

ARMS SALES MONITOR

Highlighting U.S. government policies on arms exports and conventional weapons proliferation.

U.S. Complicity in East Timor

At the time of Indonesia's 1975 illegal invasion and annexation of East Timor, 90% of the Indonesian military's arms were made in America, providing - along with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger's nod of approval - U.S. support for the takeover. Since then, the U.S. government has sold or given an additional \$1.25 billion worth of arms to Jakarta, even as the massacre of hundreds of thousands of East Timorese and Indonesians was reported. According to the General Accounting Office, U.S.-supplied M-16 assault rifles were used in the November 1991 massacre of civilians in Dili, when the Indonesian army opened fire on peaceful Timorese demonstrators.

Under pressure from Congress, the Clinton Administration did stop small arms sales to Indonesia in 1994, but it still approved about \$140 million of other arms shipments, including equipment and raw materials for manufacturing ammunition, explosives, missiles, military communications equipment, and spare parts for the Indonesian military's aircraft.

The U.S. government has been a longtime supporter of the Indonesian military, providing some form of security assistance virtually every year since 1950, including \$388 million in grants and loans to pay for U.S. arms. Over \$226 million worth of new and used military equipment was also transferred to Indonesia through the Military Assistance Program and the Excess Defense Articles Program.

The U.S. government also provided training under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program from 1950 to 1992, when Congress prohibited this aid in reaction to severe human rights abuses in East Timor. In that 42-year period, over 7,300 Indonesian military personnel received IMET training, demonstrating the close ties between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries. Indonesia was later reauthorized to receive "E-IMET," which provides classroom courses in human rights

Arms Sales to Indonesia by the Clinton Administration

Fiscal Year	FMS Deliveries	DCS deliveries*	Total
1993	\$39,098,000	\$4,025,000	\$43,123,000
1994	\$16,566,000	\$9,335,000	\$25,901,000
1995	\$11,485,000	\$7,356,000	\$18,841,000
1996	\$10,942,000	\$9,266,000	\$20,208,000
1997	\$13,399,000	\$5,103,000	\$18,502,000
1998	\$5,212,000	\$10,693,963	\$15,905,963
Total:	\$96,702,000	\$45,778,963	\$142,480,963

*State Department estimate. Actual figures may be higher.

and civil-military relations.

After regular IMET training was suspended, Indonesian troops continued to receive combat training from U.S. soldiers under the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) program (see chart below). The units trained included the infamous Kopassus special operations forces, known by the U.S. to engage in torture, "disappearances," and other atrocities in East Timor and elsewhere. Training courses included sniper techniques, air operations, and close quarters combat. Whether the U.S.-trained units were present in East Timor during the pre- and post-referendum violence is unclear, but the tactics and techniques used by security forces were strikingly similar to techniques taught in JCET and other U.S. military training courses.

President Clinton finally decided to cut off all arms sales and other military ties to Indonesia two weeks after the August 30, 1999 referendum in East Timor; this and other international pressure on Jakarta led to acceptance of international peacekeepers. The action was a welcome, but long overdue, response to the violence in Indonesia. As recently noted by East Timorese activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Jose Ramos-Horta at a congressional briefing, the tragedy in East Timor may have been averted altogether had the U.S. used this influence earlier.

Joint Combined Exchange Training in Indonesia in 1998

Indonesian Units	# Ind. Trainees	U.S. Units	Purpose	Cost
Kopassus, Kopaska, Kopaskhasaukostrad	49	1/1 SFG	Combat-sapper training (demo safety, firing systems, calculation, placement, mine warfare, obstacle breaching, etc)	\$34,000
328-Kostrad, Kopassus	52	4thPOG/8th, 1/1 SFG	Air assault intro, air mobile operations (ops), small unit tactics (ambush, raid, fire support, recon)	\$93,600
Paskas (AF SF), Reg Indonesian Army	49	353 SOG (STS) (4), 6 SOC (3)	Foreign Internal Defense, ground air commo, outdoor survival, movement to contact, ambush, raids, fire support planning, area/zone recon	\$14,000
Kopassus (Group I)	20	1/1 SFG	Air ops, weapons fire, marine ops, FTX	\$65,000
N/A	N/A	1/1 SFG	Combat-Operation Sapper	\$52,000

SFG = Special Forces Group; SOG=Special Operations Group; SOC=; POG=Psychological Operations Group

Arms Sales: The Rotten Core of U.S.-Taiwan Relations

"The United States will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability."—1979 Taiwan Relations Act

The United States government has agreed that it "does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, [and] that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan, leading over a period of time to a final resolution."—1982 Sino-American communiqué

In the brouhaha over Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's reference to "special state-to-state relations" with China, very little attention has been paid to one of the main areas of Taiwan-related tension between China and the United States: arms sales.

