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Proposed Plan for Victory in Ukraine



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The Threat

Appeasing dictators won't work – Republicans need to fight back against this administration's failing policies vis-à-vis Russia, China, Iran, North Korea, Cuba, and Venezuela. Russia's war of aggression - the largest land invasion in Europe since the Second World War - is eerily reminiscent of Poland of 1939. At the same time, we are seeing rising hostilities in the Indo-Pacific by Chairman Xi. And now we are facing a full-scale war in the Middle East that threatens to destabilize the entire region.

Biden is mishandling the worst war in Europe since World War II. His weakness failed to deter Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, continues to prolong the war, and risks inviting further aggression from America's adversaries.

Biden did not impose a single significant sanction on Russia as it amassed troops around Ukraine in the lead-up to the invasion, nor did he provide significant military assistance during those critical months. In fact, he rolled-back and failed to enforce Trump-era sanctions on key Kremlin projects such as Nord Stream 2. This weakness forfeited the last opportunity to deter Russia and prevent this costly war.

It is no coincidence that Russia invaded Ukraine a mere six months after Biden's shameful surrender to the Taliban and humiliating withdrawal from Afghanistan. Putin sensed American weakness and believed he could seize Ukraine without a significant response from the West. The disastrous withdrawal and faulty timelines drained American credibility globally and led to U.S. warnings of an impending Russian invasion of Ukraine falling on deaf ears.

All our adversaries are watching. If Biden can't stop the Taliban, Iran and its proxies, or Putin, how will he deter Xi Jinping?





Proposed Plan for Victory in Ukraine

Biden's mantra of supporting Ukraine "for as long as it takes" is a losing strategy. Instead, House Republicans believe President Biden should present a credible plan for victory and arm Ukraine with the weapons it needs to win as soon as possible.

Since the first day of the war, Biden's debilitating hesitation to provide critical weapons to Ukraine has delayed a Ukrainian victory. Ukraine needs the longest-range variant of ATACMS, F-16s, and sufficient quantities of cluster munitions, artillery, air defenses, and armor to make a difference on the battlefield. This delay is costing Ukrainian lives and the American taxpayer.

A path to victory for Ukraine will require **(1) providing critical weapons** to Ukraine at the speed of relevance, **(2) tightening sanctions on the Putin regime**, and **(3) transferring frozen Russian sovereign assets** to Ukraine. This will take congressional Republican pressure, which has been the key to unlocking every new needed weapon system to Ukraine since the start of the war. The bipartisan and bicameral bill, the REPO Act, will also require the Biden administration lead a coalition of allies to transfer up to \$300 billion in frozen Russian sovereign assets to assist Ukraine.

This strategy will ensure Ukraine is able to make the needed advances on the battlefield to force Putin to the negotiating table. If Ukraine doesn't negotiate from a position of strength, there can be no lasting peace.

The Unholy Alliance

Just weeks before beginning his full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Putin met with Chairman Xi to announce a “no limits partnership” between Russia and China. Since then, China has provided significant diplomatic cover for Russia’s brutal war of aggression, including by parroting false Russian narratives justifying the war. Our allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific



understand all too well the connection between Russian and CCP aggression. Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida has warned “Ukraine today may be East Asia tomorrow.” Taiwan’s representative in the U.S. believes “Ukraine’s survival is Taiwan’s survival... Our futures are closely linked.” Ending U.S. support for Ukraine would signal to Xi that U.S. resolve can be broken and be disastrous to efforts to deter a CCP invasion of Taiwan.

Biden is indirectly funding both sides of this war through his disastrous Iran policy. Multi-billion-dollar ransom payments to the Ayatollah and sanctions relief worth far greater have, for example, allowed Iran to build and transfer hundreds of drones to Russia. This supply of weaponry will become more sophisticated as the sanctions relief continues.

China has also given Russia access to satellite navigation to aid Russian military strikes in Ukraine, and it has served as a backdoor through which Russia has procured dual-use technologies, like chips, to feed its war machine.

Russia has refused to condemn Hamas’ terrorist attack on Israel and sponsored a UN resolution calling for a premature ceasefire. Senior Hamas delegations have visited Moscow three times this year – including immediately before and after the October 7 terrorist attack on Israel.

North Korea is supplying artillery shells to Russia for use in Ukraine. In return, there is growing concern Vladimir Putin will share advanced weapons and satellite technologies which would support North Korea's military nuclear program.

Recent reports also indicate the Russian Wagner Group is planning on providing Hezbollah militants in Lebanon with the SA-22 air defense system. It is clear the Kremlin is trying to capitalize on the world's focus on Israel.



