Abkhazia 148, 155–56, 171, 172, 226:
    Chechnya and 230
Abu Dhabi defence exhibition 113
Academy of Sciences Institute of Applied Physics 215
ACDA see under United States of America
Admiralty shipyard 200fn, 202–3
Aerospace Tech Systems Corporation 91
Aérospatiale 135
Afghanistan 3, 28, 29, 30:
    Chechnya and 230
debt to USSR 82
Africa:
    arms imports 22, 24
debts to Russia 42fn
    military expenditure 24
    wars in 44
    see also under names of countries
Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control (1996) 192
Agreement on the Creation of a Unified Air Defence System of CIS Member States (1995) 165
Agreement on the Principles Governing the Provision of Arms, Military Equipment and Other Material Supplies for the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth Member States and the Organization of Research and Development Work (1992) 162
Akhalkalaki base 172
Akhaltsikh depot 147
Aktau 174
Algeria:
    arms imports 28, 29, 30, 60, 80
debt to USSR 82
    USSR and 61
    Aliev, President Heidar 155
    Almaz 139
    Alpha Class submarine 139
    An-12 aircraft 64
    An-24 aircraft 62
    An-72 aircraft 137
    ANC (African National Congress) 69
    Angara anti-aircraft system 42
    Angara missile complex 65
Angola:
    arms imports 3, 24, 28, 29, 30, 64, 67–68, 83, 222
    Cuba and 67fn, 68
    South Africa and 67, 68
    USA and 67, 68
    Antey 267
    Antonov aircraft 153, 170
    Antonov Design Bureau 170
Arab countries:
    arms imports 28, 30, 83, 135
    conflict between 60
    militarization 43
    see also following entry and under names of countries
Arab–Israeli wars 41, 42, 44, 60, 65, 81, 83–84
Arjun tank 33
Armenia:
    air defences 166
    arms from Russia 13, 224–25
    CFE Treaty and 147, 148
    Russia and 13, 154, 155, 167, 168, 171, 224–25
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
    see under United States of America
arms trade:
    after-sales service 95
    changes in 1–6, 16–37
    cold war end and 1, 2, 16–37, 95
commercial factors 2–3
competition increased 92, 94–99, 112
control of 8–9, 96–99
counter-trade see offsets
decline in 19, 94
defining 17, 18
demand for 2, 3, 22, 24, 25, 137, 223, 227
economic conditions and 24–28
financing of 3
illegal 161, 174
illicit 217–32
industrial factors 2–3, 17
legislation and 8–9
non-military goods 17–18
non-military technologies 17–18
offsets 26, 134–35
politico-military issues 16–17
prices 17
production technologies 17
protectionism 94–99
recipient perspectives 22–24
regional distribution 22
spare parts 95–96
state involvement in 16–17
supplier changes 26–28
US share 22–23
value of 19, 24
see also arms exports and arms imports
under names of countries

Asia:
arms imports 22, 23, 76, 77, 80, 114
military expenditure 25
Russia part of 198–99
wars in 44
see also under names of countries

Asia, Central 167, 174
Asia, North-East: arms imports 23
see also under names of countries

Asia, South-East:
arms imports 95, 114, 183
Russia and 35
see also under names of countries

Avduevskiy, Vsevolod 197
Aven, Pyotr 196
Aviakor industrial association 170
Azerbaijan:
arms shipments from 227

CFE Treaty and 147, 148
Chechnya and 230
Russia and 35, 154–55, 157, 167, 168, 171
Ukraine and 155
Backfire aircraft 210
Baikal 134
Baker, James 94, 98
Baklanov, Oleg 83
Baltic states 217:
illicit arms transfers and 226, 227, 231
Russia’s troop withdrawals 34
see also Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania
Baltiyskiy Zavod 138–39
Barantsev, V. I. 140
Barre, Siad 62
Basic Proposition of the Military
Doctrine 130
Batumi base 172
Be-200 aircraft 144
Belarus:
air defences 166
arms exports 154, 169
arms industry 151
arms production 169
CFE Treaty and 147, 148
military–technical cooperation with
Russia 114, 157–58, 167, 168, 169–70
Russian troops in 137
Belousov, I. S. 72
Beppayev, General Sufian 155
Bertsch, Gary 222
biological weapons see nuclear,
biological and chemical weapons
Black Sea Fleet 170, 212
BM-21 multiple-rocket launch system 62, 64
BM-24 multiple-rocket launch system 64
BMP-1 APC 185, 205
Bombora airfield 155–56
border security forces 218, 226
Bosnia and Herzegovina 192
Brezhnev, General Secretary Leonid 61
Bryantsev, Major 60
BTR-80 APC 190, 206
Buchacz, Jacek 187, 189
INDEX

