

Who Gets the Aid Money in Afghanistan

Assistance to Afghanistan, 2021-2026

A Kabul Institute Report

Compiled from primary sources by the Afghanistan Aid Tracker

Data as of 30 September 2026

*Every figure in this report is a number a funder or agency published. Nothing is modelled, estimated, or filled in.
Where the public record stops, this report says so.*

ABOUT THIS REPORT

The first in a series

This is the first report in an ongoing accountability series published by Kabul Institute through the Afghanistan Aid Tracker, a public data platform tracking international assistance to Afghanistan since the Taliban's return to power in August 2021. The Tracker exists on a single premise: Afghans, and the donors, agencies, and governments who fund the country's humanitarian response, deserve a public record of where that money goes that does not depend on any single institution's willingness to disclose it.

Every dollar examined in this report was raised, in most cases, on the explicit premise that it would reach an Afghan family that needed food, medicine, shelter, or clean water. When that dollar's path goes dark after the first transfer, the practical consequence is that no one - not the donor who raised it, not Kabul Institute, not the Afghan public - can verify whether it did.

How to read the numbers that follow

A dollar that has been "pledged" is an announcement. A dollar that is "committed, not yet paid" is a firm obligation a donor has not yet reported paying. A dollar that is "paid" is a dollar a donor has confirmed actually transferring. Adding pledged, committed, and paid figures together would count promises as though they were payments already made. This report never does that.

A zero in this report is a finding about disclosure. It is not an assertion that no money was spent.

SECTION 1

The headline

Since August 2021, the international community has confirmed transferring \$8.00 billion in humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan. A further \$3.78 billion sits as a firm obligation that is committed, not yet paid. Separately, donors have announced \$94.0 million that has not yet reached the stage of a firm, contracted commitment. And of everything paid into the response so far, the amount confirmed as actually spent on a programme, a delivery, a line item of any kind, is zero.

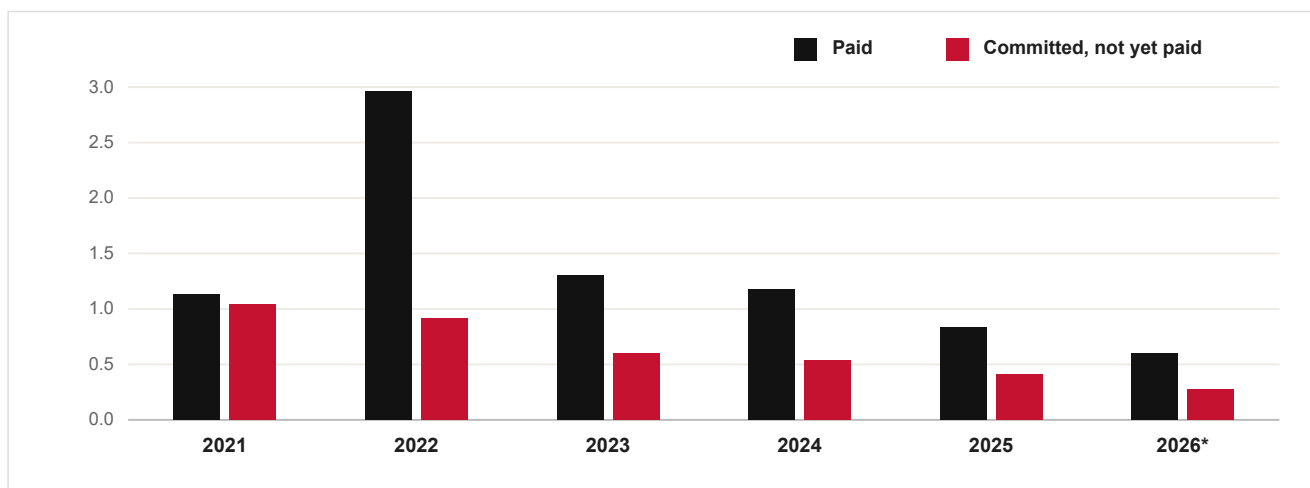
\$8.00B ACTUALLY PAID Donor-confirmed funds transferred	\$3.78B COMMITTED, NOT YET PAID Firm obligation, no payment reported	\$94.0M PLEDGED ONLY Announced, not yet contracted	\$0 CONFIRMED AS SPENT No agency publishes this figure
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Source: OCHA Financial Tracking Service, humanitarian flows into Afghanistan, 2021-2026. Figures are not additive across categories.