Theoretically, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan are governed by the two agreements quoted above. In practice, the demands of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) and the 1982 communiqué are contradictory, and the U.S. has relied upon the TRA's greater legal weight to increase arms sales. Arms transfers to Taiwan have risen dramatically during the 1990s in terms of quality and quantity, from just \$209 million in 1980 to a record high of \$5.7 billion in 1997 (see chart). Taiwan has bought advanced fighter jets, attack helicopters, and numerous missiles; future plans include a major tank procurement program and possible participation in a U.S. theater missile defense system.

The U.S. policy of arming Taiwan has been a source of serious and sustained friction with China over the years. The Chinese believe arms sales have given President Lee the confidence to make his recent policy change despite official American disapproval; according to the People's Daily, "US arms have caused Li Teng-hui's arrogance to swell as if he had drunk wolf's milk."

Congressional intent may support this view. As Sen. Jesse Helms boasted when introducing S. 693, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which would mandate even greater arms sales to Taiwan: "Some are going to say this is provocative. They will claim that doing these things will upset the United States' relationship with China. This is true. The Red Chinese won't like this bill." While many like Helms support arms sales to Taiwan to inflame the PRC, others in Congress seem to feel that arms sales are their only way to express support for Taiwan.

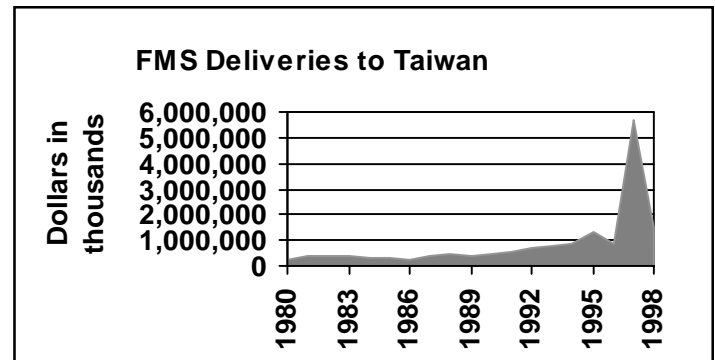
Despite the Clinton administration's unequivocal rejection of any changes to the "one-China policy" - which assumes eventual reunion of Taiwan with the mainland - support for arms sales to Taiwan remains very strong. Faced with criticism over a decision to postpone a joint military meeting in Taiwan and to delay notification of two arms sales this July, the administration

hastened to assert that it never considered cutting off the weapons supply. After all, as a DOD official once tellingly put it, arms sales form "the fundamental basis of [the] relationship between the United States and Taiwan."

Arms exports may be the easiest foundation for a relationship with Taiwan, but they certainly aren't the best. Taiwanese arms buildups perpetuate the illusion that weapons can somehow bring Taiwan "sufficient self-defense" against its nuclear neighbor with a population of one and a quarter billion. A Chinese attempt to retake the island by force would inevitably involve the United States and would undoubtedly be disastrous for all.

Complicating matters for the United States, Taiwan is now a democracy, its president was freely elected, and its people will ultimately decide whether a "one-China" policy best serves their interests. Unwavering American commitment to "one-China" does not reflect this fact.

The administration is essentially locked into its current policy. An alternative worth considering, however, would be to declare increasingly strong support for Taiwan's democracy (and implied self-determination with respect to reunification) while incrementally reducing our commitment to sell Taiwan large amounts of weapons. The aim in this two-pronged policy change would be to offend and please China and Taiwan in more or less equal measure, while affirming American commitment to a peaceful, non-military solution - and showing China and Taiwan that we care more about democracy than arms deals.



FAS Arms Sales Monitoring Project

Founded in 1945, the Federation of American Scientists is a public interest organization of natural and social scientists and engineers dedicated to the responsible use of science and technology. Now in its eighth year, the FAS Arms Sales Monitoring Project works for a reduction in global weapons production and trade.

Tamar Gabelnick, Director of the Project, edits the newsletter with Research Assistants Anna Rich and Keith Tidball. Our summer intern Daniel Krook also contributed to this edition. You may reproduce and cite this publication freely. A subscription is available from the FAS Fund at 307 Massachusetts Ave, NE, Washington, DC 20002, phone 202/675-1016.

All newsletters are also found on our website: <http://www.fas.org/asmp>, recently remodeled by Daniel Krook.

