

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 2592

To provide emergency supplemental appropriations in response to the crisis  
in Ukraine, and for other purposes.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 31, 2025

Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself and Ms. MURKOWSKI) introduced the following  
bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

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## A BILL

To provide emergency supplemental appropriations in  
response to the crisis in Ukraine, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4       (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5       “Supporting Ukraine Act of 2025”.

6       (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for  
7       this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Sense of Congress.

Sec. 3. Definitions.

**TITLE I—PROVISIONS TO SUPPORT UKRAINE’S WAR EFFORT**

Sec. 101. Sense of Congress regarding security assistance for Ukraine.

- See. 102. Ukraine Reconstruction Investment Fund.
- See. 103. Seizure of illicit weapons transfers for the benefit of Ukraine.
- See. 104. Supplementing United States assistance for Ukraine through the use of immobilized Russian sovereign assets.
- See. 105. Sense of Congress welcoming President Trump's commitment to sell weapons to NATO allies for Ukraine.
- See. 106. Supporting Ukraine by holding corrupt Russian oligarchs accountable.

## TITLE II—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR UKRAINE

- See. 201. Emergency appropriations for Department of Defense assistance to Ukraine.
- See. 202. Emergency appropriations to the Department of State for international disaster assistance.
- See. 203. Foreign Military Financing Program.
- See. 204. Emergency designation.
- See. 205. Presidential Drawdown Authority for Ukraine.
- See. 206. Support for Ukraine rule of law, governance, and justice for war crimes.

## TITLE III—ADDITIONAL LEGISLATIVE MECHANISMS IN SUPPORT OF UKRAINE

- See. 301. Trilateral cooperation initiative with Ukraine and Taiwan involving unmanned air, marine, and underwater defense systems.
- See. 302. Establishment of Ukraine Lessons Learned Task Force.
- See. 303. Acceptance back into stock of equipment procured under Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative.
- See. 304. Intelligence support for Ukraine.
- See. 305. International security cooperation program funding for United States European Command.

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

2 It is the sense of Congress that—

3                   (1) Vladimir Putin has demonstrated his intent  
 4                   to continue his war of aggression against Ukraine,  
 5                   including through violating ceasefires over the last  
 6                   decade, laying out maximalist demands, employing  
 7                   stall tactics, and repeatedly firing weapons into civil-  
 8                   ian areas;

9                   (2) the Russian Federation poses a threat be-  
 10                  yond Ukraine, with Russian Government officials  
 11                  stating territorial ambitions in Poland and in the

1       Baltic States, and carrying out acts of hybrid war,  
2       including sabotage and assassinations, across the  
3       NATO Alliance and in partner nations;

4                 (3) since 2014, the United States has stood  
5       firmly with Ukraine in its defense of its territorial  
6       integrity, sovereignty, and democratic character, and  
7       has reaffirmed this commitment following Russia's  
8       full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022;

9                 (4) continued support for Ukraine serves vital  
10      national security interests of the United States by  
11      helping to uphold international law, deter aggression,  
12      and promote stability in Europe and around  
13      the world;

14                 (5) since 2014, and particularly following Russia's  
15      full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Ukraine  
16      has employed adaptive, innovative, and asymmetric  
17      defense strategies to resist aggression from the Russian  
18      Federation;

19                 (6) the United States has a compelling national  
20      interest in learning from partners' combat experience  
21      to inform its own defense strategies, procurement  
22      processes, and military doctrine;

23                 (7) Ukraine's adaptive and resourceful defense  
24      strategies, particularly its use of emerging technologies,  
25      unmanned systems, cyber defense, and de-

1 centralized operations, have yielded critical insights  
2 into modern warfare, and have directly informed  
3 United States military research, development, and  
4 doctrine;

5 (8) such innovations are directly relevant to de-  
6 terring and responding to potential aggression in the  
7 Indo-Pacific region;

8 (9) the lessons learned in Ukraine's defense  
9 against Russia's aggression should be immediately  
10 and directly applied to deterring aggression by for-  
11 eign adversaries, including the People's Republic of  
12 China, and where possible, bilateral and multilateral  
13 initiatives to build upon these innovations should be  
14 encouraged and sponsored;

15 (10) initiatives, such as Operation Spiderweb,  
16 have exposed potential vulnerabilities within United  
17 States and allied defense systems, and have offered  
18 valuable opportunities to enhance readiness;

19 (11) lessons learned from Ukraine's experience  
20 may help the United States identify vulnerabilities,  
21 improve resilience, and enhance innovation in its  
22 own defense posture;

23 (12) the People's Republic of China is watching  
24 the extent to which the United States continues to  
25 vigorously support and provide military assistance to

1 Ukraine in its defense against Russian aggression  
2 and to evaluate the practical strength of the United  
3 States commitment to deterring potential aggression  
4 in the Indo-Pacific region;

5 (13) what the United States does or does not  
6 do to support Ukraine could directly influence the  
7 People's Republic of China's calculus with respect to  
8 its own territorial aspirations;

