116TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION/SENATE DOCUMENT 116–5

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2019–2020

Resolved: The United States Federal Government Should Substantially Reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of Arms from the United States

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2019–2020
Pursuant to 44 U.S.C. Section 1333

Compiled by the Congressional Research Service
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CHAPTER 13—PARTICULAR REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

Sec. 1333. National high school and college debate topics

(a) The Librarian of Congress shall prepare compilations of pertinent excerpts, bibliographical references, and other appropriate materials relating to:

(1) the subject selected annually by the National University Extension Association as the national high school debate topic and

(2) the subject selected annually by the American Speech Association as the national college debate topic.

In preparing the compilations the Librarian shall include materials which in his judgment are representative of, and give equal emphasis to, the opposing points of view on the respective topics.

(b) The compilations on the high school debate topics shall be printed as Senate documents and the compilations on the college debate topics shall be printed as House of Representative documents, the cost of which shall be charged to the congressional allotment for printing and binding. Additional copies may be printed in the quantities and distributed in the manner the Joint Committee on Printing directs.

(P.L. 90–620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1270)

Historical and Revision Notes
Based on 44 U.S. Code, 1964 ed., Supp. III, Sec. 170 [Sec. 276a] (Dec. 30, 1963, Pub. L. 88–246, Secs. 1, 2, 77 Stat. 802)

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Foreword

The 2019–2020 high school debate topic is: "Resolved: The United States Federal Government Should Substantially Reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of Arms from the United States."

In compliance with 44 U.S.C., Section 1333, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) and the Researcher and Reference Services Division of the Library of Congress prepared this bibliography to assist high school debaters in researching this topic. This bibliography is intended to assist debaters in the identification of references and resources on the subject. In selecting items for inclusion in this bibliography, the Library of Congress has sampled a wide spectrum of opinions reflected in the current literature on this topic. No preference for any policy is indicated by the selection or positioning of articles, books, or websites cited, nor is the Library's disapproval of any policy, position, or article to be inferred from its omission.

The bibliography was prepared by Audrey Crane-Hirsch, Caitlin Curran, and Laura Deal of the Knowledge Services Group, CRS, and by Kenneth Drexler and William R. Elsbury, of the History and Genealogy Section, Library of Congress, under the direction of project team leader Elizabeth Larson, with assistance from Paul K. Kerr.

We wish the best to each debater as they research, prepare, and present arguments on this year's topic.

Mary B. Mazanec, Director
Congressional Research Service

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2019-2020

RESOLVED: THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE DIRECT COMMERCIAL SALES AND/OR FOREIGN MILITARY SALES OF ARMS FROM THE UNITED STATES

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE 2019-2020 HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC

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June 2019

Introduction

The 2019-2020 high school debate topic is: "Resolved: The United States Federal Government Should Substantially Reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of Arms from the United States." The topic is selected annually by ballot of the delegates from the National Catholic Forensic League, the National Debate Coaches Association, and the National Speech and Debate Association, all organized under the umbrella organization, the National Federation of State High School Associations.

This selective bibliography, with brief annotations, is intended to assist debaters in identifying resources and references on the national debate topic. It lists citations to journal articles, books, congressional publications, legal cases, and websites. The bibliography is divided into three broad sections: basic concepts and definitions, general overviews, and specific cases.

Summary

The purpose of the bibliography is to provide students with a brief overview of information related to the 2019-2020 high school debate topic.

This compilation is not intended to provide complete coverage of the topic. Further research on the topic may be accomplished at high school, public, and research libraries.

In addition to the resources included in this bibliography, there are many more international organizations, U.S. government agencies, and non-governmental organizations that provide information on the debate topic and sub-topics on their websites. Debaters are encouraged to consult library resources as well as the internet for their research.

Basic Concepts and Definitions

Books

McCallister, Ernest B., ed. *The Management of Security Cooperation*. "Green Book" 39th ed. Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, OH: DISCS, 2019.
Available at
https://www.discs.dsca.mil/_pages/resources/default.aspx?section=publications&type=greenbook.
This annually revised publication is used by Defense Institute of Security Cooperation Studies to help in understanding the policy, precedent and procedure of security cooperation activities. It is an academic document and should not be construed as representing official policies of the U.S. government. Annex A and Annex B contain abbreviations, acronyms and a glossary of selected terms.

Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*. Washington, DC: The Joint Staff, 2019.
Available at https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/dictionary.pdf.
The purpose of this dictionary is to standardize terminology so that communication and mutual understanding may be improved between Department of Defense (DOD) agencies, other U.S. government agencies, and U.S. allies. The definition for Foreign Military Sales (FMS) is found on page 89.

Reports

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. "U.S. Arms Sales and Defense Trade: Fact Sheet." Last revised May 21, 2019.
Available at https://www.state.gov/u-s-arms-sales-and-defense-trade/.
The Department of State's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs (PM) oversees most government-to-government arms sales. Under Foreign Military Sales (FMS), PM's Office of Regional Security and Arms Transfers (PM/RSAT) manages the FMS process in close cooperation with the Department of Defense's Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA).

U.S. Government Accountability Office. *Foreign Military Sales: Controls Should Be Strengthened to Address Substantial Growth in Overhead Account Balances*, GAO-18-401. May 10, 2018.
Available at https://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-18-401.
This report describes the growth of the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) administrative account and the FMS contract administration services (CAS) account and recommends changes in account controls to better manage these FMS fee accounts.

