

RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTING THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND SECRETARY OF STATE TO TRANSMIT, RESPECTIVELY, CERTAIN DOCUMENTS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES RELATING TO CONGRESSIONALLY APPROPRIATED FUNDS TO THE NATION OF UKRAINE FROM JANUARY 20, 2021 TO NOVEMBER 15, 2022

DECEMBER 8, 2022.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. MEEKS, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
 submitted the following

**ADVERSE REPORT**

together with

**DISSENTING VIEWS**

[To accompany H. Res. 1482]

[Including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the resolution (H. Res. 1482) of inquiry requesting the President and directing the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State to transmit, respectively, certain documents to the House of Representatives relating to Congressionally appropriated funds to the nation of Ukraine from January 20, 2021 to November 15, 2022, having considered the same, reports unfavorably thereon without amendment and recommends that the resolution not be agreed to.

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## SUMMARY

H. Res. 1482 requests the President and directs the Secretaries of Defense and State to transmit, respectively, to the House of Representatives, not later than 14 days after the date of the adoption of this resolution, copies of all documents, charts, or tables, including notes from meetings, audio recordings, records (including telephone and email records), correspondence, and other communications, and any financial statements detailing purchases, recipients, and government expenditures to the extent that any such one or more items are within the possession of the President or Secretaries aforementioned, respectively, and refer or relate to congressionally appropriated funds directed to the nation of Ukraine—whether in regard to military, civilian, or financial aid—between January 20, 2021 and November 15, 2022.

## BACKGROUND

The Committee has conducted thorough and consistent oversight on the Executive Branch's provision of congressionally appropriated political-military, humanitarian, and economic assistance to Ukraine for years, particularly in tandem with significant increases in volumes of assistance, including in 2014 and 2022, in the wake of Russia's dual invasions. Likewise, the Administration has consistently, voluntarily, and promptly provided thorough documentation, briefings, and justifications to the appropriate committees of jurisdiction—and to the broader Congress—to facilitate our legislative and oversight responsibilities. The Department of State, Department of Defense, and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have provided advance notification and detailed breakdowns of how every dollar of American taxpayer funding would be spent ahead of every tranche of U.S. government provided assistance. Additionally, the Administration has developed and implemented a detailed interagency action plan led by a task force of inspectors general from the three leading agencies for monitoring, tracking, and accounting for the totality of assistance provided to Ukraine. This too has been briefed to Congress, including the Committee, by the Executive Branch on multiple occasions.

Since Russia's February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, the Department of State—often with participation from the Department of Defense—has provided Committee staff, on at least a biweekly basis, totaling over 20 separate engagements, updates on the status of the war as well as U.S. ally, and partner assistance efforts to Ukraine. Additionally, the Department of State and USAID have briefed Committee staff on no less than fifteen occasions on non-security assistance to Ukraine and the operating status of Embassy Kyiv. On a Member level, the Committee has held dozens of public briefings, hearings, and closed briefings on the war in Ukraine and related issues. Altogether, the Administration have engaged on more than 50 occasions with the Congress at the staff and Member level about the war in Ukraine, the assistance the United States is providing, assistance our allies and partners are providing, and related security issues. This includes several hearings and briefings at the Cabinet-level or Deputy-level.

The very sponsors of this resolution of inquiry and others launching attacks on the transparency of the Biden Administration's re-

sponse to the war in Ukraine have failed to participate actively in many of the briefings and other opportunities available to them for consultation with administration officials to voice their concerns and learn about the U.S. strategy to support Ukraine defeat Russia. Rather than engaging in constructive oversight through the various mechanisms at Congress' disposal and through the legislative process, the sponsors of this resolution of inquiry are politicizing oversight, as evidenced by the cosponsors' decision to request documentation dating only back to the beginning of the Biden Administration, which fails to give full consideration to the significant U.S. assistance provided to Ukraine for almost a decade. Furthermore, the politicization of oversight only strengthens the hand of Vladimir Putin. While the Committee will remain engaged in rigorous oversight of U.S. funding to support Ukraine and our other allies and partners, H. Res. 1482 is a dangerous fishing expedition that chooses partisanship over responsible oversight and transatlantic unity.

