

TURKEY AND THE ARMS TRADE 1998–2002: A PRECIS NURTURING TURKEY'S WAR MACHINE

Summary

This paper presents a precis of Turkey's involvement in the global arms trade during the past four years. It looks at the overall context of Turkey's arms production and imports and then specifically:

- where Turkey buys its weapons from;
- what the significant deals are and how they are structured;
- where Turkey sells the weapons it produces;
- how its imported weapons have been used to commit grave human rights abuses.

Turkey is seen as a key ally of the West in the Middle East and Mediterranean, and as such has been one of the world's major recipients of sophisticated arms for the past twenty years. This is despite the leading role of the armed forces within Turkish society and government, its occupation of northern Cyprus in 1974, its long established military rivalry with Greece and its brutal treatment of the Kurdish population within its own borders and in Northern Iraq. During the long war against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the south-east of the country, the region was depopulated in an attempt to deny the area to the PKK. Two million people were forcibly displaced and 3,000 Kurdish villages destroyed, involving massive violations of human rights and the laws of war.¹ Imported weapons from the US, Germany, Russia and the UK have been used to carry out this policy. Western powers have also contributed to the massive build-up of the Turkish military-industrial complex.

Though the proportion of NATO countries' GNP devoted to military spending has been declining throughout the 1990s, Turkey's has gone in the opposite direction despite the country's relative poverty and serious financial problems. Much of this military spending is used to purchase arms from abroad and build up an indigenous high-tech arms industry. The latest available figures show that Turkey's historic dependence on the US for its arms imports continues, with 79 per cent of Turkey's arms imports coming from the US.

The UK continues a steady but relatively low level of arms exports to Turkey, accounting for approximately 1 per cent of Turkey's arms imports. UK companies have been involved in important contracts supplying Turkey's military with the type of weapons it has used in the past to commit human rights violations. Land Rovers are assembled under licence in Turkey, which are then converted by the Turkish company Otokar into armoured vehicles. Heckler & Koch, a subsidiary of BAE Systems from 1991 to December 2002, manufactures sub-machine-guns in Turkey under licence. The UK is also involved in a major co-production deal with Turkey to produce Rapier Surface-to-Air Missiles.



TURKISH POLICE IN AN ARMOURD VEHICLE, CIZRE, EASTERN TURKEY, ON NEWROZ, THE KURDISH NEW YEAR. © ACTION PRESS/REX FEATURES

US companies are heavily involved in major deals to supply Turkey with new attack helicopters, military transport helicopters, naval helicopters, AWACS aircraft and the Joint Strike Fighter. Other significant supplier countries include Israel – providing electronic warfare capabilities for its helicopters, modernising F-4 reconnaissance aircraft, and carrying out tank upgrades – and several European countries which supply helicopters, and anti-tank missiles.

Turkey is using its imports to build up indigenous arms industries by requiring as part of tenders that foreign companies transfer technology, capital and production capabilities to Turkey. In a buyer's global arms market, the effect is that the global arms industry is conniving in a massive Turkish arms build up.

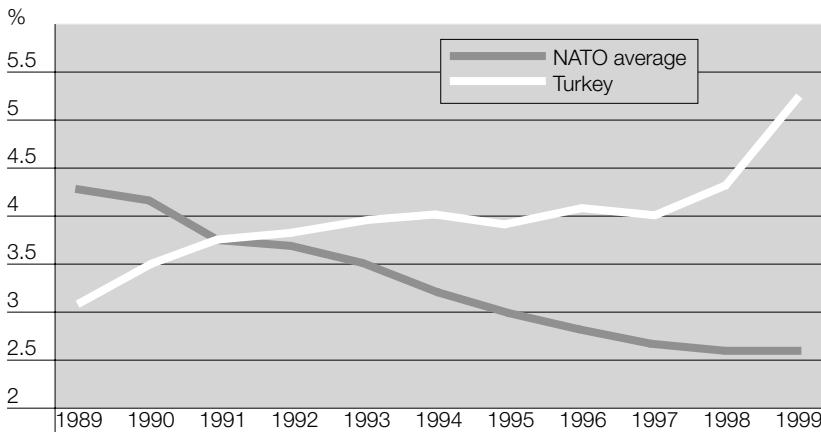


Chart 1. Military expenditure as a % of GNP

Figures taken from the official US publication *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers (WMEAT) 1999-00*

Turkey's military expenditure

Whilst military expenditure as a proportion of GNP has fallen in most NATO member states, Turkey's has risen significantly.² See Chart 1.

The Turkish Armed Forces buy their weapons in two ways. They are either purchased directly by the Turkish Ministry of Defence or through the Turkish Undersecretariat for Defence Industries (SSM), a government agency set up in 1985. Typically, "off the shelf" purchases of foreign weapons are undertaken by the Turkish Ministry of Defence which is funded directly from the Turkish Treasury. SSM is responsible for developing the Turkish military-industrial complex whilst fulfilling the Turkish Armed Forces' requirements. Its revenues come from a share of income and corporate taxes, levies and surcharges on the sales of tobacco products and alcoholic beverages, revenue from state lotteries and joint bets, and a percentage of fuel consumption tax. SSM undertakes purchases of foreign weapons when Turkey wishes to acquire an indigenous production capability. This capability has been acquired through co-production, licensed production or offset agreements.

A co-production agreement is where a foreign company and a Turkish company jointly produce a weapon, often involving technology transfer (the foreign company gives the Turkish company the "know-how" to produce some or all of the systems). In a licensed production agreement, a Turkish company manufactures a foreign company's weapon in Turkey, under a licence from the foreign company which takes a cut of the profits from the production. In an offset

agreement, a foreign company pledges to invest money in Turkish companies (not necessarily military) in return for being awarded a contract.

Turkey's arms imports

Turkey is one of the biggest importers of weapons in the world. In 1999 it was the world's second largest arms importer after Saudi Arabia.

Most of Turkey's arms imports come from the US (see Table 2), which during 1997-99 provided 79 per cent of Turkey's arms imports. Turkey is the fifth largest recipient of US arms. 1 per cent of Turkey's arms imports during the first three years of the Blair Government came from the UK.