Websites

National Defense Industrial Association. "Foreign Military Sales vs Direct Commercial Sales."
Available at http://www.ndia.org/policy/international/fms-vs-dcs.
This webpage from the National Defense Industrial Association describes and compares Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales.

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. "FAQ."
Available at https://www.dsca.mil/resources/faq.
Frequently asked questions about Foreign Military Sales, including a description of the program and comparisons to Direct Commercial Sales.

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. “Foreign Military Sales (FMS).”
Available at https://www.dsca.mil/programs/foreign-military-sales-fms.
This webpage contains a description of the Foreign Military Sales program, with links to information about related programs.

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. “Foreign Military Sales (FMS) Video.”
Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hlAghDl_fJ0.
A video tutorial of the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) process presented by Lieutenant General (LTG) Charles Hooper. General Hooper is the Director of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency.

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DCSA). “Publications.”
Available at https://www.dsca.mil/publications.
A list of the guides, handbooks, manuals, and videos on the policies and procedures of the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program published by the DCSA.

U.S. Department of State. “Bureau of Political Military Affairs (PM).”
Available at https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-arms-control-and-international-security-affairs/bureau-of-political-military-affairs/.
The Bureau of Political Military Affairs (PM) provides policy direction in the areas of international security, security assistance, military operations, defense strategy and plans, and defense trade.

U.S. Department of State. “Third Party Transfers and Foreign Military Sales Teams and Functions.”
Available at https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/pm/rsat/c14021.htm.
This site describes the responsibilities and functions of the Third Party Transfers Team and the Foreign Military Sales Team, and provides links to related topics such as the transfer process and the legal basis for arms transfers.

General Overviews

Selected Legislation, Treaties, and Policy Documents

The following resources give examples of legislation, treaties, and policy documents that have had an impact on arms sale policy. This list is not intended to be comprehensive.

Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Pub. L. No. 87-195, 22 U.S.C. 2151.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-75/pdf/STATUTE-75-Pg424-2.pdf.
The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 outlines the basis of the United States' foreign assistance policies and programs. Part II of the law authorizes military assistance to allied countries, including Foreign Military Sales "to any friendly country or international organization."

House Office of the Legislative Counsel. Compilation of the Arms Export Control Act [Pub. L. 90-629, as amended through Pub .L. 115-232]. Sept. 25, 2018.
Available at https://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/Arms%20Export%20Control%20Act.pdf.
The Arms Export Control Act (AECA) of 1976 amended the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and updated the laws regulating Foreign Military Sales. It authorizes the President to control the import and export of defense articles and defense services. It also requires congressional notification for Foreign Military Sales valued over specific amounts. Note: This compilation does not represent the official version of any federal statue. The official version of federal law is found in the United States Statutes at Large and in the United States Code.

International Traffic in Arms Regulations, 22 C.F.R. 120-130.
Available at https://pmddtc.state.gov/ddtc_public?id=ddtc_public_portal_itar_landing.
The International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) implements the export of defense articles as authorized by the AECA. It covers articles, services, and related technology designated by the U.S. Munitions List.

National Security Presidential Memorandum Regarding U.S. Conventional Arms Transfer Policy. NSPM-10. Apr. 19, 2018.
Available at https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/national-security-presidential-memorandum-regarding-u-s-conventional-arms-transfer-policy/.
This National Security Presidential Memorandum updated the Conventional Arms Transfer (CAT) Policy used by the U.S. Department of State to determine if a transfer of arms is consistent with U.S. national and economic security interests.

The United States Munitions List, 22 C.F.R. 121.
Available at https://www.ecfr.gov/cgi-bin/text-idx?SID=2d9e27dcea36669b435fdfeb56c8dd47&mc=true&node=se22.1.121_11&rgn=div8.
The U.S. Munitions List (USML) defines what a defense article or defense service is, as regulated by ITAR.

Articles

Sherzer, Harvey G., Michael T. Janik, and Allen B. Green. "Foreign Military Sales: A Guide to the United States Bureaucracy." *Journal of International Law and Economics* 13, no. 3 (1979): 545-599.
This older article provides an overview of Congress's original intentions in writing the Arms Export Control Act and in changing the laws governing Foreign Military Sales. Note that its description of the process and bureaucracy supporting Foreign Military Sales is now outdated.

Some, Paul. "Trump Administration Looks to Encourage U.S. Arms Sales Abroad Including Drone Exports." *Washington Post*, Apr. 19, 2018.
Available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-looks-to-encourage-us-arms-sales-abroad-including-drone-exports/2018/04/19/eaa432ac-4409-11e8-baaf-8b3c5a3da888_story.html.
This newspaper article describes Trump Administration policies implemented in 2018 to increase U.S. arms sales to foreign countries.

Stohl, Rachel. "Understanding the Conventional Arms Trade." *AIP Conference Proceedings* 1898, no. 1 (2018).
Available at https://aip.scitation.org/doi/pdf/10.1063/1.5009220.
This article provides an overview of international and national-level mechanisms for controlling the conventional arms trade.

