian gangs, their leaders, their criminal activities, areas of oper-

ation, political and economic elites again with links to them that might be supporting them, you name it.

This is directly off of our shores and it is important that we pay attention to this issue. And this is certainly one example of Congress' demonstration that we will pay attention to what is going on there.

In that, I will ask one more time, do any other representatives seek recognition?

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report H.R. 2643 to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table and staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

The committee will recess until 2 p.m. at which point we will convene to vote on the postponed measures.

[Recess.]

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman MAST. Committee will come to order. The committee postponed further proceedings on roll call vote on Amendment No. 24 offered by Representative Jacobs to H.R. 2169 on which the noes had prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system and the clerk will open the vote. The chair recommends a no vote.

Mr. Issa is having issues with his technology, so we will just—is Connolly here or is he having an issue with this thing? A couple of them seem to have battery issues of something.

Is Kean changing his battery as well because he hasn't voted?

How is Mr. Kean reported?

The CLERK. He is not reported.

Mr. KEAN.

The CLERK. Mr. Kean votes no.

Chairman MAST. How is Mr. Issa reported?

The CLERK. He is not reported.

Mr. ISSA. Issa votes no.

The CLERK. Issa votes no.

Chairman MAST. Have all members voted?

They did it by voice.

Does any member wish to change their vote?

We are good on that, on the voice counts? Yes? Good? All right.

The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 23, the noes are 27.

Chairman MAST. Very good. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report H.R. 2619, as amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation. I move that the committee report H.R. 2619 to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. BAUMGARTNER. Mr. Chair, on that I request a recorded vote.

Chairman MAST. A recorded vote has been requested. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

How is Mr. Kean reported?

The CLERK. He is not recorded.

Mr. KEAN. Kean votes yes.

The CLERK. Mr. Kean votes yes.

Mr. ISSA. Issa votes yes.

Chairman MAST. How is Mr. Issa reported?

The CLERK. He is recorded yes.

Chairman MAST. And how is Mr. Davidson reported?

The CLERK. He is not recorded.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Davidson votes yes.

The CLERK. Mr. Davidson votes aye.

Chairman MAST. Do you have Mr. Kean recorded?

Very good. All right. Have all members voted?

Does any member wish to change their vote?

The clerk will close the vote, report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 45 and the noes are 6.

Chairman MAST. The ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table. The measure is ordered favorably reported as amendment—as amended and as a single amendment in the nature of a substitute and staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting H.R. 2683, as amended, favorably to the House on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote. The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

How is Mr. Davidson reported?

The CLERK. Mr. Davidson is not recorded.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Aye.

THE CLERK. Mr. Davidson votes aye.

Chairman MAST. Very good. Have all members voted?

Does any member wish to record or change their vote?

The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 51, the noes are 0.

Chairman MAST. The ayes have it and the motion is agreed to. Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table and staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

The committee postponed further proceedings in the roll call vote on Amendment No. 22 offered by Representative Meeks to H.R. 260 on which the noes had prevailed by voice vote. The question not occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

How is Mr. Davidson reported?



The CLERK. Mr. Davidson is not reported.

Mr. DAVIDSON. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Davidson votes no.

Chairman MAST. How is Mr. Baird reported?

Mr. BAIRD. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Baird votes aye.

Mr. BAIRD. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Baird votes no.

Chairman MAST. We are going to ask DOGE who created this system.

Are we all recorded?

Have all members voted?

Does any member wish to record or change their vote?

Mr. Baird, do you need to know how you are recorded?

The CLERK. He is a no.

Chairman MAST. All right. Very good. Mr. Baird is recorded as a no? You are good with that?

Okay. The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the noes are 28, the ayes are 24.

Chairman MAST. Very good. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

The committee postponed further proceedings on roll call vote on Amendment No. 2 offered by Representative Johnson to H.R. 260 on which the noes had prevailed by voice vote. The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

How is Representative Baird recorded?

The CLERK. Representative Baird is not recorded.

Mr. BAIRD. No.

The CLERK. Representative Baird votes no.

Chairman MAST. Have all members voted?

Does any member wish to record or change their vote?

The clerk will close the vote and report the tally?

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 23, the noes are 28.

Chairman MAST. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

There being no further amendments, I move that committee report H.R. 260, as amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye?

All those opposed, signify by saying no?

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the motion is agreed to. Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table and staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

This concludes consideration of the members noticed by the committee for today. I want to thank all the members for participating and I now yield to Ranking Member Meeks for any closing comments that he may have.