Prioritizing Oversight

House Republicans will continue to prioritize transparency and accountability. To date, the Inspectors General of DoD, State, and USAID have not identified any significant diversion, theft, or misuse of U.S. assistance to Ukraine. There are 96 ongoing or planned audits and reports by the IGs of more than 20 different agencies, as well as the Government Accountability Office (GAO), to monitor, audit, and evaluate activities related to the Ukraine response. Thirty nine have been completed.

Europe's Larger Price Tag

The war has spurred many NATO allies to finally increase their defense spending and take their own security more seriously, enabling the U.S. to shift more resources to the Indo-Pacific.



And as our allies transfer their Russian and Soviet weapons to Ukraine and boost their defense spending, they are purchasing U.S. systems to replace them, providing an opportunity for the U.S. defense industry and American workers.



As a percentage of GDP, the U.S. ranks just 30th in total assistance to Ukraine, with Poland, the Baltic states, the UK, Norway, and others contributing more in terms of this metric. In terms of security assistance by GDP, the U.S. ranks 14th. Europe has also committed more non-security assistance to Ukraine than the United States. House Republicans need to push our allies to continue this positive trend.

Investments In Our National Security

The U.S. has committed \$44 billion in security assistance to Ukraine since the start of the full-scale invasion. That amounts to just 3.9% of our defense budget. With U.S. weapons, Ukraine has significantly degraded Putin’s army, causing almost 300,000 casualties – all without a single U.S. servicemember being put in harm’s way. Defeating Putin in Ukraine now will prevent a Russian invasion of a NATO ally, which would be immeasurably more costly in terms of American blood and treasure.

“We know only too well that war comes not when the forces of freedom are strong, but when they are weak. It is then that tyrants are tempted.”

Ronald Reagan, Republican National Convention, July 17, 1980

Restoring American Power

The extent to which the U.S. defense industrial base has suffered in the decades since the Cold War was well-known before the war. However, the demand signal caused by U.S. assistance to Ukraine has incentivized industry to fix bottlenecks and boost production, therefore better positioning the U.S. to help credibly deter an invasion of Taiwan and support other allies.

The EU is America’s largest overall trade and investment partner. A heightened Russian military threat in Europe undermines American prosperity and supply chains.





Europe is finally moving away from energy dependence on Russia and importing more U.S. LNG. Instead of restricting U.S. fossil fuel production to appease his base, Biden should promote America's reliable and cleaner oil and gas industry.

Bringing War Criminals to Justice

Like the horrors Hamas has inflicted on Israel, Russian forces have committed countless war crimes in Ukraine, including executions, torture, and rape. Russia has also kidnapped tens of thousands of Ukrainian children and sent them to so-called re-education camps in Russia and occupied Ukraine. Those responsible for these crimes must face justice. If Russia is able to conquer more of Ukraine, millions more innocent civilians will be subject to a similarly horrific fate.

Weakness Invites Aggression

President Trump understood Putin only respects strength. Trump reversed the Obama-Biden administration's disastrous lethal arms embargo on Ukraine, becoming the first U.S. President to transfer Javelin anti-tank missiles to Ukraine. This policy helped deter a full-scale invasion of Ukraine on President Trump's watch. Biden's sanctions and export control regime are riddled with loopholes. In particular, the U.S. must ramp up and strengthen enforcement of U.S. sanctions on Russian oil exports, which are still funding Putin's war machine to the tune of billions of dollars per month.

On the Biden administration's watch, American deterrence is crumbling. Emboldened by the disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan and Putin's decision to launch a full-scale invasion in Ukraine despite Biden's warnings, America's adversaries are becoming increasingly willing to challenge U.S. national security interests around the globe. If Biden's response to Hamas' terrorist attack on Israel and its patron Iran are as weak as the administration's policies in Afghanistan and Ukraine, the world will become a much more dangerous place and our in the Indo-Pacific will be shattered. House Republicans must stand up to Vladimir Putin, the Ayatollah, Xi and all of America's adversaries.



Consequences of Pulling Out

If the United States abandons our Allies like we did in Afghanistan, we will lose our trust and standing in the world as the leader of the free world. Our adversaries and enemies will be emboldened and empowered and the world will become more dangerous. Just as the greatest generation defeated the forces of evil, liberating Europe and the Pacific, we will protect their legacy. The United States can carry the torch of freedom, democracy, and human rights, or she can retreat into a false sense of security. The choice is ours, the time is now, history is on our side.