Table 2. Sources of Turkish arms imports 1997-99
(WMEAT 1999-00)

Supplier	Value (\$m)	% of total Turkish arms imports
USA	4,900	79
Germany	650	11
Other NATO	210	3
China	140	2
UK	90	1
France	90	1
Eastern Europe (excl. Russia)	50	1
Middle East	20	0

Table 1. Total Turkish arms imports and exports
(WMEAT) 1999-00, Figures in constant 1999 dollars

Year	Turkish arms imports (\$m)	Arms as % of total imports	Turkish arms exports (\$m)
1999	3,200	7.9	70
1998	1,319	2.8	10
1997	1,850	3.7	10
1996	1,676	3.7	10
1995	1,815	4.8	75
1994	2,182	8.6	55
1993	2,004	6.1	22
1992	1,711	6.6	23
1991	1,752	7.1	35
1990	1,573	5.8	12
1989	1,226	6.2	25

Imports from the UK

During the Major Government (1990-7), the UK sold Turkey around £42 million of weapons per annum – Turkey was not a major market for UK arms during these years. Table 3 shows the MoD estimate of UK military sales (including services) to Turkey signed 1990-1997. Figures are based on voluntary industry returns, expressed in current prices and relate to new contracts signed. The table also shows UK Government figures for arms exports since May 1997. The reader will note the inconsistency between the figures for UK sales 1997-99 produced by WMEAT and the UK Government's own figures. This is due to the different methodologies employed to calculate the value of military exports. We do not know enough about the data sources and basis of calculations to make a judgement about which figures are more reliable. The WMEAT table is valuable

Table 3. UK military export figures

Year	MoD estimate of military sales to Turkey (<i>Hansard</i> , 15/1/98)	Value of exports covered by HM Customs criteria	Estimated total value of exports (includes SBAC estimates)	Number of SIELs issued	Number of OIELs issued
2001		£10,430,000	n/a	128	37
2000		£6,110,000	n/a	105	72
1999		£9,550,000	£48,315,204	99	26
1998		£84,150,000	£300,668,882	94	59
1997*		£25,420,000	£51,990,295	101	4
1996	£107,000,000				
1995	£19,000,000				
1994	£68,000,000				
1993	£6,000,000				
1992	£36,000,000				
1991	£32,000,000				
1990	£63,000,000				

* from 1 May 1997

because it gives a comparison for the UK with other countries, and an idea of the UK's market share in the market for Turkish weapons systems.

The total value of the UK arms trade to Turkey (see Table 3, col 3) has been estimated by taking the HM Customs figures published in the Government's Annual Report and adding to them an estimate of additional exports identified by the Society of British Aerospace Companies (SBAC) and data from the Defence Exports Services Organisation (DESO) which covers military exports not covered by Customs or SBAC. As SBAC and DESO data are not broken down by country, the proportion of their totals that apply to Turkey is estimated from the Customs figures, which do provide a country-by-country breakdown. It is assumed that the exports considered by the different sources are distributed similarly between countries. This is the same methodology that has been used by MoD economists.³

The range of equipment exported is reflected in the categories of government licences. Table 4 lists UK Government Standard Individual Export Licences issued in selected Military List categories from 2 May 1997 to 31 December 1999. However, after 1999 changes in the reporting of arms exports means that the number of licences issued in each category are is not listed; instead a description of the types of equipment licensed is given, allowing only a 'Yes' or 'No' to be entered in Table 4.

ECGD support

The UK government provides a variety of support for arms exporters, from DESO, a government agency dedicated to promoting the export of arms, to support for Research and Development. One of the most costly aspects of government support is the Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD) which underwrites exports deals. ECGD services are available to any exporter but are dominated by the arms industry – arms have recently accounted for around 40 per cent of cover though arms comprise only 2-3 per cent of all exports. Should a buying country default on its payments, ECGD guarantees mean that the UK manufacturer will receive payment from the UK Government, which will then try to recoup the loss. For this service, arms companies pay premiums to ECGD.

The outstanding exposure on the guarantees ECGD issued for arms exports to Turkey are:

2000–01	£0 million
1999–00	£215 million
1998–99	£0 million
1997–98	£36 million
1996–97	£2 million

At 31 March 2002, ECGD's liability for arms exports to Turkey was £237.7 million. (*Hansard*, 4/7/02)

Table 4. Categories of UK standard individual export licences granted to Turkey by Labour (selection of)

Rating	Description	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
ML1	Small arms, machine guns and accessories	17	3	4	Yes	Yes
ML2	Large calibre weapons, including howitzers and flamethrowers	9	11	5	Yes	Yes
ML3	Ammunition for ML1, ML2 and ML12*	6	2	4	Yes	Yes
ML4	Bombs, torpedoes, rockets, missiles and mines	7	9	12	Yes	Yes
ML6	Military vehicles e.g. tanks and armoured personnel carriers	4	4	7	No	Yes
ML10	Aircraft and aircraft equipment	10	8	7	Yes	Yes
ML14	Equipment for military training	2	0	3	Yes	Yes
ML18	Equipment and technology for the production of military goods	1	2	2	Yes	Yes
ML22	Technology for development and production	0	2	2	Yes	Yes
PL5017	Equipment for development or use of military goods	0	2	4	Yes	Yes

* ML12 refers to high velocity kinetic energy weapons systems

Major arms deals involving UK companies

Small Arms and Light Weapons

Heckler & Koch – 5.56mm Assault Rifles

Heckler & Koch (H&K), which was a German subsidiary of BAE Systems' Royal Ordnance subsidiary from 1991 to 2002 (when BAE Systems sold it in a management buy-out), has profited from MKEK's manufacture of its weapons under licence since the 1970s. MKEK produced H&K's G3A3 and G3A4 assault rifles since the 1970s and its MP5A2, MP5A3 and MP5K sub-machine guns since the 1980s.

H&K sold the Turkish Army 200,000 HK33 5.56mm assault rifles in January 1998 for \$18 million. Assembly of these rifles is taking place under licence at a factory run by MKEK near Ankara over 10 years. They are intended to replace the Army's 7.62mm H&K G3 infantry rifles. In October 1998 the number ordered rose to 500,000. MKEK is a Turkish company that manufactures small arms and ammunition. It only manufactures military products and is growing rapidly. In 2000 it was the 87th largest arms company in the world, selling US\$480 million of weapons and making a profit of US\$38 million.

In July 1998, the Turkish news agency Anadolu reported that 500 Heckler & Koch MP5 sub-machine guns produced under licence by MKEK were to be exported to the Indonesian Police (the contract was valued at \$400,000) which has a record of human rights abuses and extrajudicial killing. This deal came a few months after licences for the direct export of the guns from the UK were refused. MP5 machine-guns are also used by the Indonesian Special Forces KOPASSUS.

MKEK also sells H&K weapons to other dubious customers – in the past it has supplied at least 38 countries – among them Pakistan and Bosnia.

(Sources: Defence News 19/1/98; JDW 14/1/98, 28/10/98; SIPRI Yearbook 2002)

Heckler & Koch – Grenade Launchers

Heckler & Koch was awarded a \$36.5 million contract in November 1997 to produce 1,500 grenade launchers under licence in Turkey. Germany reportedly delayed the programme by seeking guarantees that the grenade launchers would not be used against the PKK.