9 (14) while there can only be a diplomatic reso-  
10 lution to Russia's war of aggression against  
11 Ukraine, decreasing or ceasing United States mili-  
12 tary and financial support to Ukraine would only  
13 strengthen Vladimir Putin's bargaining power in  
14 such negotiations by weakening Ukraine's position  
15 on the battlefield;

16 (15) demonstrating the United States resolve in  
17 support of Ukraine is the only way to force Vladimir  
18 Putin to negotiate seriously to end the war on fair  
19 and equitable terms; and

20 (16) it is therefore in the vital national security  
21 interest of the United States to continue strategic  
22 investments in Ukraine's defenses in order to  
23 strengthen the defenses of the United States and its  
24 allies to advance President Trump's "Peace through  
25 Strength" agenda.

1   **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

2       In this Act:

3           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
4           TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
5           mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Relations  
6           of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
7           of the House of Representatives.

8           (2) RUSSIAN AGGRESSOR STATE SOVEREIGN  
9           ASSET.—The term “Russian aggressor state sov-  
10          ereign asset” has the meaning given such term in  
11          section 2 of the REPO for Ukrainians Act (division  
12          F of Public Law 118–50; 22 U.S.C. 9521 note).

13   **TITLE I—PROVISIONS TO SUP-  
14        PORT UKRAINE’S WAR EF-  
15        FORT**

16   **SEC. 101. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING SECURITY AS-  
17        SISTANCE FOR UKRAINE.**

18       It is the sense of Congress that—

19           (1) the provision of United States security as-  
20           sistance is mutually beneficial to Ukraine and the  
21           national security interests of the United States;

22           (2) the procurement of security assistance for  
23           Ukraine helps spur manufacturing necessary to pre-  
24           pare for other United States military contingencies,  
25           including in the Indo-Pacific, while also countering  
26           and deterring adversaries of the United States;

1                             (3) appropriations by Congress provide a de-  
2                             mand signal for industry to continue to support the  
3                             needs of the United States and our allies;

4                             (4) United States assistance to Ukraine is not  
5                             charity, but must be given in coordination with con-  
6                             tributions from other sources; and

7                             (5) the United States should use all available  
8                             sources available to continue its support for  
9                             Ukraine, including—

10                                 (A) using United States funds to backfill  
11                             and procure United States assistance for  
12                             Ukraine;

13                                 (B) leveraging Russian assets that are fro-  
14                             zen in the United States to benefit Ukraine;

15                                 (C) seizing illicit weapons transfers around  
16                             the globe to benefit Ukraine;

17                                 (D) capitalizing the Ukraine Reconstruc-  
18                             tion Investment Fund through the provision of  
19                             security assistance and generating future re-  
20                             turns for taxpayers; and

21                                 (E) selling needed arms and other materiel  
22                             to allies that are willing to provide such items  
23                             to Ukraine.

1   **SEC. 102. UNITED STATES-UKRAINE RECONSTRUCTION IN-**  
2                   **VESTMENT FUND.**

3       (a) AUTHORIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES-  
4    UKRAINE RECONSTRUCTION INVESTMENT FUND.—The  
5   United States International Development Finance Cor-  
6   poration is authorized to implement the Agreement be-  
7   tween the Government of Ukraine and the Government of  
8   the United States of America on the Establishment of a  
9   United States-Ukraine Reconstruction Investment Fund,  
10   done at Washington April 30, 2025 (commonly known as  
11   the “Ukraine-United States Mineral Resources Agree-  
12   ment”).

13     (b) CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED STATES-  
14   UKRAINE RECONSTRUCTION INVESTMENT FUND.—Secu-  
15   rity assistance provided by the United States to Ukraine,  
16   including assistance provided pursuant to this Act, shall,  
17   consistent with the Agreement between the Government  
18   of Ukraine and the Government of the United States of  
19   America on the Establishment of a United States-Ukraine  
20   Reconstruction Investment Fund, done at Washington  
21   April 30, 2025 (commonly known as the “Ukraine-United  
22   States Mineral Resources Agreement”), be taken into ac-  
23   count towards the United States capital contributions for  
24   the Ukraine Reconstruction Investment Fund, consistent  
25   with section 5 of Article VI of the agreement, which states  
26   “If, after the Effective Date, the Government of the

1 United States of America delivers new military assistance  
2 to the Government of Ukraine in any form (including the  
3 donation of weapons systems, ammunition, technology or  
4 training), the capital contribution of the U.S. Partner will  
5 be deemed to be increased by the assessed value of such  
6 military assistance, in accordance with the LP Agree-  
7 ment.”.

8 (c) REPORT REQUIRED.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
10 after the date of the enactment of this Act, and an-  
11 nually thereafter for the following 2 years, the Presi-  
12 dent shall submit a report to the appropriate con-  
13 gressional committees describing the capital con-  
14 tributions of the United States, including the dona-  
15 tion of any weapon systems and other materiel or  
16 items that increased the capital contributions of the  
17 United States.