The choice is ours. The time is now. History is on our side.



Oversight

As of November 2023, the Inspectors General of the DoD, State, and USAID have not identified any significant diversion, theft, or misuse of U.S. assistance to Ukraine.

Highlights of Accountability & Transparency Measures

- **The GOP House majority has demanded more oversight and transparency of U.S. assistance for Ukraine, bringing in DoD, State, and USAID Inspectors General to testify before numerous committees – something the Democratic majority failed to do even once last Congress.**
- **There are 96 ongoing or planned audits and reports by the IGs of more than 20 different agencies, as well as the Government Accountability Office (GAO), to monitor, audit, and evaluate activities related to the Ukraine response. 39 have been completed.** Details are publicly available on their websites.
- **The Ukraine Oversight Working Group** has consisted of 20 agencies led by the Inspector Generals from DoD, State, and USAID. This group – which has met at least once a month – has coordinated the oversight of the U.S. Government’s Ukraine response, including by implementing the publicly-available [**Joint Strategic Oversight Plan**](#) and ensuring there are no duplications or gaps in oversight coverage.
 - **In August 2023, the Chair of the Council of Inspectors General on Integrity and Efficiency (CIGIE) selected the DoD IG to be the Lead IG for the whole-of-government Ukraine oversight effort. This designation represents a formalization and elevation of the Working Group structure and will further build upon existing efforts.** As Lead IG, the DoD IG is required to submit quarterly reports to Congress and the public and take over the implementation of the Joint Strategic Oversight Plan.



DoD has unprecedented insight into the status of the 31 types of high-end military equipment transferred to Ukraine, including serial number tracking for HIMARS, howitzers, Abrams tanks, and Bradley and Stryker vehicles, among others. This is because DoD provides virtual help to Ukrainians on the front lines, which ensures updated information on the status of U.S.-provided equipment. Further, the Joint Staff closely tracks the level of key munitions transferred to Ukraine in real time. DoD is also leveraging its presence at Embassy Kyiv to conduct extraordinary site inspections for in-country inventory verification where security conditions allow.

USAID OIG has an investigative arm and agents in Kyiv who are working closely alongside the Department of Justice to investigate and potentially prosecute all allegations of crimes committed against USAID programs and operations in Ukraine. Details on these allegations are posted on USAID OIG's website, including [here](#).

The OIGs work closely with the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, the Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, the High Anti-Corruption Court of Ukraine, and Ukrainian civil society organizations in combatting the misuse of any U.S. assistance and holding any bad actors accountable.

Oversight Required by Law

Over the first four Ukraine supplementals, the *FY23 National Defense Authorization Act*, and the FY22 and FY23 omnibus appropriations acts, there are 39 provisions that require reports to Congress on oversight and accountability of all aid sent to Ukraine, including reporting on:

- A list of all security assistance and U.S. defense articles provided;
- Enhanced end-use monitoring of relevant U.S. defense articles provided to Ukraine, including any incidence of misuse or diversion;



- Planned use for and the results achieved by U.S. direct budget support (DBS) to the Government of Ukraine (GOU);
- Mechanisms in place for monitoring and oversight of DBS, with a certification to Congress that safeguards are in place to prevent corruption and ensure accountability; and
- Other donor contributions and efforts taken to increase burden sharing.

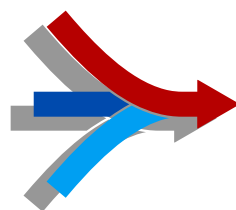
As required by law, all U.S. DBS to Ukraine is done on a reimbursable basis, meaning funds are only disbursed following the World Bank’s verification the money was spent on approved activities. All funds also are subject to external third-party monitoring by Deloitte, which, among other activities, is conducting randomized spot checks to verify the uses of DBS and working with Ukraine’s Ministry of Finance to review its monitoring, transparency, verification, and reporting systems and procedures. USAID also receives detailed progress and financial reporting, including monthly verification reports, bi-annual implementation status and impact assessments, and annual progress reports from the World Bank. In the spring of 2023, PwC completed a review and confirmed that the Government of Ukraine adhered to the agreed upon World Bank procedures for the first tranche of DBS. PwC will complete its next review in December 2023. Finally, numerous audits of DBS are being conducted, including by the World Bank, the Accounting Chamber of Ukraine (ACU) with GAO support, and KPMG. The first audits conducted by the World Bank and ACU/GAO will be completed by December 2023.