Thrall, Trevor and Caroline Dorminey. "A New Framework for Assessing the Risks from U.S. Arms Sales." *War on the Rocks*, June 13, 2018.
Available at https://warontherocks.com/2018/06/a-new-framework-for-assessing-the-risks-from-u-s-arms-sales/.
This article discusses risks associated with foreign arms sales and proposes a new "risk index" for use in evaluating potential arms recipients.

Waltz, Susan. "U.S. Small Arms Policy: Having it Both Ways." *World Policy Journal* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 67-80.
Available at https://read.dukeupress.edu/world-policy-journal/article/24/2/67/100195/U-S-Small-Arms-Policy-Having-It-Both-Ways.
The author reviews U.S. laws and regulations regarding foreign sales of small arms and argues that there is a gap between the stated policy of accountability and transparency and actual practice.

Reports

Mahanty, Daniel and Annie Shiel. *With Great Power: Modifying U.S. Arms Sales to Reduce Civilian Harm*. Washington, DC: The Center for Civilians in Conflict and the Stimson Center, 2018.
Available at https://www.stimson.org/content/great-power-modifying-us-arms-sales-reduce-civilian-harm-0.
This report provides an overview of existing international and domestic arms sale regulations and proposes changes to existing U.S. laws and policy in order to reduce civilian harm associated with U.S.-sold weapons.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *The U.S. Export Control System and the Export Control Reform Initiative,* by Ian F. Fergusson and Paul K. Kerr. R41916.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R41916.
This report describes the federal regulations and government agencies involved in the export of sensitive materials and technologies from the United States, including defense articles and services.

Websites

Office of Export Control. Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation. "Overview of U.S. Export Control System."
Available at https://2009-2017.state.gov/strategictrade/overview/index.htm.
This site from the Department of State explains the policy goals and building blocks of the U.S. export control system. It outlines the parts of U.S. law related to exports, including the Arms Export Control Act, International Traffic in Arms Regulations, and the U.S. Munitions List.

Request and Procurement Process

Articles

Little, Thomas D. "End-use Monitoring is the Key to Success in Foreign Military Sales." *Army Sustainment Magazine*, Sept.-Oct. 2017.
Available at https://www.army.mil/article/192447/end_use_monitoring_is_the_key_to_success_in_foreign_military_sales.
This article explains how the United States verifies that arms transferred via Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales are not used for purposes which violate the Arms Export Control Act.

Reports

Gilman, Derek, Robert Nichols, Jade C. Totman, Christine Minarich. *Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales*. Sept. 30, 2014.
Available at https://www.dsca.mil/sites/default/files/final-fms-dcs_30_sep.pdf.
This report produced for the Defense Security Cooperation Agency provides an overview of the bureaucratic process followed for Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales and the legal framework of both.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Foreign Military Sales: Process and Policy*, hearing. 115th Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2017.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg25841/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg25841.pdf.
In this hearing, the testimony of Ambassador Tina S. Kaidanow and Vice Admiral Joseph Rixey provides an overview of the process of Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales and the legislation and policies which regulate them.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. "U.S. Arms Sales and Defense Trade: Fact Sheet." Last revised May 21, 2019.
Available at https://www.state.gov/u-s-arms-sales-and-defense-trade/
This fact sheet explains the purpose of arms sales and defense trade and provides a basic overview of the process of Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Arms Sales: Congressional Review Process*, by Paul K. Kerr. RL31675.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=RL31675.
The Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress be notified by the President of Foreign Military Sales which exceed certain dollar amounts. This report describes the process by which Congress reviews those proposed sales.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015*, by Catherine A. Theohary. R44716.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R44716.
This report provides data on conventional arms transfers by the United States to developing nations via Foreign Military Sales.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *U.S. Security Assistance and Security Cooperation Programs: Overview of Funding Trends,* by Susan B. Epstein and Liana W. Rosen. R45091.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R45091.
This overview discusses changes proposed by the Trump administration to the Foreign Military Financing program, which provides grants and loans to countries purchasing U.S. defense articles and services.

Websites

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. "Defense Trade and Arms Transfers."
Available at https://dsca.mil/programs/defense-trade-and-arms-transfers.
The Defense Security Cooperation Agency oversees Foreign Military Sales as authorized by the Arms Export Control Act. The agency's website contains a basic overview of Foreign Military Sales and related programs like Foreign Military Financing. Its news section contains press releases about major arms sales and total annual U.S. arms sales overseas.

U.S. Defense Pricing and Contracting (DPC). *Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement 225.73, Acquisitions for Foreign Military Sales*.
Available at https://www.acq.osd.mil/dpap/dars/dfars/html/current/225_73.htm.
Official policies and procedures of the acquisitions process for Foreign Military Sales (FMS) under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. Chapter 39). It was last revised on June 29, 2018.

Impact on the Defense Industrial Base

Articles

Benard, Alexander. "American Needs to Sell More Weapons." *Wall Street Journal*, July 1, 2018.
In this op-ed, Benard argues the United States' arms transfer regulations are too restrictive and should be loosened.

Caverley, Jonathan D. "Slowing the Proliferation of Major Conventional Weapons: The Virtues of an Uncompetitive Market." *Ethics & International Affairs* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2017): 401-418.
Available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/ethics-and-international-affairs/article/slowing-the-proliferation-of-major-conventional-weapons-the-virtues-of-an-uncompetitivemarket/9D39D7CB982F491FF19BBD413779DDA4#.
In this article, Caverley argues that the United States' dominance of the global arms market serves to slow the proliferation of conventional weapons and lower worldwide levels of corruption (and associated violence) in the arms industry. As the international market becomes more competitive, he proposes that the United States should form "an informal cartel" with other arms suppliers to continue to moderate the spread of weapons.