Mr. MEEKS. Just want to thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think we did this in a very orderly and timely fashion for our first markup. Look forward to continue to working with you and having Secretary Rubio before us soon. Thank you. Yield back.

Chairman MAST. I thank the ranking member for his comments and his work and the members of the committee across the aisle for working on these bills.

There being no further business to transact, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:24 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

## **APPENDIX**

---

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD



*Chairman Brian Mast*

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP NOTICE  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

**Brian J. Mast (R-FL), Chairman**

April 8, 2025

*Revised*

**TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN markup of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held at 10:00 a.m. in room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building. The markup is available by live webcast on the Committee website. <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>

**DATE:** Wednesday, April 9, 2025

**TIME:** 10:00 a.m.

**LOCATION:** 2172 RHOB

**MARKUP OF:** H.R. 747, To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1998, To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy, and for other purposes;

\* H.R. 2635, To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes;

\* H.R. 2619, To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1422, To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes;

- \* H.R. 2503, To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes;
- \* H.R. 2683, To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018;
- \* H.R. 260, To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes; and
- \* H.R. 2643, To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities.

\*NOTES: Measures added/changed.

\*\*NOTE: Measures may be added/changed.

**By Direction of the Chair**

*The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202-226-8467 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.*

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Day Wednesday Date April 9, 2025 Room 2172 RHOB

Starting Time 10:00 Ending Time 14:24

Recesses 1 (    to 14:00 ) (    to    ) (    to    ) (    to    ) (    to    ) (    to    )

**Presiding Member(s)**

*Chairman Mast*

*Check all of the following that apply:*

Open Session ☒

Electronically Recorded (taped) ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Stenographic Record ☒

Televised ☒

**BILLS FOR MARKUP:** *(Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation.)*

H.R. 247, To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes; H.R. 1598, To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy, and for other purposes; H.R. 2435, To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes; H.R. 2439, To require a report on activities under the Robert Levinson Hearing, Interview, and Hearing-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes; H.R. 1412, To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical, financial, and economic evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes; H.R. 2161, To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes; H.R. 2481, To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018; H.R. 240, To require a strategy to support financial or material support by foreign countries and non-governmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes; and H.R. 2445, To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities.

**COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:**

*Attached*

**NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:**

*N/A*

**STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD:** *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

*N/A*

**ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE MARKUP:** *(Attach copies of legislation and amendments.)*

*Attached*

**RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR MARKUP):** *(Attach final vote tally sheet listing each member.)*

| <u>Subject</u>  | <u>Yeas</u> | <u>Nays</u> | <u>Present</u> | <u>Not Voting</u> |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Attached</i> |             |             |                |                   |

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE \_\_\_\_\_

or

TIME ADJOURNED 14:24

*Meg Wagner*  
Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

Committee on Foreign Affairs  
119<sup>th</sup> Congress

## ATTENDANCE

Meeting on: Markup

Date: April 9, 2025

| Representative   | Present | Absent | Representative           | Present | Absent |
|------------------|---------|--------|--------------------------|---------|--------|
| Chairman Mast    | X       |        | RM Meeks                 | X       |        |
| Rep. McCaul      | X       |        | Rep. Sherman             | X       |        |
| Rep. Smith       | X       |        | Rep. Connolly            |         | X      |
| Rep. Wilson      | X       |        | Rep. Keating             | X       |        |
| Rep. Perry       | X       |        | Rep. Bera                | X       |        |
| Rep. Issa        | X       |        | Rep. Castro              | X       |        |
| Rep. Burchett    | X       |        | Rep. Titus               | X       |        |
| Rep. Green       | X       |        | Rep. Lieu                | X       |        |
| Rep. Barr        | X       |        | Rep. Jacobs              | X       |        |
| Rep. Jackson     | X       |        | Rep. Cherfilus-McCormick | X       |        |
| Rep. Kim         | X       |        | Rep. Stanton             | X       |        |
| Rep. Salazar     | X       |        | Rep. Moskowitz           | X       |        |
| Rep. Huizenga    | X       |        | Rep. Jackson             | X       |        |
| Rep. Radewagen   | X       |        | Rep. Kamlager-Dove       | X       |        |
| Rep. Davidson    | X       |        | Rep. Costa               | X       |        |
| Rep. Baird       | X       |        | Rep. Amo                 | X       |        |
| Rep. Kean        | X       |        | Rep. Mfume               | X       |        |
| Rep. Lawler      | X       |        | Rep. Jayapal             | X       |        |
| Rep. Mills       | X       |        | Rep. Latimer             | X       |        |
| Rep. McCormick   | X       |        | Rep. Olszewski           | X       |        |
| Rep. Self        | X       |        | Rep. Johnson             | X       |        |
| Rep. Zinke       | X       |        | Rep. McBride             | X       |        |
| Rep. Moylan      | X       |        | Rep. Schneider           | X       |        |
| Rep. Luna        | X       |        | Rep. Dean                | X       |        |
| Rep. Shreve      | X       |        |                          |         |        |
| Rep. Biggs       | X       |        |                          |         |        |
| Rep. Baumgartner | X       |        |                          |         |        |
| Rep. Mackenzie   | X       |        |                          |         |        |
|                  |         |        |                          |         |        |