(Source: JDW 28/10/98)

Armoured Vehicles

Land Rover – Armoured Vehicles

The Turkish company Otokar uses the Land Rover chassis for its armoured personnel carrier which "has proven itself in service of Turkish Military and Security forces for many years". Land Rovers have been assembled under licence in Turkey since 1987 by Otokar. It also makes Land Rover Defender 90, 110, 130s and the AKREP attack/defence vehicle, which has 70 per cent of its mechanical parts in common with a standard Land Rover 110. According to Kurdish sources, the AKREP vehicle has seen extensive service in Northern Iraq.

In 1995 Algeria bought 700 AKREP vehicles from Otokar. In March 1998 the ECGD concluded financing arrangements through the Supplier Credit Facility in relation to Land Rover's supply to Otokar. Land Rover has to provide a warranty that all relevant government approvals including export licences have been obtained and are valid. In October 2001 Otokar won another contract from Algeria, this time covering the export of 600 Land Rover 110s worth £20 million. Two versions are being exported – a hard top personnel carrier and a radio/communications vehicle. The contract covers spare parts and support equipment. Otokar resumed production for the contract on 2 February 2002, and delivered the vehicles in three batches – March, May and June 2002. Otokar also delivered 300 Land Rover 110s to Tunisia in June 2001, under a contract signed on 10 October 2000 worth \$9.5 million.

(Sources: Hansard 27/1/00; Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates; UK Arms Sales to Turkey (Campaign Against Arms Trade, January 1998))

Alvis – Piranha Armoured Vehicles

On 12 September 2001, Alvis and Turkey's FNSS Defense Systems signed an agreement to co-produce Alvis' Piranha armoured vehicle. Piranha uses the FNSS Sharpshooter 25mm turret system. Alvis is licensed (by MOWAG of Switzerland) to produce the vehicle in the UK and market it to selected countries including Turkey. Turkey is looking to supplement its 1,698 FNSS Armoured Infantry Fighting Vehicles and may choose Piranha.

(Sources: Defence News 24/9/01; JDW 27/2/02)

Aircraft

Airbus Military Company – Transport Aircraft

On 21 July 2000 the Turkish Government approved the acquisition of 26 A-400M transport aircraft worth \$2.5 billion from the Airbus Military Company (AMC), in which Turkish Aircraft Industries (TAI) has a stake of 9 per cent. The aircraft is to replace the Turkish Air Force's C-130B/Es and Transall C.160D transports. TAI will undertake 11.6 per cent of the production (worth \$1.7 billion over 10 years) in the eight-nation AMC programme. TAI workshare includes manufacture of nose landing gear, bay and door, map and cargo door, elevators and forward-centre fuselage. Financial pressures led to the order being cut to 20 planes in May 2001, and to ten less than a month later. Delivery is planned for 2007-2014.

(Sources: Defence News 21/5/01, 11/6/01; JDW 26/7/00, 24/1/01)

BAE Systems – F-16 Electronics Upgrade

On 16 January 2003 the Turkish Government awarded a \$190.4 million contract (SPEWS II) to buy AN/ALQ-178(V)+ Electronic Warfare systems for Turkey's second batch of F-16C/D Fighting Falcons (80 aircraft). The F-16s were made in Turkey during the 1990s as part of the "Peace Onyx" deal. Aselsan-Mikes is the prime contractor on the deal, and will earn \$100 million from the contract. BAE Systems North America are supplying the system, which Aselsan will install on the aircraft (with Mikes employed as a subcontractor). The contract is contingent on BAE Systems obtaining a US export licence for the AN/ALQ-178(V)+ radar warning and jamming system within 3 months of the

contract date. The first upgraded F-16 is due to be delivered 40 months after the contract becomes effective. The contract was originally put out to tender in 1996 and SSM chose a Thales system, but the US Government refused to allow non-US systems to be installed on the F-16s. An ITT system was a strong contender against BAES's in 2002.

(Sources: JDW 6/3/02, 5/2/03; Defense News 27/5-2/6/02; Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates)

Missiles

Matra BAE Dynamics – Rapier Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)

In 1996 Matra BAe Dynamics (now MBDA after combining with Aerospatiale Matra Missiles and Alenia Marconi Systems Missile Division) was awarded a £70 million contract by the Turkish Air Force to upgrade all Turkish Rapiers (UK and US supplied) to enhanced B1X standard. The upgrade was to be completed in May 1999 and allows firing of the latest Rapier Mk 2 SAM. On 31 August 1999 the UK and Turkey signed a co-production deal for Matra BAe Dynamics' Rapier Mk 2B SAMs, costing Turkey \$150 million. Under the ten-year programme, 840 missiles will be made for the Turkish Army and Air Force and approximately 1,500 more for the UK Army and Royal Air Force Regiment. The plan was for the UK to loan Turkey 41 Mk2 missiles for three years (value £1.2 million) and 80 missiles to be produced per year. The project started earlier than anticipated, and the Turkish Air Force abandoned plans to borrow the 41 missiles.

Production lines are to be established in both countries and components brought together later. The deal will give Turkey access to sensitive technology (though this is disputed by the UK Government) and a £30 million direct offset deal has been agreed. Rocketsan (actuators), Havelsan (electronic integration) and Aselsan are the Turkish subcontractors. Later reports said that Rocketsan are responsible for final assembly, testing and support (giving them the capability to maintain them) while Kalekalip are to produce the actuators. Initial delivery was to start in early 2002. ECGD cover for defence business to Turkey in 1999-2000 related to the supply of air defence missiles, presumably this deal.

(Sources: JDW 22/7/98, 4/8/99, 8/9/99, 17/1/01; Turkish Daily News 6/9/99; Hansard 27/10/99, 2/11/99, 5/4/00)

BAE Systems – Sea Skua

BAE Systems were awarded a contract by the Turkish Naval Forces Foreign Procurement Department to periodically test Sea Skua missiles (tender 00205). The Sea Skua is a helicopter-launched anti-ship missile in service with the Turkish Navy.

(Source: Turkish Ministry of Defense Contract Bulletin)

Satellites

Matra Marconi Space – Satellite Communications

Terminals

Matra Marconi Space was awarded a \$114 million contract in September 1999 to build satellite communications terminals for the Turkish Air Force (beating Alcatel). The contract included a requirement for 40 per cent offset work for Aselsan and guaranteed work for other Turkish companies.