SECTION 2

A shrinking response, four years running

The response has been contracting steadily since its 2022 peak. Confirmed payments rose from \$1.13 billion in 2021 to \$2.96 billion in 2022, the height of the emergency response. Every year since 2022 has been smaller. In 2026, with the year still incomplete at the time of this report, confirmed payments stand at \$597.9 million - a decline of about 80 percent from the 2022 peak.



Money paid into the Afghanistan humanitarian response each year, alongside funds committed, not yet paid. *2026 figures are partial (through 30 September 2026).

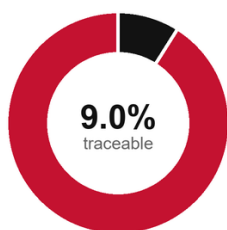
Year	Paid	Committed, not yet paid
2021	\$1.13B	\$1.04B
2022	\$2.96B	\$918.2M
2023	\$1.30B	\$599.2M
2024	\$1.18B	\$535.0M
2025	\$835.6M	\$407.2M
2026 (partial)*	\$597.9M	\$278.7M

The money is leaving the response faster than the need is leaving the country.

SECTION 3

The number that should not exist

Of the \$8.00 billion donors confirm they transferred into the Afghanistan response since 2021, not one dollar of programme-level expenditure is published anywhere in a machine-readable public source. Of the \$8.00 billion paid, only \$721.9 million - 9.0 percent of the total - can even be traced to a second organisation in the chain. The remaining 91.0 percent enters the system and stops being visible.



9.0% (\$721.9M of \$8.00B)

Share of confirmed payments (\$8.00B) that can be traced to a second organisation in the funding chain. The remaining 91.0% (\$7.28B) enters the system and stops being visible.

Paid to "Confidential"

\$1.42 billion, spread across 316 separate funding flows, is recorded not as delivered to any named organisation, but as paid to a recipient disclosed only as "Confidential." Nearly a fifth of all confirmed payments into the Afghanistan response are payments to a recipient the public is not permitted to identify.

What this costs Afghans, specifically

In an environment of falling funding and continued acute need, the inability to verify that existing money reaches people is the difference between a shrinking response that is at least being used well and a shrinking response

that may not be, with no way for anyone to tell which.

SECTION 4

Who sent the money

Twenty-five donors account for the great majority of recorded funding into the Afghanistan response. Ranked by confirmed payments, the United States remains the largest single funder (\$1.64 billion paid, plus \$1.14 billion committed, not yet paid), followed by the United Kingdom (\$1.03 billion paid) and Germany (\$645.9 million paid). Together, the top five donors by confirmed payments - the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Asian Development Bank, and Japan - account for \$4.42 billion, or 55 percent of all confirmed payments.