Deals in the Works (March 1998 - September 1999)

Since the last ASM table was published (April 1998), the Clinton Administration has notified Congress of the following proposed government-negotiated Foreign Military Sales (FMS) agreements, export licenses for industry-negotiated Direct Commercial Sales (DCS), leases of equipment, and transfers of U.S. stockpiles through the "emergency drawdown" program. The Arms Export Control Act requires only that the administration notify Congress of FMS and DCS valued at over \$14 million for major defense articles and over \$50 million for other weapons. Sales below that threshold are generally not recorded here. The date is the time of notification to Congress, when available.

Congress has also been notified of a variety of Excess Defense Articles (EDA) transfers during this period; however, descriptions of these weapons giveaways have not been consistently posted on the Pentagon's electronic bulletin board and are therefore not listed below.

*Note: These are deals in the works only. Notification to Congress does not guarantee that the sale will go through exactly as described or at all. Sales marked with asterisks (**) have been reported in the press, but final notification has not yet been sent to Congress.*

RECIPIENT	DATE	DESCRIPTION	TRANSFER TYPE	PRICE
Algeria	05-Oct-98	Border air surveillance system, including four AN/TPS-70 radars	DCS	> \$50 million
Bahrain	15-Mar-99	26 AIM-120B Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM).	FMS	\$110 million
Bosnia-Herzegovina	06-Oct-98	Defense articles and services	?	\$100 million
	28-Jul-98	Technical assistance agreement to hire private military trainers.	DCS	> \$50 million
Brazil	02-Aug-99	20 HARPOON missiles; Boeing.	FMS	\$39 million
Brunei	11-May-98	S-70A helicopter with training	DCS	> \$14 million
ECOMOG	13-Aug-99	Non-lethal defense articles, services and training.	drawdown	\$3 million
Egypt	16-Jul-99	Co-production of 100 M1A1 Abrams tanks to include 100 M256 Armament Systems, 100 M2 .50 caliber machine guns, 200 M240 7.62mm machine guns, 12 M16A2 rifles; General Dynamics.	FMS	\$564 million
	12-Jul-99	Six AN/TPQ-36(V)7 FIREFINDER radar sets, 16 AN/VRC-90E SINCGAR radio systems, six commercial M1097A2 HMMWV trucks, Raytheon.	FMS	\$50 million
	12-Jul-99	Two UH-60L VIP BLACKHAWK utility helicopters.	FMS	\$38 million
	16-Jun-99	Five E-2C Update Group II Mission Suite retrofit kits including AN/APS-145 Radar (Category XII) for existing E-2C aircraft, Northrop Grumman, to maintain its Airborne Early Warning (AEW) system.	FMS	\$210 million
	08-Jun-99	Twenty four SP 122 122mm self-propelled howitzers, United Defense.	DCS	\$27 million
	12-Apr-99	24 F 16C/D Block 40 aircraft; 28 F110-GE-100B engines; 24 AN/APG-68 radar; Block 40 upgrade configuration to include integration capability to employ the HARPOON, Heads Up Display, Multiple Boresight Indicator, Egyptian Identification Friend or Foe, and Tactical Airborne Reconnaissance System.	FMS	\$1.2 billion
	11-Mar-99	Eight Patriot 3 missile system fire units, 24 additional F-16 fighters and 200 M-1A1 tank kits	FMS	subsidized w/ \$3.2 billion in aid
	26-Oct-98	**Four F-16 training device simulators	FMS	\$26.2 million
	18-Sep-98	Upgrade of 40 ALQ-131 Block I to Block II pods, possible sale of 40 ALQ-131 receiver processors, parts, Northrop-Grumman and Lockheed Martin.	FMS	\$76 million
	16-Sep-98	Upgrade of six CH-47C CHINOOK helicopters to the newer CH-47D configuration, parts, training, equipment and support.	FMS	\$203 million
	09-Sep-98	F-16 Depot Level Maintenance Program.	FMS	\$200 million
	28-Apr-98	STINGER RMP Type III Missiles	FMS	> \$1 million
French Guiana	04-Aug-99	Two Echostar commercial communications satellites.	DCS	> \$50 million
Georgia	12-Jun-98	Radios and assorted comms equipment	FMS	> \$1 million
Greece	16-Aug-99	Hardware kits and components to manufacture and assemble an additional 117,000 M16A2 rifles, M4 carbines, and 7,000 M203 grenade launchers	DCS	> \$50 million
	05-Aug-99	Technical assistance for the delivery of 350 BLU-109/B/B Bombs, including FMU-143 Fuzes, to the Greek Armed Forces	DCS	> \$50 million
	05-Aug-99	Technical data and assistance for the manufacture of parts for the Hellenic HAWK Missile System Phase III and Launcher Mobility Upgrade program.	DCS	> \$50 million

