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MONITOR



TRENDS IN MAJOR
U.S. ARMS SALES
IN 2018:
THE TRUMP RECORD -
RHETORIC VERSUS REALITY



CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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The Security Assistance Monitor (SAM) is a program of the Center for International Policy focused on enhancing transparency and oversight of U.S. foreign security aid and arms sales. By providing comprehensive U.S. security assistance data and by conducting independent, data-driven research, we seek to inform and elevate the debate among civil society, journalists, scholars, and policy makers in the United States and abroad about the risks and best uses of U.S. security assistance to improve human security.

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TRENDS IN MAJOR U.S. ARMS SALES IN 2018: THE TRUMP RECORD – RHETORIC VERSUS REALITY

Summary

U.S. arms sales offers totaled \$78.8 billion in 2018, a \$3.4 billion drop from the figure reached during President Trump's first year in office. The figures include offers under the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program as well as Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) licensed by the State Department. While substantial, the level of exports reached under the Trump administration so far lag significantly behind the \$102 billion in offers made during the peak year of the Obama administration in 2010.

Measured by offers under the FMS program – the only measure for which full statistics are available – arms offers in the first two years of the Trump administration averaged \$56.6 billion per year, about \$2 billion less than the annual average for the eight years of the Obama administration.¹

Major findings of this report include:

- The number and value of licenses granted to manufacture U.S. weapons and weapons components overseas increased by over 50% from 2017 to 2018. In 2017 there were 19 manufacturing licenses granted, valued at \$12.6 billion. In 2018 those figures jumped to 40 licenses granted, valued at \$19.8 billion, or 25% of all U.S. arms offers in 2018. This development undermines President Trump's claim that U.S. arms sales are a major source of jobs in the United States.
- President Trump continued to exaggerate the number of jobs generated by U.S. arms sales, both to Saudi Arabia and globally. By the most generous estimate, total U.S. arms sales-related jobs equal two-tenths of one per cent of the U.S. labor force. And many of these jobs are located overseas as a result of offset and manufacturing agreements, as noted above.
- The Trump administration has also proposed a new initiative to make it easier for U.S. allies to purchase U.S. weaponry: a Foreign Military Financing (FMF) loan program. The State Department's budget proposal for Fiscal Year 2020 requests \$8.0 billion in FMF loans and loan guarantees, including "flexible interest rates" to "provide more competitive financing terms relative to foreign competitors." If past arms sales loans programs are any indication, the new program, if approved by Congress, could have a high risk of default.
- Firearms offers increased by more than 12% in 2018, to \$759 million from \$662 million in 2017. The biggest recipient by far was Saudi Arabia, with over \$579 million in deals that included machine guns, semi-automatic sniper rifles, and grenade launchers. These sales are of particular concern given Saudi Arabia's leading role in the war in Yemen, where it is possible that these weapons could be used. Another questionable offer was a \$22 million

deal for handguns to the Philippines, where the military and police have engaged in extrajudicial killings that have left thousands dead and injured.

- There was a sharp shift in the regional breakdown in U.S. arms offers between 2017 and 2018. Europe and Eurasia was the top recipient region in 2018, with 54.8% of all U.S. arms offers, up from 29.5% in 2017. Offers to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) dropped from 36.6% in 2017 to 21.9% in 2018.
- The top five recipients of U.S. arms offers in 2018 were Italy (\$11.4 billion), the United Kingdom (\$7.3 billion), Japan (\$7.2 billion), Belgium (\$6.6 billion), and Saudi Arabia (\$4.5 billion).
- There was also a sharp change in the types of weapons offered for sale in 2018 versus 2017. In 2017 the top category was bombs and missiles, accounting for 52.9% of the value of all offers that year, followed by aircraft and aircraft engines at 33.3%. In 2018 the categories flipped in importance, with aircraft and engines accounting for 60% of sales, while bombs and missiles came in at a 27% share.
- A handful of companies were the primary beneficiaries of U.S. arms offers in 2018. The top five arms exporters, based on deals of \$500 million or more, were Lockheed Martin, which was involved in deals worth \$25 billion; Boeing, \$7.1 billion in deals; Raytheon, \$5.5 billion in deals; Northrop Grumman had one deal worth \$2.5 billion; and BAE systems, which had a \$1.3 billion deal.

Recommendations

A number of steps can and should be taken to increase transparency and accountability in U.S. arms exports:

- End exports to regimes involved in internal repression and allies engaging in unjust wars, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the Philippines, Bahrain, and Nigeria.
- Make it easier for members of Congress to be notified and act in advance of deliveries of U.S. arms, not just original offers.
- Maintain notification of commercial sales, particularly firearms, to Congress.
- Notify Congress and publish annual reports on offset deals entered into between U.S. arms makers and their foreign clients.
- Make it possible for members of the House of Representatives to force a vote on a resolution of disapproval on specific arms sales, as is now the case in the Senate.
- Subject deals that provide for licensed production of U.S. arms overseas to greater scrutiny.

OVERVIEW

Donald Trump came into office touting his skills as a deal maker, and nowhere has he pushed that message more forcefully than in the realm of arms sales policy. From his repeated, and greatly exaggerated, claims of jobs linked to arms sales to Saudi Arabia, to his directive instructing U.S. diplomats to make arms export promotion a top priority, President Trump has made selling weapons a central goal of his administration.² And the United States government has approved and brokered tens of billions of arms offers during his first two years in office, sustaining the U.S. role as the world's leading arms exporting nation. The most recent statistics from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) show that the United States accounted for 36% of the global arms market for the five years from 2014 to 2018, followed by Russia at 21%; France at 6.8%; Germany at 6.4%; and China at 5.2%.³ Given the large number of offers in the pipeline, the United States is likely to maintain or extend its position as the world's leading arms exporting country for years to come.

This report details U.S. arms sales policy and practices during 2017 and 2018, with an eye towards their economic, human rights, and security impacts.

The United States made \$78.8 billion in foreign arms sales offers in calendar year 2018, a \$3.4 billion drop from the \$82.2 billion in offers concluded in President Trump's first year in office. The offers consisted of \$49.1 billion in deals under the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program and \$29.7 billion in commercial sales licensed by the State Department. While high by historical standards, these figures lagged substantially behind the \$102 billion in arms sales agreements made in 2010, the peak year of the Obama administration.⁴ Measured by offers under the FMS program – the only measure for which full statistics are available – arms offers in the first two years of the Trump administration averaged \$56.6 billion per year, about \$2 billion less than the annual average for the eight years of the Obama administration.⁵

There was a sharp shift in the regional distribution of U.S. arms sales from 2017 to 2018. Offers to Europe and Eurasia accounted for 55% of deals in 2018, nearly double the region's 29.5% share in 2017. Deals with countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) dropped from 36.6% to 21.9%. And offers to East Asia and the Pacific dropped from 23.6% to 14.3%. These three regions together accounted for over 90% of U.S. arms deals in 2018. For the shares accounted for by other regions, see Figure I, below.

There was also a sharp change in the types of weapons offered for sale in 2018 versus 2017. In 2017 the top category was bombs and missiles, accounting for 52.9% of the value of all offers that year, followed by aircraft and aircraft engines at 33.3%. In 2018 the categories flipped in importance, with aircraft and engines accounting for 60% of sales, while bombs and missiles came in at a 27% share. The surge in aircraft sales in 2018 was driven by major deals in continuation of the longstanding program for export of F-35 aircraft and components to European allies – over \$17 billion to Italy, Belgium and Norway combined. The drop in sales of missiles and bombs was largely due to a lack of major follow-on deals for missile defense systems in 2018 to match the more than \$20 billion in total missile defense offers made in 2017 to Poland, Japan, Romania, and the United Arab Emirates.

Firearms offers increased by over 14% in 2018, to \$759 million from \$662 million in 2017. The biggest recipient by far was Saudi Arabia, with over \$579 million, in deals that included machine guns, semi-automatic sniper rifles, and grenade launchers.

TOP RECIPIENTS

Top recipients by country in 2018 were Italy (\$11.4 billion), the United Kingdom (\$7.3 billion), Japan (\$7.2 billion), Belgium (\$6.6 billion), and Saudi Arabia (\$4.5 billion). In keeping with the fact that more than half of U.S. offers last year went to Europe and Eurasia, three of the five top countries by volume of offers received in 2018 were in Western Europe. This marked a significant contrast from 2017, when Saudi Arabia was far and away the top recipient at \$17.9 billion, followed by Poland (\$11.3 billion), Japan (\$10.3 billion), Canada (\$5.8 billion) and Romania (\$5.1 billion).