Caverley, Jonathan D. "America's Arms Sales Policy: Security Abroad, Not Jobs at Home." *War on the Rocks,* Apr. 6, 2018.
Available at https://warontherocks.com/2018/04/americas-arms-sales-policy-security-abroad-not-jobs-at-home/.
Caverley analyzes the number of jobs created by increasing U.S. arms exports, and argues that the industry is an inefficient job creator when compared to other sectors, and therefore instead of focusing on economic benefits, U.S. arms export policy should prioritize foreign policy goals and international security concerns. He also argues that current U.S. export regulations are "a powerful latent foreign policy tool" and should not be loosened.

Gholz, Eugene. "Conventional Arms Transfers and U.S. Economic Security." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 42-65.
Available at
https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-13_Issue-1/Gholz.pdf.
Gholz examines the Trump Administration's April 2019 revisions to the U.S. Conventional Arms Transfer policy (see NSPM-10 above) with a focus on the new requirement that decision-making take into consideration "the transfer's financial or economic effect on United States industry and its effect on the defense industrial base." Gholz provides an overview of arms transfers' potential economic effects and proposes ways to measure them.

"The Global Arms Trade is Booming. Buyers are Spoiled for Choice." *The Economist*, Aug. 18, 2018.
Available at https://www.economist.com/international/2018/08/18/the-global-arms-trade-is-booming-buyers-are-spoiled-for-choice.
This news article reports on the growing global demand for arms. The author contends that although the United States is still the leading supplier of conventional weapons, there is increasing international competition for arms sales.

Korte, Gregory. "Hawking Drones to U.S. Allies, Trump Loosens Policy on Arms Sales to Foreign Countries." *USA Today*, Apr. 19, 2018.
Available at https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/04/19/trump-military-equipment-loosens-restrictions-arms-sales/532668002/.
This article reports on the Trump Administration's policy on the sale of drones to foreign governments and the processing of arms sales.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). "Asia and the Middle East Lead Rising Trend in Arms Imports, U.S. Exports Grow Significantly, Says SIPRI." *SIPRI*, Mar. 12, 2018.
Available at https://www.sipri.org/news/press-release/2018/asia-and-middle-east-lead-rising-trend-arms-imports-us-exports-grow-significantly-says-sipri.
This press release discusses data released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute covering international arms sales from 2013-2017.

Reports

Eaglen, Mackenzie, and Eric Sayers. *Maintaining the Superiority of America's Defense Industrial Base.* Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, 2009.
Available at https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/maintaining-the-superiority-americas-defense-industrial-base.
This report asserts that America's defense industrial base plays a vital part in providing the U.S. military with the equipment necessary to accomplish its goals. It also states that Congress should seek out Foreign Military Sales opportunities and streamline the sales process in order to maintain a healthy industrial base.

Hartung, William and Christina Arabia. *Trends in Major U.S. Arms Sales in 2018: The Trump Record—Rhetoric vs. Reality*. Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, 2019.
Available at https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1_44475f2b94464e77b57c6d33953dc939.pdf.
This report argues that Foreign Military Sales contracts are concentrated in a small number of companies, and discusses factors relating to arms sales and job creation. It also makes recommendations aimed at improving the transparency and accountability of the arms sales process.

Herbert, Wayne M. "The effects of the U.S. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program in preserving the Defense Industrial Base." PhD diss., Naval Postgraduate School, 1998.
Available at https://apps.dtic.mil/docs/citations/ADA357006.
This thesis examines the impact that Foreign Military Sales can have on the preservation of the defense industrial base as well as offers recommendations for the arms transfer process.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. *U.S. Industry Perspectives on the Department of Defense's Policies, Roles, and Responsibilities for Foreign Military Sales*, hearing. 114th Cong., 2nd sess., May 11, 2016. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2016.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-114hhrg20790/pdf/CHRG-114hhrg20790.pdf.
Transcript of the hearing before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations where a representative from the National Defense Industrial Association and another from the Aerospace Industries Association testified on industry's experience with the FMS.

U.S. Department of Defense. *Assessing and Strengthening the Manufacturing and Defense Industrial Base and Supply Chain Resiliency of the United States: Report to President Donald J. Trump by the Interagency Task Force in Fulfillment of Executive Order 13806*. Sept. 2018.
Available at https://media.defense.gov/2018/Oct/05/2002048904/-1/-1/1/ASSESSING-AND-STRENGTHENING-THE-MANUFACTURING-AND%20DEFENSE-INDUSTRIAL-BASE-AND-SUPPLY-CHAIN-RESILIENCY.PDF.
Following an executive order, this report details the factors impacting the defense industrial base. It assesses the risks, identifies the impacts, and offers recommendations for improvements.

Websites

Security Assistance Monitor, Center for International Policy. "Arms Sales Dashboard."
Available at https://securityassistance.org/content/arms-sales-dashboard.
The Arms Sales Dashboard is a data visualization tool which shows U.S. arms sales by country with data from 2000 to present. It also shows the sales by categories, including Foreign Military Sales and Direct Commercial Sales and the recipients.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security "Defense Industrial Base Sector."
Available at https://www.dhs.gov/cisa/defense-industrial-base-sector.
This site provides background and information on the defense industrial base sector.