18 (2) FORM.—The report required under para-  
19 graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form,  
20 but may contain a classified annex.

21 **SEC. 103. SEIZURE OF ILLICIT WEAPONS TRANSFERS FOR**  
22 **THE BENEFIT OF UKRAINE.**

23 (a) IN GENERAL.—It is the policy of the United  
24 States to work to provide, consistent with applicable Fed-  
25 eral law, weapons systems and components seized from

1 sanctioned Iranian entities to the Government of Ukraine  
2 for use in its war against the Russian Federation.

3       (b) INFORMATION SHARING.—The Department of  
4 Defense and other relevant Federal agencies shall seek to  
5 provide information to the Department of Justice that is  
6 relevant to a potential forfeiture action of any weapons  
7 systems or components seized from sanctioned Iranian en-  
8 tities that could have utility for Ukraine in its war against  
9 Russia.

10       (c) TRANSFERS AUTHORIZED.—The Attorney Gen-  
11 eral, in coordination with the Secretary of State and other  
12 relevant Federal agencies, shall seek to transfer any items  
13 described in subsection (b) that are needed by Ukraine  
14 to the Government of Ukraine or the Armed Forces of  
15 Ukraine.

16       (d) SURPLUS ITEMS.—If the Secretary of Defense de-  
17 termines, after consultation with the Government of  
18 Ukraine and the Commander of the United States Euro-  
19 pean Command, that certain items are not needed or usa-  
20 ble by Ukraine, the Secretary may sell such items as sur-  
21 plus in accordance with existing law and reserve the pro-  
22 ceeds from such sales for the purposes of supporting  
23 Ukraine.

24       (e) REPORT REQUIRED.—

1                         (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
2                         after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
3                         every 180 days thereafter, the Secretary of Defense  
4                         and the Attorney General, in coordination with the  
5                         Secretary of State, shall submit a report to the  
6                         Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, the Com-  
7                         mittee on the Judiciary of the Senate, the Com-  
8                         mittee on Armed Services of the House of Rep-  
9                         resentatives, and the Committee on the Judiciary of  
10                         the House of Representatives that—

11                             (A) details the use of the authority de-  
12                         scribed in this section; and

13                             (B) identifies any seized weapons or items  
14                         provided to Ukraine and any proceeds from the  
15                         sale of such items that was used to support  
16                         Ukraine.

17                             (2) FORM.—The report required under para-  
18                         graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form,  
19                         but may contain a classified annex.

20 **SEC. 104. SUPPLEMENTING UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE**  
21                             **FOR UKRAINE THROUGH THE USE OF IMMO-**  
22                             **BILIZED RUSSIAN SOVEREIGN ASSETS.**

23                             (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
24                         date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall—

1                         (1) effectuate the seizure, confiscation,  
2 transferral, or vesting of Russian aggressor state  
3 sovereign assets subject to the jurisdiction of the  
4 United States, in whole or part, including any inter-  
5 est earned on such assets, and transfer such assets  
6 to the Ukraine Support Fund pursuant to sub-  
7 sections (b)(2)–(3) and (d) of section 104 of the  
8 REPO for Ukrainians Act (division F of Public Law  
9 118–50; 22 U.S.C. 9521 note); or

10                         (2) submit to the appropriate congressional  
11 committees and the Committee on Banking, Hous-  
12 ing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and the Com-  
13 mittee on Financial Services of the House of Rep-  
14 resentatives a strategy for raising additional revenue  
15 from Russian aggressor state sovereign assets sub-  
16 ject to the jurisdiction of the United States, includ-  
17 ing through the reinvestment of such assets in asset  
18 classes with greater potential to produce revenue or  
19 through the taxation of the income of such assets.  
20                         (b) ELEMENTS.—The strategy required under sub-  
21 section (a)(2) shall include—

22                         (1) a proposed plan for reinvesting immobilized  
23 Russian sovereign assets, including—

1                             (A) a description of the advantages and  
2                             disadvantages of investing in different asset  
3                             classes, including equities; and

4                             (B) a projection of the potential for raising  
5                             revenue under various investment scenarios and  
6                             timelines;

7                             (2) a proposal for taxing the income of immo-  
8                             bilized Russian aggressor state sovereign assets;

9                             (3) any other proposal to raise revenue from  
10                             immobilized Russian aggressor state sovereign assets  
11                             subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and  
12                             an estimate of the amount of revenue to be so  
13                             raised;

14                             (4) a timeline and plan for the implementation  
15                             of the preferred method for raising revenue; and

16                             (5) a plan for utilizing the amounts generated  
17                             by such additional revenue for the benefit of  
18                             Ukraine, including by procuring and providing new  
19                             security assistance for Ukraine.

