

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

April 9, 2024

The Honorable Shalanda Young
Director
Office of Management and Budget
725 Seventeenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Director Young,

Thank you for your March 8, 2024 letter, which represents the latest development in a fourteen month long effort by members of Congress to determine how much the Biden administration has spent in connection with the war in Ukraine, which exhibits a degree of responsiveness to our inquiry that has not characterized previous communications from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and which reveals that the administration has spent billions more on Ukraine than has ever been reported.

On January 19, 2023, 37 members of Congress wrote to OMB requesting “a full crosscutting report on U.S. government-wide expenditures for Ukraine and ‘countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine’ since February 24, 2022.”¹ On September 11, 2023, 7 months and 23 days after receiving our original letter, OMB turned over an untitled and opaque single-page spreadsheet which we found was clearly “nonresponsive to our inquiry.”² The House Committee on the Budget concurred in this assessment.³ The deficiencies in OMB’s response were numerous. It did not account for hundreds of millions of dollars in base appropriations for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative. It omitted the administration’s “\$6.2 billion in ‘freed-up’ authority”⁴ to send weapons to Ukraine, which meant that “certain numbers in OMB’s spreadsheet, as well as dollar figures the administration provided for at least some previous Ukraine-related drawdowns, are outdated.”⁵ It did not allow us to determine “what obligations, apportionments, and outlays the administration has undertaken for other countries in response to the Ukraine conflict.”⁶ In a September 28, 2023 letter reiterating our original request in full, we wrote:

¹ Senator Vance, et. al., letter to OMB Director Shalanda Young, January 19, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Vance-And-Bishop-Letter-To-OMB.pdf>

² Senator Vance, et. al., letter to OMB Director Shalanda Young, September 28, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Response-to-OMB-9.28.23-final1.pdf>

³ Representatives Arrington and Bergman letter to OMB Director Shalanda Young, October 30, 2023. Available at: https://budget.house.gov/imo/media/doc/arrington_bergman_letter_to_shalanda_young_-_ukraine_oversight.pdf

⁴ Brooke Singman, “White House confirms more than \$100B spent on Ukraine war,” Fox News, September 12, 2023. Available at: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/white-house-confirms-more-than-100b-in-taxpayer-resources-spent-on-ukraine>

⁵ Senator Vance, et. al., letter to OMB Director Shalanda Young, September 28, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Response-to-OMB-9.28.23-final1.pdf>

⁶ Ibid.

For the reasons outlined above, we believe we lack key information about the U.S. government’s Ukraine-related expenditures. Perhaps most notably, we remain without an accurate figure for how much the United States has spent to date in total on this conflict. If OMB’s spreadsheet is to be relied on to produce such a figure—and we believe it cannot be—it is around \$111 billion. It would appear likely that the data you have yet to provide would raise this figure by an indeterminate magnitude.⁷

Every one of these assertions has been validated. In the evening of March 8, 2024—nearly six months after we again requested a full accounting of Ukraine spending, more than a year after our original request, and one business day before the OMB director was scheduled to testify before the Senate Budget Committee—OMB transmitted another tranche of information. This included several reports that OMB’s September 2023 letter had mentioned (but did not provide) and another spreadsheet revealing billions more in Ukraine spending.

These revelations come amidst a flurry of news reports on additional Ukraine spending: some heretofore undisclosed by the administration, and some actively under consideration by officials as part of a “furious effort at the White House to find any possible support for Ukraine.”⁸ Several of us pointed out in a September 2023 letter that “it is a certainty given the Pentagon spokesman’s remarks to the press that a significant portion [of the administration’s ‘freed-up’ presidential drawdown authority] remains outside of the \$111 billion figure provided by OMB on September 11. That equipment has to be backfilled by future appropriations, further increasing the burden the U.S. taxpayer has undertaken.”⁹ Unfortunately for U.S. taxpayers, that statement has also now been proven correct. A bombshell March 11, 2024 Politico piece quoted a “top Defense Department official” admitting a key fact not reflected in any of OMB’s transmissions to us: that, in Politico’s words, “The Pentagon has sent \$10 billion worth of weapons to Ukraine that it still does not have the money to replace.”¹⁰ The Associated Press noted that “it wasn’t until recent days that officials publicly acknowledged they weren’t just out of money to buy replacement weapons, they are \$10 billion overdrawn.”¹¹ None of this stopped the administration from agreeing to give Ukraine another \$300 million in weapons “even as it lacks funds to replenish US stockpile[s].”¹²