Impact of International Organizations and Military Alliances

Articles

Elliot, Adriane. "Maximizing Foreign Military Sales Provides Multiple Benefits: Mission Strengthens Readiness, Partnerships, Finances." *Army Magazine* 68, no. 8 (Aug. 2018): 34-35.
This article discusses the role of the U.S. Army Security Assistance Command, which manages foreign arms sales. It argues that Foreign Military Sales increase Army readiness, strengthen international partnerships, and have a financial value.

Stohl, Rachel. "Questionable Reward: Arms Sales and the War on Terrorism." *Arms Control Today* 38, no. 1 (2008): 17-23.
Available at https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008_01-02/stohl.
The author discusses the United States' use of arms sales to countries identified as key allies in the war on terrorism and presents possible negative long-term effects.

Van Horn, Bob. "Using Foreign Military Sales to Support Military-to-Military Cooperation." *Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM) Journal* 29, no. 2 (Apr. 2007): 149-153.
Available at https://www.discs.dsca.mil/Pubs/Indexes/Vol%2029_2/Van%20Horn.pdf.
The author argues that in some circumstances, the use of Foreign Military Sales can support military-to-military cooperation, but should not completely replace other programs that support cooperation.

Yarhi-Milo, Keren, Alexander Lanoszka, and Zack Cooper. "To Arm or to Ally? The Patron's Dilemma and the Strategic Logic of Arms Transfers and Alliances." *International Security* 41, no. 2 (2016): 90-139.
Available at https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/10.1162/ISEC_a_00250.
The authors present the conditions under which great powers offer client state arms, alliance agreements, or in some cases both.

Books

Root, Hilton L. "Economic Logic of the Alliance Curse." In *Alliance Curse: How America Lost the Third World*, 3-14. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008.
Available at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/alliancecurse_chapter.pdf.
In this chapter, the author discusses the creation of asymmetric alliances through the use of arms sales, which may result in future liabilities.

Websites

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). "Arms-control, disarmament and non-proliferation in NATO."
Available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_48895.htm.
This site provides an overview of NATO's role in arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation policy.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance.
"World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers."
Available at https://www.state.gov/world-military-expenditures-and-arms-transfers/.
Website includes the "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers" (WMEAT), a series of publications that provide data accompanied by analyses and highlights on military spending and arms transfers worldwide.

Specific Cases

U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. "Major Arms Sales."
Available at https://www.dsca.mil/major-arms-sales.
Listing of the notifications to Congress of possible major arms sales approved by the Department of State. The notifications contain the name of the country, the type of equipment, and the estimated cost of the sale. The listings on this page are of all countries in reverse chronological order. Country-specific information can be found by typing the country name in a search bar at the top right of the page.

Asia and the Pacific

Articles

Abercrombie, Cara. "Removing Barriers to U.S.-India Defense Trade." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Jan. 10, 2018.
Available at https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/01/10/removing-barriers-to-u.s.-india-defense-trade-pub-75206.
Abercrombie contends that increased defense trade between the U.S. and India will strengthen the strategic partnership between the two countries. The author investigates bureaucratic obstacles that might currently hinder arms trade and offers suggestions for improving existing policies.

Bitzinger, Richard. “Asia’s Arms Bazaar: Growing Market for China, US.” *RSIS Commentaries*, no. 158 (Oct. 2018).
Available at https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/co18159-asias-arms-bazaar-growing-market-for-china-us/.
The author provides an overview of the current state of the Asian arms market, including recent sales data. He contends that an increasing demand in the region for more sophisticated weapons is good news for both Chinese and American defense companies.

Caverley, Jonathan D. and Ethan B. Kapstein. “Who's Arming Asia?” *Survival* 58, no. 2 (Mar. 18, 2016): 167-184.
The authors contend that U.S. arms sales are a critical component of maintaining influence in Asia. They argue that a recent decline in U.S. market share puts American foreign policy goals in the region at risk.

Dasgupta, Sunil and Stephen P. Cohen. "Arms Sales for India: How Military Trade could Energize U.S.-Indian Relations." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (Mar. 2011): 22-26.
The authors examine the strategic benefits of arms sales between the U.S. and India, as well as current obstacles to growth. The authors contend that political concessions will need to be made by both countries in order to increase military trade.

Dorschner, Jon P. "Are South Asian Arms Sales in the U.S. National Interest?" *American Diplomacy* (Apr. 27, 2016): 1-3.
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Farley, Robert. “Can China Replace the United States as the World's Top Arms Dealer?” *The Diplomat*, Nov. 21, 2017.
Available at https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/can-china-replace-the-us-as-the-worlds-top-arms-dealer/.
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Harold, Scott W. “Why Has Obama Lifted the Arms Sales Ban on Vietnam?” *Newsweek*, May 25, 2016.
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This article examines the reasons behind the decision to lift the arms sales ban on Vietnam. The author contends that U.S. arms sales will help further enhance U.S. influence in Vietnam and the entire region.