20                             (c) REPORT.—Not later than 30 days following the  
21                             submission of a strategy pursuant to subsection (a)(2),  
22                             and every 180 days thereafter for the following 3 years,  
23                             the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Secretary  
24                             of the Treasury, shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
25                             sional committees and the Committee on Banking, Hous-

1 ing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and the Committee  
2 on Financial Services of the House of Representatives a  
3 report that describes—

4 (1) the revenue generated as a result of the ap-  
5 proach recommended by the strategy;

6 (2) any additional steps the Secretary of State  
7 and the Secretary of the Treasury intend to take to  
8 generate additional revenue from immobilized Rus-  
9 sian assets; and

10 (3) how any revenue generated from the imple-  
11 mentation of the strategy has been used to support  
12 Ukraine.

13 (d) EXPANDED USE OF UKRAINE SUPPORT FUND.—

14 Section 104(f)(2) of the REPO for Ukrainians Act (divi-  
15 sion F of Public Law 118–50 (22 U.S.C. 2951 note)) is  
16 amended by adding at the end the following:

17 “(D) Procuring weapons intended to be  
18 transferred to Ukraine.

19 “(E) Backfilling weapons provided to  
20 Ukraine through the use of Presidential Draw-  
21 down Authority under section 506(a) of the  
22 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.  
23 2318 (a)).”.

1   **SEC. 105. SENSE OF CONGRESS WELCOMING PRESIDENT**  
2                   **TRUMP'S COMMITMENT TO SELL WEAPONS**  
3                   **TO NATO ALLIES FOR UKRAINE.**

4       It is the sense of Congress that—

5                   (1) the July 14, 2025, announcement by Presi-  
6       dent Donald Trump and North Atlantic Treaty Or-  
7       ganization Secretary General Mark Rutte that  
8       NATO will coordinate funding from allies in Europe  
9       and Canada to procure United States origin weap-  
10      ons for Ukraine is a welcome development;

11                  (2) the commitment by NATO allies to pur-  
12      chase United States origin weapons—

13                  (A) demonstrates meaningful burden shar-  
14      ing between allies in Euro-Atlantic support for  
15      Ukraine;

16                  (B) builds upon the \$180,000,000,000  
17      that the European Union has made available to  
18      Ukraine since February 2022, including  
19      \$65,000,000,000 in military assistance; and

20                  (C) provides additional demand to United  
21      States industries to ensure consistent produc-  
22      tion of weapons and materiel essential for the  
23      United States own defense and contingency op-  
24      erations;

25                  (3) the initiative developed by President Trump  
26      and Secretary General Rutte provides the requisite

1       reassurance to United States taxpayers that the  
2       United States will support Ukraine as part of a bal-  
3       anced partnership with Europe and Canada; and

4                 (4) in order to maintain a balanced partnership  
5       between the United States and NATO allies in sup-  
6       port of Ukraine, the United States must also provide  
7       new funding for security assistance to Ukraine to  
8       fund remaining military needs not otherwise pro-  
9       vided by other partners.

10 **SEC. 106. SUPPORTING UKRAINE BY HOLDING CORRUPT  
11 RUSSIAN OLIGARCHS ACCOUNTABLE.**

12                 (a) REESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than 15 days  
13 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney  
14 General, in coordination with the Secretary of State and  
15 the Secretary of the Treasury, shall reconstitute “Task  
16 Force KleptoCapture”, consistent with the stated purpose  
17 of such task force when it was launched by the Depart-  
18 ment of Justice on March 2, 2022.

19                 (b) FUNCTIONS.—Task Force KleptoCapture shall—

20                         (1) enforce sanctions, export restrictions, and  
21 economic countermeasures imposed by the United  
22 States and its allies in response to the Russian Fed-  
23 eration’s unprovoked military invasion of Ukraine;

24                         (2) target enforcement actions against officials  
25 of the Russian Federation and individuals who aid

1       or conceal the unlawful conduct of the Russian Fed-  
2       eration;

3                 (3) coordinate efforts, including information  
4       sharing and collection, with like-minded governments  
5       to enforce sanctions, export restrictions, and eco-  
6       nomic countermeasures related to the Russian Fed-  
7       eration’s war in Ukraine or corruption by Russian  
8       elites and oligarchs; and

9                 (4) determine whether any assets seized during  
10      the enforcement of such sanctions and restrictions  
11      are subject to forfeiture.

12       (c) REPORT.—Not later than 60 days after the date  
13      of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General, in co-  
14      ordination with the Secretary of State and the Secretary  
15      of the Treasury, shall submit a report to the appropriate  
16      congressional committees, the Committee on the Judiciary  
17      of the Senate, the Committee on Banking, Housing, and  
18      Urban Affairs of the Senate, the Committee on the Judici-  
19      ary of the House of Representatives, and the Committee  
20      on Financial Services of the House of Representatives  
21      that—

22                 (1) describes the operations and activities of  
23      Task Force KleptoCapture during the most recent  
24      180-day period;

1                   (2) identifies the number of staff members and  
2       attorneys who are working for Task Force  
3       KleptoCapture; and

4                   (3) outlines the resources that will be dedicated  
5       to carry out the functions required under subsection  
6       (b), including efforts that will be taken to coordinate  
7       with relevant allies and partners.