The sub-contract with Aselsan was signed on 13 December 1999. A total of \$37 million of funding is to be provided by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Jandarma. Matra Marconi Space and Aselsan are to build an X-band satellite network, terminals and control stations. The project involves the production of 32 manportable terminals, 19 vehicle-based terminals, 7 shipborne terminals, and 1 small fixed terminal. Aselsan are to initially supply 16 terminals (13 manportable, 2 vehicle-mounted and 1 shipborne by May 2000) and finish the project at the end of 2001. Astrium UK won a contract from the Turkish Naval Forces Foreign Procurement Department to lease an X-band Satellite terminal (tender 00-224).

(Sources: JDW 25/8/99, 8/9/99, 22/12/99; Turkish Ministry of Defence Contracts Bulletin)

Naval Electronics

Racal – Electronic Support Measures for Type 209

Submarines

Racal Defence Electronics (now part of Thales) won a \$14.6 million contract in December 1999 to supply its Sealion Electronic Support Measures system for a NATO navy's submarines. Industry sources say it was for Turkish Type 209s.

(Source: JDW 22/12/99)

Primographics – Radar, Tracking Equipment and Display Systems for G-class Frigates

Primographics of Cambridge won a £500,000 (\$750,000) contract in June 2002 to supply radar and video distribution, display systems and radar tracking equipment for Turkey's 6 FFG-7 class frigates (originally acquired from the US Navy). A Turkish Navy Spokesman said "Primographics was selected for this important project because its commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) equipment cost effectively met our needs, and Primographics was able to comply with our support and technology transfer requirements." This is a sub-contract of a Raytheon deal secured in May 2002 for the modernisation of Turkey's 6 FFG-7 frigates for \$17 million.

(Sources: Defense News 8-14/7/02; Primographics Press Release 27/6/02)

Shelters

Marshall Specialist Vehicles – shelters

Marshall Specialist Vehicles (a division of Marshall UK) and Nurol Machinery and Industry Inc of Turkey (a subsidiary of the Nurol Holding Inc) used the IDEF 2001 exhibition to announce a joint marketing venture in Turkey and the region. The International Show of Defence, Aerospace and Naval Hardware (IDEF) is a biannual Turkish arms exhibition held by the Turkish National Defence Ministry. Nurol Machinery and Industry are to combine their manufacturing capabilities with the technology of Marshall Specialist Vehicles to meet shelter requirements. Marshall Specialist Vehicles is to transfer technology so Nurol can build their products in Turkey. Marshall and Nurol bid for the Turkish requirement for 285 shelters of various NATO classifications against eight other consortia but the tender was cancelled due to a technicality in autumn 2001.

(Source: Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates)

Other major arms deals

Aircraft

Attack Helicopters

The US company Bell Helicopter Textron Inc. have been selected to sell the Turkish Army attack helicopters and will provide 145 King Cobra AH-1Z aircraft. The first phase of the contract, for 50 helicopters, is worth approximately \$1.6 billion. TAI are to be the prime contractor on the deal. The first 2-3 AH-1Zs are to be made in the US (and scheduled to be delivered in 2005), the rest in Turkey. The mission computer will be built by Litton and the Turkish company Turbitak. Tusas Engine Industries are to take most of the assembly work for the T700-701 engine. BAE Systems is supplying some of the Fuel Quantity Gauging Systems and Solid State Rate Gyro Assemblies. Bell are offering Hellfire missiles with the deal. Negotiations to finalise the contract have been going on for over a year and focus around technology transfer rights.

(Source: *Defense News* 14-20/1/02)

Transport Helicopters

Sikorsky won a \$561 million contract to supply 50 S-70A Blackhawks to the Turkish Land Forces Command in February 1999. The contract is part financed by \$150 million left over from a 1990 loan from the US Eximbank (a US Export Credit Agency). The deal comprises 20 S-70As, 25 S-70A-28s, and 5 Search and Rescue (SAR) helicopters. Sikorsky has given contracts worth \$110 million to Turkish companies. The first 20 S-70As were delivered without the 'D' glass cockpit; Aselsan installed this locally, under licence from Rockwell Collins, once they had arrived in Turkey, whilst TAI made the airframe components. The last 30 helicopters are to be delivered with the 'D' cockpit – for which Rockwell Collins won a \$28 million contract (with Aselsan manufacturing the LN100G INS/GPS system). Alp Havcylyk Sanayii ve Ticaret won a \$10 million contract to produce the flight control systems.

In total 20 helicopters were delivered in 1999 and 12 in 2000.

In early 2000 Milsoft became a 'Sikorsky Aircraft Certified Subcontractor' after a lengthy technical and administrative study by Sikorsky. Milsoft have the contract for mission computer software of the S70B Naval Helicopters and the attack helicopter programme.

(Sources: *FI* 10/2/99; *JDW* 10/2/99, 3/3/99, 26/5/99, 30/6/99; *AFM* March 2000; *Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates*)

Utility and (Combat) Search and Rescue Helicopters

The Turkish Army and Air Force ordered 30 Eurocopter AS-232 Cougars for \$618 million in February 1997. Three versions are being produced – Utility, Search and Rescue (SAR) and Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR). The Turkish Air Force are to receive 14 SAR and six CSAR versions, and the Turkish Land Forces Command are to receive six Utility and four SAR versions. This contract is known as the Phoenix II programme.

Two helicopters have been produced in France (delivered on 1 May 2000) and EUROTAI has established manufacturing facilities to produce the other 28 at TAI facilities. TAI are building the airframe and undertaking the acceptance

testing, and Tusas Engine Industries are assembling the Turbomeca-designed Makila 1A1 turboshaft engines. TAI has the rights to market locally produced Cougars to regional armed forces. The CSAR version includes GIAT NC621 machine gun pods, an Aselsan-built AselFLIR-200, and a Bendix 1500B search radar. Currently the offset contracts for the project are being finalised – a contract was signed in November 2002 for the production of 80 sets of components in the next decade

Fifteen Cougars had been delivered by December 2001, six being CSAR versions, six Utility and three SAR. Another four SAR versions had been delivered by March 2002. The last of the 20 helicopters for the Turkish Air Force were delivered in November 2002 and the last 2 helicopters of the whole deal will be delivered in March 2003. SIPRI claims the deal is worth \$430 million.

(Sources: *JDW* 10/5/00; *FI* 13-19/6/00; *Anadolu Agency* 29/11/99; *SIPRI*; *AFM* June 2002; *Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates*)

Naval Helicopters

The Turkish Navy are purchasing 16 Sikorsky S-70B Seahawk helicopters. The first eight were ordered on 19 February 1998 for \$200 million, including various upgrades. The next 8 were ordered in January 2002, with 6 CH-60S Knight Hawk naval utility helicopters, for \$324 million and were financed by loans from the US Eximbank (a US Export Credit Agency). As US Eximbank loan covers 85 per cent of the project cost, the contract value is reportedly around \$380 million. Along with the helicopters, Turkey have purchased 84 AGM-114K Hellfire II missiles with anti-ship warheads (developed by Orlando Technology) for \$6.7 million from Lockheed Martin (10 were delivered in 2000). Aselsan has manufactured the FLIR laser designation systems for the Hellfire missiles under licence. Sixteen Mk2 Mod 7 Penguin missiles were also purchased from Kongsberg Defence and Aerospace for \$37.49 million.