TABLE I: TOP 20 RECIPIENTS OF U.S. ARMS SALES NOTIFICATIONS					
2018			2017		
#	COUNTRY	\$ TOTAL	#	COUNTRY	\$ TOTAL
1	Italy	\$11,434,262,225	1	Saudi Arabia	\$17,857,485,081
2	United Kingdom	\$7,250,907,843	2	Poland	\$11,314,715,895
3	Japan	\$7,237,289,999	3	Japan	\$10,699,674,043
4	Belgium	\$6,630,000,000	4	Canada	\$5,803,710,000
5	Saudi Arabia	\$4,456,885,964	5	Romania	\$5,150,000,000
6	Germany	\$3,900,000,000	6	Bahrain	\$3,955,422,457
7	Turkey	\$3,500,000,000	7	Australia	\$3,440,700,000
8	Sweden	\$3,348,000,000	8	United Kingdom	\$3,230,630,000
9	Slovakia	\$2,910,000,000	9	United Arab Emirates	\$2,838,124,342
10	South Korea	\$2,802,120,000	10	Greece	\$2,484,000,000
11	Spain	\$2,160,400,000	11	Singapore	\$1,681,000,000
12	Israel	\$2,070,408,725	12	Iraq	\$1,505,600,000
13	Netherlands	\$1,874,205,555	13	New Zealand	\$1,460,000,000
14	Mexico	\$1,479,764,750	14	Taiwan	\$1,431,800,000
15	Bahrain	\$1,412,570,442	15	Kuwait	\$1,200,600,000
16	India	\$1,316,029,641	16	Qatar	\$1,103,241,589
17	Egypt	\$1,300,000,000	17	Israel	\$890,925,000
18	Norway	\$1,276,678,845	18	India	\$803,686,000
19	Morocco	\$1,259,000,000	19	Kenya	\$671,000,000
20	United Arab Emirates	\$1,203,207,373	20	Nigeria	\$593,000,000

REGIONAL ANALYSIS

Europe and Eurasia

Arms offers to Europe and Eurasia in 2018 were tilted heavily towards sales of combat planes and other aircraft. The largest deal was a \$10.7 billion commercial license to Italy for the construction of a final assembly facility for the F-35 aircraft, a continuation of that program that marks an acceleration of work with foreign partners on the program now that domestic production is moving forward. The next largest deal was to Belgium, a \$6.5 offer to purchase F-35s. The two F-35 offers alone accounted for nearly 40% of the \$43 billion in U.S. deals concluded with European countries in 2018. The other deals in the top five included a \$3.2 billion sale of a Patriot missile defense system to Sweden; a \$2.9 billion sale of F-16 combat aircraft to Slovakia; and an \$1.4 billion offer of C-130J transport and KC-130J refueling aircraft to Germany.

President Trump's suggestion that the U.S. is bearing an unfair burden for the defense of Europe is partially offset by the growing flow of funds from European countries to the United States via arms sales, a factor that the president doesn't seem to fully consider when he criticizes NATO allies about burden sharing.⁶ As long as the F-35 program stays on track, there should be a steady flow of arms sales revenue from European allies to the United States.

Middle East and North Africa

The drop in new arms offers to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) over the past few years undercuts President Trump's claims of record arms sales to the region under his tenure. But the United States remains a major supplier to the region based on weapons deliveries – accounting for 68% of Saudi Arabia's arms imports from 2014 to 2018, 64% of the UAE's imports, and 65% of Qatar's weapons imports over the same time period.⁷

Part of the reason for the decline in sales to MENA states is cyclical. Major deals for fighter aircraft, attack helicopters, combat ships, missile defense systems and other equipment concluded under the Obama administration are still working their way through the system as they move from offer to agreement to delivery. To some extent, there are fewer new deals to be made due to the accumulation of sales from prior years. Major purchases of fighter planes, missile defense systems, and combat ships by a given nation do not happen every year, or even every few years. So, to some degree, the MENA market has been saturated by deals made during the Obama years.

Statistics from the Pentagon's Defense Security Cooperation Agency suggest that there are tens of billions of dollars in past deals still working their way through the pipeline. For example, during the eight years of the Obama administration, from Fiscal Year 2009 to Fiscal Year 2017, there were \$76 billion in Foreign Military Sales (FMS) agreements between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, by far the largest recipient of U.S. arms in the MENA region. Over that same

time period there were only \$22 billion in FMS deliveries. This suggests that there are tens of billions worth of contracts and deliveries yet to come, even before any new offers are made.⁸

The top recipients of U.S. arms offers in the MENA region for 2018 were Saudi Arabia (\$4.5 billion); Israel (\$2.1 billion); Bahrain (\$1.4 billion); Egypt (\$1.3 billion); and the Morocco (\$1.3 billion).

Major deals included a \$1.3 billion sale of howitzers to Saudi Arabia, \$1 billion in Apache attack helicopters and \$300 million in tank ammunition to Egypt, \$344 million in Patriot missile spare parts and \$270 million in Sidewinder air-to-ground missiles to the UAE, \$300 million in air-to-air missiles to Qatar, and \$147 million in support for the “David’s Sling” missile defense system, \$190 million in support for the manufacture of light helicopters, and \$205 million in anti-tank missiles for Israel.

The sales of howitzers to Saudi Arabia and air-to-ground missiles to the UAE, could, once delivered, be used in conflicts like the Saudi/UAE intervention in Yemen. The same can be said for the \$579 million in offers of firearms to Saudi Arabia and the \$32 million in gun sales to the United Arab Emirates. And the attack helicopters and tank ammunition for Egypt are explicitly being supplied to aid their anti-terror campaign in the Sinai, which has drawn criticism for causing unnecessary deaths and widespread displacement of civilians.⁹

East Asia and Pacific

U.S. arms sales offers to East Asia and the Pacific dropped sharply, from \$19.1 billion in calendar year 2017 to \$11 billion in 2018. Nearly 90% of the offers that were made went to just two countries – Japan (\$7.2 billion) and South Korea (\$2.8 billion).

The largest offers to Japan were for E-2D Hawkeye radar planes (\$3.1 billion); Boeing 777—ER transport aircraft (\$704 million); Standard missiles, a ship-based air defense missile (2 deals totaling \$694 million); and a series of deals involving manufacturing, development and assembly of U.S.-supplied systems including engines for F-35 combat aircraft (\$593 million), manufacture of Mk 45 Mod 4 gun systems (\$346 million), and production of Mk 46 torpedoes (\$246 million).

The bulk of the value of offers to South Korea in 2018 consisted of two deals, an offer of \$2.1 billion for P-8A naval surveillance aircraft and support, and \$501 million for Missile Segment Enhancement (MSE) missiles for the PAC-3 defense system (\$501 million).

There was a notable drop in sales to Taiwan, which received \$380 million in offers in 2018, down from \$1.4 billion in 2017.

One sale that was small in dollar value but could have serious human rights consequences is a commercial offer of \$22.4 million for nine millimeter pistols for the Philippines, where the military and police have engaged in extrajudicial killings that have left thousands dead and injured.¹⁰ The Obama administration halted semi-automatic weapons shipments to the Philippines in 2016 over human rights concerns, but there is no evidence that the regime has

changed its behavior as yet.

The naval, surveillance, and combat aircraft capabilities offered to key Asian allies during 2018 are all relevant to potential security challenges posed by China, which has taken center stage as a great power competitor in the Trump administration's new National Defense Strategy. But sales to East Asia have lagged compared to those to other regions, suggesting that U.S. arms sales and security assistance efforts have yet to fully align with the new strategic direction mapped out by the administration. This conclusion must be qualified, however, by noting the cyclical nature of arms sales: in 2017 Japan received offers worth \$6.4 billion relating to just one project – a Patriot PAC-3 missile defense system. One or two major deals for missile defense or combat aircraft to East Asia in 2019 would be enough to push sales back to 2017 levels or above. One such deal has already occurred – a January 2019 offer of an Aegis missile defense system to Japan, valued at \$2.1 billion.

Western Hemisphere

The volume of U.S. arms offers in the Western Hemisphere has been relatively low in recent years compared to other regions. This pattern continued in 2018, with \$2.2 billion in total U.S. arms offers, amounting to less than three per cent of total U.S. global sales. The biggest development from a business standpoint since 2017 has been Canada's decision to suspend a \$5.2 billion deal for F/A-18E/F combat aircraft in retaliation for the Trump administration's decision to slap high tariffs on Canadian Bombardier civil aircraft. This one deal is two and one-half the size of all U.S. arms offers to the region in 2018.

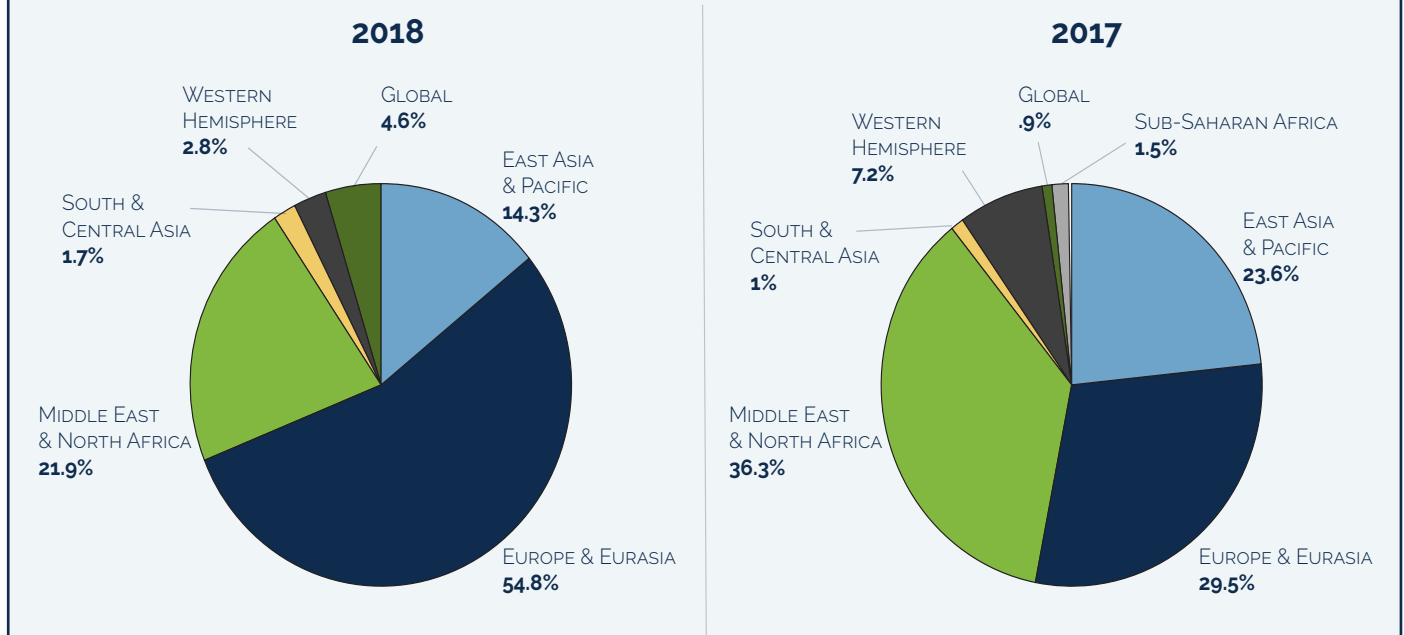
By far the largest offer in the Western Hemisphere in 2018 was a deal for \$1.2 billion for MH-60R multi-mission helicopters to Mexico. But even before taking office, Mexican President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador announced that he would cancel the deal, noting that given Mexico's budgetary situation, "we cannot make that expenditure."¹¹