	01-Jul-99	358 M26A1 Extended Range Rocket (ERR) pods (six rockets per pod) with M77 grenades for the Multiple Launch Rocket System, plus testing, parts, and related support, Lockheed Martin	FMS	\$52 million
	21-Jun-99	**Eighteen M270 multiple launch rocket systems (plus rocket pods and support equipment financed by military assistance), Lockheed Martin	?	\$54.9 million
	11-Jun-99	Four AH-64A APACHE attack helicopters, M130 chaff dispenser, Integrated Helmet and Display Sight System.	FMS	\$111 million
	17-May-99	PATRIOT Missile System support equipment, training, etc. by Raytheon	FMS	\$200 million
	30-Nov-98	Four KIDD Class Guided Missile Destroyers, 62,000 20mm cartridges, 4,800 5"/54 projectiles, 64 anti-submarine rockets, 320 MK 36 Super Bloom Offboard Chaff, 32 HARPOON missiles, 48 MK 46 MOD 5 torpedoes.	FMS, lease/sale	\$742 million
	19-Oct-98	**Twenty to fifty F-16H aircraft	?	\$1.6 billion
	19-Oct-98	**Patriot PAC-3 air defense systems, T-6A trainers and upgrade of Hawk missile systems	?	\$1.4 billion
	08-Oct-98	Remote sensing satellite technical data and a regional operations center.	DCS	> \$50 million
	05-Oct-98	Up to six E-2C or C-130J airframes and unique changes to the E-2C mission system	DCS	\$320 million
	05-Oct-98	Six new production E-2C Airborne Early Warning and Control (AEW&C) mission systems	FMS	\$380 million
	22-Sep-98	Two hundred AGM-65G MAVERICK missiles, 200 GBU-24 A/B bombs kits (without warheads), missile launchers, other parts, equipment and training	FMS	\$61 million
	22-Sep-98	18 Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS), 146 MLRS extended range rocket pods (six rockets per pod), 81 Army Tactical Missile System guided missiles and launching assemblies, 11 M577 command post carriers, 162 M26 rockets, 94 SINCARS radio systems, 60 AN/PVS-7B night vision goggles, four M984A1 and 24 M985 heavy expanded mobility tactical trucks.	FMS	\$245 million
	21-Sep-98	919 TOW 2A Anti-Tank Missiles	DCS	> \$50 million
	03-Aug-98	1, 322 STINGER-RMP Block 1 International missiles including 1,286 complete missile rounds without gripstocks and 36 lot acceptance missiles; 188 gripstock control group guided missile.	FMS	\$150 million
	18-May-98	160 AGM-114KBF HELLFIRE II missiles	FMS	\$24 million
	13-May-98	12 M109A5 Self-Propelled Howitzers	DCS	> 14 million
Israel	19-Jul-99	42 AIM-120B Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM), Raytheon.	FMS	\$18 million
	26-Mar-99	50 F-16C/D Block 50/52 aircraft; 50 AN/APG-68(V)X radars, and 30 each LANTIRN navigation and targeting pods.	FMS	\$2.0 billion
	05-Oct-98	manufacture of avionics in support of the USAF T-38 Avionics upgrade program	DCS	> \$50 million
	22-Sep-98	Thirty F-15I aircraft; 30 AN/APG-70 or AN/APG-63(V)1 radar; and 30 each LANTIRN navigation and targeting pods.	FMS	\$2.5 billion
	22-Sep-98	60 F-16C/D Block 50/52 aircraft; 60 AN/APG-68 (V)7 or AN/APG-68(V)X radar, 30 each LANTIRN navigation and targeting pods. Either F100-PW-229 or F110-GE-129 engines by DCS; support, parts and training. Prime contractor, Lockheed Martin.	FMS	\$2.5 billion
	31-Jul-98	Co-development of Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) Trajectory Correction System.	DCS	> \$50 million
	22-Jun-98	16 HARPOON missiles.	FMS	\$26 million
	11-Jun-98	PATRIOT Missile System equipment including three AN/MPQ-53 radar sets, three AN/MSQ-104 engagement control stations, three M983 tractors, nine M931A2 trucks, and other defense articles and services	FMS	\$73 million
	19-May-98	STINGER RMP, Block 1	FMS	> \$1 million
	21-Apr-98	64 AIM-120B AMRAAM.	FMS	\$28 million
	01-Apr-98	Support for the Seahawk Torpedo System for Dolphin-class submarines	DCS	> \$50 million
	26-Mar-98	Technical data for the manufacture of Forward Nose Landing Gear (ANLG) doors and Leading Edge Extensions (LEX) for the Boeing F/A-18 aircraft	DCS	> \$50 million
Jordan	26-Mar-99	defense articles and services, military education and training	Drawdown	\$25 million