L-3 Communications Holdings won a \$22.5 million contract to supply eight Helicopter Long Range Active Sonar (HELTRAS) for the helicopters. Aselsan has made the MXF-484 V/UHF radios and CN-100G INS/GPS systems. BAE Systems has provided the flare and chaff systems. The programme has been delayed and the first S-70B was delivered on 25 April 2002, with the rest due to be delivered in June 2002. Flight tests and manufacturing have been carried out at Sikorsky premises.

(Sources: *Defense News* 2-8/7/01; *JDW* 25/10/00, 7/4/99, 8/5/02; *Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates*)

Helicopter Electronic Warfare Suite (HEWS) Upgrade

In December 2001 SSM awarded \$285 million worth of contracts for self-protection systems to be integrated into helicopters across the Turkish Armed Forces inventory. The systems are to be installed on the 145 new attack helicopters (Turkish Army), 28 AH-1Ps (Turkish Army), 9 AH-1Ws (Turkish Army), 98 S-70As (with an option for a further two; 63 of these are for the Turkish Army, 27 for the Jandarma, and 8 for Turkish Special Forces), 35 AS-532 Cougars (with an option for one more; 29 are for the Turkish Army, and 6 for the Turkish Air Force), 2 AB-212s, 106 UH-1H/AB-205s (92 for the Turkish Army, 14 for the Jandarma), 19 Mi-17s (Jandarma), an option for 8 CH-53s, and an option for 3 or 6 CASA CN-235s.

The contract is expected to take eight years and the foreign contractors must provide offsets to the value of 50 per cent of their total contract share. The deal involves the transfer of all rights and licences for the equipment to SSM or local producers, including sales rights to 28 countries including Malaysia, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Uzbekistan, Algeria, Indonesia, Georgia, Tajikistan, and Pakistan. All production is to take place in Turkey.

The individual systems required are considered below:

- **Counter Measures Dispensing System (CMDS)**
Israeli Military Industries (IMI) won a \$105 million contract for CMDS to co-produce the Airmor helicopter and transport defensive aids system (300 units) with MKEK and Aselsan. IMI are to transfer technology for the chaff and flare range, and the establishment of infrared signal measurement capability. Aselsan are responsible for the equipment and integration with IMI, whilst MKEK are handling the expendables. CMDS is to be installed on 511 platforms.
- **Missile Warning System (MWS)**
EADS's LFK business unit won a \$180 million contract to deliver missile warning systems, beating the Guitar system of Rafael (Israel). The system chosen is the MILDS AAR-60. This is to be installed on 350 platforms (390 according to JDW). Aselsan says local content will be 70 per cent and the system is to be delivered by 2007.
- **Radar Warning Receiver and Radio Frequency Jammers (RWR + RF Jammers)**
The contract for the third part of HEWS (radar and laser warning receivers, radio jammers and a suite processing unit) is to be awarded to one of eight companies which have bid for it (BAE Systems, EADS/LFK, Elisra, Elta, Goodrich under licence from Raytheon, ITT, Marconi, and Thales.)
- **Total Systems Integration**
Aselsan is leading a consortium of Turkish companies including Havelsan, Mikes and TAI to integrate the HEWS systems and undertake local production of the radio jammers and suite processing unit.

(Sources for HEWS: There is a great deal of information in the public domain about this deal. The basis for it are the tender documents for the contract, which are available from the Turkish Government at http://www.ssm.gov.tr/projects/elek-harp_eng/rwr_eng.htm. As with any procurement process, the final deal may not completely reflect the requirements specified in the tender documents. Much information is also available in Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates, as well as sources such as JDW.)

Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Project

Turkey have decided to buy into the \$200 billion Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) project for which Lockheed Martin is the prime contractor for production of the aircraft. JSF is to be a new-generation tactical aircraft for the US Air Force, Marine Corps and Navy, and the UK's Royal Navy and Royal Air Force. The US Air Force intends to use it to replace its F-16 aircraft and the Turkish Air Force aim to replace all their F-16s with JSF by 2010. JSF is to start production in 2005, with first deliveries in 2008. The current cost for the Air Force version is \$31-38 million each. All JSF

planes will be single-engine, single-seat, with supersonic dash capability and some degree of stealth. Turkey participated in the Concept Demonstration phase at a cost of \$6.2 million, in which the two competing US companies, Boeing and Lockheed Martin, built and flight-tested their prototypes. Turkey gained insight into the programme concepts and requirements definition and participated in various capabilities modeling and simulation events. On 11 July 2002, Turkey signed up to the System Development and Demonstration phase for 10 years at a cost of \$175 million. In this they will gain contracts for Turkish industry.

(Sources: Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program: Background, Status and Issues (Congressional Research Service, 15 February 2002); US Department of Defense News Release 11 July 2002)

F-4 Fighter Aircraft Upgrade

In early 1997 Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI) were awarded a \$600 million contract to modernise 54 Turkish Air Force F-4Es to bring them up to IAI Phantom 2000 Standard. Twenty-four are being upgraded in Israel, with the first completed F-4 delivered the first on 1 March 1999. From February 2000 one aircraft is to be delivered per month. The other 30 F-4s are to be upgraded at Eskisehir in Turkey.

The upgrade includes a structural upgrade, avionics, a new fire-control radar and a high-altitude surveillance system. El-Op won a \$50 million contract to supply infrared Long-Range Oblique Photography cameras and equipment for real-time transmission. Elbit is the "Avionics System Prime Integrator and Major Avionics System subcontractor on the programme" (earning it \$70 million). The upgrade includes a IAI/Elta EL/M-2032 fire-control radar, an El-Op HUD and an IAI/Elta EL/L-8233 jamming pod.

(Sources: Jane's International Defence Review February 1998; FI 10-16/3/99, 25-31/1/00; Turkey Arms Net e-mail group July 1999; AFM September 2001)

Airborne Early Warning and Control Aircraft (AEW&C) Project

The Turkish Air Force selected the Boeing 737 AEW&C aircraft on 27 November 2000. The contract was signed on 4 June 2002. The deal includes ground support for crew training, mission support and system modification. The original decision was to buy six aircraft with an option for one more but, because of budget problems, this has been reduced to four aircraft (with an option for two more).