Other notable sales included transfers of firearms and related equipment to Canada (\$18.6 million) and Peru (\$2.9 million).

South and Central Asia

South and Central Asia received fewer U.S. arms offers than any other region in 2018, coming in at \$1.3 billion in sales. This figure does not give a full picture of U.S. military transfers to the region, as it only includes sales under the FMS and commercial sales programs. Afghanistan has received billions in arms and training over the course of U.S. involvement there as part of the Afghan Security Forces Fund, analysis of which is beyond the scope of this report.

FIGURE I: REGIONAL BREAKDOWN OF U.S. ARMS SALES OFFERS, 2018 VS. 2017



WHAT IS BEING OFFERED – TYPES OF EQUIPMENT

Major Combat Systems:

Just as there were shifts in which regions were the biggest recipients of U.S. arms offers in 2018 versus 2017, there were changes in the distribution of the types of weapons offered. In 2017, the bombs and missiles category – which includes missile defense system – accounted for 52.6% of the value of offers made under the FMS and commercial sales program. In 2018, that percentage dropped by about half, to 27%. Meanwhile, aircraft and engines increased their share substantially, from 33.3% in 2017 to 60.2% in 2018. The two categories – missiles and bombs and aircraft and engines – accounted for 87.2% of the value of all arms sales offers in 2018.

The main drivers of the increased share for military aircraft in 2018 were five big deals: \$10.7 billion for work on a final assembly plant for F-35s in Italy; \$6.5 billion for a sale of F-35s to Belgium; \$2.9 billion for a sale of F-16s to Slovakia; \$2.4 billion for a sale of Triton Unmanned Aerial Systems to Germany; and \$2.1 billion for an offer of P-8A maritime surveillance aircraft to Japan. Together these five deals accounted for over half of the value of military aircraft offers in 2018, with the bulk of that coming from F-35-related deals to Italy and Belgium.

The fall-off in sales of missiles and bombs in 2018 was tied to a drop in sales of missile defense systems. In 2017 there were major missile defense deals to Saudi Arabia (\$15 billion for a Theater High Altitude Area Defense system, or THAAD); Poland (\$10.5 billion for a Patriot PAC-3 system); and Romania (\$3.9 billion for a Patriot system). In 2018 the only missile defense deal of comparable size was a \$3.5 billion offer of the Patriot system to Turkey, a deal that is largely viewed as a counter-offer to Russia’s S-400 system.¹²

Firearms:

While considerably smaller in terms of dollar value than major combat systems like military aircraft or missile defense systems, firearms exports have significant human rights implications, as they are often weapons of choice in civil wars and in domestic repression.

More than half of the \$759 million in U.S. firearms offers in 2018 – \$579 million – went to Saudi Arabia. Trailing behind were the Philippines (\$99.5 million), and the UAE (\$31.7 million). A sale to the Philippines involving semi-automatic pistols is of particular concern given that nation’s record of internal repression and extrajudicial killings by its military and police forces.

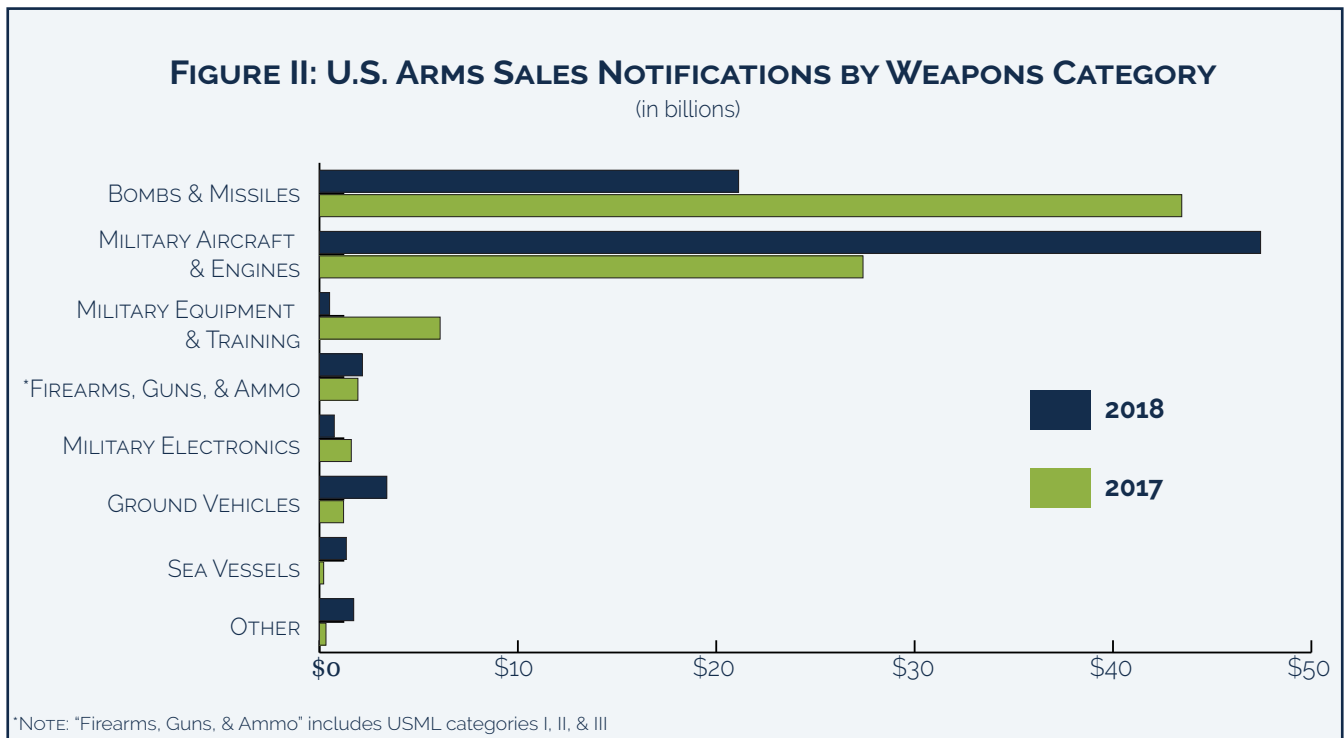


TABLE II: U.S. COMMERCIAL FIREARMS OFFERS IN 2018

COUNTRY	QTY.	SALE DETAILS	TOTAL AMOUNT
SAUDI ARABIA	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12.7 x 99mm and 7.62 x 51mm machine guns with primary & spare barrels & accessories 7.62mm automatic machine gun systems, barrels, spare parts, components, technical data, and basic operator maintenance training Firearms & accessories For replacement of old machine guns, grenade launchers, lasers, night vision goggles, accessories, and spare parts & components that are in poor condition in their inventory Machine guns, spare parts, & accessories Rifles, semi-automatic sniper systems, suppressors, grenade launchers & accessories 	\$579,576,960
PHILIPPINES	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9mm semi-automatic pistols To support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, testing, maintenance, and repair of 22 TCM and 22 TCM 9R ammunition cartridges 	\$99,594,076
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Model 249 5.56 caliber machine guns, Model M2 HB QCB, .50 caliber machine guns, and accessories Upper upper receiver assemblies with lower parts kits Automatic 5.56mm rifles Upper receiver assemblies with 14.5 inch barrels and lower parts kits 	\$31,729,150
CANADA	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blank rifle barrels of multiple calibers Bolt action rifles and semi-automatic rifles of various calibers for commercial resale Firearm parts and components abroad of various caliber rifled barrel blanks Rifle major component parts for commercial resale Rifles, flash hidere, and rifle major component parts for commercial resale Semi-automatic pistols for commercial resale Semi-automatic pistols of various calibers for commercial resale Semi-automatic pistols, rifles, and bolt-action rifles for commercial resale To support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, and testing of various firearms and silencer parts 	\$18,572,726+
BAHRAIN	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Automatic carbines, M16A1 rifles, grenade launchers, sound and flash suppressors, scopes, maintenance training, and parts and accessories Fully automatic machine guns, gun barrels, spare parts, and accessories 	\$6,170,442
ISRAEL	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5.56mm automatic rifles and major components to the Israeli MOD Firearms For the installation, integration, testing, operation, and maintenance for the UNISIG R-Series Barrel Processing Cell and other related tooling and accessories for the production of barrel blanks for 5.56mm, 7.62mm, and 9mm rifles To Germany and Israel to support the design, development, and manufacture of magazines, grips, new variations of pistols, and other firearm components by Israel 	\$4,495,430+
INDONESIA	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Automatic rifles, silencers, and spare parts 	\$4,061,721
PERU	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rifles and pistols to Peru for commercial resale Semi-automatic rifles and pistols, and bolt-action rifles for commercial resale 	\$2,942,720
JORDAN	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fully-automatic rifles to Jordan for the end use by the Public Security Directorate Machine Gun Reflex Sights 	\$2,668,800
DENMARK	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9mm semi-automatic pistols 	\$2,579,500
QATAR	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fully automatic 5.56mm carbines and commando rifles with accessories, operator's manuals and training 	\$2,506,352+
OMAN	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Firearms parts and components 	\$1,224,985
NEW ZEALAND	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bolt-action rifles, components, and sound suppressors 	\$1,100,577
BRAZIL	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Firearms 	\$1,000,000+
ITALY & QATAR	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To Italy and Qatar for the manufacture & export of firearm parts and components 	\$1,000,000+