Korea, Republic of	08-Sep-99	64 MK 44 Guided Missile Round Pack (GMRP) with Tactical MK 116 BLOCK I Rolling Airframe Missiles (RAM), canisters, related equipment, training and support; Raytheon.	FMS	\$33 million
	04-Aug-99	Manufacturing license agreement for production of ALR-85 (V) I Radar Warning Receiver System for use on F-4 and F-5 aircraft.	DCS	> \$50 million
	26-Mar-99	Spare parts for various aircraft, radar systems, and missile components	FMS	\$350 million
	09-Oct-98	manufacture of transmissions for use on the Korean K95 Howitzer and the K1A1 Main Battle Tank	DCS	> \$50 million
	04-Jun-98	AGM-142C/D missiles	FMS	> \$1 million
	13-May-98	500 TOW 2A missiles, eight lot acceptance missiles.	FMS	\$19 million
Kuwait	08-Sep-99	728 TOW-2B anti-armor guided missiles, 11 lot acceptance missiles, Raytheon.	FMS	\$80 million
	14-Jun-99	**Multiple Integrated Laser Engagement System (MILES 2000) laser-based training system, 400 M16 lightweight kits and support hardware, Cubic Defense Systems	FMS	
	06-Nov-98	**Forty-eight M109A6 Paladin 155mm self-propelled howitzers, armored resupply vehicles, command and observation post vehicles, spare parts, support and training	FMS	> \$450 million
	02-Oct-98	195 AN/VRC-92E, 484 AN/VRC-90E and 378 AN/PRC-119E SINCGARS radio systems.	FMS	\$113,000,000
	20-May-98	technical data, hardware, and services related to thermal sight and fire control system upgrades for the Kuwaiti BMP-3 and M-84 combat vehicles	DCS	> \$50 million
Lebanon	25-Nov-98	M113A2 NSN 2350-01-068-4077	FMS	> \$1 million
Mexico	29-Sep-98	manufacture of military vehicle wiring harnesses	DCS	> \$50 million
Oman	01-Apr-98	Ammunition C511 and C520 105mm for M60A3	FMS	> \$1 million
Russia	04-Aug-99	Technical assistance for the marketing and sale of satellite launch services.	DCS	> \$50 million
	04-Aug-99	Two remote sensing satellites and technical data.	DCS	> \$50 million
Saudi Arabia	16-Jul-98	training and support services, spare parts	FMS	\$831 million
	20-May-98	defense services related to the "Peace Shield" command, control, and communications system	DCS	> \$50 million
	21-Apr-98	Upgrade 1500 AIM-9L missiles to the Raytheon AIM-9M configuration; possible sale of five sets of PATHFINDER/SHARPSHOOTER navigation and targeting pods	FMS	\$115 million
	30-Mar-98	upgrades of 300 AIM-7M Air-to-Air missiles	FMS	> \$14 million
	30-Mar-98	upgrades of 700 GBU-10 Paveway II Laser Guided Bombs	FMS	> \$14 million
Singapore	16-Aug-99	Technical data and defense services in support of manufacture of F404, F414, and T700 aircraft engines.	DCS	> \$50 million
	09-Oct-98	Support services for the T-55-L-714A engine used on CH-47 helicopters	DCS	> \$50 million
	08-Oct-98	110 U2 Self-Propelled Howitzers	DCS	> \$50 million
	23-Jun-98	8 AH-64D APACHE attack helicopters, 216 HELLFIRE II laser guided missiles, 4 HELLFIRE, 2 T-700-GE-701C engines, 2 Target Acquisition Designation Sight Systems, 9,120 Hydra-70 rockets; includes AN/APG-78 radar; Boeing.	FMS	\$620 million
	13-May-98	10 F100-PW-229 engines as spares for the F-16	DCS	> \$14 million
	21-Apr-98	Pilot training and logistics support for Lockheed Martin F-16C/D fighter aircraft program	FMS	\$138 million
Sri Lanka	20-Oct-98	Three Hercules C-130E aircraft from Great Britain	Re-transfer	\$8.8 million
Taiwan	31-Jul-99	Two E-2T Hawkeye 2000E aircraft, two AN/APS-145 radars, two T56-A-427 engines, two OE-335/A antenna groups, two Mission Computer Upgrade/Advanced Control Indicator Sets, two Passive Detection System upgrades; Northrop Grumman.	FMS	\$400 million
	30-Jul-99	Spare parts for F-5E/F, C-130H, Indigenous Defense Fighter, F-16A/B with Block 15 Mid-Life Upgrade.	FMS	\$150 million
	28-May-99	Five exportable AN/VRC-92E SINCGARS radio systems, five Commercial Off-the Shelf/Non-Developmental Item (COTS/NDI) Intelligence Electronic Warfare (IEW) systems to be provided by a commercial contractor, five HMMWV.	FMS/DCS	\$64 million
	26-May-99	240 AGM-114K3 HELLFIRE II Air-to-Surface Anti-Armor missiles, Lockheed Martin	FMS	\$23 million
	17-May-99	**Air Combat Maneuvering Instrumentation (ACMI) system with 24 wing pods, six sets of display and debriefing equipment, by Cubic Defense Systems.	FMS	\$28 million