8                   **TITLE II—SUPPLEMENTAL**  
9                   **APPROPRIATIONS FOR UKRAINE**

10                  **SEC. 201. EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEPART-**  
11                  **MENT OF DEFENSE ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE.**

12                  (a) PROVISION OF DEFENSE ASSISTANCE TO  
13       UKRAINE.—The following sums are appropriated, out of  
14       any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated,  
15       for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2025: For an  
16       additional amount for “Operations and Maintenance, De-  
17       fense-Wide”, \$30,000,000,000, to remain available until  
18       September 30, 2026, to respond to the situation in  
19       Ukraine and for related expenses: *Provided*, That of the  
20       total amount provided under this section,  
21       \$15,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30,  
22       2027, shall be for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initia-  
23       tive: *Provided further*, That such funds shall be available  
24       to the Secretary of Defense under the terms and condi-  
25       tions set forth in section 8148 of the Department of De-

1 defense Appropriations Act, 2024 (division A of Public Law  
2 118–47): *Provided further*, That of the total amount pro-  
3 vided under this subsection, \$15,000,000,000, to remain  
4 available until September 30, 2025, may be transferred  
5 to accounts under the headings “Operation and Mainte-  
6 nance”, “Procurement”, and “Revolving and Management  
7 Funds” for replacement, through new procurement or re-  
8 pair of existing unserviceable equipment, of defense arti-  
9 cles from the stocks of the Department of Defense, and  
10 for reimbursement for defense services of the Department  
11 of Defense and military education and training, provided  
12 to the Government of Ukraine or identified and notified  
13 to Congress for provision to the Government of Ukraine  
14 or to foreign countries that have provided support to  
15 Ukraine at the request of the United States: *Provided fur-*  
16 *ther*, That funds transferred pursuant to the preceding  
17 proviso shall be merged with and available for the same  
18 purposes and for the same period as the appropriations  
19 to which the funds are transferred: *Provided further*, That  
20 the Secretary of Defense shall notify the congressional de-  
21 fense committees (as defined in section 101(a)(16) of title  
22 10, United States Code) of the details of such transfers  
23 not less than 15 days before any such transfer: *Provided*  
24 *further*, That upon a determination that all or part of the  
25 funds transferred under this subsection are not necessary

1 for the purposes described in this subsection, such  
2 amounts may be transferred back and merged with the  
3 amount appropriated under this subsection: *Provided fur-*  
4 *ther*, That any transfer authority provided under this sub-  
5 section is in addition to any other transfer authority pro-  
6 vided by law: *Provided further*, That such amount is des-  
7 ignated by the Congress as being for an emergency re-  
8 quirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Bal-  
9 anced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

10       (b) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated under  
11 subsection (a) shall be used, to the greatest extent prac-  
12 ticable, to provide the Government of Ukraine with—

13           (1) air defense systems, such as PATRIOT,  
14 National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile System  
15 (NASAM), short-range air defense systems, man-  
16 portable air defense systems, anti-aircraft weapons,  
17 radars, and other appropriate foreign systems, in-  
18 cluding replenishment of interceptor missiles;

19           (2) man-portable missiles and rockets in a  
20 ready-to-fire configuration, including Javelin, Sting-  
21 er Missiles, and other light anti-tank weapons;

22           (3) multi-role fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft,  
23 air-to-air and air-to-ground munitions, including  
24 precision-guided munitions and equipment to convert

1 gravity bombs to precision-guided weapons, spare  
2 parts, logistics, and maintenance support;

3 (4) air defense radar jamming and deception  
4 systems, electronic warfare systems;

5 (5) strike unmanned aerial and maritime sys-  
6 tems, loitering munitions, and tactical intelligence,  
7 surveillance, and reconnaissance unmanned aircraft  
8 systems;

9 (6) artillery and mortar rounds of various cali-  
10 bers, including 155mm howitzers;

11 (7) M142 High Mobility Artillery Rocket Sys-  
12 tems with appropriate missile sets, including Army  
13 Tactical Missile Systems, 122mm Grad rockets and  
14 launchers, and counter-battery radars;

15 (8) tanks and tank ammunition;

16 (9) coastal defense missile systems, such as  
17 Harpoon missiles, maritime surveillance, autono-  
18 mous underwater vehicles, and anti-mine systems;

19 (10) tactical communication systems and sat-  
20 ellite communication services;

21 (11) mine clearance equipment, ground vehicles,  
22 and night vision devices; and

23 (12) other appropriate military equipment and  
24 supplies.