NOTE: Amounts with a "+" indicate those firearms offers that did not include a total U.S. dollar amount for one or more sale, thus the firearms threshold for Congressional notifications (\$1M) is used.

CORPORATE BENEFICIARIES

A handful of companies were the primary beneficiaries of U.S. arms offers in 2018. The top five arms exporters, based on deals of \$500 million or more, were Lockheed Martin, which was involved in deals worth \$25 billion for F-35s, F-16s, C-130s, Aegis missile defense systems, and P-8A maritime surveillance aircraft; Boeing, which was involved in deals worth \$7.1 billion for Chinook and Apache helicopters, 777ER transport planes, and Harpoon anti-ship missiles; Raytheon, which was involved in \$5.5 billion in deals for PAC-3 missile defense systems (shared with Lockheed Martin) and TOW anti-tank missiles; Northrop Grumman, which had a \$2.5 billion deal for Triton Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV's); and BAE systems, which had a \$1.3 billion deal for Paladin howitzers.

It should be noted that not all of the revenues from the major deals cited above will go to the prime contractors. Support services and secondary contractors will consume some of the funds involved in any major arms deal. But the figures above are a good gauge of which contractors benefit most from offers under the FMS and commercial sales program, with Lockheed Martin far and away the biggest, based in significant part on sales of aircraft and technology related to its F-35 combat aircraft program.

ARMS SALES AND JOBS

One of the Trump administration's primary rationales for its efforts to expand U.S. arms sales is the assertion that weapons exports create large numbers of jobs in the United States. This claim does not hold up to scrutiny.¹³

For example, the Trump administration has sharply increased the number of deals in which foreign nations produce U.S.-developed weaponry in their countries under licensing and coproduction agreements. These deals support production overseas, as well as helping potential competitors build up their own defense industries. The number and value of licenses granted to manufacturing U.S. weapons and weapons components overseas nearly doubled from 2017 to 2018. In 2017 there were 19 manufacturing licenses granted, valued at \$12.6 billion. In 2018 those figures jumped to 40 licenses granted, valued at \$19.8 billion. The dollar value of licensing and manufacturing deals in 2018 accounted for over 25% of all U.S. arms offers in that year, an indication of the growing number of arms offers that involve overseas production.

A case in point regarding the administration's exaggerated claims of arms sales-related jobs is Saudi Arabia, where President Trump has claimed that there are hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs tied to arms sales to that nation. He has used this argument in opposing a reduction in U.S. sales to the Saudi regime in response to its murder of U.S.-resident journalist and Washington Post contributor Jamal Khashoggi and Saudi Arabia's killing of civilians in its intervention in Yemen. There are serious questions as to whether arms sales-related jobs should be an adequate reason to arm repressive regimes. But putting that aside for the moment, President Trump's assertions on arms exports and jobs don't stand up to even minimal scrutiny. Based on actual deliveries of arms, which is the best measure of how much money is

actually flowing in any given year pursuant to current and past weapons offers, U.S. jobs tied to Saudi arms deals likely numbered in the range of 20,000 to 40,000 jobs in 2018, less than ten percent of President Trump's claims of 500,000 jobs directly tied to U.S. arms sales to the regime in Riyadh. A claim of one million jobs appeared to involve both arms sales and other commercial offers, so is not included in the above calculations.¹⁴

U.S. arms sales more broadly also create far fewer U.S. jobs than is commonly assumed. Deliveries under the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales program totaled \$27.4 billion, which by standard estimating procedures would account for 190,000 jobs in the United States, in an economy that employs over 155 million people. That would put the share of arms exports in total U.S. employment at well under two-tenths of one per cent of total U.S. employment.¹⁵ But this figure is likely an overstatement, because many of the jobs associated with U.S. arms sales are based overseas due to coproduction and offset agreements, and many others may not be the equivalent of full-time employment on products destined for foreign customers, as workers switch between production for export and work on weapons purchased by the Pentagon.

A coproduction agreement is an arrangement in which part of a U.S. weapons system sold to a foreign customer is produced in the recipient nation. Offsets are deals in which U.S. arms supplying companies invest in the economy of the recipient nation to "offset" their costs in buying a U.S. weapons system. Offsets can involve coproduction, or investments in helping the recipient nation develop their own arms industry or another sector of their economy, or, in some cases, cash payments that are supposed to be devoted to economic development but may or may not be used for that purpose.

The exact value of U.S. offsets and coproduction agreements in any given year cannot be determined due to inadequate reporting procedures, but it is clear that they drain substantial numbers of jobs in the United States. A few examples should suffice to indicate the substantial impact of these deals.

In Saudi Arabia, for example, that country's new economic goal is for 50% of the value of all of its arms imports to be spent in Saudi Arabia by 2030.¹⁶ Examples include a Lockheed Martin deal to assemble helicopters supplied to Saudi Arabia by its Sikorsky helicopter subsidiary in Saudi Arabia.¹⁷ Other U.S. firms like Raytheon and Boeing have set up offices in the Persian Gulf to help them broker similar arrangements in efforts to help countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE build up their defense industries. In the UAE, Lockheed Martin is helping that country develop factories to produce robotic machine tools, which can be used in the defense and aerospace sectors. It is also helping train UAE personnel in cybersecurity and space technologies.¹⁸

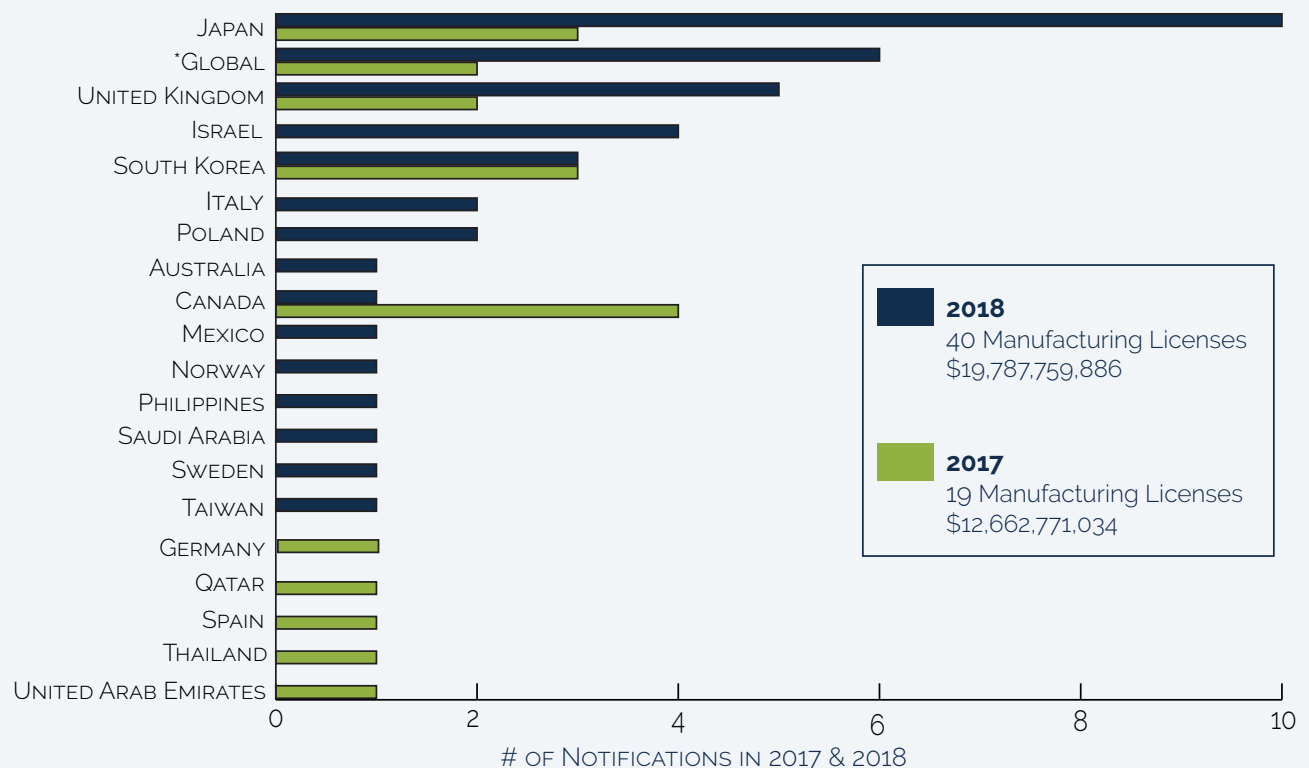
The largest and most lucrative deals involving overseas production of U.S. weaponry involve work on the F-35 combat aircraft. In addition to component production in a number of partner nations, both Italy and Japan are building Final Assembly and Checkout (FACO) facilities for the aircraft, which will generate significant numbers of jobs in those countries. This is rarely pointed out when President Trump touts the jobs impact of U.S. arms sales. Last but not least, the Trump administration has sharply increased the number of deals in which foreign nations produce U.S.-developed weaponry in their countries under licensing and coproduction agreements. These deals support production overseas, as well as help-