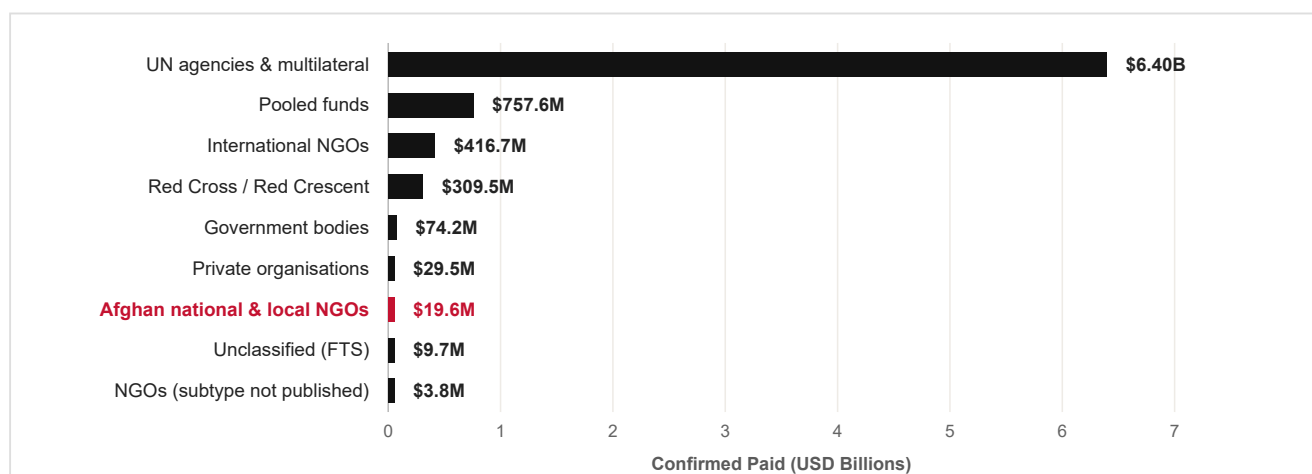
Donor	Paid	Committed, not yet paid	Flows
1. United States	\$1.64B	\$1.14B	274
2. United Kingdom	\$1.03B	\$117.8M	194
3. Germany	\$645.9M	\$538.2M	198
4. Asian Development Bank	\$602.5M	\$189.9M	17
5. Japan	\$499.0M	\$100.3M	169
6. World Bank	\$343.1M	\$123.6M	14
7. ECHO (EU)	\$272.4M	\$867.0M	853
8. Canada	\$266.5M	\$7.6M	90
9. Australia	\$226.9M	\$0	80
10. Central Emergency Response Fund	\$213.9M	\$0	85
11. European Commission	\$208.0M	\$0	15
12. U.S. Department of State	\$189.9M	\$2.3M	61
13. Switzerland	\$182.8M	\$65.3M	186
14. France	\$135.4M	\$58.4M	104
15. Norway	\$125.2M	\$28.9M	152
16. Netherlands	\$119.7M	\$18.5M	14
17. Italy	\$108.5M	\$75.2M	59
18. Republic of Korea	\$98.9M	\$10.0M	42
19. Sweden	\$98.6M	\$97.1M	91
20. Denmark	\$84.8M	\$108.8M	79
21. United Arab Emirates	\$73.6M	\$0	33
22. Private donors	\$64.7M	\$6.0M	192
23. Saudi Arabia	\$64.5M	\$454K	38
24. Disasters Emergency Committee	\$62.5M	\$0	27
25. UNICEF	\$50.2M	\$38.8M	19

Ranked strictly by confirmed Paid funds (stages are never added together). "Committed, not yet paid" is shown separately.

SECTION 5

Who received the money

First-line recipients - the organisations donors paid directly - are heavily concentrated among UN agencies and multilateral bodies. Of the \$8.00 billion confirmed paid since 2021, \$6.40 billion (80 percent) went to UN agencies and multilateral organisations (with a further \$1.97 billion committed, not yet paid).



Confirmed paid first-line funding by recipient organisation type (sum = \$8.00B). Unpaid commitments are excluded so stages are never mixed.

A single organisation, the World Food Programme, has received \$3.49 billion in confirmed paid funding since 2021 (plus \$481.3 million committed, not yet paid) - about 44 percent of everything paid into the entire response. Afghan national and local NGOs received \$19.6 million in confirmed paid funding directly from donors (0.25 percent of first-line paid funding; plus \$13.4 million committed, not yet paid, and \$118.0 million passed through pooled funds and agencies inside Afghanistan).