	09-Oct-98	**Three Boeing CH-47SD CHINOOK helicopters, plus material order for production of six more Chinooks.	FMS	\$235 million
	22-Sep-98	"KNOX" class frigate USS KIRK (FF 1087)	lease	\$8,189,089
	15-Sep-98	Fifty eight HARPOON missiles, eight HARPOON training missiles, containers, HARPOON interface adapter kits.	FMS	\$101 million
	27-Aug-98	61 Dual Mount STINGER Missile Systems consisting of: 61 Dual Mount STINGER (DMS) launchers (includes elevation assembly, tripod assembly, and sights) with coolant units, 61 STINGER RMP (-) captive flight trainers, 728 complete STINGER RMP (-) missile rounds (less battery coolant unit), 132 AN/VRC-91 export version SINCGAR radios.	FMS	\$180 million
	27-Aug-98	131 MK 46 MOD 5 (A)S torpedoes, containers, support and test equipment, publications and technical documentation, engineering and technical assistance, supply support and other related elements of logistics support.	FMS	\$69 million
	20-Jul-98	Licensed production, involving the transfer of 77 F124 aircraft engines to the Czech Republic for use on L-159 aircraft.	DCS	
	01-Jun-98	28 sets of PATHFINDER/SHARPSHOOTER navigation and targeting pods.	FMS	\$160 million
	14-Apr-98	5"/54 projectiles and other explosives	FMS	> \$1 million
Thailand	29-Sep-98	6 M88A2 Tracked Armor Recovery Vehicles, spare parts, tech manuals and operator and preventative maintenance training	DCS	> \$14 million
Tunisia	01-Jul-99	defense articles, services, and training	drawdown	\$5 million
Turkey	01-Sep-99	**Replacement parts for F-5 aircraft, including 34 upper cockpit, nine lower cockpit, and 20 dorsal longerons; Northrup Grumman.	?	\$1.8 million
	16-Aug-99	**30 units of Eagle MPS (mission planning systems) III System; Rugged Portable Systems.	FMS	\$2 million
	05-Aug-99	manufacturing license agreement for the production of Day and Night Thermal Sight Systems	DCS	> \$50 million
	29-Jul-99	Two S-70A helicopters.	DCS	> \$14 million
	14-Jun-99	**50 Sikorsky S-70 Black Hawk utility helicopters.	FMS	\$561 million
	13-Apr-99	F-16 major airframe items, subassemblies, subcomponents, and subsystems to Turkey for production of F-16s	DCS	\$50 million or more
	16-Nov-98	Three FFG-7 PERRY class frigates and eight currently leased FF 1052 KNOX class frigates, also ammunition and support.	FMS	\$205 million
	21-Sep-98	Four A70B SEAHAWK helicopters, spare parts, ground support equipment and logistical support	DCS	> \$14 million
	16-Sep-98	USS THOMAS C. HART (FF 1092) frigate and associated equipment	lease	\$8,061,818
	16-Sep-98	USS DONALD BEARY (FF 1085) frigate and associated equipment	lease	\$7,125,619
	04-Jun-98	licensed production of Paveway II laser guided bomb	DCS	?
	18-May-98	30 Harpoon missiles and other defense articles and services	FMS	\$43 million
	11-May-98	licensed production of Low-Cost Thermal Imagers	DCS	?
United Arab Emirates	04-Aug-99	Production support, test, qualification and final integration of 300 GEC-Marconi Guided Munitions (GMGM).	DCS	> \$50 million
	16-Sep-98	491 AIM-120B Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM) and 12 AMRAAM training missiles, 267 AIM-9M 1/2 SIDEWINDER missiles and 80 SIDEWINDER training missiles, 163 AGM-88 High Speed Anti-Radiation Missiles (HARM) and four HARM training missiles, 1,163 AGM-65D/G MAVERICK missiles and 20 training missiles, 52 AGM-84 HARPOON missiles, and thousands of other bombs, ammunition, and training, in support of commercial F-16 sale.	FMS	\$2 billion
	01-May-98	**80 F-16 Block 60 aircraft	DCS	\$6-8 billion
	30-Mar-98	upgrades of 72 RIM-7M SEASPARROW missiles	FMS	> \$14 million
Various countries	30-Sep-98	Drawdown of articles and services for counternarcotics assistance to Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Countries of the Eastern Caribbean	drawdown	\$75 million
Venezuela	12-Jun-98	Parts and services for 17 OV-10 aircraft	?	?