ing potential competitors build up their own defense industries. The number and value of licenses granted to manufacturing U.S. weapons and weapons components overseas nearly doubled from 2017 to 2018. In 2017 there were 19 manufacturing licenses granted, valued at \$12.6 billion. In 2018 those figures jumped to 40 licenses granted, valued at \$19.8 billion. The dollar value of licensing and manufacturing deals in 2018 accounted for over 25% of all U.S. arms offers in that year, an indication of the growing number of arms offers that involve overseas production.

The Trump administration has also proposed a new initiative to make it easier for U.S. allies to purchase U.S. weaponry: a Foreign Military Financing (FMF) loan program. The State Department’s budget proposal for Fiscal Year 2020 requests \$8.0 billion in FMF loans and loan guarantees, including “flexible interest rates” to “provide more competitive financing terms relative to foreign competitors.”¹⁹

The \$8.0 billion in FMF loans is substantially larger than the FMF grant program, which is proposed at \$5.4 billion for FY 2020. But if past arms sales loans programs are any indication, the new program, if approved by Congress, could have a high risk of default.²⁰ If interest rates are too low, cash-strapped countries may not be able to keep up payments, leaving a strong possibility that taxpayers will have to pick up the tab. And if loan rates are too high few countries are likely to take advantage of the program. So far the Trump administration has not provided adequate detail on the program, so it is difficult to fully assess the financial risks.

FIGURE III: MAJOR U.S. ARMS SALES OFFERS INVOLVING FOREIGN MANUFACTURING, 2018 VS. 2017



*Global indicates an arms sales offer that includes multiple countries.

CONGRESS WEIGHS IN

Congress has increased its scrutiny of U.S. arms sales in the past few years in response to concerns about the security and human rights impacts of U.S. arms export decisions made by the administration.

The greatest area of activity was in response to the brutal U.S.-backed war in Yemen. The actions of the Saudi/UAE-led coalition there – aided by tens of billions of dollars-worth of U.S.-supplied bombs, aircraft, and armored vehicles supplied by the Obama and Trump administrations -- have resulted in the deaths of thousands of civilians and driven millions of Yemenis to the brink of famine.²¹ The United States has also supplied targeting support and refueling services for Saudi and UAE air strikes in Yemen.

After a series of efforts dating back to 2016 to curb U.S. weapons supplies and military support to the Saudi/UAE-led coalition in Yemen, there was a breakthrough in December 2018 when the Senate voted under the War Powers Resolution to end U.S. support for the Saudi/UAE war in Yemen. The measure, which passed by 56 to 41, required an end to U.S. refueling and targeting support for the Saudi/UAE-led coalition.²² A similar measure was blocked from coming to a vote in the House, but was passed by a vote of 248 to 187 in early 2019, after the Democrats took control of that body. Because it is a new session of Congress, a new Senate vote was required, and a parallel measure to end U.S. support for the Saudi/UAE-led war in Yemen, sponsored by Senators Bernie Sanders (I-VT), Mike Lee (R-UT) and Chris Murphy (D-CT), passed by a vote of 54 to 46 on March 13, 2019.²³ The House needs to vote once more on a resolution identical to the one that passed the Senate. If that vote succeeds it will be up to President Trump to sign or veto the measure.

In the meantime, a bill has been introduced in the Senate – the Saudi Arabia Accountability and Yemen Act of 2019 – under the leadership of Sen. Robert Menendez (D-NJ), Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Todd Young (R-IN) that would, among other things, block sales of offensive arms to the Saudi/UAE coalition unless it is certified that they are taking care to avoid civilian casualties, allowing unhindered delivery of humanitarian aid, and negotiating in good faith to end the Yemen war. A key element of the proposed legislation is that it would unconditionally end all sales of bombs to the coalition for a two-year period.²⁴

Potential sales of precision-guided munitions to Saudi Arabia and the UAE were sidelined in 2018 when Sen. Robert Menendez put a hold on the deals due to concerns about the killing of civilians in coalition air strikes.²⁵ The deals have now been shelved indefinitely in the wake of the murder of U.S.-resident Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, which has increased public and Congressional opposition to sales to the Saudi/UAE coalition.

The House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees have both submitted letters to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan demanding an investigation of the diversion of U.S.-supplied arms from Saudi Arabia and the UAE to extremist militias, with some even ending up in the hands of the Houthi opposition and members of Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.²⁶ The diversions were first discovered by reporters for CNN working with local human rights advocates in Yemen, and confirmed by an investigation by Amnesty International.²⁷

Congress also took steps to block the transfer of F-35 jets to Turkey. Provisions in the Fiscal Year 2019 defense policy bill prohibited the delivery of the jets until the secretaries of State and Defense reported to Congress on the potential risks posed by Turkey's recent deal with Russia for the S-400. According to a summary of this classified report, if Turkey acquires the S-400 then the country risks expulsion from the U.S.-led F-35 program, possible U.S. sanctions, and the inability to acquire other U.S. weapons.²⁸ More recently, Senators James Lankford (R-OK), Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), Thom Tillis (R-NC), and Chris Van Hollen introduced a bill to limit the transfer of F-35 aircraft to Turkey if Turkey accepts delivery of Russia's S-400.²⁹

Meanwhile, action is being taken in both houses of Congress to block the Trump administration's efforts to ease restrictions on the export of firearms by moving jurisdiction over sales of items such as semi-automatic guns and sniper rifles from the State Department to the Department of Commerce, where they will receive less rigorous vetting on human rights and security grounds and be harder to track. The new rules would also end the practice of notifying Congress of firearms deals worth \$1 million or more, and make information on how to do 3-D printing of guns available on a global basis. In the House, a bill sponsored by Rep. Norma Torres (D-CA) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Eliot Engel would block the new changes, as would a similar bill in the Senate sponsored by Sen. Robert Menendez (D-NJ), ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, joined by colleagues Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT), Ben Cardin (D-MD), Ed Markey (D-MA), and Dianne Feinstein (D-CA).³⁰ As of this writing, Sen. Menendez had put a hold on implementation of the new regulations to give Congress more time to act on this matter.³¹

In a move to increase accountability for major arms deals, Representatives Ted Lieu (D-CA) and Jim McGovern (D-MA) have introduced the "Arms Sales Oversight Act," which would amend the Arms Export Control Act to allow any member of the House to force a vote on a resolution of disapproval for a specific sale.³² The current law only allows such measures to come to a vote with the approval of House leadership, creating a significant roadblock to vigorous Congressional oversight of arms sales. Most recently, Senators Ben Cardin (D-Md.) and Dick Durbin (D-Ill.) introduced a bill to prohibit the sale of U.S. weaponry to countries with troubling human rights records. Sen. Cardin has stated that the purpose of the bill is "to help ensure that U.S.-manufactured weapons are not used to commit heinous war crimes, for the repression of internationally recognized human rights, or end up in the hands of terrorists." The legislation would require both State and Defense Secretaries to develop a strategy to enhance human rights protections and ensure end use monitoring for certain arms sales and transfers.³³

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are a number of steps that can and should be taken to improve transparency and accountability in U.S. arms sales policy, including the following:³⁴

- End exports to regimes involved in internal repression and allies engaging in unjust wars, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the Philippines, Bahrain, and Nigeria.

- Make it easier for members of Congress to be notified and act in advance of deliveries of U.S. arms, not just original offers.
- Maintain notification of commercial sales, particularly firearms, to Congress.
- Notify Congress and publish annual reports on offset deals entered into between U.S. arms makers and their foreign clients.
- Make it possible for members of the House of Representatives to force a vote on a resolution of disapproval on specific arms sales, as is now the case in the Senate.
- Subject deals that provide for licensed production of U.S. arms overseas to greater scrutiny.

Appendix I

METHODOLOGY AND TRANSPARENCY

The analysis in this report is based on arms sales notifications to Congress under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and the Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) programs. FMS deals involve administration led by the Pentagon, while DCS sales require a license from the State Department but are otherwise implemented by the manufacturer or exporter of a given weapons system. Under the Arms Export Control Act, Congress must be notified in advance of any proposed arms sale that meets the below threshold values. As such, this report does not capture the full dollar amount for all proposed U.S. arms sales in a given year. Arms sales notifications do not always lead to final sales. Deals can fall apart for a variety of reasons, from disagreements over price, technology transfers, and conditions of sale to changes in the economic, political, or strategic situation of the proposed recipient nation. These notifications, however, are a good gauge of the intent of a given U.S. administration.