Additional Oversight Demanded by House Republicans

The House-passed H.R. 4665, the *Fiscal Year 2024 Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act*, included unprecedented Ukraine-specific oversight provisions requiring the Department to adhere to the following requirements:



- **Ukraine Victory Strategy** – Requires the administration to submit a much-delayed strategy to Congress for U.S. support to Ukraine within 60 days of enactment that also must be published on the State Department’s website for public transparency.
- **Purposes of the Funds** – Prohibits the administration from funding misguided priorities like climate and other woke programs.
- **In-Person Monitoring** – Requires in-person monitoring to ensure assistance dollars are being spent as intended.
- **Cost Matching Requirement** – Requires other donors to provide more than half of non-security funds for U.S. dollars to move.
- **Oversight Certification** – Requires a certification that mechanisms for monitoring and oversight of funds are functioning prior to obligation.
- **Notification Requirement** – Requires details, such as the total amount made available and unobligated funds, in every Congressional notification with funds related to the Ukraine response.
- **Obligation Report** – Requires regular reports to Congress on how all funds related to the Ukraine response are spent that also must be published on the State Department’s website for public transparency.
- **Oversight Report** – Requires regular reports to Congress on how programs are monitored that also must be published on the State Department’s website for public transparency.





The House-passed H.R. 2670, the *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024*, provides flexible hiring authorities for the OIGs for matters related to the oversight of U.S. assistance to Ukraine, creates a Special Inspector General for Ukraine Assistance, and mandates transparency by requiring numerous reports to and briefings for Congress, including on allied contributions to Ukraine, a plan to encourage other countries to increase their military contributions to Ukraine, oversight of U.S. assistance to Ukraine, and the status of U.S. weapons deliveries to Ukraine.

The House-passed H.R. 5692, the *Ukraine Security Assistance and Oversight Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2024*, provides funding for a special inspector general for Ukraine, if authorized by the final NDAA.

The House-passed H.R. 4365, the *Fiscal Year 2024 Department of Defense Appropriations Act*, includes:

- A GAO review of the defense department’s execution of presidential drawdown authority.
- A reporting requirement on increasing burden-sharing for Ukraine.
- A requirement that the inspector general review the department’s end-use monitoring program.



State Department, USAID, and DoD Inspectors General testify before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 23, 2023.



Burden Sharing

To date, **international donors have committed \$109.4 billion in security, economic and humanitarian assistance** to Ukraine, complementing the U.S. commitment of **\$74.3 billion** to Ukraine.

As a percentage of GDP, **29** European countries have provided more aid to Ukraine than the U.S.

Lithuania – 1.82% of GDP
Estonia – 1.78% of GDP
Norway – 1.71% of GDP
Denmark – 1.66% of GDP
Latvia – 1.6% of GDP
Slovakia – 1.37% of GDP
Poland – 1.27% of GDP
The Netherlands – 1.16% of GDP
Finland – 1.06% of GDP
Czech Republic – 1.05% of GDP
Bulgaria – 1.01% of GDP
Germany – 0.99% of GDP
Croatia – 0.94% of GDP
Sweden – 0.91% of GDP
Spain – 0.83% of GDP

Austria – 0.74% of GDP
Greece – 0.72% of GDP
Portugal – 0.68% of GDP
Slovenia – 0.66% of GDP
Belgium – 0.64% of GDP
Hungary – 0.63% of GDP
Italy – 0.62% of GDP
France – 0.6% of GDP
Romania – 0.59% of GDP
Cyprus – 0.53% of GDP
Luxembourg – 0.5% of GDP
United Kingdom – 0.49% of GDP
Malta – 0.46% of GDP
Ireland – 0.39% of GDP
United States – 0.33% of GDP