**04/09/2025 Foreign Affairs Markup Summary**

By unanimous consent, the Chair called up the following measures, previously provided to Members, to be considered *en bloc*:

1. H.R. 747, To impose sanctions with respect to Chinese producers of synthetic opioids and opioid precursors, to hold Chinese officials accountable for the spread of illicit fentanyl, and for other purposes. (Barr)
  - Barr Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute
2. H.R. 1998, To require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons engaged in piracy, and for other purposes. (Jackson)
  - Jackson Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #21
3. H.R. 2635, To support the human rights of Uyghurs and members of other minority groups residing primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and safeguard their distinct identity, and for other purposes. (Kim)
4. H.R. 2503, To require the development of a strategy to eliminate the availability to foreign adversaries of goods and technologies capable of supporting undersea cables, and for other purposes. (Kean)

The measures considered *en bloc* were ordered favorably reported to the House by voice vote.

The Chair called up the following measures separately:

1. H.R. 2619, To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes. (Baumgartner) (ordered favorably reported to the House, 45Y-6N)
  - Jacobs Amendment #24 (not adopted, 23Y-27N)
2. H.R. 1422, To impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes. (Lawler) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, voice vote)
  - Lawler Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute (considered as base text by UC)
  - Lawler Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute (Revised) (adopted, voice vote)
3. H.R. 2683, To provide for control of remote access of items under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018. (Lawler) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 51Y-0N)
  - Lawler Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute (adopted, voice vote)
4. H.R. 260, To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and nongovernmental organizations to the Taliban, and for other purposes. (Burchett) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, voice vote)



- Meeks Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #22 (not adopted, 23Y-28N)
  - Keating Amendment #16 (adopted, voice vote)
  - Kamlager-Dove Amendment #1 (adopted, voice vote)
  - Johnson Amendment #2 (not adopted, 23Y-28N)
5. H.R. 2643, To require the Secretary of State to submit an annual report to Congress regarding the ties between criminal gangs and political and economic elites in Haiti and impose sanctions on political and economic elites involved in such criminal activities. (Meeks) (ordered favorably reported to the House, voice vote)



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 119<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Vote: To Report H.R. 2619

| Representative               | Yea | Nay | Representative                     | Yea | Nay |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Chairman Mast                | X   |     | Ranking Member Meeks               | X   |     |
| Representative McCaul        | X   |     | Representative Sherman             | X   |     |
| Representative Smith         | X   |     | Representative Connolly            |     |     |
| Representative Wilson        | X   |     | Representative Keating             | X   |     |
| Representative Perry         | X   |     | Representative Bera                | X   |     |
| Representative Issa          | X   |     | Representative Castro              |     | X   |
| Representative Burchett      | X   |     | Representative Titus               |     | X   |
| Representative Green         | X   |     | Representative Lieu                | X   |     |
| Representative Barr          | X   |     | Representative Jacobs              |     | X   |
| Representative Ronny Jackson | X   |     | Representative Cherfilus-McCormick | X   |     |
| Representative Kim           | X   |     | Representative Stanton             | X   |     |
| Representative Salazar       | X   |     | Representative Moskowitz           | X   |     |
| Representative Huizenga      | X   |     | Representative Jonathan Jackson    | X   |     |
| Representative Radewagen     | X   |     | Representative Kamlager-Dove       |     | X   |
| Representative Davidson      | X   |     | Representative Costa               | X   |     |
| Representative Baird         | X   |     | Representative Amo                 | X   |     |
| Representative Kean          | X   |     | Representative Mfume               |     | X   |
| Representative Lawler        | X   |     | Representative Jayapal             |     | X   |
| Representative Mills         | X   |     | Representative Latimer             | X   |     |
| Representative McCormick     | X   |     | Representative Olszewski           | X   |     |
| Representative Self          | X   |     | Representative Johnson             | X   |     |
| Representative Zinke         | X   |     | Representative McBride             | X   |     |
| Representative Moylan        | X   |     | Representative Schneider           | X   |     |
| Representative Luna          | X   |     | Representative Dean                | X   |     |
| Representative Shreve        | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Biggs         | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Baumgartner   | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Mackenzie     | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
|                              |     |     |                                    |     |     |