Neither have administration officials’ previous on-record comments prevented them from announcing actions seemingly deeply discordant with said comments. One might recall that in a December 4, 2023 letter to Speaker Johnson, OMB Director Shalanda Young claimed that

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Alberto Nardelli and Jennifer Jacobs, “US Weighs Tapping Army Funds for Ukraine as Aid Bill Stalls,” Bloomberg, March 6, 2024. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-03-06/us-weighs-tapping-army-funds-for-ukraine-as-aid-bill-stalls>

⁹ Senator Vance, Representative Roy, and Representative Gaetz, letter to National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan, September 25, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/092523-Letter-Response-to-NSA-Sullivan-2.pdf>

¹⁰ Lara Seligman, “Pentagon needs Congress to hand over \$10B to replace weapons sent to Ukraine,” Politico, March 11, 2024. Available at: <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/03/11/pentagon-weapons-ukraine-congress-00146287>

¹¹ Tara Copp and Lolita C. Baldor, “Pentagon will give Ukraine \$300 million in weapons even as it lacks funds to replenish US stockpile,” Associated Press, March 12, 2024. Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-supplemental-war-russia-congress-4aa3731543757156858c2211773a5621>

¹² Ibid.

“without congressional action, by the end of the year we will run out of resources to procure more weapons and equipment for Ukraine and to provide equipment from U.S. military stocks. There is no magical pot of funding available to meet this moment. We are out of money—and nearly out of time.”¹³ Secretary Blinken echoed this point, later telling a reporter that “other than the supplemental request that the president has made of Congress, there is no magic pot of money that we can draw from.”¹⁴ But, as CNN explained in late February 2024, “it would not be unprecedented for the Pentagon to find additional, unexpected sources of funding.”¹⁵ Sure enough, by early March 2024 it was being reported that “The Biden administration is weighing whether it can tap around \$200 million in US Army funding to provide Ukraine immediate support as a larger aid package remains stalled in Congress, according to people familiar with the matter.”¹⁶ A February 19, 2024 CNN piece revealed that administration efforts to continue sending aid to Ukraine are already straining the US Army, which “has been left to foot the bill for hundreds of millions of dollars in support for Ukraine’s war effort against Russia over the last few months.”¹⁷ Army officials are reportedly “increasingly concerned” that they may “have to start making hard decisions and divert money from less critical projects, such as badly needed barracks construction or enlistment incentives amid record-low recruiting.”¹⁸ It is troubling that some would seem to consider “badly needed barracks construction” for US troops a less critical priority than facilitating more foreign aid for Ukraine.

In January 2023, based on the information then available to us, we had estimated US spending in connection with the Ukraine conflict at a minimum of \$114 billion.¹⁹ This figure was higher than the \$111 billion in the OMB table sent on September 11, 2023—not to mention the much lower amount cited by National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan later that month.²⁰ We now have confirmation from OMB that the total Ukraine spending figure is significantly higher than the administration has ever admitted. OMB’s latest transmission reveals that there is at least another

¹³ Director Shalanda Young letter to Speaker Mike Johnson, “Letter to Congressional Leadership Regarding the Need for Urgent Action to Support Ukraine’s Defense,” Office of Management and Budget, December 4, 2023. Available at: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/briefing-room/2023/12/04/letter-to-congressional-leadership-regarding-the-need-for-urgent-action-to-support-ukraines-defense/>

¹⁴ Tim Hains, “Secretary Blinken: ‘There’s No Magic Pot Of Money,’ ” “Support We Have Designated For Ukraine Is Running Out,” RealClearPolitics, December 20, 2023. Available at: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2023/12/20/secretary_blinken_theres_no_magic_pot_of_money_support_w_e_have_designated_for_ukraine_is_running_out.html

¹⁵ Natasha Bertrand and Oren Libermann, “Pentagon considering tapping last source of Ukraine military funding as Congress stalls on additional aid,” CNN, February 28, 2024. Available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/28/politics/pentagon-considering-tapping-last-source-ukraine-funding/index.html#:~:text=The%20Pentagon%20is%20weighing%20whether,multiple%20defense%20officials%20told%20CNN>

¹⁶ Alberto Nardelli and Jennifer Jacobs, “US Weighs Tapping Army Funds for Ukraine as Aid Bill Stalls,” Bloomberg, March 6, 2024. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-03-06/us-weighs-tapping-army-funds-for-ukraine-as-aid-bill-stalls>