Recipient	Kind	Paid	Committed, not yet paid	Flows
1. World Food Programme	Multilateral	\$3.49B	\$481.3M	468
2. UNICEF	Multilateral	\$1.30B	\$254.8M	454
3. Afghanistan Humanitarian Fund	Pooled Fund	\$720.9M	\$104.3M	160
4. UNHCR	Multilateral	\$349.7M	\$227.8M	423
5. UNFPA	Multilateral	\$267.1M	\$120.7M	248
6. IOM	Multilateral	\$252.6M	\$124.7M	132
7. UN Agencies (Confidential)	Multilateral: Undisclosed	\$222.9M	\$161.5M	48
8. ICRC	Red Cross	\$172.6M	\$212.9M	109
9. WHO	Multilateral	\$170.3M	\$117.6M	71
10. UNDP	Multilateral	\$159.9M	\$13.0M	11
11. Save the Children	INGO	\$86.0M	\$49.8M	155
12. IFRC	Red Cross	\$64.3M	\$10.6M	52
13. OCHA	Multilateral	\$58.0M	\$3.0M	69
14. International NGOs (Confidential)	INGO: Undisclosed	\$47.4M	\$481.0M	211
15. FAO	Multilateral	\$41.0M	\$431.5M	74
16. Norwegian Red Cross*	Red Cross	\$37.07M	\$6.5M	24
17. Norwegian Refugee Council*	INGO	\$37.07M	\$38.4M	79
18. DEC Afghanistan Crisis Appeal	INGO	\$35.5M	\$0	3
19. Islamic Development Bank	Multilateral	\$33.0M	\$0	3
20. Government of Afghanistan (pre-Aug 2021 / resi	Government	\$32.0M	\$0	20
21. Special Trust Fund for Afghanistan	Pooled Fund	\$31.6M	\$20.6M	19
22. IRC	INGO	\$25.1M	\$29.1M	59
23. Aga Khan Foundation	INGO	\$22.3M	\$19.1M	32
24. UAE Aid	Government	\$20.4M	\$0	2

Recipient	Kind	Paid	Committed, not yet paid	Flows
25. Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan Foundation	Private	\$15.5M	\$0	2

**Note: Norwegian Red Cross (\$37,072,403 paid across 24 flows) and Norwegian Refugee Council (\$37,065,127 paid across 79 flows) are distinct FTS totals that both round to \$37.07M.*

SECTION 6

The largest single channels

Looking at donor-to-recipient pairs directly shows the specific routes the largest share of confirmed payments travels. The United States-World Food Programme channel alone accounts for \$1.25 billion across 28 paid flows, more than two and a half times the next largest channel.

From	To	Paid	Flows
1. United States	World Food Programme	\$1.25B	28
2. United Kingdom	World Food Programme	\$481.3M*	35
3. Germany	World Food Programme	\$350.9M	30
4. Asian Development Bank	UNICEF	\$324.5M	6
5. Asian Development Bank	World Food Programme	\$278.0M	7
6. World Bank	UNICEF	\$269.0M	7
7. Germany	Afghanistan Humanitarian Fund	\$234.6M	12
8. Japan	World Food Programme	\$155.2M	25
9. ECHO (EU)	World Food Programme	\$147.1M	16
10. United Kingdom	Afghanistan Humanitarian Fund	\$146.3M	8
11. United Kingdom	UNICEF	\$138.2M	23
12. Canada	World Food Programme	\$136.6M	22
13. United States	UN Agencies (Confidential)	\$130.0M	3
14. European Commission	World Food Programme	\$127.1M	6
15. Japan	UNDP	\$125.4M	3

**Note: UK to WFP confirmed paid (\$481,265,098 across 35 paid flows) is an independent FTS sum from WFP's all-donor unpaid commitments (\$481,270,769).*

SECTION 7

A second, larger blind spot

Everything in the sections above concerns the \$8.00 billion in confirmed humanitarian payments. It does not touch the \$12.04 billion that development finance institutions have recorded as committed, not yet paid for Afghanistan-related projects since the takeover, spread across 1,208 individual project records.

\$12.04B committed, not yet paid · 1,208 project records

No payment data published at source across the four publishers below.