Sources: House International Relations Committee Survey of Activities; Federal Register

US Arms Exports: Fact Versus Fiction

One of the best sources of information about recent U.S. arms exports is the "655 report," a country-by-country listing of arms sales, including type of weapon and cost. The requirement to produce this report was reinstated in 1996, and here we take a look at recent recipients of either foreign military sales (FMS) deliveries or licenses for Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) during fiscal years 1996-1998. For a complete list of countries to which the United States has delivered FMS or issued DCS licenses over the past three years, the exact value of those sales, as well as explanations of the acronyms, please go to <http://www.fas.org/asmp/profiles/worldfms.html>.

First, a word from our sponsors...

President Clinton's 1995 Presidential Decision Directive on conventional arms transfers affirms that arms sales "continue to be a legitimate instrument of U.S. foreign policy." And according to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (the Pentagon's arms sales bureau), those foreign policy objectives are **promoting sustainable development, building democracy, promoting peace, providing humanitarian assistance, and promoting U.S. prosperity**. - *"Planning for Security Assistance: a Review," DSCA educational materials*

Let's compare these goals with recent arms sales...

Promoting Sustainable Development?

The U.S. government has directly or indirectly encouraged **reduced military spending** (e.g., by urging an end to costly conflicts, in messages to regional organizations, or through bilateral meetings) by at least **twelve** countries to which it also sold arms: El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, and Zimbabwe. The message: demilitarize, unless you are using U.S. weaponry. See *Annual Report on Military Expenditures, U.S. State Dept.*, www.state.gov/www/global/arms/98_amiextoc.html.

Building Democracy?

A country with solid civilian control of the military - a key element of democracy - makes its military budget transparent to its own citizens and the international community. Yet the U.S. government has sold weapons to at least **thirteen** countries which, according to the State Department, either have **not provided accurate military spending data** to relevant international organizations or **did not submit arms transfer data** to the UN Register of Conventional Arms in 1998: Colombia, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, Kenya, Kuwait, Morocco, Nicaragua, Saudi Arabia, Zimbabwe. The following **five** countries did participate in the 1998 Register but still have egregiously untransparent military budgets for nominal democracies: Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Peru, and Turkey. Also see *State Department's Annual Report on Military Expenditures*.

Promoting Peace?

The following **twenty-one** countries to which the U.S. delivered or licensed arms sales during FY 96-98 were also involved in a **major armed conflict** at some point during that time: Angola, Algeria, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cambodia, Colombia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Uganda, and the United Kingdom.

The United States always claims to arm friends and allies, and only to meet their "legitimate self-defense purposes." This rationale is tougher to digest in cases where the U.S. was selling **arms to opposing sides of conflicts**: Ethiopia and Eritrea; India and Pakistan. In some cases where tensions fall short of a major armed conflict, the U.S. is still supplying both sides of a hostile arms race (see the ASM 39 articles on Greece and Turkey). *Definition and lists of major armed conflicts from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.*

Providing Humanitarian Assistance?

The governments of the following **seventy-nine** countries, all recipients of U.S. weaponry or training or authorized to receive U.S. arms during FY 96-98, have been guilty of committing or allowing human rights abuses during 1998: Afghanistan, Angola, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Republic of), Côte D'Ivoire, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Macedonia, Malaysia, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Yemen, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Militaries, security forces, or police in these countries have been responsible for abuses such as "disappearances," torture, detention without trial, brutalization of civilians, extrajudicial executions, and massacres of civilians. See *Human Rights Watch World Report 1999 and Amnesty International Report 1999*.

Promoting U.S. Prosperity?

In addition to arms, the following **eighteen** countries received economic incentives, known as "offsets," to convince them to buy American-made weapons: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Malaysia, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, South Korea, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. To win contracts with these states, U.S. companies were required to transfer arms production capacity, advanced technology, or unrelated economic assistance to the importing state - deals sometimes worth more than the arms sale itself. See *"Offsets in Defense Trade," U.S. Department of Commerce, August 1998*.

Government Documents

The following recently published government documents may be of interest to ASM readers. GAO reports are available online at <http://info@www.gao.gov/reports.htm>.