¹⁷ Haley Britzky and Natasha Bertrand, “US Army under increasing pressure as it foots bill for Ukraine support,” CNN, February 19, 2024. Available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/19/politics/us-army-ukraine-support-pressure/index.html>

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Senator Vance, et. al., letter to OMB Director Shalanda Young, January 19, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Vance-And-Bishop-Letter-To-OMB.pdf>

²⁰ Senator Vance, Representative Roy, and Representative Gaetz, letter to National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan, September 25, 2023. Available at: <https://www.vance.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/092523-Letter-Response-to-NSA-Sullivan-2.pdf>

\$684 million in appropriated Ukraine spending that the administration had previously failed to report. There is also an additional \$900 million in DOD assistance that should be added to the total Ukraine aid figure. And OMB's new spreadsheet confirms that the administration has more than \$4 billion in authority remaining to transfer weapons from US stocks to Ukraine—authority that has been used as recently as this March and the administration's use of which has forced them to admit they need another \$10 billion to replenish US stocks depleted by Ukraine weapons transfers. **Together, these figures bring the total amount of assistance the administration has given to Ukraine to more than \$125 billion, and the amount it could give Ukraine to more than \$129 billion.**

Please provide answers to the following questions by April 30, 2024:

1. At a September 21, 2023 press briefing, National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan stated that: "What I will tell you is that we have supplied to the Congress every dollar that has been obligated. So if they are unaware, it's because they are not looking at the reports that we are submitting to the Hill...And I find the claim in that letter [on Ukraine spending] somewhat bizarre."²¹ Does the administration wish to revisit this comment in light of OMB's latest transmission, which revealed billions in previously unreported Ukraine spending?
2. OMB has stated that "DOD has not transferred or reprogrammed any base-budget resources to respond to the situation in Ukraine." OMB's transmission also revealed that DOD has used \$900 million in Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative base funding for Ukraine. Has DOD used base funds from any other account to respond to the situation in Ukraine? If so, please provide a full list of these accounts and the amounts taken from each.
3. Director Young has stated that "In the absence of enacted FY 2024 supplemental funding, DOD has continued to provide this critical support by leveraging its base resources." Is the CNN article that mentions that the US Army "has been left to foot the bill for hundreds of millions of dollars in support for Ukraine's war effort against Russia over the last few months" accurate?²² Which accounts has this money come from? How much Ukraine spending, in total, does the administration anticipate the US Army being "left to foot the bill" for?
4. If the administration indeed plans to "divert money" to Ukraine from so-called "less critical projects, such as badly needed barracks construction or enlistment incentives amid record-low recruiting," which funding accounts will these funds be diverted from?²³ How much money does the administration anticipate diverting? What is the maximum amount the administration is considering diverting from "badly needed barracks construction" for US service members?
5. What is the dollar figure and proportion of Defense Department base appropriations that

²¹ Ibid.

²² Haley Britzky and Natasha Bertrand, "US Army under increasing pressure as it foots bill for Ukraine support," CNN, February 19, 2024. Available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/19/politics/us-army-ukraine-support-pressure/index.html>

²³ Ibid.

remain potentially available for the administration to use for Ukraine or to respond to the situation in Ukraine?

6. What is the dollar figure and proportion of State Department base appropriations that remain potentially available for the administration to use for Ukraine or to respond to the situation in Ukraine?
7. Some previous transmissions from OMB did not reflect \$2.42 billion in “shifted-base” funding provided by Division M of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2023. Director Young has stated that approximately \$399 million of this \$2.42 billion went to Ukraine or to respond to the situation in Ukraine. OMB has also stated that “Division M of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2023 (P.L. 117-328) also provided an additional \$240 million in Ukraine base foreign assistance resources to State and USAID that Congressional appropriators shifted to emergency.” How do the \$240 million figure and the \$399 million figure relate to each other? Should they be added together? Do they overlap? If so, by how much?
8. Senator Roger Marshall asked OMB Director Young at a congressional hearing whether the Politico report citing “a senior DOD official, who was granted anonymity to speak ahead of an announcement” that revealed the \$10 billion stock replenishment deficit was accurate.²⁴ Director Young responded that “Senator I think, no one was officially quoted from the administration in the article, I’ve read the article, um, so I’m not going to, to comment on unauthorized, or people who speak on background.” She then pivoted to discussing “if our Ukraine supplemental passes the house.” Can the administration confirm whether this reporting on the \$10 billion stock replenishment deficit is accurate?
9. Politico reported that the administration has \$4.4 billion in presidential drawdown authority to send weapons from US stocks to Ukraine.²⁵ According to NBC, “after months of protecting stockpiles in the name of readiness, Pentagon officials are now warming to accepting some risk to U.S. readiness to keep Ukraine in the fight.”²⁶ On March 12, 2024, the administration announced a new drawdown from US stocks worth up to \$300 million.²⁷ When previously asked about using more outstanding drawdown authority, Director Young stated that “This PDA package announcement provides a short-term stop gap, but it is nowhere near enough to meet Ukraine’s urgent battlefield needs.” Does the administration plan to continue using its remaining presidential drawdown authority to send Ukraine weapons? What is the maximum amount of presidential drawdown authority the administration intends to use to aid Ukraine?