One of the key reasons this report is possible is the U.S. government's increased transparency on U.S. arms sales notifications. Over the past two years, the United States provided more detail on the total amount and types of weapons included in each DCS notifications than in previous years. These DCS notifications nevertheless still leave out important information included in FMS notifications, such as the intended recipient of the arms within the country and more detail about the nature of the weapons. There were an additional 13 DCS notifications in which the U.S. government did not provide details of the sale or the total dollar amount. To compensate for the lack of dollar amounts in these notifications, the authors of this report used the respective arms sales notification threshold value instead for calculations in this report. As a result, the total dollar amount for all arms sales notifications in 2018 is not as accurate as the dollar amount for 2017 and is likely higher than our calculations show.

Apendix II

LIST OF U.S. ARMS SALES OFFERS IN 2018

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
1.	5-Jan-18	Mexico	FMS	\$98,400,000	Harpoon Block II Missiles, RAM Missiles and MK 54 Torpedoes
2.	5-Jan-18	Oman	FMS	\$62,000,000	F-16 Operational Flight Profile and Identification Friend or Foe Mode 5 Upgrade
3.	9-Jan-18	Algeria	DCS	\$624,092,954	Intelligence and surveillance aircraft and associated ground stations
4.	9-Jan-18	UAE	DCS	\$160,000,000	Inertial Measurement Units to the Republic of Korea for integration into 2.75 inch guided rockets by the UAE Armed Forces
5.	9-Jan-18	Japan	FMS	\$133,300,000	SM-3 Block IIA Missiles
6.	9-Jan-18	UAE	DCS	\$9,764,350	Model 249 5.56 caliber machine guns, Model M2 HB QCB, .50 caliber machine guns, and accessories
7.	9-Jan-18	Bahrain	DCS	\$5,170,442	Automatic carbines, M16A1 rifles, grenade launchers, sound and flash suppressors, scopes, maintenance training, and parts and accessories
8.	9-Jan-18	Jordan	DCS	\$1,108,800	Machine Gun Reflex Sights
9.	11-Jan-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$567,000,000	To support the assembly and integration of cannons onto weapons stations
10.	12-Jan-18	Latvia	DCS	\$1,368,801	Defense articles
11.	17-Jan-18	Japan	DCS	\$593,200,000	To Japan and Singapore to support the establishment of an F135 propulsion system Final Assembly and Check-out (FACO) facility in Japan
12.	17-Jan-18	Saudi Arabia	FMS	\$500,000,000	Continuation of Missile System Support Services
13.	17-Jan-18	UK	DCS	\$120,480,000	To support the integration of components and parts for the TOW Missile System
14.	17-Jan-18	Australia	DCS	\$58,305,545	To Australia, France, Japan, and the South Korea to support the MESA Radar/IFF subsystems and follow-on sustainment support services (FOSSS) for the Royal Australian Air Force
15.	17-Jan-18	Japan	DCS	\$45,000,000	For the collaboration of the manufacture of the Multi Service-Standard Guided Projectile for end-use by the Japan Ministry of Defense
16.	17-Jan-18	South Korea	DCS	\$10,500,000	To support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, maintenance, and repair of the AN/APX-113/125/126 Combined Interrogator Transponders (CITs), the AN/APX-117/123 Common Transponders (CXPs), the AN/UPX-37/41 Digital Interrogators (DIs) and the AN/OPX-7 Reduced Size Transponders (RST)
17.	17-Jan-18	UK	DCS	\$4,000,000	To support the manufacture of Liquid Propellant Rocket Engines
18.	17-Jan-18	Canada	DCS	\$2,500,000	To support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, and testing of various firearms and silencer parts
19.	17-Jan-18	Japan	DCS	\$2,000,000	To support the manufacture of Liquid Propellant Rocket Engines
20.	17-Jan-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,000,000	Blank rifle barrels of multiple calibers

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
21.	17-Jan-18	Israel	DCS	\$55,260	Support for the UNISIG R-Series Barrel Processing Cell and other related tooling and accessories for the production of barrel blanks for 5.56mm, 7.62mm, and 9mm rifles
22.	18-Jan-18	Belgium	FMS	\$6,530,000,000	F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Aircraft
23.	5-Feb-18	Finland	FMS	\$622,000,000	RGM-84Q-4 Harpoon Block II+ ER Grade B Surface-Launched Missiles and RGM-84L-4 Harpoon Block II Grade B Surface-Launched Missiles
24.	5-Feb-18	Finland	FMS	\$112,700,000	Evolved SEASPARROW Missiles
25.	20-Feb-18	Sweden	FMS	\$3,200,000,000	Patriot Configuration-3+ Modernized Fire Units
26.	20-Feb-18	Netherlands	FMS	\$1,191,000,000	AH-64E Remanufactured Apache Attack Helicopters
27.	20-Feb-18	Kuwait	FMS	\$100,000,000	Fast Patrol Boats
28.	20-Feb-18	Finland	FMS	\$70,000,000	Mk 41 Vertical Launching Systems
29.	21-Feb-18	Kuwait	FMS	\$259,000,000	Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance King Air 350ER
30.	27-Feb-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$129,000,000	To Australia to support the manufacture, assembly, and support of Gimbal Weapon Mounts for Remotely Operated Weapon System for ultimate end-use by the government of Saudi Arabia
31.	27-Feb-18	Japan	DCS	\$112,790,000	To support the Microwave Power Module Based Transmitter for the Japanese Ministry of Defense F-15J aircraft
32.	1-Mar-18	Ukraine	FMS	\$47,000,000	Javelin Missiles and Command Launch Units
33.	2-Mar-18	Japan	FMS	\$45,000,000	MK 15 Phalanx Close-in Weapon System Block IB Baseline 2 Conversion Kits
34.	7-Mar-18	UAE	FMS	\$270,400,000	AIM-9X-2 Sidewinder Block II Missiles
35.	7-Mar-18	Qatar	FMS	\$197,000,000	Upgrade of Qatar Air Operations Center
36.	22-Mar-18	Saudi Arabia	FMS	\$670,000,000	TOW 2B (BGM-71F-Series) Missiles
37.	23-Mar-18	Saudi Arabia	FMS	\$300,000,000	Royal Saudi Land Forces Ordnance Corps Foreign Military Sales Order II Case
38.	24-Mar-18	Saudi Arabia	FMS	\$106,800,000	Continuation of Maintenance Support Services
39.	3-Apr-18	Slovakia	FMS	\$2,910,000,000	F-16 Block 70/72 V Configuration Aircraft
40.	4-Apr-18	Germany	FMS	\$2,500,000,000	MQ-4C Triton Unmanned Aircraft Systems
41.	4-Apr-18	Spain	FMS	\$1,300,000,000	CH-47F Aircraft
42.	4-Apr-18	UK	FMS	\$500,000,000	MQ-9 Continuing Contractor Logistics Support
43.	4-Apr-18	Australia	FMS	\$148,000,000	M795 with Insensitive Munitions Explosive 101 Explosive Fill 155mm HE Projectile
44.	5-Apr-18	Saudi Arabia	FMS	\$1,310,000,000	155mm M109A6 Paladin Medium Self-Propelled Howitzer System
45.	9-Apr-18	Qatar	FMS	\$300,000,000	Advanced Precision Kill Weapon Systems
46.	11-Apr-18	Norway	DCS	\$850,890,000	For support , O-Level maintenance, and repair of F-135 propulsion systems
47.	11-Apr-18	Israel	DCS	\$247,324,697	Support for the Tamir Interceptor missiles for end-use by the Ministry of Defense of Israel
48.	11-Apr-18	Israel	DCS	\$146,983,598	To support the Missile Firing Unit and Stunner Interceptor Subsystems of the David's Sling Weapon System
49.	11-Apr-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$98,984,051	For the operation, training, and maintenance of ScanEagle and Integrator Unmanned Aerial System for end use by the Royal Saudi Land Forces
50.	11-Apr-18	Global	DCS	\$96,000,000	To Canada and the UK for the production of Tomahawk Missile Electronic Assemblies