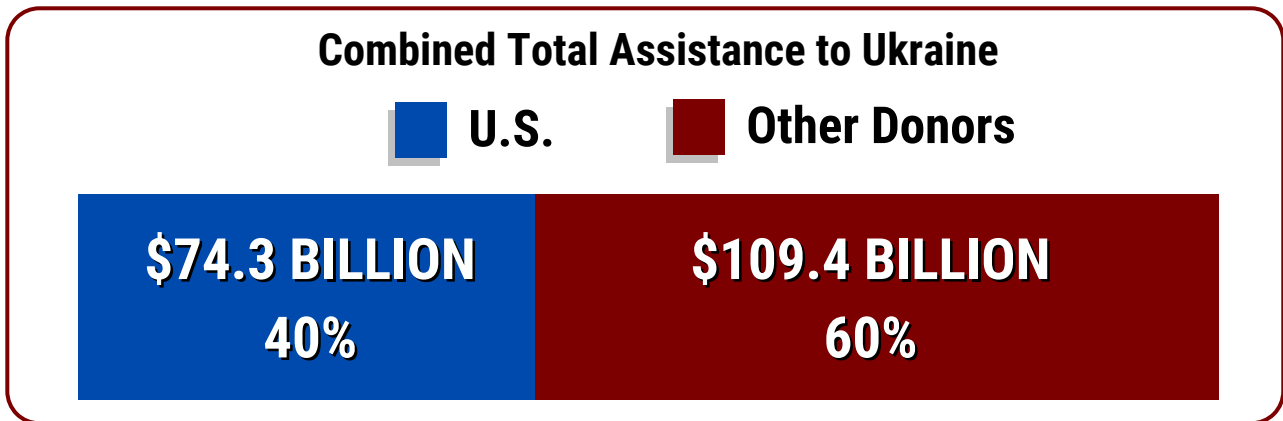
Source: Kiel Institute

Security Assistance and Collective Defense

Vladimir Putin has triggered an awakening in many corners of Europe that it must take the continent's defense more seriously.



- In 2023, NATO collectively boosted defense spending by 8.3% – the largest yearly increase in the past decade – **and allies have purchased \$90 billion of U.S. weapons to backfill their donations to Ukraine.**
- Of NATO’s 31 members, 11 allies meet the 2% of GDP on defense spending target. Ten more allies have plans to meet the target in the next two years (see details on page 15).



As a percentage of GDP, the United States ranks 14th in terms of providing security assistance to Ukraine behind Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Denmark, Poland, Albania, North Macedonia, Croatia, Sweden, Norway, the United Kingdom, and Germany. EUCOM estimates that Allies and partners have committed \$35 billion in security assistance to Ukraine. Combined with U.S. security assistance to date (\$43.9 billion), Ukraine has received \$79 billion total in international security assistance commitments.

The UK, Poland, and the Baltics were the first to provide Western tanks to Ukraine. This “tank Coalition” transferred Challenger and Leopard tanks.

The UK and France were the first to provide long-range missiles (Storm Shadow and SCALP missiles).

Our European allies, particularly the Netherlands and Denmark, have led on training F-16 pilots and transferring these aircraft to Ukraine. The U.S. agreed to also train F-16 pilots after pressure from our European allies and Congress.



Understanding the outcome of the war in Ukraine will have consequences for peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific, many of our Asian partners have assisted Kyiv. The Republic of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan all joined the U.S. in sanctions against Russia. All three also contribute humanitarian assistance, recovery assistance, and nonlethal equipment to Ukraine.

- **Japan:** As of April 2023, Japan’s contribution to Ukraine amounts to \$7.1 billion, including over \$2 billion for direct budgetary support. Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida has seen parallels in Putin’s war to threats of unilateral efforts to change the status quo in the Indo-Pacific, asserting, “Ukraine may be the East Asia of tomorrow.” He has also visited Kyiv to meet with President Zelensky.
- **Republic of Korea:** The ROK has provided \$250 million to Ukraine to date and pledged an additional \$2.3 billion in humanitarian, financial and reconstruction aid. The ROK government has also reportedly transferred artillery rounds to replenish stocks.
- **Taiwan:** Political support for Ukraine remains high in Taiwan, in no small part due to the threat of a CCP invasion. The country has committed nearly \$112 million to Ukraine.

Non-Security Assistance

Europe has provided twice as much non-security assistance to Ukraine as the U.S. – about \$68.53 billion from Europe compared to \$29.3 billion from the U.S.

In terms of direct budget support to Ukraine, the U.S. contribution (\$22.9 billion) is around one third of the total direct budget support (\$66.5 billion) received by the Government of Ukraine.

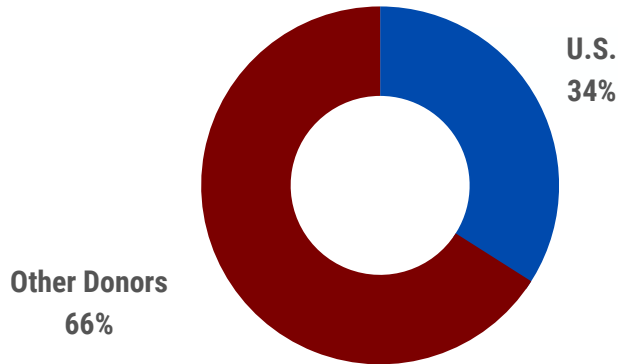


Close to 8 million refugees have been recorded in the EU, and more than 4 million Ukrainians have registered for temporary protection in the EU, which means they are entitled to work, accommodation, healthcare, as well as schooling for their children at the EU’s expense. Today, close to 20 percent of Ukraine’s children are taking refuge in the EU. By comparison, the U.S. has taken in around 250,000 Ukrainian refugees.