The Boeing team includes Northrop Grumman (supplying the Multi-Role Electronically Scanned Array radar), Havelsan, Turkish Airlines and TAI. Turbitak are working with Northrop Grumman on producing mission systems, Havelsan are producing the software and carrying out systems integration (for \$80 million) and Turkish company Microwave Electronic Systems are producing electronic support measures for \$2 million. Turkey is also responsible for through-life support work. Turkish firms will receive work worth 18 per cent of the contract's value, with the rest coming from US companies.

The deal is worth \$1.095 billion with the option for two extra aircraft worth \$500 million. Boeing is to complete the first aircraft, and TAI is to modify the other three in Turkey. Delivery is expected 42-48 months from June 2002. Boeing has pledged to give Turkey a 60 per cent offset on the deal worth \$665 million. However, Boeing has now twice failed

to meet deadlines to sign all the subcontracts with Turkish companies as required in the offsets package, and to meet the deadlines to secure US export licences for key software.

(Sources: JDW 27/2/02, 29/5/02, 6/12/00; SSM website; FI 11-17/6/02, 5-11/12/00; Defense News 3-9/6/02, 9-15/9/02, 16/12/02, 17/2/03)

Artillery & Missiles

Short Range Air Defense (SHORAD)

In November 2001 SSM signed a \$265 million deal with Aselsan to produce 148 Pedestal Mounted Air Defence Systems. The system uses Raytheon-designed Stinger missiles. The deal is for 70 ATILGAN – an M-113 A2 chassis with a Standard Vehicle Mounted Launcher using 4 Stingers, and 78 ZIPKIN – a Land Rover Defender 130 with two Stinger Launchers, each with two Stingers. Raytheon signed a contract with SSM for the provision of 150 Standard Vehicle Mounted Launcher units (and 170 Stinger launchers – which will not be used on ZIPKIN or ATILGAN) for \$34 million in June 2002, and Aselsan will integrate these into the weapon platform. Delivery is due 2003-7. The Turkish Army are to receive 70 ATILGANs and 35 ZIPKINs, the Turkish Navy 11 ZIPKINs, and the Turkish Air Force 32 ZIPKINs.

In January 1999 the Turkish Army ordered 208 Stingers from Aselsan for \$380 million, to be produced entirely domestically. Thales have been selected to provide the Identification Friend or Foe system.

(Sources: Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates; JDW 21/11/01)

Self-Propelled Guns

The Turkish Army are developing a new 155mm artillery system (which can fire all 155mm NATO ammunition) with foreign assistance. The finished system will be called the T-155 Firtana, and will include the SP2000 guns (Turkish-designation) produced by MKEK (200 were ordered in July 2001). MKEK are carrying out the assembly of the system in Turkey. MKEK's expertise was gained in the previous modernisation of US-supplied 105mm M52 and 155mm M44 guns used by the Turkish Army. The system uses a German MTU881 diesel engine.

Components for the system are being bought from South Korea. Turkey have signed a \$1 billion deal with Samsung Techwin which could potentially result in the supply of components for the manufacture of over 300 self-propelled howitzers over 10 years. In the next two years Samsung Techwin will supply 24 sets of the major subsystems of the K9 Thunder self-propelled howitzer system worth \$60 million. These will be used in the Firtana system. A UK company, Horstman, produces the hydropneumatic suspension for the K9 Thunder system, and thus it is highly likely they will be in the sets provided by Samsung Techwin. The original tests for this project were completed in April 1999. Subsequently a \$4.5 million contract was awarded to Singapore Technologies for 6 guns, and a separate \$2.5 million contract was awarded for Technical Data Packages.

(Sources: Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates; JDW 1/8/01, 14/8/02)

Anti-Tank Missiles (Eryx)

In 1998 Aerospatiale won a \$450 million contract to supply 10,000 Eryx anti-tank missiles over 10 years. Production is to take place at an MKEK facility, and the Aerospatiale consortium includes two Turkish companies. Canada and Norway are major subcontractors on Eryx so will produce and ship parts to Turkey. In 2000 500 missiles were delivered.

(Sources: SIPRI; JDW 4/3/98, 25/3/98; FI 25-31/3/98)

Tanks

M60 Main Battle Tank Upgrade

On 29 March 2002 Israeli Military Industries (IMI) signed a contract with the Turkish Army to upgrade 170 M60A1s for \$668 million. The package is the Sabra Mk III upgrade, which includes a MG251 120mm gun, fire-control system, extra armour, new 1,000 hp German MTU engine and improved suspension. IMI has offered to transfer technology for the development of fire-control and turret systems to Aselsan and technology for the modernisation of MKEK's 120mm ammunition production facility. Delivery of the first upgraded tank is due in mid-2006. Under the deal, IMI is guaranteed a 50 per cent share in the modernisation of the remaining M60s in the Turkish Army inventory, and they are not transferring technology for the armour upgrade. The co-production work will be carried out at a plant to be built in Kayseri, Turkey. Turkey plans to upgrade its remaining 792 M60 tanks locally using technology transferred from IMI.

(Sources: JDW 20/3/02, 29/3/02, 12/2/03; Defense News 6-12/5/02)

Leopard 1 Main Battle Tank upgrade

Aselsan won a \$160 million contract on 11 January 2002 from SSM to develop and install a new fire-control system in 162 Leopard 1A1/1A1A4s for the Turkish Army. The Volkan FCS was developed by Aselsan and displayed at IDEF 2001.

Ships

Minehunters

SSM signed a contract on 30 July 1999 to buy six minehunters and one simulator from a German consortium (Abeking and Rasmussen and Lurssen Werft) for \$625 million. The first ship is to be made in Germany in 2002 and the rest in Istanbul (with final delivery expected in 2007). The shore-based simulator is to be located in Turkey. The Turkish contractor which will make five of the minehunters is Taskizah Nabal Shipyard.

The minehunters are based on the Type MJ 332 Frankenthal coastal minehunter. The mine warfare system is based around the Sonar 2093 dual-frequency variable depth sonar made by Thomson Marconi Sonar (now Thales Underwater Systems). The NAUTIS III-M combat management system is made by Alenia Marconi Systems, the 30mm guns by Otobreda and the PAP104 Mk 5 remotely-operated vehicle by Societe ELA. The NAUTIS III-M system includes the Land Based Training System.

(Sources: JDW 25/8/99; Alenia Marconi Systems Press Release 12/1/01)

Small Arms Ammunition

In the spring of 2000, the German government approved a licence for the German company Fritz Werner to export and install an ammunition plant in Turkey, making 5.56mm ammunition. On 23 August 2000 a consortium of New Lachausee (Belgium), Manukin (France) and Fritz Werner (Germany) signed a contract with MKEK worth 41.5 million Euros. New Lachausee is to deliver the ammunition producing facilities, worth \$6,995,803, with New Lachausee's export licence from the Belgian government being granted on 12 October 2000. The Manukin share is worth 300–400 million Belgian Francs.