1       (c) PROVISION OF DEFENSE ASSISTANCE TO NORTH  
2 ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION MEMBERS.—The fol-  
3 lowing sums are appropriated, out of any money in the  
4 Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year  
5 ending September 30, 2025: For an additional amount for  
6 “Operations and Maintenance”, “Procurement”, and “Re-  
7 volving and Management Funds”, \$2,000,000,000, to re-  
8 main available until September 30, 2027, may be trans-  
9 ferred to accounts under such headings to provide the  
10 Governments of Poland, of Lithuania, of Latvia, and of  
11 Estonia, and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty  
12 Organization with aircraft, tanks, munitions, and anti-air  
13 and anti-tank weaponry: *Provided further*, That funds  
14 transferred pursuant to the previous proviso shall be  
15 merged with and available for the same purposes and the  
16 same period as the appropriations to which the funds are  
17 transferred: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of De-  
18 fense shall notify the congressional defense committees (as  
19 defined in section 101(a)(16) of title 10, United States  
20 Code) of the details of such transfers not less than 15  
21 days before any such transfer: *Provided further*, That upon  
22 a determination that all or part of the funds transferred  
23 under this subsection are not necessary for the purposes  
24 described in this subsection, such amounts may be trans-  
25 ferred back and merged with the amount appropriated

1 under this subsection: *Provided further*, That any transfer  
2 authority provided under this subsection is in addition to  
3 any other transfer authority provided by law: *Provided fur-*  
4 *ther*, That such amount is designated by the Congress as  
5 being for an emergency requirement pursuant to section  
6 251(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency  
7 Deficit Control Act of 1985.

8       (d) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated under  
9 subsection (c) shall be provided—

13                   (2) to replace equipment donated by such gov-  
14                   ernments to the Government of Ukraine.

**15 SEC. 202. EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS TO THE DEPART-**

**16 MENT OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIS-**

**17 ASTER ASSISTANCE.**

18 There is appropriated to the Department of State,  
19 out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appro-  
20 priated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2025,  
21 \$500,000,000, to remain available until expended, for  
22 “International Disaster Assistance” to address humani-  
23 tarian needs in Ukraine due to the impact caused by the  
24 Russian Federation’s invasion.

**1 SEC. 203. FOREIGN MILITARY FINANCING PROGRAM.**

2 There is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2025, \$3,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2027, for the “Foreign Military Financing Program” for assistance for Ukraine and countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine and for related expenses: *Provided*, That such amounts shall also be made available for the cost of loans and loan guarantees authorized under section 2606 of the Ukraine Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2022 (division N of Public Law 117–103), subject to the terms and conditions provided in such section, or as otherwise authorized by law: *Provided further*, That loan guarantees made using amounts described in the preceding proviso for loans financed by the Federal Financing Bank may be provided notwithstanding any provision of law limiting the percentage of loan principal that may be guaranteed: *Provided further*, That funds made available under this heading for assistance for Ukraine may be made available for procurement of defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services that are not sold by the United States Government under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.): *Provided further*, That up to \$10,000,000 of funds made available under this heading in this division, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, may

1 be used by the Department of State for necessary expenses  
2 for the general costs of administering military assistance  
3 and sales, including management and oversight of such  
4 programs and activities: *Provided further*, That such  
5 amount is designated by the Congress as being for an  
6 emergency requirement pursuant to section  
7 251(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency  
8 Deficit Control Act of 1985.

9 **SEC. 204. EMERGENCY DESIGNATION.**

10 (a) IN GENERAL.—Amounts appropriated by this Act  
11 are designated as an emergency requirement pursuant to  
12 section 4(g) of the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010  
13 (2 U.S.C. 933(g)).

14 (b) DESIGNATION IN HOUSE AND SENATE.—This  
15 Act is designated as an emergency requirement pursuant  
16 to subsections (a) and (b) of section 4001 of S. Con. Res.  
17 14 (117th Congress), the concurrent resolution on the  
18 budget for fiscal year 2022, and to legislation establishing  
19 fiscal year 2025 budget enforcement in the House of Rep-  
20 resentatives.

21 **SEC. 205. PRESIDENTIAL DRAWDOWN AUTHORITY FOR**  
22 **UKRAINE.**

23 During each of the fiscal years 2025, 2026, and  
24 2027, section 506(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of

1 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2318(a)(1)) shall be applied by striking  
2 “\$100,000,000” and inserting “\$6,000,000,000”.

3 **SEC. 206. SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE RULE OF LAW, GOVERN-  
4 ANCE, AND JUSTICE FOR WAR CRIMES.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—There is appropriated, out of any  
6 money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the  
7 fiscal year ending September 30, 2026, in addition to the  
8 amount otherwise appropriated for such fiscal year,  
9 \$600,000,000, which shall be made available to the Bu-  
10 reau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Af-  
11 fairs to support the National Police of Ukraine and the  
12 State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, including units  
13 supporting or under the command of the Armed Forces  
14 of Ukraine, by providing funding for—

15 (1) small arms and related equipment;  
16 (2) armored vehicles;  
17 (3) anti-mining and demining equipment and  
18 technology;  
19 (4) surveillance and reconnaissance Unmanned  
20 Aerial Systems; and  
21 (5) personal protective equipment.