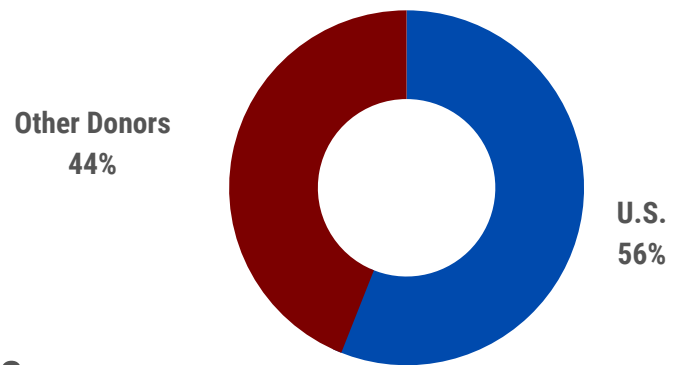
NATO Members at 2% of GDP		Alliance Members NOT at 2% of GDP		
Country	Percentage	Country	Current Percentage	2% Spending Target
Poland	3.9	Montenegro	1.87	2024
United States	3.49	North Macedonia	1.87	2024
Greece	3.01	Bulgaria	1.84	2024
Estonia	2.73	Croatia*	1.79	2023-2025
Lithuania	2.54	Albania	1.76	2024
Finland	2.45	Netherlands	1.7	2024
Romania	2.44	Norway	1.67	2026
Hungary	2.43	Denmark	1.65	2030
Latvia	2.27	Germany	1.57	2025
United Kingdom	2.07	Czech Republic	1.5	2024
Slovakia	2.03	Portugal	1.48	2030
		Italy	1.46	2028
		Sweden**	1.4	2024
		Canada	1.38	Unclear
		Slovenia	1.35	2030
		Turkey	1.31	2025
		Spain	1.26	2030
		Belgium	1.13	2035
		Luxembourg	0.72	Unclear
*Various estimates were found for Croatia				
**Sweden is not yet a member of NATO				



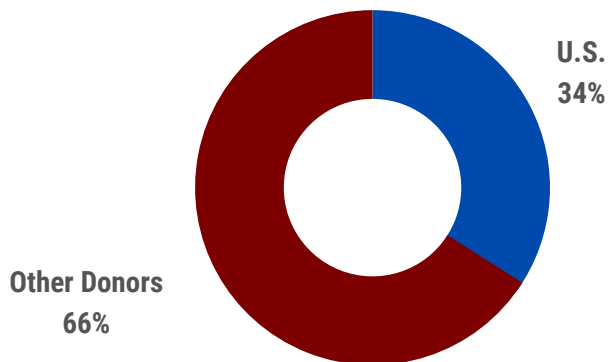
Economic Assistance



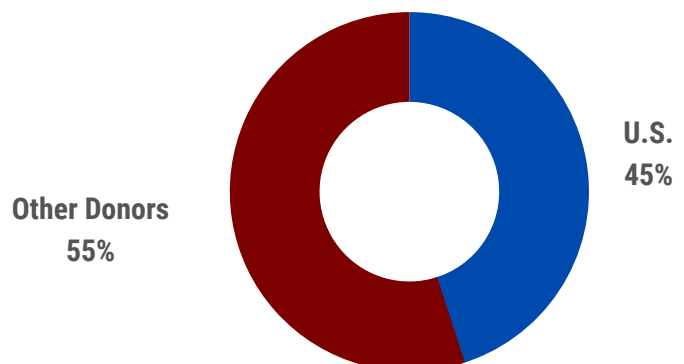
Military Assistance



Humanitarian Assistance



Total Assistance





Timeline of Biden's Deadly Delays in Sending Weapons to Ukraine

The Biden administration's feeble approach to foreign policy crises is costing Ukrainian lives and American treasure. From his failure in Afghanistan, and his inability to secure the U.S. border, to his failure to quickly put an end to Russia's renewed aggression in Ukraine, President Biden's policies are projecting a weak image of the U.S. abroad and forcing the taxpayer to bail him out. If President Biden stood up to Vladimir Putin with pre-invasion sanctions, didn't rollback Trump administration sanctions on Nord Stream 2, and provided visible and significant lethal assistance, he could have deterred Putin before he invaded. Unfortunately, the current Biden policy of supporting Ukraine "for as long as it takes" has prolonged this conflict. Instead, the strategy should be to give Ukraine the resources it needs to win now, and inflict maximum pressure on the Russian economy, so that this conflict can be brought to an end.