(Source: A Turkish Ammunition Plant under Belgian Licence, Hilde Herssens, Flemish Network on Small Arms, February 2001)

In October 2001, Pakistan Ordnance Factories signed a deal to supply MKEK with 20 million 5.56mm ammunition cartridges and 30,000 spare parts for 7.62mm G2 rifles.

(Source: Islamabad The News, 4/10/01)

Recent Turkish arms exports

Since SSM was founded in 1995, one of its goals has been to increase the levels of its arms exports, to sustain its arms industrial base at a higher level. The information that is in the public domain is below. As can be seen Turkey's main exports are to countries in the developing world and/or regions of conflict. The main sources for the deals below are SIPRI and Turkish Defence and Aerospace Updates.

Algeria

Otokar have sold Algeria at least 1,300 vehicles since 1995. Details can be found in the Armoured Vehicles section on page 4.

Egypt

Aselsan have won 62 per cent of the work on a US Foreign Military Sale (FMS) to Egypt. Litton Systems Inc won a \$7,589,527 contract to provide 44 Inertial Navigation Systems and Ring Laser Gyros for their F-16 refit. Aselsan will undertake 62 per cent of the work in Ankara, which will be completed in May 2003. The Oklahoma City Air Logistics Centre, Tinker Air Force Base awarded the contract.

(Source: US Department of Defense Contract Bulletins)

Georgia

In 1998 an ex-Turkish Navy AB-25 Patrol Craft was delivered to Georgia.

Malaysia

On 28 August 2000 FNSS signed a \$278 million contract with Malaysia to supply 211 Armoured Combat Vehicles in 11 versions. The deal involves technology transfer to FNSS's partner in Malaysia, DEFTECH (a subsidiary company of DRB-Hicom). The first batch of 70 Advanced Armoured Combat Vehicles will include 31 equipped with the Sharpshooter turret (design rights belonging to United Defense LP, and production rights with FNSS). The last 141 will be assembled with the main component manufacturing done by DEFTECH in Malaysia. Deliveries are to be completed in 2004.

Jordan

Turkey produced two CN-235-100 aircraft in 1998 and have leased them to Jordan.

Maldives

In 1996 the Maldives ordered three Cobra vehicles from Otokar, which were delivered in 1997.

South Korea

On 17 December 2002, Havelsan signed a deal with South Korea to produce and deliver a CN-235-100 flight simulator. The deal is worth \$30 million and involves co-operation with South Korean industry (either Techmate Corporation or DoDaam Systems) and training for South Korean Air Force crew. EADS-CASA will provide technical support to Havelsan. Havelsan now have the capability to be the prime contractor on this project as a result of previous close collaboration on similar projects with EADS-CASA.

Tunisia

Otokar have sold Land Rovers to Tunisia – see Armoured Vehicles section on page 4.

United Arab Emirates

In 1997, FNSS signed a \$75 million deal to sell 136 Armoured Infantry Fighting Vehicles to UAE. The variants supplied were 75 ALV and ACV-AFOV artillery fire control vehicles, 8 Armoured Rescue Vehicles and 53 Armoured Engineering Squad vehicles. Seventy-six of the vehicles were produced in 1999 and 60 in 2000. The vehicles were tropicalised by using the Detroit Diesel 6V-53 power pack and Allison X-200 4B transmission system.

Reports of previous use of imported military equipment in human rights violations in Turkey

The reports are taken from three sources: the US State Department⁴, Human Rights Watch (HRW)⁵ and Amnesty International (AI)⁶. See Table 5 on page 10.

In response to Title III of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act of Fiscal Year 1995, the US Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Secretary of Defense, was required to produce a report on human rights abuses by the Turkish Armed Forces and on the situation in Cyprus. The report was unprecedented and looked at the use of US-supplied military equipment by Turkey. (A critique of the report can be found in Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey, Human Rights Watch, 1995.)

Referring to three specific incidents, the report stated:

“The US Government finds the evidence for the use of this equipment in these three incidents highly credible.”

“We do not have information regarding the extent to which US equipment has been involved in village evacuations and/or destruction more generally. Since most, but not all of Turkey's major military equipment has been supplied by the US, it is highly likely that US equipment and ordinance has been involved in such operations.”

Table 5. Reported human rights violations involving imported military equipment

Date	Location	Equipment	Supplier	Brief description of violation	Source
19 April 1995	Kurucayir, Diyarbakir province	UH-1H helicopter, M-16 assault rifle, G-3 assault rifle, MG-3 light machine guns, Shorland armoured vehicles	US, UK, Germany	Suspected PKK recruiter shot, tortured and summarily executed in custody	HRW
October 1994	Eskigedik, Tunceli province	M-16 and G-3 assault rifles, M-203 grenade launchers	US, Germany	Destruction of village	HRW
October 1994	Tunceli province	Super Cobra and Sikorsky helicopters	US	17 villages burned. Super Cobra and Sikorsky helicopters used to ferry in troops to burn the village and launch rocket attacks	AI
4-5 October 1994	Buzlutepe, Bileki, Tunceli province	LAW rocket-propelled grenade launcher, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles, MG-3 light machine guns, M-203 grenade launchers	US, Germany	Destruction of villages, six villagers killed	HRW
4 October 1994	Yazioren, Tunceli province	LAW rocket-propelled grenade launcher, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles, MG-3 light machine guns, M-203 grenade launchers	US, Germany	Destruction of village	HRW
Sept/Oct 1994	Cevizlidere, Tunceli province	M-16 and G-3 assault rifles	US, Germany	Destruction of village	HRW
Sept/Oct 1994	Tunceli province	Blackhawk and Super Cobra helicopters	US	Used in military operations	US
13 Sept 1993	Kadokoy, Qadiya province	Landrover	UK	Torture, abduction, execution and dismemberment of village chief	AI
August 1994	Comak, Tilki, Kamisli, Cayirli, Bingol province	LAW rocket-propelled grenade launcher, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles	US, Germany	Destruction of villages	HRW
May 1994	Karabulak, Diyarbakir province	G-3 and M-16 assault rifles	US, Germany	Destruction of village homes, kidnapping of 17 civilians	HRW
10 May 1994	Yolcati, Diyarbakir province	Cobra helicopter	US	Three suspected PKK members tortured and thrown to their deaths from the air	HRW
8 April 1994	Kutlu, Diyarbakir province	AKM assault rifles	Germany	Six villagers shot, 33 homes burned down	HRW
26 March 1994	Sirnak province	F-16	US	Four villages bombed and civilians killed	US
26 March 1994	Kuskonar, Sirnak province	F-16	US	Two F-16s dropped four bombs on the village, 24 villagers killed (including 12 children aged 15 or under)	HRW
10 and 25 January 1994	Diravut, Siirt province	BTR armoured vehicles, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles	Russia, Germany, US	Village burned down	HRW
26 December 1993	Duzcealan, Bitlis province	M-16 and G-3 assault rifles	US, Germany	Seven homes destroyed, one villager summarily executed	HRW
November 1993	Nurettin	M-113	US	APCs used in forced evacuation of village	US
21 March 1993	Cizre	V-150 Commando armoured vehicles	US	Indiscriminate shooting of civilians, beating, abduction and "disappearance" of a civilian	AI
18-20 August 1992	Sirnak	M48 and M60 Main Battle Tanks, M-113 APCs, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles, MG-3 light machine gun, LAW rocket-propelled grenade launcher, 105mm artillery gun	US, Germany	Widespread destruction in the town, death of 22 civilians, summary execution of some civilians	HRW