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
51.	11-Apr-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$7,600,000	Machine guns, spare parts, and accessories
52.	11-Apr-18	Canada	DCS	\$2,774,500	Semi-automatic pistols of various calibers for commercial resale
53.	11-Apr-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,939,820	Bolt action rifles and semi-automatic rifles of various calibers for commercial resale
54.	11-Apr-18	Bahrain	DCS	\$1,000,000	Fully automatic machine guns, gun barrels, spare parts, and accessories
55.	11-Apr-18	Israel	DCS	\$625,000	To Germany and Israel to support the design, development, and manufacture of magazines, grips, new variations of pistols, and other firearm components by Israel
56.	18-Apr-18	Italy	DCS	\$10,730,600,000	To support the final assembly and check-out facility of F-35 aircraft
57.	18-Apr-18	Mexico	FMS	\$1,200,000,000	MH-60R Multi-Mission Helicopters
58.	18-Apr-18	UK	DCS	\$207,318,343	To support the assessment, demonstration, and manufacture phase of the Scavenger/PROTECTOR Program and the subsequent follow on phases
59.	18-Apr-18	Israel	DCS	\$192,135,000	For the manufacture of significant military equipment abroad and the export of defense articles to support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, testing, maintenance, and repair of the 120mm GPS Phase 1 and (SAL/GPS) Phase 2 Dual Mode Mortar
60.	18-Apr-18	UAE	DCS	\$187,500,000	Export of defense articles, including technical data, and defense services for integration and installation into military vehicles
61.	18-Apr-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$162,016,204	Firearms and accessories
62.	18-Apr-18	UAE	DCS	\$86,000,000	To provide training, maintenance, and engineering support on AT-802U and S2R-660 Archangel border patrol aircraft
63.	24-Apr-18	UK	DCS	\$2,079,109,500	For the assembly of GPS Aided Inertial Navigation Systems (GAINS) and manufacture of the electronic and mechanical components and parts for GAINS for use in Paveway Weapon Systems
64.	24-Apr-18	Japan	DCS	\$246,000,000	For the manufacture of significant military equipment abroad and the export of defense articles to support the manufacture of Mk 46 Torpedo assemblies and components
65.	24-Apr-18	Japan	DCS	\$244,000,000	To France and Japan to support development and modification of maritime patrol aircraft for use by the government of Japan
66.	24-Apr-18	Global	DCS	\$201,000,000	To Belgium, Norway and the UK to support the maintenance, repair and overhaul of F-100 aircraft engines
67.	24-Apr-18	United States	DCS	\$194,739,057	for the manufacture of control section units and associated electronics modules for the AIM-120 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile for end use by the United States Government
68.	24-Apr-18	Australia	DCS	\$168,995,733	to support the integration and operation, engineering support, training, testing, maintenance, and repair of AN/PRC-158 software defined tactical radio systems and the Network Planning and Management System for command and control/command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance mission applications
69.	24-Apr-18	Netherlands	FMS	\$110,000,000	F-16 Formal Training Unit at Tucson Air National Guard Base (ANGB), Arizona
70.	24-Apr-18	Netherlands	FMS	\$70,000,000	M1156 Precision Guided Kits

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
71.	27-Apr-18	Bahrain	FMS	\$911,400,000	AH-I Z Attack Helicopters
72.	4-May-18	Germany	FMS	\$1,400,000,000	C-130J and KC-130J Aircraft
73.	17-May-18	Bahrain	FMS	\$45,000,000	Munitions: General Purpose and Penetrator Warhead bomb bodies
74.	18-May-18	Japan	DCS	\$293,000,000	Support for MTS-A Variants
75.	18-May-18	Global	DCS	\$81,259,697	To Algeria and UK to support the manufacture of the Falcon III tactical radio systems
76.	12-Jun-18	India	FMS	\$930,000,000	Support for Direct Commercial Sale of AH-64E Apache Helicopters
77.	21-Jun-18	Chile	DCS	\$177,915,000	To Poland, Colombia, and Chile to support the pre-delivery requirements and post-delivery modification of S-70i helicopters to Chile
78.	21-Jun-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$2,139,261	Rifles, semi-automatic sniper systems, suppressors, grenade launchers and accessories
79.	26-Jun-18	Spain	FMS	\$860,400,000	AEGIS Combat System
80.	26-Jun-18	Australia	FMS	\$185,000,000	AEGIS Combat System Equipment for Australia Surface Combatants
81.	28-Jun-18	Italy	DCS	\$703,662,225	To manufacture and/or assemble Millimeter Wave Front End Assemblies of the Guidance Section and Control Sections of AGM-88E Advanced Anti-Radiation Guided Missile for the Italian Ministry of Defense
82.	28-Jun-18	South Korea	DCS	\$45,500,000	For the manufacture of significant military equipment abroad and the export of defense articles to support the manufacture of the F414-GE-400 engine
83.	28-Jun-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,115,640	Firearm parts and components abroad of various caliber rifled barrel blanks
84.	5-Jul-18	Japan	DCS	\$346,100,000	Support for the manufacture of the Mk 45 Mod 4 gun system
85.	5-Jul-18	Indonesia	DCS	\$4,061,721	Automatic rifles, silencers, and spare parts
86.	5-Jul-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$2,457,255	12.7 x 99mm and 7.62 x 51mm machine guns with primary and spare barrels and accessories
87.	5-Jul-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,240,020	Semi-automatic pistols for commercial resale
88.	10-Jul-18	UK	FMS	\$650,000,000	AIM-120D Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM)
89.	10-Jul-18	Denmark	FMS	\$90,000,000	AIM-120 C-7 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM)
90.	11-Jul-18	Japan	DCS	\$704,535,400	To Japan, France, and Switzerland to support the design, development, manufacture, and final delivery of completed Boeing 777-300ER New Government Aircraft to Japan
91.	11-Jul-18	Norway	DCS	\$425,788,845	To support the design, development, assembly, engineering, integration, and manufacturing of the Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM) propulsion sections
92.	11-Jul-18	Israel	DCS	\$190,250,000	To support the manufacture, design, development, fabrication, assembly, testing and repair of tail booms, tail cones, tail rotor pylons stabilators and folding rotor blade systems for H-60/S-70 helicopters
93.	11-Jul-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$19,714,634	7.62mm automatic machine gun systems, barrels, spare parts, components, technical data, and basic operator maintenance training
94.	11-Jul-18	Qatar	DCS	\$1,506,352	Fully automatic 5.56mm carbines and commando rifles with accessories, operator's manuals and training

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
95.	11-Jul-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,136,171	Semi-automatic pistols, rifles, and bolt-action rifles for commercial resale
96.	12-Jul-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$385,649,606	For replacement of old machine guns, grenade launchers, lasers, night vision goggles, accessories, and spare parts and components that are in poor condition in their inventory
97.	18-Jul-18	Australia	DCS	\$26,000,000	To Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, and the UK to support the manufacture of the Communication, Navigation, and Identification (CNI) Audio Control Electronic (ACE) module for the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Aircraft
98.	24-Jul-18	Japan	DCS	\$9,350,000	Support for the manufacture of Drogue Rocket Motor and Propellant for end use in aircraft ejection seats for the Ministry of Defense
99.	25-Jul-18	India	DCS	\$136,529,641	For the export of defense articles, including technical data and defense services
100.	26-Jul-18	Bahrain	FMS	\$70,000,000	Follow-On Technical Support for the Royal Bahrain Navy Ship SABHA (FFG-90)
101.	27-Jul-18	Japan	DCS	\$336,000,000	To support the Mk15 Close-In Weapon System and the SeaRAM Weapon System for end use by the Ministry of Defense
102.	27-Jul-18	Israel	DCS	\$205,020,000	To support the Trophy anti-tank active protection systems for end use by the Ministry of Defense
103.	27-Jul-18	Netherlands	DCS	\$174,601,514	To support the modernization of the Royal Netherlands Air Force fleet of six CH-47F(NL) Chinook Helicopters
104.	30-Jul-18	Bahrain	FMS	\$80,000,000	Improved Target Acquisition System Launchers
105.	30-Jul-18	Kuwait	FMS	\$30,400,000	Munitions (AGM-114R Hellfire Missiles)
106.	31-Jul-18	Netherlands	FMS	\$169,000,000	MK 54 Lightweight Torpedoes
107.	31-Jul-18	Denmark	FMS	\$152,000,000	SM-2 Block IIIA Standard Missiles
108.	2-Aug-18	Kuwait	FMS	\$40,400,000	Munitions (Mk-Series)
109.	3-Aug-18	Latvia	FMS	\$200,000,000	UH-60M Black Hawk Helicopters
110.	8-Aug-18	Mexico	FMS	\$41,000,000	Evolved Seasparrow Missiles
111.	15-Aug-18	Global	DCS	\$1,560,625,000	To the UAE and the UK for support and upgrades to Patriot Air Defense System Fire Units, equipment, and spares
112.	15-Aug-18	UAE	DCS	\$344,818,223	To establish a Patriot Weapon System Additional Equipment and Spare Parts Program
113.	15-Aug-18	Poland	DCS	\$119,026,028	To support the manufacture and sustainment of the Patriot M903 Launching Station for the WISLA Patriot Air Defense System
114.	15-Aug-18	Poland	DCS	\$97,725,814	To support the manufacture, integration, verification, and repair of the Mobile Communication Node and Mobile Antenna Mast for WISLA Patriot Air Defense System
115.	17-Aug-18	India	DCS	\$249,500,000	To support the establishment of two P-81 aircraft training centers for the Indian Navy
116.	17-Aug-18	Sweden	DCS	\$148,000,000	For the manufacture of F404 RM12 gas turbine military aircraft engine parts and components
117.	20-Aug-18	Jordan	DCS	\$104,739,232	To support maintenance and repair of AH-1 F/S Cobra Helicopters for use by the Royal Jordanian Air Force
118.	20-Aug-18	UAE	DCS	\$10,410,000	Upper receiver assemblies with lower parts kits
119.	20-Aug-18	UAE	DCS	\$10,410,001	Upper receiver assemblies with 14.5 inch barrels and lower parts kits
120.	23-Aug-18	Philippines	DCS	\$84,858,531	To support the Maverick Weapon System

