The views expressed are solely those of the author and do not represent official US Government policy.

# The US – Saudi Arms Deal(s) after Khashoggi

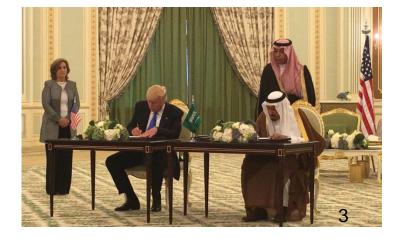
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### Sales Approved Prior to Riyadh

- SLAM-ER \$3B
- JSOW \$645M
- 4 LCS, \$6.028B
- Land ammo, \$63M
- 153 Tanks, \$880M
- 48 Chinook, \$533M
- 10 Aerostats, \$525M
- Sustainment \$1.185
  Total: \$13.748B



### Sales Notified After Riyadh 2017

- 26 TPQ-53 Radar, \$662M, June 17
- Air Force training, \$750M, June 17
- Navy Training, \$250M, May 17
- THAAD, \$15B Oct 17

Total: \$16.62B



### Sales Notified After Riyadh 2018

- Patriot Support Services, \$.5B, Jan 18\*
- Helo Maint, \$107M, Mar 18\*
- FSLF General Maint, \$300M, Mar 18
- 6600 TOW, \$670M, Mar 18
- 180 M109 HOW, \$1.31B, Apr 18
   Total: \$2.22B



### Ranger Math

- LOAs Prior to Riyadh:
- LOAs 2017:
- LOAs 2018:

\$13.75B \$16.62B \$2.22B \$32.59B

# Remainder to be announced / approved: \$77.41B

# What's Pending?

Saudi Land Forces

- 400 BIFV modernization, \$2.4B
- 213 BIFV new, \$1.4B
- 19 Army Blackhawk \$1.2B
- FA upgrade \$4B
- Apache upgrade \$2B

### Saudi Command and Control

- C4I System \$18B
- 4 SATCOM / SBEWS \$4.8B

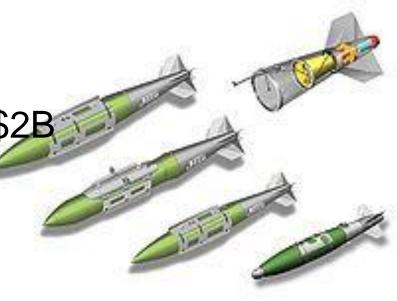
# What's Pending?

Air Force

- -23 C130, \$5.8B
- Various PGMS: \$7.06B
- F-15 sustainment (8 years) \$6.2B
- 30 Blackhawk Rescue \$1.8B
- -LCAS AC \$2B

Navy

- MK-VI Patrol Boats \$2B
- Patrol AC \$2B
- MH 60 (14) \$2B
- SNEP2 (4) \$6B







# THAAD ISSUES

- Deal signed November 2018
- Big buy (7 batteries / 44 launchers) ((USA has 7 batteries (200 interceptors), UAE has 2))
- Expensive: \$15B (with \$3.5B discount)
- Earliest fielding: 2023
- Local Production?
- S-400?

### **Congressional Angst**







### **Congressional Angst**

#### Yemen Civilian Casualties

(s 1290 2017 NDAA)

Second, in response to Section 1290(c)(1)(C)(i), you certified that the two governments are "complying with applicable agreements and laws regulating defense articles purchased or transferred from the United States." However, in direct and explicit contrast, on page 4 of the MoJ, the administration says, "The Administration also assesses that Saudi Arabia and the UAE are complying with applicable U.S. laws governing the sale and transfer of arms, including the Arms Export Control Act, with rare exception." We do not understand a certification that the Saudi and Emirati governments are complying with applicable agreements and laws regulating defense articles when the MoJ explicitly states that, in certain instances, they have not done so.