Harper, Jon. "Industrial Concerns Shaping Asia-Pacific Arms Market." *National Defense* 102, no. 775 (June 2018): 27-29.
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Available at https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/singapore-airshow/2018/02/07/us-looks-to-increase-weapons-exports-to-vietnam-decrease-russian-influence/.
U.S. efforts to increase arms deals with Vietnam are explored in this article. Current obstacles to U.S. arms sales to Vietnam are discussed.

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Available at https://www.cnas.org/publications/commentary/arms-sales-and-american-interests.
The author argues that U.S. arms sales are an important factor in maintaining influence in Asia. By selling simpler and more cost-effective weapons to Asian countries, Kapstein contends that the U.S. can boost its own domestic economy and promote its foreign policy interests in the region.

Kastner, Scott L., William Reed, and Ping-Kuei Chen. "Mostly Bark, Little Bite? Modeling US Arms Sales to Taiwan and the Chinese Response." *Issues and Studies* 49, no. 3 (Sept. 2013): 111-150.
The authors create a model that examines Chinese reaction to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. The model explores domestic and international tradeoffs that China must face when responding to U.S. arms sales.

Malik, Nukhbat. “China Outpaces US in Arms Supply to Pakistan.” *Voice of America*, Mar. 13, 2018.
Available at https://www.voanews.com/a/china-outpaces-us-arms-supply-pakistan/4297350.html.
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Available at https://www.orfonline.org/research/institutionalising-india-us-defence-ties-in-american-legislative-precedents-48539/.
The author examines the role of the 116th Congress as it relates to U.S.-India arms trade and technology transfers. He contends that the 116th Congress will provide greater oversight on U.S. arms exports.

Mistry, Dinshaw. “US Arms Sales to India.” *Asia Pacific Bulletin*, no. 271 (July 8, 2014).
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https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2018/06/08/shangri-la-arms-race-or-follow-the-money/.
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Storey, Ian. "US assault on Russian arms exports could misfire in Asia." *Nikkei Asian Review*, Nov. 21, 2018.
Available at https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/US-assault-on-Russian-arms-exports-could-misfire-in-Asia.
The author argues that U.S. attempts to limit Russian weapons exports may inadvertently help China by increasing Chinese arms sales to Southeast Asian countries.

Woody, Christopher. "Trump Wants to Ramp up US Arms Sales, and a Top Diplomat is Pushing Weapons Deals in China's Backyard." *Business Insider*, Feb. 6, 2018.
Available at https://www.businessinsider.com/us-diplomat-singapore-airshow-trump-weapons-sales-push-2018-2.
Discusses the Trump Administration's "Buy American" plan as it relates to arms sales in Asia. Explains that U.S. military attaches and diplomats will be used to promote defense trade throughout the region.

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Cronin, Patrick M., Jonathan W. Greenert, Shirley Kahn, Peter Mattis, and Michael Mazza. *Strengthening U.S.-Taiwan Defense Relations*. Washington, DC: The National Bureau of Asian Research, May 2018.
Available at https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/us-taiwan_defense_relations_roundtable_may2018.pdf.
This report contains four essays that explore U.S.-Taiwan defense relations, including references to past and current U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. The essays examine congressional support for Taiwan, the National Defense Authorization Act and Taiwan, the Trump Administration's Taiwan policy, and China's pressure on Taiwan.

Gopalaswamy, Bharath. *India's Quest for Fighter Jets: Make in India vs. Make America Great Again*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, 2018.
Available at http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/India-Report-FINAL.pdf.
The author suggests that the sale of U.S. fighter jets to India will boost the strategic convergence between the two countries and will help contain China's influence in the region.

Kok, Piin-Fen and David J. Firestein. *Threading the Needle: Proposals for U.S. and Chinese Actions on Arms Sales to Taiwan*. New York: East West Institute, 2013.
Available at https://www.eastwest.ngo/idea/threading-needle-proposals-us-and-chinese-actions-arms-sales-taiwan.
The EastWest Institute's report explores political and military issues related to U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Policy proposals are offered to manage the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and China and to help decrease tensions over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. *The Military Posture and Security Challenges in the Indo-Asia-Pacific Region*, hearing. 115th Cong., 2nd sess., Feb. 14, 2018. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2018.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/CHRG-115hhrg28993/CHRG-115hhrg28993.
This hearing looks at defense and security issues related to the Indo-Asia-Pacific Region. The statement of Admiral Harry B. Harris Jr, U.S. Navy Commander, U.S. Pacific Command, presents an overview of military relations in the region, including some references to Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) to specific countries.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific. *Renewing Assurances: Strengthening U.S.-Taiwan Ties*, hearing. 115th Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2017.
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This hearing looks at the current state of U.S.-Taiwan relations that includes testimony and statistics related to U.S. arms sales. It contains testimony from the U.S.-Taiwan Business Council, American Enterprise Institute, and the Global Taiwan Institute.

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This report explores the current state of U.S.-Indian relations, including a brief overview of defense trade between the two countries.

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U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *U.S.-Vietnam Economic and Trade Relations: Key Issues in 2018*, by Michael F. Martin. R45172.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R45172.
This report provides an overview of U.S.-Vietnam trade relations. It includes a section on U.S. arms sales to Vietnam.