Yeas [45] Nays [6]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 119<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Vote: To Report H.R. 2683 as amended

| Representative               | Yea | Nay | Representative                     | Yea | Nay |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Chairman Mast                | X   |     | Ranking Member Meeks               | X   |     |
| Representative McCaul        | X   |     | Representative Sherman             | X   |     |
| Representative Smith         | X   |     | Representative Connolly            |     |     |
| Representative Wilson        | X   |     | Representative Keating             | X   |     |
| Representative Perry         | X   |     | Representative Bera                | X   |     |
| Representative Issa          | X   |     | Representative Castro              | X   |     |
| Representative Burchett      | X   |     | Representative Titus               | X   |     |
| Representative Green         | X   |     | Representative Lieu                | X   |     |
| Representative Barr          | X   |     | Representative Jacobs              | X   |     |
| Representative Ronny Jackson | X   |     | Representative Cherfilus-McCormick | X   |     |
| Representative Kim           | X   |     | Representative Stanton             | X   |     |
| Representative Salazar       | X   |     | Representative Moskowitz           | X   |     |
| Representative Huizenga      | X   |     | Representative Jonathan Jackson    | X   |     |
| Representative Radewagen     | X   |     | Representative Kamlager-Dove       | X   |     |
| Representative Davidson      | X   |     | Representative Costa               | X   |     |
| Representative Baird         | X   |     | Representative Amo                 | X   |     |
| Representative Kean          | X   |     | Representative Mfume               | X   |     |
| Representative Lawler        | X   |     | Representative Jayapal             | X   |     |
| Representative Mills         | X   |     | Representative Latimer             | X   |     |
| Representative McCormick     | X   |     | Representative Olszewski           | X   |     |
| Representative Self          | X   |     | Representative Johnson             | X   |     |
| Representative Zinke         | X   |     | Representative McBride             | X   |     |
| Representative Moylan        | X   |     | Representative Schneider           | X   |     |
| Representative Luna          | X   |     | Representative Dean                | X   |     |
| Representative Shreve        | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Biggs         | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Baumgartner   | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Mackenzie     | X   |     |                                    |     |     |
|                              |     |     |                                    |     |     |

Yeas [51] Nays [0]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 119<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Vote: Jacobs Amendment #24 to H.R. 2619

| Representative               | Yea | Nay | Representative                    | Yea | Nay |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Chairman Mast                |     | X   | Ranking Member Meeks              | X   |     |
| Representative McCaul        |     | X   | Representative Sherman            | X   |     |
| Representative Smith         |     | X   | Representative Connolly           |     |     |
| Representative Wilson        |     |     | Representative Keating            | X   |     |
| Representative Perry         |     | X   | Representative Bera               | X   |     |
| Representative Issa          |     | X   | Representative Castro             | X   |     |
| Representative Burchett      |     | X   | Representative Titus              | X   |     |
| Representative Green         |     | X   | Representative Lieu               | X   |     |
| Representative Barr          |     | X   | Representative Jacobs             | X   |     |
| Representative Ronny Jackson |     | X   | Representative Chertoff-McCormick | X   |     |
| Representative Kim           |     | X   | Representative Stanton            | X   |     |
| Representative Salazar       |     | X   | Representative Moskowitz          | X   |     |
| Representative Huizenga      |     | X   | Representative Jonathan Jackson   | X   |     |
| Representative Radewagen     |     | X   | Representative Kamlager-Dove      | X   |     |
| Representative Davidson      |     | X   | Representative Costa              | X   |     |
| Representative Baird         |     | X   | Representative Amo                | X   |     |
| Representative Kean          |     | X   | Representative Mfume              | X   |     |
| Representative Lawler        |     | X   | Representative Jayapal            | X   |     |
| Representative Mills         |     | X   | Representative Latimer            | X   |     |
| Representative McCormick     |     | X   | Representative Olszewski          | X   |     |
| Representative Self          |     | X   | Representative Johnson            | X   |     |
| Representative Zinke         |     | X   | Representative McBride            | X   |     |
| Representative Moylan        |     | X   | Representative Schneider          | X   |     |
| Representative Luna          |     | X   | Representative Dean               | X   |     |
| Representative Shreve        |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Biggs         |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Baumgartner   |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Mackenzie     |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
|                              |     |     |                                   |     |     |