- *Arms and Conflict in Africa*, U.S. State Department. July 1999, www.state.gov/www/regions/africa/9907_africa_conflict.html.
- *Bureau of Export Administration: Improvements are Needed to Meet the Export Licensing Requirements of the 21st Century*, Department of Commerce, Office of the Inspector General, final inspection report No. IPE-11488/June 1999.
- *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 1991-98*, CRS Report for Congress, August 4, 1999.
- *Country Report on Human Rights Practises for 1998*, HIRC subcomm. on Int. Ops. And Human Rts. hearing, February 26, 1999.
- *Drug Control: Narcotics Threat From Colombia Continues to Grow* GAO/NSIAD-99-136, June 22, 1999.
- *Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Construction Sales and Military Assistance Facts as of Sept. 30, 1998*. Defense Security Cooperation Agency. Expected date of publication: October 9, 1999.
- *Foreign Military Sales: Navy's Accounting for Sales to Foreign Customers Needs Improvement*. GAO/AIMD-99-213, August 24, 1999.
- *Foreign Military Sales: Recovery of Nonrecurring Research, Development, and Production Costs*. GAO/AIMD-99-148R, 5/19/99.
- *Foreign Military Sales: Review Process for Controlled Missile Technology Needs Improvement* GAO/NSIAD-99-231, Sept. 29, 1999.
- *H.R. 1211, Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2000-2001*, HIRC Subcomm. on Int. Ops. and Human Rts. hearing, March 23, 1999.
- *Interagency Review of the Export Licensing Processes for Dual-Use Commodities and Munitions*, Report No. 99-187, Offices of the Inspectors General, www.dodig.osd.mil/audit/reports/overall.pdf.
- *Military Training: Management and Oversight of Joint Combined Exchange Training* GAO/NSIAD-99-173, July 23, 1999.
- *A Review of the U.S.-Taiwan Relations on the 20th Anniversary of the Taiwan Relations Act*, HIRC Subcomm. on Asia and the Pacific, April 14, 1999.
- *U.S. Export-Import Bank's Financing of Dual-Use Exports*. GAO/NSIAD-99-241R, September 1, 1999.

Surplus Defense Articles Missing in Action

The General Accounting Office (GAO) recently released a report stating that the Department of Defense (DoD) cannot account for \$2.7 billion in excess military property intended for disposal or sale. While the DoD asserts that the numbers are indicative of clerical errors rather than theft, the GAO maintains that the since the channels for monitoring surplus weapons disposal are not functioning effectively, theft cannot be ruled out as a cause for the missing supplies.

Particularly disturbing repercussions for national security arise from the problem. The GAO report notes that "the United States routinely disposes of weapons and equipment that [are] very

desirable to other nations and transnational groups." The report also states that over half of the material that remains unaccounted for "require[s] special handling, such as communications equipment, aircraft components, and gun parts." Proper tracking and disposal of this materiel is thus necessary to avoid the uncontrolled transfer of capability or technology to parties inside and out of the U.S., but the GAO report concludes only with a suggestion to enforce current procedures rather than implement new controls. See "*Defense Inventory: Property Being Shipped is Not Properly Controlled*," GAO/NSIAD-99-84, July 1999.

FMS Fee Falls

In what may be an attempt to regain favor with the U.S. military industry - which has been complaining of the high fees and excessive bureaucracy of the Pentagon's Foreign Military Sales (FMS) Program - the Pentagon decided this June to lower the standard administrative fee on Foreign Military Sales from 3% to 2.5%, effective immediately. As a recent DoD internal memo stated with unusual straightforwardness, "The DoD is committed to greater cooperation with U.S. industry to facilitate sales of U.S. defense articles..."

The decision to lower FMS fees may be good for the program's image, but not for its budget; it may actually end the program's ability to finance its own operations. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency claims that rising FMS sales (based on an expected post-Kosovo sales boom) and lower operating costs from planned streamlining reforms will keep the program in the black. But the General Accounting Office disagrees. In a report issued before the DoD made its decision, the GAO argued that the cut "may jeopardize the FMS program's fiscal soundness." See "*Defense Trade: Decision to Lower FMS Administrative Fee is Premature*," GAO/NSIAD-99-161R, May 13, 1999.

Food for Thought:

Tracking Small Arms with Radio Tags

U.S. government efforts to track previously exported small arms - which are particularly susceptible to illegal resale, diversion, and theft - may be aided by developing technologies. The U.S. Special Forces recently tasked the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL) to develop miniature radio-frequency (RF) tags to be inserted in small arms. Though intended for inventory control and to track special forces in field operations, the next logical step is to locate U.S.-exported guns that may end up facing those soldiers in combat. The PNNL has already developed low-cost, battery-free chips that transmit encrypted location, time, and date information up to 700 feet. The next stage of development are chips that can be tracked by satellite, allowing the U.S. to pinpoint U.S. arms long after they leave U.S. shores. Then the question becomes how to convince U.S. customers that trackable small arms are also in their interest to buy.