#### HEARINGS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs held no hearings on H. Res. 1482.

#### COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

The Committee considered H. Res. 1482 on December 6, 2022 and agreed to a motion to report the resolution adversely to the House of Representatives by a recorded vote (roll call 26Y-22N).

On the vote to report H. Res. 1482 to the House adversely:

#### *Members voting AYE (26)*

Gregory W. Meeks, D-NY  
 Brad Sherman, D-CA  
 Gerald E. Connolly, D-VA  
 Karen Bass, D-CA  
 William R. Keating, D-MA  
 David N. Cicilline, D-RI  
 Ami Bera, D-CA  
 Joaquin Castro, D-TX  
 Dina Titus, D-NV  
 Ted Lieu, D-CA  
 Susan Wild, D-PA  
 Dean Phillips, D-MN  
 Ilhan Omar, D-MN  
 Colin Allred, D-TX  
 Andy Levin, D-MI  
 Abigail Spanberger, D-VA  
 Chrissy Houlahan, D-PA  
 Tom Malinowski, D-NJ  
 Andy Kim, D-NJ  
 Sara Jacobs, D-CA  
 Kathy Manning, D-NC  
 Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick, D-FL  
 Jim Costa, D-CA  
 Juan Vargas, D-CA  
 Vicente González, D-TX  
 Brad Schneider, D-IL

*Members voting NO (22)*

Michael T. McCaul, R-TX  
 Chris Smith, R-NJ  
 Steve Chabot, R-OH  
 Joe Wilson, R-SC  
 Scott Perry, R-PA  
 Darrell Issa, R-CA  
 Lee Zeldin, R-NY  
 Ann Wagner, R-MO  
 Brian Mast, R-FL  
 Brian Fitzpatrick, R-PA  
 Ken Buck, R-CO  
 Tim Burchett, R-TN  
 Mark Green, R-FL  
 Andy Barr, R-KY  
 Dan Meuser, R-PA  
 Claudia Tenney, R-NY  
 August Pfluger, R-TX  
 Nicole Malliotakis, R-NY  
 Peter Meijer, R-MI  
 Ronny Jackson, R-TX  
 Young Kim, R-CA  
 Maria Elvira Salazar, R-FL

## COMMITTEE OVERSIGHT FINDINGS

In compliance with Clause 3(c)(1) of rule XIII of the rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee reports that the findings and recommendations of the Committee, based on oversight activities under Clause 2(b)(1) of rule X of the House of Representatives, are incorporated in the descriptive portions of this report, particularly in the “Background” section.

NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY, TAX EXPENDITURES, AND  
FEDERAL MANDATES

Clause 3(c)(2) of House rule XIII and the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (Public Law 104-4) are inapplicable because H. Res. 1482 does not provide new budget authority or increased tax expenditures.

## PERFORMANCE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The rule requiring a statement of performance goals and objectives is inapplicable to this resolution.

## CONGRESSIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY ACT

H. Res. 1482 does not apply to terms and conditions of employment or to access to public services or accommodations within the legislative branch.

## NEW ADVISORY COMMITTEES

H. Res. 1482 does not establish or authorize any new advisory committees.

## EARMARK IDENTIFICATION

H. Res. 1482 contains no congressional earmarks, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits as described in clauses 9(e), 9(f), and 9(g) of House rule XXI.

## SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

This resolution, if adopted, would request the President and direct the Secretaries of Defense and State to transmit, respectively, to the House of Representatives, not later than 14 days after the date of the adoption of this resolution, copies of all documents, charts, or tables, including notes from meetings, audio recordings, records (including telephone and email records), correspondence, and other communications, and any financial statements detailing purchases, recipients, and government expenditures to the extent that any such one or more items are within the possession of the President or Secretaries aforementioned, respectively, and refer or relate to congressionally appropriated funds directed to the nation of Ukraine—whether in regard to military, civilian, or financial aid—between January 20, 2021 and November 15, 2022.

