

### Chapter 1 : "The role of Congress in arms transfer to the Middle East, " by Mohamed Elsayed Ghanem

*The Middle East and North Africa is a region where strengthened arms transfer and SALW controls are particularly needed. While a range of factors mean that states in the region are unable or unwilling to request assistance or participate in activities, a significant amount of work has been done in the Middle East and North Africa.*

Trump sees how U. For years, customers of U. Various reforms to loosen U. And in a way, it says both everything and nothing at the same time, almost anticipating criticisms from all directions and seeking to preempt them. Yet despite its comprehensive and balanced nature, the new policy has received much bad press. The biggest complaints have come from members of the arms control community and the human rights community, who have argued privately that the administration is so focused on selling that it seems to have neglected human rights considerations and nonproliferation concerns. There is strong language on, and thus recognition of, the U. Both factors are very much consistent with previous arms sales policy. The real challenge for the administration is twofold: The first is an endless struggle because it reflects the complexities of the relationships we have with friends and allies around the world. Some of these friends and allies are more sensitive to our arms transfer concerns and conditions than others. And each relationship is unique, posing a different set of challenges for U. Successful implementation is also a product of the very functioning of our inter-agency process, which has been problematic, to put it mildly. Despite recent limited progress on coordination and cooperation between the State Department and the Defense Department with the promulgation of the National Defense Authorization Act, Section , there is still a ton of room for improvement. The turf battles on security assistance in the U. There has always been an emphasis on safeguarding economic security and creating jobs through the sale of U. But Trump has made it seem like all America cares about is selling more and bigger. For example, when Trump met with Saudi Crown Prince Mohamad Bin Salman on March 20 in the Oval Office, he was so excited about how many arms Riyadh was buying from us that he brought with him charts of Saudi purchases. The press conference was embarrassing to us and the Saudis and it made many U. If the narrative and perception is to sell more, expect more hearings on the Hill in which senior administration officials get grilled by members of Congress. To be clear, I am not arguing for curtailing U. Nations will go to war and autocrats will repress societies with or without American arms. President Ronald Reagan was convinced that more was better, but at least he had a strategic objective in mind:

## Chapter 2 : It's Not Diplomacy, It's an Arms Fair " Foreign Policy

*Get this from a library! Middle East arms transfer policy: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Second Congress, first session, June 6,*

Toggle display of website navigation Argument: May 14, , 4: Sell them billions of dollars worth of advanced weapons. And the consequences, unsurprisingly, are bloody. Items on offer to GCC states have included fighter aircraft, attack helicopters, radar planes, refueling aircraft, air-to-air missiles, armored vehicles, artillery, small arms and ammunition, cluster bombs, and missile defense systems. Sales to GCC members have been the most important component of the record-level U. The surge in arms sales under Obama is rooted in two factors, one political and one economic. The political aspect of the Obama approach mirrors the path pursued by President Richard Nixon in response to the unpopularity of the Vietnam War. Obama wants to be seen as a president who ended large-scale wars, not a president who started new ones. And, as he has made clear time and again, he is particularly reluctant to put large numbers of U. Given these restrictions, the Obama administration has developed an approach to warfare designed to limit U. This has relied largely on drone strikes and the extensive use of Special Forces; but boosting arms sales advances is also a part of this hands-off approach, giving allies the equipment and training to fight terrorism on their own. The Obama administration clearly wants to create jobs in the defense industry and boost the bottom lines of major defense contractors. But these are just the major contractors; thousands of subcontractors across the United States will get a piece of the action as well. For example, in announcing the deal for selling 84 Boeing Fs to the Saudis, Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs Andrew Shapiro proudly asserted that the deal would create 50, jobs in 44 states, most notably in St. Louis, the site of the main assembly plant for the plane. Foreign sales are particularly critical for keeping alive weapons production lines that are about to be closed down as the Pentagon moves towards buying next-generation systems. Similarly, the General Dynamics M-1 tank, a program which the Army started winding down in , has been surviving based on yearly add-ons to Pentagon budget requests spearheaded by the Ohio and Michigan delegations, whose states host the main production sites for the vehicles. These efforts have been supplemented by a deal to upgrade 84 M-1s for Saudi Arabia. The Obama arms sales boom has bolstered the bottom lines of companies like Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Raytheon. Lockheed Martin has set a goal of increasing exports to 25 percent of total sales over the next few years. And a few years ago, Boeing launched an effort to get export sales in its defense division up to 25 to 30 percent, from just 7 percent in . The lengths to which U. Asked whether the administration was doing enough to advocate for U. That approach has already proved disastrous. In , the U. S-backed security forces of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates intervened to help put down the pro-democracy movement in Bahrain. Last summer, the United Arab Emirates conducted bombing raids against Islamist forces in Libya, further inflaming the situation in that country. Most recently, Saudi Arabia, armed with U. One shudders trying to imagine what comes next after the president inks billions more dollars worth of arms sales at Camp David this week.

## Chapter 3 : Nearly half of US arms exports go to the Middle East | World news | The Guardian

*Download Transcript The Trump Administration released its new Conventional Arms Transfer (CAT) policy and Unmanned Aerial Systems (UAS) export policy in April It constitutes the first update to the CAT policy since January*

## Chapter 4 : Arms trade | World | The Guardian

*Conventional Arms Transfer (CAT) Policy Share In addition to undertaking a legal review of each proposed arms transfer and third party transfers, PM/RSAT also applies the Conventional Arms Transfer Policy laid out in National Security Presidential Memorandum (NSPM, issued April 19, ) prior to making a determination.*

Chapter 5 : Trump's new arms-sales policy is good but sounds awful | Middle East Institute

*The purpose of this study is to examine how domestic considerations affect the conduct of foreign policy of the United States. Taking the role of Congress in arms transfer to the Middle East as a case in point, the study identifies the major actors in the arms transfer policymaking process, examines the dynamic and fluid relationship between those actors, explores how Congress voted on arms.*