In response to these facts, we ask that you provide written and unclassified answers to the following questions no later than October 31:

- From November 2017 to August 2018, what has been the percent increase in civilian casualties and deaths, respectively, due to Saudi coalition airstrikes in Yemen? Please provide the two unclassified percentages.
- 2. Given the dramatic increase in civilian casualties and deaths due to airstrikes in Yemen, how can the administration credibly certify that Saudi Arabia and the UAE are undertaking "demonstrable actions to reduce the risk of harm to civilians"?
- Please provide details regarding all exceptions in which Saudi Arabia or the UAE have not complied with "applicable U.S. laws governing the sale and transfer of arms, including the Arms Export Control Act..." in Yemen.
- 4. Since the administration has explicitly acknowledged in the MoJ that the Saudi Arabia and UAE have not fully complied with U.S. laws governing the sale and transfer of arms, including the Arms Export Control Act, how can the administration credibly make the certification required under Section 1290(c)(1)(C)(i)?

We remain committed to working with you to promote America's national security interests and humanitarian principles in Yemen. We know you share our goals of ending the civil war, alleviating the humanitarian crisis, and protecting civilians. We also agree that the continuing civil war, worsening humanitarian crisis, and ongoing killing of civilians by the Saudi coalition only serves the interests of Iran and emboldens extremists who seek to harm Americans and our partners. Those are some of the reasons we are concerned that your initial certification, despite several troubling facts, leaves the Saudi-led coalition with the fundamental misunderstanding that the American people and their representatives in Congress are willing to accept the status quo in Yemen.

### More Congressional Angst

- McGovern Bill
  - Constitutional issues
  - Bipartisan



H. R. 7070

To prohibit the provision of United States security assistance to the Government of Saudi Arabia pending a determination by the Secretary of State regarding the status of Jamal Khashoggi, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

October 16, 2018

Mr. MCGOVERN (for himself, Mr. JONES, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. MASSIE, Ms. SCHAROWSKY, Mr. WELCH, Mr. HUFFMAN, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. AMASH) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

#### A BILL

To prohibit the provision of United States security assistance to the Government of Saudi Arabia pending a determination by the Secretary of State regarding the status of Jamal Khashoggi, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-

2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

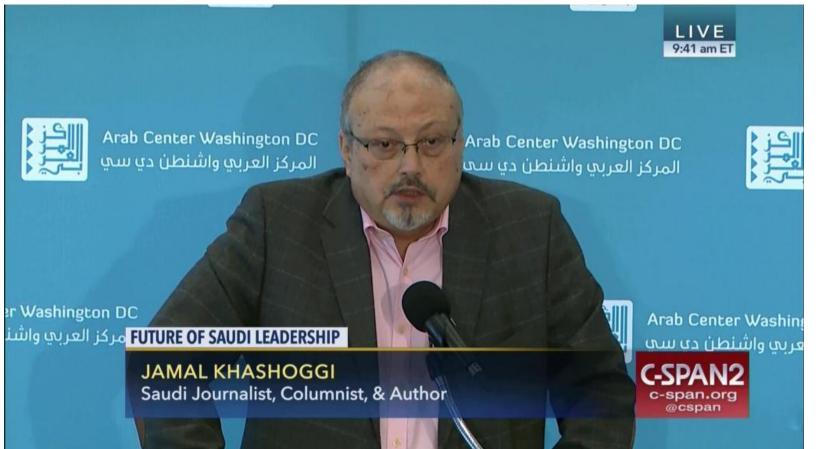
3 SECTION 1. PROHIBITION ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE.

4 (a) IN GENERAL.—For the period beginning on the

5 date of the enactment of this Act and ending on the date

6 described in section 3 the Secretary of Defense may not-

# Game Changer: Murder of Khashoggi





And turn that over-light off! Turn that off! I won't be looked at in this merciless glare!

# Work Around (?)

### ACSA

- DoD authority: runs through Defense not State committees
- Signed May 2016
- Most munitions excluded: admendment?



### • DCS

- Equipment, once
   licensed, doesn't have
   to be re-notified
- Stopping requires stand-alone notification; failed in June 17 (\$510M Paveway)

### **Perfidious Albion?**

- "Open Individual Export Licenses"
  - Unlimited value for fixed period after approval
  - No reporting of final sales
- SIPRI estimates (since 2013)
  - 100 Storm Shadow (£80M)
  - 2400 Paveway IV (£150M)
  - 1000 Brimstone (£100M) ONLY FOREIGN CUSTOMER





# QUESTIONS???

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10 January 2019



### **FMS System**