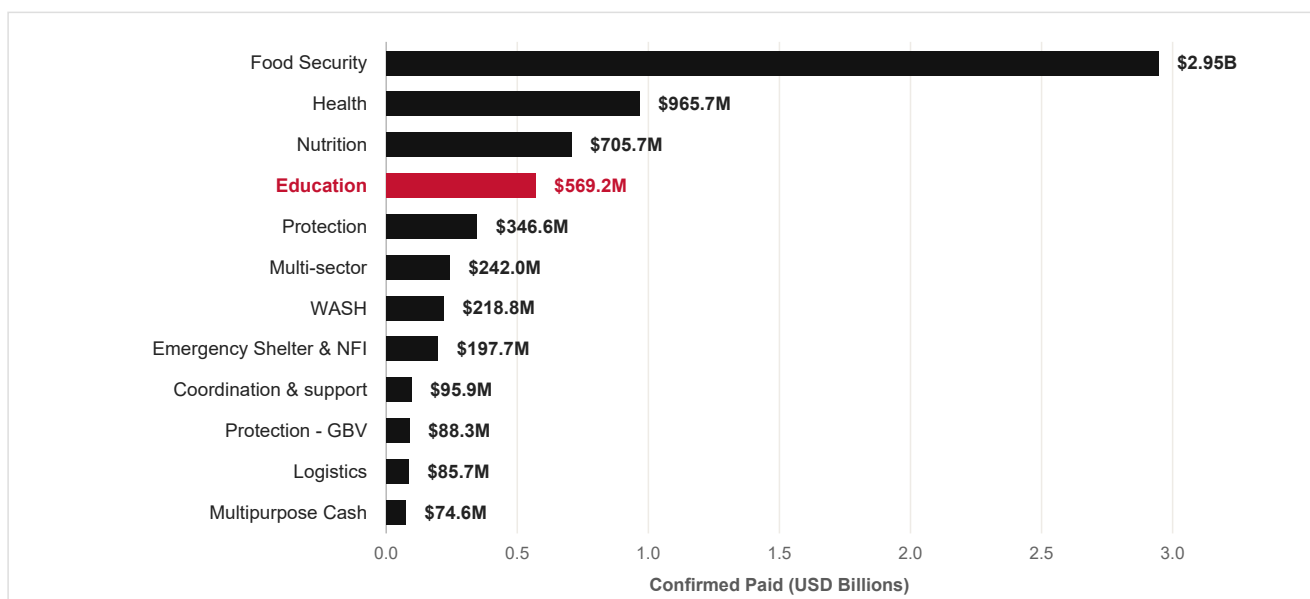
Publisher	Committed, not yet paid	Project records	Paid
Asian Development Bank	\$5.79B	170	Not published
EU Commission / ECHO	\$3.86B	760	Not published

Publisher	Committed, not yet paid	Project records	Paid
United States (USASpending)	\$1.81B	273	Not published
World Bank (Projects API)	\$575.5M	5	Not published

SECTION 8

What the money was for

Where the sectoral breakdown does exist, the response remains overwhelmingly weighted toward the most acute forms of survival assistance. In confirmed paid funds, Food Security accounts for \$2.95 billion (plus \$974.8 million committed, not yet paid), ahead of Health at \$965.7 million paid and Nutrition at \$705.7 million paid.



Confirmed paid funding by sector (unpaid commitments excluded so stages are never mixed).

Education, by contrast, has received \$569.2 million in confirmed payments across the entire five-year period (plus \$121.0 million committed, not yet paid) - less than a fifth of the Food Security paid total. The current pattern of international assistance to Afghanistan is a pattern of keeping people alive, not a pattern of investing in the country's ability to eventually need less of this assistance.

SECTION 9

What this pattern means

About \$8 billion has moved through the system since 2021. The overwhelming majority has passed through a small number of large multilateral intermediaries. Almost none of it can be traced past the point of first receipt. A meaningful share is not even attributable to a named recipient at all.

None of this proves misuse. A zero in this report's tables is a finding about disclosure, not an accusation about spending. But the absence of disclosure is itself the story.

SECTION 10

What should change

Kabul Institute puts forward four concrete recommendations grounded directly in the disclosure gaps this report documents:

1. Require programme-level expenditure disclosure

Donors should condition future funding on recipients publishing, at minimum, a quarterly accounting of programme-level expenditure sufficient to confirm that funds reached an intended activity.

2. Set a disclosure floor for "Confidential" recipients

Donors should require, at minimum, that confidential recipients be classified by type and sector even where the name is withheld.

3. Extend stage-separated reporting to development finance

ADB, EU institutions, USASpending, and the World Bank should adopt the same paid-versus-committed reporting standard already in use for humanitarian flows.

4. Set minimum direct-funding targets for Afghan organisations

Afghan national and local NGOs received 0.25 percent of first-line confirmed paid funding directly from donors since 2021 (\$19.6M of \$8.00B). Donors should adopt, and publicly report against, minimum direct-funding targets for Afghan-led organisations.

ABOUT THE PUBLISHER

Kabul Institute & the Afghanistan Aid Tracker

Kabul Institute is an Afghan-owned, Afghan-led policy and research organisation dedicated to governance accountability, peacebuilding, and climate security in Afghanistan.

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