²⁴ Senate Budget Committee Hearing, “The President’s Fiscal Year 2025 Budget Proposal,” March 12, 2024. Available at: <https://www.budget.senate.gov/hearings/the-presidents-fiscal-year-2025-budget-proposal>

²⁵ Lara Seligman, “Pentagon needs Congress to hand over \$10B to replace weapons sent to Ukraine,” Politico, March 11, 2024. Available at: <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/03/11/pentagon-weapons-ukraine-congress-00146287>

²⁶ Courtney Kube et. al., “Biden officials weigh giving Ukraine weapons without replacing U.S. stocks right away or waiting for Congress funds,” NBC News, February 28, 2024. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/biden-ukraine-weapons-without-replacing-us-stocks-waiting-congress-rcna140748>

²⁷ Tara Copp and Lolita C. Baldor, “Pentagon will give Ukraine \$300 million in weapons even as it lacks funds to replenish US stockpile,” Associated Press, March 12, 2024. Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-supplemental-war-russia-congress-4aa3731543757156858c2211773a5621>

10. On February 28, 2024, NBC reported that “The idea of providing artillery and ammunition from U.S. stockpiles, even without a supplemental, has been on the table for a few weeks, according to a congressional official, but it is a last resort move when Congress has no more options.”²⁸ If this reporting is accurate, it could be concluded from the administration’s March 12, 2024 announcement of another drawdown of weapons from U.S. stocks for Ukraine that this was a “last resort move” and that “Congress has no more options.” Can the administration confirm that this is their assessment of the situation?
11. How will the reported \$10 billion stock replenishment deficit figure increase if the administration continues using its remaining presidential drawdown authority to send Ukraine weapons?
12. CNN, when reporting on the administration’s \$6.2 billion presidential drawdown authority reevaluation, has stated “That extra money provided a cushion to the department that allowed it to draw out military assistance to Ukraine for longer than anticipated.”²⁹ How long does the administration wish to “draw out military assistance to Ukraine” for?
13. What is the total amount of funding in the Further Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2024 that the administration believes could be used to respond to the situation in Ukraine? Please provide a list of accounts that funds could be drawn from and the amount of funding that could be taken from each.
14. When previously asked how many more of these Ukraine supplemental packages Congress will be expected to provide, Director Young stated that “Our goal is for Ukraine to emerge from this war as a democratic, independent, sovereign, and prosperous nation that can deter adversaries and defend itself against future aggression.” How many Ukraine supplemental bills, in total, does the administration plan to request from Congress? When does it anticipate requesting each of them?

Thank you for your continued attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



JD Vance
United States Senator



Marjorie Taylor Greene
Member of Congress

²⁸ Courtney Kube et. al., “Biden officials weigh giving Ukraine weapons without replacing U.S. stocks right away or waiting for Congress funds,” NBC News, February 28, 2024. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/biden-ukraine-weapons-without-replacing-us-stocks-waiting-congress-rcna140748>

²⁹ Natasha Bertrand and Oren Libermann, “Pentagon considering tapping last source of Ukraine military funding as Congress stalls on additional aid,” CNN, February 28, 2024. Available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/28/politics/pentagon-considering-tapping-last-source-ukraine-funding/index.html#:~:text=The%20Pentagon%20is%20weighing%20whether,multiple%20defense%20officials%20told%20CNN>



Rand Paul, M.D.
United States Senator



Mike Lee
United States Senator



Roger Marshall, M.D.
United States Senator



Bill Posey
Member of Congress



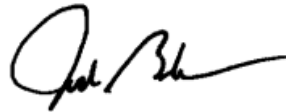
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Josh Brecheen
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Eli Crane

Eli Crane
Member of Congress