Middle East

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The author argues that Israel's ability to engage in a preemptive strike against potential Iranian nuclear weapon development, possibly facilitated by Iran's 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is a military and foreign policy benefit to the United States, made possible primarily through Israeli acquisition of U.S. weapons through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. The author contends that the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) should be amended, to ensure that Israel's access to the FMS program is not curtailed on grounds that such a preemptive attack might not be considered "legitimate self-defense" under the current AECA statute.

Dewan, Angela. Graphics by Henrik Petterson. "These Are the Countries Still Selling Arms to Saudi Arabia." CNN, Nov. 23, 2018.
Available at
https://www.cnn.com/2018/11/22/middleeast/arms-exports-saudi-arabia-intl/index.html.
This article provides statistics on the countries selling arms to Saudi Arabia. The United Kingdom, the second-largest supplier to Saudi Arabia, decreased its deliveries by almost 50% from 2016 to 2017, while the U.S. nearly doubled its exports.

Gilsinan, Kathy. "Why the U.S Can't Quit Saudi Arabia." *The Atlantic*, Oct. 16, 2018.
Available at https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/10/jamal-khashoggi-american-saudi-counterterrorism-relationship/573148/.
The author traces the history of U.S.-Saudi relations with a focus on recent events. She examines the tensions of a relationship described as founded on shared interests, but not shared values.

"The Global Arms Trade: Masters of War." *The Economist* 428, no. 9105, Aug. 18, 2018: 47-48.
The article reports that the international arms market is volatile, with total demand growing, more sellers, and a buyer's market for developing nations. It contends that U.S. arms-export policy delicately balances economic and geopolitical opportunity against preventing the transfer of technologies that could destabilize war zones or be used against the United States—a strategy some commentators argue can be counter-productive.

Harper, Jon. "Middle East Arms Imports Expected to Remain Robust." *National Defense* 102, no. 775 (June 2018): 24-26.
Available at http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/articles/2018/6/8/middle-east-arms-imports-expected-to-remain-robust.
The author surveys military sales orders by multiple countries in the Middle East, including defensive systems such as aircraft and missile defense, as well as offensive technology such as fighter jets, transport aircraft, helicopters, airborne platforms for intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, and drones. The article observes that some countries in the Middle East have had little trouble finding new arms sources when long-time suppliers have reduced or ended their sales.

Osborne, Tony. "UAE Leaning to Russia Could be Price of U.S. Arms Sale Inaction." *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, Feb. 27, 2017.
The author depicts the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as a key U.S. and NATO ally in the Persian Gulf and Middle East, but reports that the United States' refusal to let the UAE (and other Gulf states) acquire advanced combat aircraft, such as the U.S. F-35 fighter jet, has pushed the UAE to partner with Russia to develop new fighter aircraft for the 2020s.

Vittori, Jodi. "American Weapons in the Wrong Hands." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Feb. 19, 2019.
Available at
https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/02/19/american-weapons-in-wrong-hands-pub-78408.
The article discusses arms purchases by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. It articulates reasons the United States should conduct a full-scale review of U.S. Army sales to the Gulf region and provides examples of Gulf States diverting U.S. arms. It calls for the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Department of Commerce to do a better job monitoring arms sales.

Books

Riedel, Bruce. *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States since FDR*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2018.
The author, a former National Security Council staffer and CIA analyst, uses declassified documents, Saudi and American memoirs, and eyewitness accounts to provide an inside look at the complex partnership between the two countries. Includes discussions of U.S. weapons sales to Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Reports

Council on Foreign Relations. *U.S.-Saudi Arabia Relations*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. Last updated Dec. 7, 2018.
Available at https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-saudi-arabia-relations.
This report provides background on the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. It discusses the seventy-year alliance, oil, defense and counterterrorism, the war in Yemen, and financial ties.