Bulganin, Nikolay 55, 60
Bulgaria:
  arms exports 54
  arms imports 29, 30, 79, 80, 185–86
  arms industry 21, 185–86
  CFE Treaty and 186
  military aid to 185–86
  military–technical cooperation 185, 193
  Russia and 180, 193
  Russia’s debts to 80
  WTO’s collapse and 179
Burlakov, Matvey 225
Bush, President George 94, 96
C3I systems 27
Canada: arms exports 20
Caspian Sea 174
Caucasus, Group of Russian Forces in 13,
  224–35
Central America 1, 28
  see also under names of countries
Central Directorate of Collaboration and
  Cooperation see GUSK
Central Directorate of Economic
  Cooperation with Countries of Socialist
  Democracy 53
Central Engineering Directorate see GIU
Central Technical Directorate see GTU
CFE Treaty (Treaty on Conventional
  Armed Forces in Europe, 1990): arms
  trade and 95
Chad: arms imports 43
Chechnya 217, 226:
  All-National Congress of the Chechen
  People 228
  arms seized in 229–30
  arms supplies to 228–31
  National Guard 227
  war in 35, 137, 226, 231
Checinski, Michel 85
chemical weapons see nuclear, biological
  and chemical weapons
Chernomyrdin, Viktor 109, 172, 175, 181
China:
  air force 206–10, 214
  armed forces modernization 205, 216
  arms exports 20, 23, 43
  arms imports 4, 14, 15, 23, 29, 30, 55,
  58, 59, 76, 89, 115, 143, 169, 183,
  194, 197, 200–5:
    inventory of 208–9
    payment for 198, 203–5
    value of 205
  arms industry 21, 23, 213:
    conversion 215
  arms production, licensed 213
  barter 198
  Guidelines for Conventional Arms
    Transfers and 96–97
  ground forces 205–6
  Korean War and 56, 57, 58
  military personnel exchanges 214
  military–technical cooperation
    194–216
  military technology transfer 213–15
  navy 211–13
  Russia, relations with 4, 35, 194–216
  shipbuilding 211
  USSR, relations with 23, 55, 59, 194
Chubais, Anatoliy 37
CIS (Commonwealth of Independent
  States):
  air defence system 164–67, 175
  Almaty meeting (1995) 163, 165
  arms exports 256, 257
  arms imports 158
  arms industries and Russia 88
  arms production cooperation 158, 163
  arms repair 157
  Ashkhabad meeting (1993) 163
  bilateral cooperation 165, 166, 167–75
  Chechnya and 230
  Concept of Collective Security of
    Participating States 163
  conversion projects 175
  Council of Defence Ministers 162, 163, 164
  Council of Heads of State 161, 163, 166
  Interstate Economic Committee 166
  Joint Armed Forces 159, 161, 162, 163,
    223
  Kiev meeting (1992) 161
  Military Cooperation Coordination
    Headquarters 163
  military integration 161–67
Military–Technical Committee 164
military–technical cooperation 146–76:
  incentives for 152–58
  legal framework 158–64, 175
national armies created 175
Russia and 35, 114, 146:
  arms transfers from 5, 114
  military–technical cooperation 135, 152–61, 275
standardization of arms 163
see also under names of countries
COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls) 96:
  dissolution of 96
  embargo relaxed 1–2
cold war:
  arms trade and 2
  militarization and 43
  military assistance and 38
  see also following entry
cold war end:
  arms trade and 1, 2, 16–37, 95, 217
  conflict and 217
  nationalism and 95
colony system 38, 60, 61
Committee of State Security see KGB
Commonwealth of Independent States see CIS
communications systems 26, 27
Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) 32, 46, 49, 50, 51, 61, 66, 67, 70, 113, 231
Congo, Democratic Republic of 67
Conventional Arms Transfer Talks 1fn, 96
Cooperation with CIS Member States, Ministry of 153, 274
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA):
  arms trade and 78–80
  dissolution of 3, 135, 178–79, 190
  membership of 3fn
counter-trade see arms trade, offsets
Croatia 192
Cuba:
  Angola and 67fn, 68
  arms imports 3, 28, 29, 30, 47
  debt to USSR 82
  Ethiopia and 62
  Grenada and 78
  military assistance to 48, 80
  USSR and 48, 70
  Cyprus 226–27
Czechoslovakia 217:
  arms exports 40, 54, 62
  arms imports 29, 30, 79
  WTO’s collapse and 179
  see also following entry and Slovakia
Czech Republic:
  arms imports 29
  arms industry 21
  NATO and 182, 186, 192
  Russia and 180, 186
  D-27 engine 170
  D-436 engine 170
  Dagestan 221, 230
  Davydov, Oleg 73, 187, 189
  Defence Council: military reform and 34
  Defence Industry, Ministry of:
    arms exports and 52, 109, 118, 123, 241, 245, 249, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259
    arms industry and 129
    arms production and 131
  Council on Defence Industries and 160
    creation 36, 111, 263fn
    dissolution of 36, 117
    subcontractors 88
  Defence Ministry 228:
    arms export data 12
      revenue from 14, 35, 51, 119
    arms industry and 15, 37, 88, 129
    arms procurement and 15
    expenditure priorities 35–36
    military reform 34
    military–technical cooperation and 118, 254
    privatization and 132
    Rosvooruzhenie and 117, 118, 119
      spare parts 51
    surplus equipment and 224, 228
INDEX 291