Yeas [23] Nays [27]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 119<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Vote: Johnson Amendment #2 to H.R. 260

| Representative               | Yea | Nay | Representative                    | Yea | Nay |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Chairman Mast                |     | X   | Ranking Member Meeks              | X   |     |
| Representative McCaul        |     | X   | Representative Sherman            | X   |     |
| Representative Smith         |     | X   | Representative Connolly           |     |     |
| Representative Wilson        |     | X   | Representative Keating            | X   |     |
| Representative Perry         |     | X   | Representative Bera               | X   |     |
| Representative Issa          |     | X   | Representative Castro             | X   |     |
| Representative Burchett      |     | X   | Representative Titus              | X   |     |
| Representative Green         |     | X   | Representative Lieu               | X   |     |
| Representative Barr          |     | X   | Representative Jacobs             | X   |     |
| Representative Ronny Jackson |     | X   | Representative Chertoff-McCormick | X   |     |
| Representative Kim           |     | X   | Representative Stanton            | X   |     |
| Representative Salazar       |     | X   | Representative Moskowitz          | X   |     |
| Representative Huizenga      |     | X   | Representative Jonathan Jackson   | X   |     |
| Representative Radewagen     |     | X   | Representative Kamlager-Dove      | X   |     |
| Representative Davidson      |     | X   | Representative Costa              | X   |     |
| Representative Baird         |     | X   | Representative Amo                | X   |     |
| Representative Kean          |     | X   | Representative Mfume              | X   |     |
| Representative Lawler        |     | X   | Representative Jayapal            | X   |     |
| Representative Mills         |     | X   | Representative Latimer            | X   |     |
| Representative McCormick     |     | X   | Representative Olszewski          | X   |     |
| Representative Self          |     | X   | Representative Johnson            | X   |     |
| Representative Zinke         |     | X   | Representative McBride            | X   |     |
| Representative Moylan        |     | X   | Representative Schneider          | X   |     |
| Representative Luna          |     | X   | Representative Dean               | X   |     |
| Representative Shreve        |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Biggs         |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Baumgartner   |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
| Representative Mackenzie     |     | X   |                                   |     |     |
|                              |     |     |                                   |     |     |

Yeas [23] Nays [28]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 119<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Vote: Meeks Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #22 to H.R. 260

| Representative               | Yea | Nay | Representative                     | Yea | Nay |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Chairman Mast                |     | X   | Ranking Member Meeks               | X   |     |
| Representative McCaul        |     | X   | Representative Sherman             | X   |     |
| Representative Smith         |     | X   | Representative Connolly            |     |     |
| Representative Wilson        |     | X   | Representative Keating             | X   |     |
| Representative Perry         |     | X   | Representative Bera                | X   |     |
| Representative Issa          |     | X   | Representative Castro              | X   |     |
| Representative Burchett      |     | X   | Representative Titus               | X   |     |
| Representative Green         |     | X   | Representative Lieu                | X   |     |
| Representative Barr          |     | X   | Representative Jacobs              | X   |     |
| Representative Ronny Jackson |     | X   | Representative Cherfilus-McCormick | X   |     |
| Representative Kim           |     | X   | Representative Stanton             | X   |     |
| Representative Salazar       |     | X   | Representative Moskowitz           | X   |     |
| Representative Huizenga      |     | X   | Representative Jonathan Jackson    | X   |     |
| Representative Radewagen     |     | X   | Representative Kamlager-Dove       | X   |     |
| Representative Davidson      |     | X   | Representative Costa               | X   |     |
| Representative Baird         |     | X   | Representative Amo                 | X   |     |
| Representative Kean          |     | X   | Representative Mfume               | X   |     |
| Representative Lawler        |     | X   | Representative Jayapal             | X   |     |
| Representative Mills         |     | X   | Representative Latimer             | X   |     |
| Representative McCormick     |     | X   | Representative Olszewski           | X   |     |
| Representative Self          |     | X   | Representative Johnson             | X   |     |
| Representative Zinke         |     | X   | Representative McBride             | X   |     |
| Representative Moylan        |     | X   | Representative Schneider           | X   |     |
| Representative Luna          |     | X   | Representative Dean                | X   |     |
| Representative Shreve        |     | X   |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Biggs         |     | X   |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Baumgartner   |     | X   |                                    |     |     |
| Representative Mackenzie     |     | X   |                                    |     |     |
|                              |     |     |                                    |     |     |

Yeas [23] Nays [28]