Thrall, A. Trevor and Caroline Dorminey. *Risky Business: The Role of Arms Sales in U.S. Foreign Policy*. *Policy Analysis* (Cato Institute), No. 836, Mar. 13, 2018. Available at https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/risky-business-role-arms-sales-us-foreign-policy.
This analysis issued by the libertarian Cato Institute provides a detailed discussion of the forces that shape U.S. arms sales. The authors find that the economic and strategic benefits from widespread arms sales are limited and uncertain, and are greatly overshadowed by negative unintended consequences for the U.S., those buying weapons, and the regional conflicts where U.S. weapons are put to use. The authors urge the U.S. to revise its policies to improve risk assessments, ban sales to countries where the risks of negative consequences are too high, and allow sales only in the limited case where they will directly enhance American security.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa. *Challenges and Opportunities for the U.S.-Saudi Arabia Relationship*, hearing. 115th Cong., 1st sess. June 13, 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2017. Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg25839/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg25839.pdf.
This hearing examines the extent to which (if at all) Saudi Arabia has used arms purchased from the U.S. to engage in human rights violations, especially in the war in Yemen. Witnesses testify on whether the U.S. should reduce arms sales to Saudi Arabia, sell only defensive weapons systems to Saudi Arabia, or impose additional constraints on Saudi Arabia's use of weapons purchased from the United States.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa. *Implications of a U.S.-Saudi Arabia Nuclear Cooperation Agreement for the Middle East*, hearing. 115th Cong., 2nd sess. Mar. 21, 2018. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2018.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg29389/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg29389.pdf.
This hearing examined Saudi Arabia's plans to develop 16 nuclear power plants and the possibility that it could use uranium and nuclear enrichment resources from the U.S. and other countries to develop nuclear weapons. Witnesses discussed whether Saudi Arabia met current criteria for approval of U.S. sales under Section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act, and what conditions, if any, should be put on potential authorizations for the transfer of U.S. technology.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade. *The U.S. Saudi Arabia Counterterrorism Relationship*, hearing. 114th Cong., 2nd sess., May 24, 2016. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2016. Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-114hhrg20256/pdf/CHRG-114hhrg20256.pdf.
A hearing to examine the progress of Saudi Arabia's efforts to combat terrorism. Witnesses discuss how the United States and Saudi Arabia have worked together to combat terrorism, as well as addressing aspects of Saudi society and domestic policies that impact that work.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade. *Foreign Military Sales: Process and Policy*, hearing. 115th Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2017. Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg25841/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg25841.pdf.
Hearing on the Foreign Military Sales process and some of the inefficiencies with the process that result in allies turning to foreign competitors. It discusses the U.S. interest in providing Saudi Arabia with arms to counter threats against the U.S. posed by Iran. It also discusses U.S. concerns with the Saudi-led military coalition committing war crimes in Yemen and the Saudi campaign to export anti-Western literature and ideology throughout the world.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *U.S. Policy toward a Turbulent Middle East*, hearing. 115th Cong., 2nd sess., Apr. 18, 2018. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2018.
Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg29814/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg29814.pdf.
This hearing addressed U.S. interests concerning commercial, diplomatic, human rights, and other issues in the Middle East. Responses from State Department officials to written "questions for the record" after the hearing address arms sales to Libya.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. "U.S. Relations with Egypt: Fact Sheet." Last revised July 18, 2018.
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Available at https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-israel/.
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This fact sheet presents an overview of United States relations with Turkey, including security cooperation and bilateral economic relations.

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This fact sheet presents an overview of United States relations with United Arab Emirates, including United States' security assistance and bilateral economic relations.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. "U.S. Security Cooperation with Saudi Arabia: Fact Sheet" Last revised May 21, 2019.
Available at https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-saudi-arabia/.
This fact sheet presents an overview of United States security cooperation with Saudi Arabia, the United States' largest Foreign Military Sales customer, including its role in counterterrorism efforts and regional stability.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Arms Sales in the Middle East: Trends and Analytical Perspectives for U.S. Policy*, by Clayton Thomas. R44984.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R44984.
This report analyzes arms sales in the Middle East. It includes discussions on the role of arms sales in U.S. policy, regional developments, major regional country profiles, and potential issues for Congress.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008–2015*, by Catherine A. Theohary. R44716.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R44716.
This report provides context to understand the scope and significance of foreign arms sales, both from the United States and from other countries. Numerous tables provide quantitative data, distinguishing the monetary value of arms *agreements* from arms *deliveries*. The report also surveys trends and historical reasons for particular nation-to-nation relationships.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations*, by Jeremy Sharp. RL33003.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=RL33003.
This report presents an overview of United States relations with Egypt. It includes sections on U.S. military aid and arms sales, terrorism and Islamist militancy, and Egypt's foreign policy with other key countries.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Israel: Background and U.S. Relations*, by Jim Zanotti. RL33476.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=RL33476.
This report provides background and analysis on United States relations with Israel. It includes sections on U.S. aid and arms sales, Israeli security and challenges, and security cooperation between the two countries.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Turkey: Background and U.S. Relations in Brief*, by Jim Zanotti and Clayton Thomas. R44000.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=R44000.
This report provides background and analysis on United States relations with Turkey. It includes sections on F-35 aircraft acquisition, Turkey's military operations in Syria, and Turkey's political and economic trajectories.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *United Arab Emirates: Background and U.S. Relations*, by Kenneth Katzman. RS21852.
Available at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=RS21852.
This report provides background and analysis on United States relations with the United Arab Emirates (UAE). It includes discussions on defense cooperation with the United States, including U.S. and other arms sales; UAE policy toward regional conflicts; and human rights-related issues.

Zenko, Micah and Sarah Kreps. *Limiting Armed Drone Proliferation*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2014.
Available at https://www.cfr.org/report/limiting-armed-drone-proliferation.
The authors observe that although the U.S. is the world's leader in possessing and using armed drones, other nations are eager for the technology, either by developing internal capacities, or, in the cases of Pakistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), by buying them. The authors argue that the U.S. has a critical opportunity and a unique responsibility to shape worldwide norms for the sale of armed drones. They urge that the U.S. should adopt a strict export control policy.

SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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"Resolved: The United States Federal Government Should Substantially Reduce Direct Commercial Sales and/or Foreign Military Sales of Arms from the United States."

Assessing the Department of Defense's Execution of Responsibilities in the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Program (hearing, May 17, 2016)

Available at: http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo77715

Publisher: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

Year/Pages: 2017; 79 p.

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Year/Pages: 2019; 1,173 p.

Print price: $68.00

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Year/Pages: 2018; 465 p.

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Publisher: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

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Print price: N/A

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Publisher: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs

Year/Pages: 2011; 105 p.

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Publisher: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs

Year/Pages: 2012; 75 p.

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Reforming U.S. Export Controls Reforms: Advancing U.S. Army Interests

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Publisher: Defense Dept., Army, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute

Year/Pages: 2015; 103 p.

Print price: $14.00

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