## DISSENTING VIEWS

As the Ranking Member of this Committee, it is my solemn responsibility to pursue stringent oversight of the Department of State and United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Every dollar counts, and the Biden Administration should expect the Republican House majority in the next Congress to be vigilant in demanding transparency and accountability for U.S. assistance to Ukraine.

This resolution of inquiry requests that the Administration transmit relevant documents related to congressionally appropriated funds for Ukraine. I support this resolution as a means of obtaining critical information from the executive branch to help Congress ensure that our support to Ukraine is being spent effectively and as intended.

Importantly, this resolution requests information from the Administration starting on January 20, 2021—a full year before Russia’s unprovoked war of aggression began. This is critical because Congress needs to closely examine the Biden Administration’s failure of deterrence leading up to Russia’s February 24, 2022 invasion, so that it is not repeated in the future.

Within days of being sworn in, President Biden agreed to a clean, five-year extension of the New START Treaty, giving Putin exactly what he wanted.

In May of 2021, President Biden waived congressionally-mandated Nord Stream 2 sanctions—threatening the credibility of Western sanctions at a critical juncture.

In August 2021, he ordered a disastrous, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan, damaging U.S. credibility with partners and emboldening U.S. adversaries.

In the months before Russia’s full-scale invasion, President Biden failed to provide significant military support to Ukraine or impose *any* sanctions on the Putin regime, despite tens of thousands of Russian troops amassing on Ukraine’s borders.

World War II made clear that appeasement invites aggression. Despots like Putin only respond to strength.

Sadly, in the months ahead of February 24th, the Biden Administration projected weakness again and again.

This Administration has a lot to answer for—and the Republican-controlled House of Representatives will work diligently next Congress to get those answers.

MICHAEL T. McCAUL.

## DISSENTING VIEWS

I voted in favor H. Res. 1482 directing the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State to transmit, respectively, certain documents to the House of Representatives relating to Congressionally appropriated funds to the nation of Ukraine from January 20, 2021, to November 15, 2022.

Americans have a right to know when, why and how much.

Congress has a constitutionally-mandated duty to conduct vigorous oversight over the executive branch, particularly when tens of billions of taxpayer dollars are concerned. I support humanitarian assistance to the courageous people of Ukraine and military assistance to defeat Vladimir Putin. But, significant details—and accountability by the Administration—is seriously lacking.

President Reagan said, “trust but verify.” He was right.

We need to know exactly why the Biden Administration failed to deter Putin’s aggression especially when a Russian invasion force was mustering on the Ukrainian border. And whether we responded adequately to Ukraine’s dire requests for assistance in the lead up to Russia’s unprovoked invasion.

Accountability and transparency are extraordinarily important.

Unfortunately, it seems that the Biden Administration continued with the same lack of responsiveness with regards to the present war that we saw with the Obama Administration in 2014, which can be seen as step one in Putin’s attempts to dismember Ukraine.

We all remember in 2014 when President Petro Poroshenko asked the Obama-Biden Administration for *military assistance* and did not get it. In shocking candor, President Poroshenko said in his speech before the joint session of Congress: “one cannot win the war with blankets.”

Past is prologue. When Deputy Secretary of State *Wendy Sherman testified* before the committee in March of 2022, I asked her what aid had President Zelensky asked for before the invasion that he did not get, because there were credible reports that Zelensky had asked for a military aid package, including short-range air defense missiles systems, small arms, and anti-tank weapons and the assistance was denied—still waiting for an answer.

Congress—and the American people—need to know what decisions the Administration made in the lead up to Putin’s aggression that failed to deter, especially in the wake of the profound lack of transparency in the disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan.

H. Res. 1482, authored by Congresswomen Marjorie Taylor Greene, is designed to provide answers. The legislation should not have been blocked but instead should advance to the full House for consideration and a vote.

CHRIS SMITH.