- **2014-2017:** After the Russian annexation of Crimea and occupation of parts of eastern Ukraine in 2014, the Obama-Biden administration refused to assist Ukraine with lethal aid, signaling to the Russians that they did not have the fortitude to stand against their aggression.
- **2017:** The Trump administration ended the Obama-Biden administration's policy of appeasement by providing lethal aid to Ukraine, to include Javelin anti-tank weapons, sending a clear signal to Putin that unprovoked aggression would not be tolerated.
- **June 2021:** In June 2021, President Biden halted a package of lethal military assistance to Ukraine to help facilitate a Biden-Putin Summit in Geneva. Chairmen Rogers and McCaul issued a [statement](#) saying, "As evidenced by its earlier decisions to pull back two U.S. warships from the Black Sea during Russia's military buildup, waive critical sanctions on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, and delay meeting with Ukrainian President Zelensky until after last week's fruitless Biden-Putin summit, this administration has time and time again chosen to appease the Kremlin at the expense of Ukraine. This must end."



Pre-February 24, 2022: With the Biden administration and Democrats back in power, Vladimir Putin began massing troops on the Ukrainian border to test the resolve of the new President. Biden confirmed to Putin that he would continue the Obama-era appeasement policies by rolling back Trump-era sanctions on Nord Stream 2. Despite the overwhelming evidence that Putin’s army was about to launch a full-scale invasion, President Biden continued to capitulate and refused to seriously sanction Russia or arm Ukraine, over the objections of Republicans in Congress. Biden hoped these policies of appeasement and continued dialogue would convince Putin to pull Russian forces back from Ukraine’s border. Biden was wrong.

February 24, 2022: President Biden’s appeasement policies failed to deter Putin. Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The Biden administration had months of warning from the U.S. Intelligence Community yet took no action to deter Russia. The Biden administration also failed to garner European support to push-back on Russia’s military build-up as its warnings fell on deaf-ears given the botched Afghanistan withdrawal. Notably, the Biden administration’s warnings were so underwhelming that the head of the German intelligence service was in Kyiv on the day of the invasion.

First weeks of the full-scale invasion: Without sufficient security assistance from the U.S. and Ukraine’s other partners, Ukraine’s Armed Forces quickly lost ground. Thousands of Ukrainians found themselves behind enemy lines and suffered war crimes and other atrocities at the hands of Russian soldiers in places like Bucha, Izyum, and Kherson. Russia also blockaded much of the Black Sea, devastating Ukraine’s economy and exacerbating global food insecurity.

March 2022: The Biden administration finally begins to arm the Ukrainians, who have held the Russians off from deposing the government. The first shipment of U.S.-origin Stingers finally arrived in Ukraine. They had been unnecessarily delayed for months, allegedly over concerns of classified components, which were ultimately removed easily.



- **March 2022 (continued):** This same month, the U.S. refused to publicly provide political support for Poland to deliver its entire MiG-29 fleet, which could have helped Ukraine protect its skies.
- **Early April 2022:** Ukraine won the Battle of Kyiv, exceeding the Biden administration's assessment that the Ukrainian capital would fall within three days.
- **Summer 2022:** Russian forces refocused their offensive on Ukraine's east and south, capturing all of the Luhansk region and several key cities, like Mariupol. Russia's massive artillery superiority was used to devastating effect.
- **June 2022:** The U.S. announced U.S.-origin Harpoon anti-ship missiles would be sent to Ukraine, months after the Russian Navy completed its blockade of the Black Sea and launched deadly cruise missile attacks from ships just off Ukraine's southern coast with impunity.

The first U.S. High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS) finally arrived in Ukraine, followed by British and German Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS). These much-delayed systems enabled Ukraine to stop Russia's progress in the east and south and later launch its own counteroffensive.
- **August 2022:** Tehran began providing Russia with Iranian-made drones, unleashing a devastating campaign against Ukraine's civilian infrastructure. Meanwhile, the administration refused to provide Ukraine with longer-range Army Tactical Missile Systems (ATACMS) to strike the drones at their staging areas in Crimea and elsewhere in Russian-occupied parts of Ukraine.
- **September 2022:** Kharkiv Oblast was liberated by Ukrainian forces. Putin illegally claimed to annex Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia Oblasts. That same month, in the middle of heavy fighting, the administration inexplicably allowed a possible \$2.3 billion of congressionally-authorized transfers of weapons from U.S. stocks to Ukraine to go unfulfilled.