22 (b) MOBILE FIRING TEAMS.—The Assistant Sec-  
23 retary of State for International Narcotics and Law En-  
24 forcement Affairs shall provide the equipment and provi-  
25 sions described in subsection (a) to mobile firing teams

1 of the National Police of Ukraine for the purposes of pro-  
2 tecting civilian infrastructure, civilian and residential com-  
3 munities, energy infrastructure, and other critical infra-  
4 structure.

5 (c) ANTI-CORRUPTION MEASURES.—There is appro-  
6 priated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise  
7 appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30,  
8 2026, in addition to the amount otherwise appropriated  
9 for such fiscal year, \$100,000,000 for the Bureau of Inter-  
10 national Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs to sup-  
11 port rule of law, good governance, and anti-corruption  
12 measures in Ukraine by providing funding for—

13 (1) the training of judges, prosecutors, and  
14 anti-corruption agencies, including the National  
15 Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine and the Special-  
16 ized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine;

17 (2) assistance to civil society, nongovernmental,  
18 and intergovernmental organizations that are work-  
19 ing to strengthen the rule of law in Ukraine, includ-  
20 ing the International Organization for Migration and  
21 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees  
22 (UNHCR); and

23 (3) professional training and support to the  
24 Economic Security Bureau of Ukraine and the State  
25 Customs Service of Ukraine and their efforts to root

1       out tax fraud, money laundering, and other financial  
2       crimes.

3           (d) PROSECUTIONS OF WAR CRIMES.—There is ap-  
4       propriated, out of any money in the Treasury not other-  
5       wise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September  
6       30, 2026, in addition to the amount otherwise appro-  
7       priated for such fiscal year, \$50,000,000 for the programs  
8       and activities of the Bureau of International Narcotics  
9       and Law Enforcement Affairs to assist the Prosecutor  
10      General of Ukraine and the National Police of Ukraine  
11      in carrying out investigations and prosecutions of war  
12      crimes committed by Vladimir Putin’s regime in Ukraine,  
13      including by providing funding for—

14                  (1) training, support, professional development,  
15                  and capacity strengthening of the National Police of  
16                  Ukraine to collect evidence;

17                  (2) forensic equipment and DNA analysis for  
18                  the National Police of Ukraine and Prosecutor Gen-  
19                  eral of Ukraine’s Office; and

20                  (3) information sharing from the Secretary of  
21                  State regarding attacks in Eastern Ukraine and  
22                  other targeted attacks against civilian and residen-  
23                  tial communities throughout the sovereign nation of  
24                  Ukraine.

1   **TITLE III—ADDITIONAL LEGIS-**  
2   **LATIVE MECHANISMS IN SUP-**  
3   **PORT OF UKRAINE**

4   **SEC. 301. TRILATERAL COOPERATION INITIATIVE WITH**  
5                 **UKRAINE AND TAIWAN INVOLVING UN-**  
6                 **MANNED AIR, MARINE, AND UNDERWATER**  
7                 **DEFENSE SYSTEMS.**

8         (a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of Defense and the  
9     Secretary of State, in collaboration with the Government  
10  of Ukraine and the relevant authorities in Taiwan, shall  
11 jointly establish a trilateral research, development, and  
12 production initiative to promote the rapid development  
13 and deployment of unmanned air, marine, and underwater  
14 autonomous and semi-autonomous systems, including  
15 drones, and countermeasures within their respective terri-  
16 tories. Private and parastatal entities within each of the  
17 trilateral partners may be used, as appropriate, to assist  
18 in carrying out such trilateral initiative.

19         (b) **APPROPRIATIONS.**—There is appropriated to the  
20  Secretary of State, out of any money in the Treasury not  
21 otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending Sep-  
22 tember 30, 2025, \$1,050,000,000, to remain available  
23 until September 30, 2027, to carry out the initiative estab-  
24 lished pursuant to subsection (a).

1   **SEC. 302. ESTABLISHMENT OF UKRAINE LESSONS LEARNED**

2                   **TASK FORCE.**

3                 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than 60 days after  
4   the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of  
5   State, in coordination with the Secretary of Defense and  
6   the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall establish  
7   a joint interagency task force, to be known as the  
8   “Ukraine Lessons Learned Task Force” (referred to in  
9   this section as the “Task Force”).

10          (b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of the Task Force  
11   are—

12                 (1) identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing key  
13   battlefield innovations, operational practices, and de-  
14   fense strategies employed by Ukraine in its resist-  
15   ance to Russian aggression;

16                 (2) assessing the relevance of such lessons to  
17   United States military doctrine, training, logistics,  
18   acquisition, and strategic planning;

19                 (3) recommending specific changes or pilot pro-  
20   grams to integrate such lessons into United States  
21   defense systems;

22                 (4) identify vulnerabilities in United States sys-  
23   tems highlighted by Ukraine’s experience, including  
24   through joint operations such as Operation Spider  
25   Web; and

1                         (5) coordinate with NATO allies and Ukrainian  
2                         defense counterparts, as appropriate.