“There is no direct evidence of the use of equipment of US origin in torture... the use of US-origin trucks, APCs and helicopters is ubiquitous. It can be assumed that they would be used to transport any security forces perpetrating such acts.”

Consolidated export licensing criteria and licence refusals

On 28 July 1997, the incoming Labour Government announced a new set of criteria against which it would judge licence applications for arms exports. A year later a similar initiative was adopted by the European Union on 8 June 1998, having been proposed by the UK and France. The purpose behind it was twofold – to increase transparency of arms exports from EU countries and to harmonise EU procedures on arms exports.

From 8 June 1998 to 26 October 2000, the UK Government assessed all applications for arms export licences against both the UK's 1997 criteria and the EU Code of Conduct. However, given the overlap between the two sets of criteria, on 26 October 2000, the Government introduced the Consolidated EU and National Arms Export Licensing Criteria, which used the EU Code of Conduct as its basis, in addition incorporating some aspects of the 1997 criteria.

The EU Code of Conduct sets out eight criteria which all EU states have to judge export licence applications against before issuing an export licence. If an export falls foul of any of the eight criteria the state concerned is supposed to reject the licence application. Under the Code, EU member states are required to circulate details of any military equipment licences they refuse to grant because of the Code. They are also required to provide details of why the licence was refused. The purpose of this is to ensure one EU state cannot subsequently issue an export licence for a piece of equipment, after another EU state has refused it.

If a member state wants to grant a licence for ‘an essentially identical transaction’ within three years of a refusal by another member state, it must consult the state which denied the original licence. The Netherlands is the only EU member state which publishes details of such denials in its Annual Reports “because the security policy and commercial and legal limitations that argue against publishing specific information on individual export transactions are less relevant in case of denied applications”. (The Netherlands Arms Export Policy in 2000, Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs, English version).

Dutch licence application denials for exports to Turkey during 2000 are given below:

- NL 9/2000 – Spare parts for M113 and M42 armoured vehicles (WA ML 6) for Turkish Army (consignee: Emir, Kayseri). criteria 2, 3 and 4 June 2000
- NL 8/2000 – Spare parts for M113 and M88 armoured vehicles (WA ML 6) for Turkish Land Forces Command, 1010 Ncu Tirtili Arac Palet Yenilestirme Fabrikasi Mudurlugu, Arifiye/Adapazari (consignee Delta Limited, Ankara). criteria 2, 3 and 4 June 2000
- NL 7/2000 – Spare parts for M113 and M88 armoured vehicles (WA ML 6) for Turkish Land Forces Command,

1009 Ncu Ordudonatim ana Tamir Fabrikasi Mudurlugu, Kayseri (consignee: Delta Limited, Ankara). criteria 2, 3 and 4 June 2000

- NL 4/2000 – Parts of M113 armoured vehicles (WA ML 6) for Turkish Army (consignee: Canova Otomotiv San. Ve Tic. Ltd sti., Istanbul). criteria 2, 3 and 4 May 2000
- NL 3/2000 – Parts of M113 armoured vehicles (WA ML 6) for Turkish Army (consignee: Emir, Kayseri). criteria 2, 3 and 4 May 2000
- NL 1/2000 – cartridge links for calibre 7.62 mm ammunition (WA ML 3) for Turkish Ministry of Defense. Criteria 2, 3 and 4 (January 2000)

The denials above were all issued under criteria 2, 3, and 4 of the EU Code. Details of the criterion are given below:

- Criterion 2 – The respect of human rights in the country of final destination. Member states will not issue an export licence if there is a clear risk that the proposed export might be used for internal repression.
- Criterion 3 – The internal situation in the country of final destination, as a function of the existence of tensions or armed conflicts. Member states will not allow exports which would provoke or prolong armed conflicts or aggravate existing tensions.
- Criterion 4 – Preservation of regional peace, security and stability. Member states will not issue an export licence if there is a clear risk that the intended recipient would use the proposed export aggressively against another country or to assert by force a territorial claim.

Needless to say, these criterion would rule out most of the exports cited in this paper, if applied properly. Sweden has embargoed arms sales to Turkey, however, this does not seem to affect the willingness of other countries to sign deals.

Conclusion

As this precis shows, the Turkish military build-up of the recent past shows no sign of abating; had Turkey's economic crisis not intervened, Turkey's spending on arms would be even higher than it is now. Since the US arms embargo on Turkey in the 1970s and the birth of “Peace Onyx” in 1983, Turkey has been determined to use its military build-up to develop an indigenous high-tech military-industrial complex. Western governments and companies have continued to sell weapons and technology to Turkey, the effect of which has been to promote the development of Turkish military industry and contribute to the massive Middle East arms build-up.

Turkey is a country with an appalling human rights record with respect to its Kurdish population (and Kurds in Northern Iraq), and has a long-standing military rivalry and confrontation over Cyprus with Greece. The use of foreign-supplied weapons in human rights abuses against the Kurds is ubiquitous. Turkey's relative economic underdevelopment means it can ill-afford to lavish spending on a wasteful military industry. If the UK was serious about its “ethical” policies we hear so much about, it should refuse to export arms to Turkey under criteria 2, 3 and 4 of its consolidated criteria.

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Acronyms

AFM	<i>Air Forces Monthly</i>
AMC	Airbus Military Company
COTS	commerical-off-the-shelf
DESO	Defence Exports Services Organisation
ECGD	Export Credits Guarantee Department
FI	<i>Flight International</i>
H&K	Heckler & Koch
HEWS	Helicopter Electronic Warfare Suite
JDW	<i>Jane's Defence Weekly</i>
JSF	Joint Strike Fighter
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
SBAC	Society of British Aerospace Companies
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSM	Turkish Undersecretariat for Defence Industries
TAI	Turkish Aircraft Industries
WMEAT	World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers

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