November 2022: The first two U.S. National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems (NASAMS) air defense systems, which are effective against aircraft, missile, and drone threats, arrived in Ukraine after months of Russian strikes on civilian and energy infrastructure.

Ukraine liberated Kherson, the only Ukrainian regional capital that fell to Russia, following a counteroffensive using U.S.-supplied HIMARS that made Russia's continued occupation untenable.

January 2023: As Ukraine planned a spring counteroffensive to liberate more of its territory from Russian occupation – an operation which would require significant amounts of armored vehicles – the UK became the first country to pledge Western main battle tanks to Ukraine. Germany followed by approving the transfer of Leopard 2 tanks from its stocks and those of other allies only after the U.S. agreed to send M1 Abrams tanks to Ukraine. The U.S. also finally agreed to provide Ukraine with Bradley armored vehicles, unlocking much-needed donations of similar vehicles from partner countries.

February 2023: The U.S. announced that it would send Ground-Launched Small Diameter Bombs (GLSDB) to Ukraine. These munitions have a longer range than those previously provided by the U.S., but still less than ATACMS. However, they are not expected to arrive before early 2024.

Despite the administration's refusal to support the effort, the United Kingdom became the first country to publicly announce its intent to train Ukrainian pilots to fly NATO fighter jets.



March 2023: House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Michael McCaul (R-TX) and House Armed Services Committee Chairman Mike Rogers (R-AL), along with Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Jim Risch (R-ID) and Ranking Member of the Senate Armed Services Committee Roger Wicker (R-MS), sent a letter to President Biden urging the administration to provide Ukraine with cluster munitions. These munitions, which have been in U.S. stocks for decades, would be a crucial tool to defeat the Russians. The administration ignored the request for far too long.

April 2023: The first U.S.-provided Patriot missile defense system, first pledged in December 2022, arrived in Ukraine. It is soon followed by another system donated jointly by the Netherlands and Germany.

May 2023: After over a year of pressure from Congress, Ukrainian officials, and various NATO allies including the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, the Biden administration finally agreed to train Ukrainian pilots on and provide F-16s, but not until 2024.

The UK announced it would send Storm Shadow cruise missiles, which have a similar range to the U.S.'s ATACMS, to Ukraine. In July, France announced that it would provide its own version of the long-range missile. These missiles have enabled Ukraine to strike high-value military targets in Russian-occupied territory deep behind the front lines. These transfers were met with no significant Russian response, yet the Biden administration still refused to provide ATACMS.

June 2023: Ukraine launched its long-awaited counteroffensive without many of the weapon systems it had requested, including Abrams tanks, cluster munitions, F-16s, GLSDB, and ATACMS. Biden's delays of critical weapon systems forced Ukraine to delay the launch of the counteroffensive for months, giving Russian soldiers time to fortify their defensive positions, which have proven difficult for Ukraine to break through.



- July 2023:** The Biden administration finally approved the transfer of dual-purpose improved conventional munitions (DPICM), or cluster munitions, to Ukraine. If provided earlier, these could have been used to great effect to address Russia’s greater quantity of artillery, armor, and personnel.
- September 2023:** U.S.-pledged Abrams tanks finally arrived in Ukraine – six months after the first German Leopard tanks had arrived and over three months after the start of Ukraine’s counteroffensive.
- October 2023:** Shorter-range variants of ATACMS missiles make their battlefield debut by destroying numerous Russian helicopters based in Ukraine. The provision of ATACMS is a positive development, but too few were sent and it took over a year of pressure from Congress, Ukraine, and U.S. allies. Providing these weapons to Ukraine months after its counteroffensive began is emblematic of the administration’s failure to arm Ukraine at the speed of relevance. Moreover, the ATACMS variant provided to Ukraine has a much shorter range than the longer-range variant that a bipartisan coalition in Congress has been calling for (100 miles vs. 190 miles). The longer-range model still must go to Ukraine to target critical Russian military targets in Crimea.

House Republicans believe President Biden should present Congress with a plan for victory, which includes maximum sanctions pressure, the transfer of frozen Russian sovereign assets to Ukraine, and providing Ukraine with the weapons it needs to win as soon as possible.