3                         (c) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

4                         (1) ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later  
5                         than 180 days after the date of the enactment of  
6                         this Act, and annually thereafter for the following 5  
7                         years, the Secretary of State, in coordination with  
8                         the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the  
9                         Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall submit a report to the  
10                         Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the  
11                         Committee on Armed Services of the Senate, the  
12                         Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, the  
13                         Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-  
14                         resentatives, the Committee on Armed Services of  
15                         the House of Representatives, and the Committee on  
16                         Appropriations of the House of Representatives that  
17                         contains—

18                         (A) a summary of the findings and assess-  
19                         ments conducted by the Task Force;

20                         (B) recommendations for changes to doc-  
21                         trine, training, acquisition, or organizational  
22                         structure;

23                         (C) an overview of any pilot programs or  
24                         implementation actions taken in response to  
25                         such recommendations; and

(D) a classified annex with detailed assessments, to the extent necessary.

8       (d) INTEGRATION INTO MILITARY TRAINING AND  
9 STRATEGY.—The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman  
10 of the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall ensure that relevant find-  
11 ings from the Task Force are—

17 (3) considered in the development of future  
18 operational concepts and planning scenarios.

19           (e) NATO AND ALLIED COORDINATION.—The Sec-  
20 retary of State, in coordination with the Secretary of De-  
21 fense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall  
22 coordinate with NATO allies—

23                   (1) to share and compare assessments of les-  
24                   sons learned from Ukraine's defense;

(2) to promote interoperability in defense innovation; and

6       (f) SUNSET.—This section shall cease to have any  
7 force or effect beginning on the date that is 5 years after  
8 the date of the enactment of this Act.

## 9 SEC. 303. ACCEPTANCE BACK INTO STOCK OF EQUIPMENT

10                   **PROCURED UNDER UKRAINE SECURITY AS-**  
11                   **SISTANCE INITIATIVE.**

12       (a) IN GENERAL.—Equipment procured to carry out  
13 the authority under section 1250(a) of the National De-  
14 fense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2016 (Public Law  
15 114–92; 129 Stat. 1068) may only be treated as stocks  
16 of the Department of Defense if the equipment procured—

17                 (1) has not yet been transferred to the Govern-  
18                 ment of Ukraine and is no longer needed to support  
19                 a program carried out pursuant to such section; or  
20                 (2) has been transferred to the Government of  
21                 Ukraine and has been returned by Ukraine to the  
22                 United States.

23 (b) NOTIFICATION.—The Secretary of Defense may  
24 not transfer back into stock equipment described in sub-  
25 section (a) until the date that is 15 days after the date

1 on which the Secretary of Defense submits a notification  
2 to Congress describing how the conditions of such sub-  
3 section were met.

4 **SEC. 304. INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE.**

5 (a) DEFINED TERM.—In this section, the term “ter-  
6 ritory of Ukraine” includes all territory internationally  
7 recognized to be the sovereign territory of Ukraine, includ-  
8 ing Crimea and the territory the Russian Federation  
9 claims to have annexed in Kherson Oblast, Zaporizhzhia  
10 Oblast, Donetsk Oblast, and Luhansk Oblast.

11 (b) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Defense shall  
12 provide continuous, ongoing intelligence support, including  
13 information, intelligence, and imagery collection author-  
14 ized under title 10, United States Code, to the Govern-  
15 ment of Ukraine for the purpose of supporting military  
16 operations of the Government of Ukraine that are specifi-  
17 cally intended or reasonably expected to defend and retake  
18 the territory of Ukraine.

19 (c) NOTIFICATION REQUIRED.—Not later than 10  
20 days before any pause in providing the support described  
21 in subsection (b), the Secretary of Defense shall notify the  
22 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Com-  
23 mittee on Armed Services of the Senate, the Select Com-  
24 mittee on Intelligence of the Senate, the Committee on  
25 Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, the Com-

1 mittee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives,  
2 and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of  
3 the House of Representatives of any such pause, including  
4 a justification for such pause.

5 (d) SUNSET.—This section shall cease to have any  
6 force or effect beginning on the earlier of—

7 (1) the date that is 5 years after the date of the  
8 enactment of this Act; or

9 (2) upon the submission of a certification from  
10 the President to the committees described in sub-  
11 section (c) that—

12 (A) there has been a complete and durable  
13 cessation of military hostilities by the Russian  
14 Federation in Ukraine; and

15 (B) the Government of Ukraine has will-  
16 ingly and freely entered into a negotiated agree-  
17 ment with the Government of the Russian Fed-  
18 eration regarding the cessation of hostilities in  
19 Ukraine.

20 **SEC. 305. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION PRO-**  
21 **GRAM FUNDING FOR UNITED STATES EURO-**  
22 **PEAN COMMAND.**

23 The Secretary of Defense shall expend not less than  
24 15 percent of the amounts appropriated for each of the  
25 fiscal years 2025, 2026, and 2027 in this Act, or in any

1 other Act, for the International Security Cooperation Pro-  
2 gram for United States European Command operations.

○