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
121.	17-Aug-18	Jordan	DCS	\$1,560,000	Fully-automatic rifles to Jordan for the end use by the Public Security Directorate
122.	5-Sep-18	Netherlands	FMS	\$105,000,000	Patriot Recapitalization (RECAP)
123.	6-Sep-18	UAE	DCS	\$122,760,000	Infantry-related military training and other advisory assistance for the Presidential Guard Command
124.	7-Sep-18	Japan	FMS	\$3,135,000,000	E-2D Advanced Hawkeye Airborne Early Warning and Control Aircraft
125.	12-Sep-18	UAE	DCS	\$1,144,800	Automatic 5.56mm rifles
126.	13-Sep-18	South Korea	FMS	\$2,100,000,000	P-8A Aircraft and Associated Support
127.	13-Sep-18	South Korea	FMS	\$501,000,000	Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) Missile Segment Enhancement Missiles
128.	17-Sep-18	Egypt	FMS	\$99,000,000	120MM Tank Rounds
129.	19-Sep-18	UK	FMS	\$90,000,000	SEAL Delivery Vehicle (SDV) MK 11 Shallow Water Combat Submersibles
130.	19-Sep-18	UK	FMS	\$75,000,000	Phalanx Baseline 2 Radar Upgrade Kits
131.	24-Sep-18	Taiwan	FMS	\$330,000,000	Foreign Military Sales Order II to provide funds for blanket order requisitions
132.	25-Sep-18	Philippines	DCS	\$22,444,076	9mm semi-automatic pistols
133.	28-Sep-18	Bahrain	FMS	\$300,000,000	M31 Guided Multiple Launch Rocket System Unitary and Army Tactical Mission System T2K Unitary Missile
134.	3-Oct-18	Canada	FMS	\$300,000,000	King Air 350ER ISR Aircraft (MAISR Platform)
135.	3-Oct-18	Iraq	FMS	\$82,500,000	Armed Bell 407GX Helicopters configured with M240 7.62mm Machine Guns
136.	5-Oct-18	Malaysia	DCS	\$51,660,028	MD530G Scout/Attack helicopters, a MD530G Flight Training device, and MD530G training to Malaysian Army
137.	9-Oct-18	Netherlands	DCS	\$54,604,041	To Sweden and the Netherlands for support and repair of 35/50mm automatic chain guns for end use by the Netherlands Ministry of Defense
138.	15-Oct-18	Global	DCS	\$479,000,000	To Canada, the UK, and France for the manufacture of F/A-18A-F and derivative aircraft landing gear assemblies, sub-assemblies, parts, and components
139.	15-Oct-18	Mexico	DCS	\$140,364,750	To support the assembly and testing of certain F107-WR-105 engine assemblies
140.	15-Oct-18	Japan	DCS	\$48,754,024	For the manufacture of significant military equipment abroad to manufacture AN/ARC-182(V) VHF/UHF AM/FM radio sets
141.	16-Oct-18	South Korea	DCS	\$145,120,000	To support the manufacture, assembly, test, integration, operation, maintenance, and repair of the AN/ARC-223A and AN/ARC-164A Radio Systems and associated equipment
142.	16-Oct-18	Global	DCS	\$74,000,000	Technical data and defense services to France, Kazakhstan, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and the UK
143.	16-Oct-18	Israel	DCS	\$2,815,170	5.56mm automatic rifles and major components to the Israeli MOD
144.	19-Oct-18	UK	FMS	\$3,500,000,000	H-47 Chinook (Extended Range) Helicopters and Accessories
145.	2-Nov-18	Japan	DCS	\$100,000,000	Defense articles, including technical data and defense services
146.	2-Nov-18	Global	DCS	\$50,000,000	Defense articles, including technical data and defense services to Kuwait, Germany, Spain, and the UK
147.	2-Nov-18	Israel	DCS	\$1,000,000	Firearms

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
148.	2-Nov-18	Brazil	DCS	\$1,000,000	Firearms
149.	6-Nov-18	Israel	DCS	\$984,200,000	Defense articles, including technical data and defense services
150.	6-Nov-18	Israel	DCS	\$100,000,000	Defense articles, including technical data and defense services to the Israeli Air Force
151.	6-Nov-18	Oman	DCS	\$1,224,985	Firearms parts and components
152.	15-Nov-18	Peru	DCS	\$1,628,720	Rifles and pistols to Peru for commercial resale
153.	16-Nov-18	Japan	FMS	\$561,000,000	Standard Missile-3 (SM-3) Missiles
154.	16-Nov-18	NATO	FMS	\$325,500,000	Precision Guided Munitions
155.	16-Nov-18	Japan	FMS	\$63,000,000	AIM-120C-7 Advanced Medium-Range Air-to-Air Missiles
156.	27-Nov-18	Egypt	FMS	\$1,000,000,000	AH-64E Apache Attack Helicopters
157.	27-Nov-18	Qatar	FMS	\$215,000,000	Defense articles and services in support of a Direct Commercial Sale of the National Advanced Surface to Air Missile System (NASAMS)
158.	27-Nov-18	Egypt	FMS	\$201,000,000	120MM Tank Rounds
159.	28-Nov-18	Japan	DCS	\$119,260,575	Support for Assault Amphibious Vehicles Reliability, Availability, Maintenance/Rebuild to Standard (AAV7A1 RAM/RS) vehicles
160.	29-Nov-18	Morocco	FMS	\$1,259,000,000	Abrams Tank Enhancement, Support, and Equipment
161.	29-Nov-18	Poland	FMS	\$655,000,000	High Mobility Artillery Rocket System M142 Launchers
162.	6-Dec-18	New Zealand	DCS	\$1,100,577	Bolt-action rifles, components, and sound suppressors
163.	6-Dec-18	Global	DCS	\$641,050,000	To the Netherlands, Italy, Japan and the UK to support the delivery, manufacture, and testing of conventional edge control surfaces for the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program
164.	6-Dec-18	Global	DCS	\$312,600,000	To Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the UK to support the design, development, production, manufacture, assembly, operation, repair, testing, inspection, maintenance, modification, and upgrades of the Evolved SeaSparrow Missile (ESSM) Block 1
165.	6-Dec-18	Saudi Arabia	DCS	\$195,524,953	Support for the Patriot Air Defense System (Configuration 3), including upgrade to the Patriot Guidance Enhanced Missile-Tactical (GEMT)
166.	6-Dec-18	Philippines	DCS	\$77,150,000	To support the manufacture, integration, installation, operation, testing, maintenance, and repair of 22 TCM and 22 TCM 9R ammunition cartridges
167.	6-Dec-18	Canada	DCS	\$5,866,575	Rifles, flash hiders, and rifle major component parts for commercial resale
168.	6-Dec-18	Denmark	DCS	\$2,579,500	9mm semi-automatic pistols
169.	6-Dec-18	Peru	DCS	\$1,314,000	Semi-automatic rifles and pistols, and bolt-action rifles for commercial resale
170.	6-Dec-18	UK	DCS	\$0	To support the design, manufacture, integration, installation, operation, training, testing, maintenance, repair, marketing, and sale of the Brimstone Weapon System (ammendment only added countries to sales territory)
171.	18-Dec-18	Turkey	FMS	\$3,500,000,000	Patriot Missile System and Related Support and Equipment
172.	12-Dec-18	Canada	DCS	\$1,000,000	Rifle major component parts for commercial resale
173.	21-Dec-18	Taiwan	DCS	\$50,000,000	To Australia, Singapore, and Taiwan to support the manufacture of the AR-1500 International 1-Channel Airborne Radio for Taiwan

	DATE	COUNTRY	SALE TYPE	AMOUNT	ITEM
174.	20-Dec-18	Belgium	DCS	\$100,000,000	License ammendment for the export of defense articles
175.	20-Dec-18	Qatar	DCS	\$1,000,000	Firearms
176.	20-Dec-18	Japan	DCS	\$100,000,000	For the export of defense articles, including technical data and defense services
177.	20-Dec-18	Global	DCS	\$50,000,000	Issuance ammendment for the export of defense services to Switzerland and the UK
178.	21-Dec-18	Global	DCS	\$1,000,000	To Italy and Qatar for the manufacture of significant military equipment abroad and the export of firearm parts and components
179.	21-Dec-18	UK	DCS	\$25,000,000	Defense articles, including technical data and defense services

ENDNOTES

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4. Statistics on Obama administration arms offers are from U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), Fiscal Year Series as of September 30, 2017 at https://www.dsca.mil/sites/default/files/fiscal_year_series_-_30_september_2017.pdf
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7. SIPRI, op. cit.
8. Statistics on FMS agreements and deliveries with respect to Saudi Arabia are from DSCA, *Fiscal Year Series*, op. cit.
9. Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Looming Humanitarian Crisis in Sinai," April 23, 2018 at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/04/23/egypt-looming-humanitarian-crisis-sinai>
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12. Tulay Karadeniz, "Turkey and U.S. head for showdown over missile contracts," Reuters, March 8, 2019 at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-security-usa/turkey-and-u-s-head-for-showdown-over-missile-contracts-idUSKCN1QP17N>
13. On this point see Kessler, op. cit. and William D. Hartung, U.S. Military Support for Saudi Arabia and the War in Yemen, Center for International Policy, November 2018 at https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1_5e9019d625e84087af647e6cb91ea3e2.pdf
14. Hartung, U.S. Military Support for Saudi Arabia, op. cit.
15. Figures on U.S. jobs tied to arms exports are based on calculations by the author, using figures on arms sales deliveries from DSCA's Fiscal Year Series, op. cit.; calculations on jobs per billion generated by military spending from Heidi Garrett-Peltier, Job Opportunity Cost of War, Costs of War Project, Watson Institute, Brown University, May 24, 2017, at <https://watson.brown.edu/costsof-war/files/cow/imce/papers/2017/Job%20Opportunity%20Cost%20of%20War%20-%20HGP%20-%20FINAL.pdf> and statistics on the size of the U.S. labor force from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
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