training of foreign servicemen 52, 118, 119, 120
Delta GALS-5 aircraft 144
Deshpande, Air Marshal K. A. 32
Deutch, John 217
developing countries:
  arms imports 42, 52, 54, 60–61, 95, 117
  conflicts between 60–66
  debts to USSR/Russia 64, 82, 114
  military aid to 60–66
  military expenditure 25
Dhlakama, Afonso 68
Dnepropetrovsk 157
Dobrzanski, Stanislaw 188, 189
DV-2 engine 191
Dvina anti-aircraft system 42, 62

East–Central Europe:
  aircraft for 184
  arms exports 184
  arms imports 112, 183
  arms industry 177, 178, 185
  arms modernization 115
  definition 3fn
  military expenditure 177
  military–technical cooperation with
    Russia 3, 114, 177–93
  NATO military standards and 183, 184
  privatization 185
  Russia, relations with 35, 135, 179, 180, 182, 184, 193
  Russia’s debts to 12
  Russia’s troop withdrawals 34, 223
  USSR’s collapse and 179–80
  see also under names of countries
Economic Cooperation with CIS Member States, Ministry of 160–61
Ecuador 43
Efrat, Moshe 81, 82
Egypt:
  arms exports 65
  arms imports 24, 64–65, 80, 81–82, 83, 84
  arms industry 22
  debt to USSR 84
  Libya and 69
  UK and 64
  USSR, break with 84
  Elcibey, President Ebulfez 155
  El Salvador 70
  EPLF (Eritrean People’s Liberation Front) 67
  Eritrea:
    arms imports 43
    Ethiopia and 67
  Estonia:
    arms smuggling and 221, 231
    illicit arms sales 137, 227
  Ethiopia:
    arms imports 24, 29, 43, 62, 67
    debts to USSR/Russia 64, 82
    Eritrea and 67
    Somalia and 61, 62
    Sudan and 62
    USA and 62fn
    USSR and 61
  Europe:
    arms imports 22, 23, 76, 77
    security in 1
    see also under names of countries
  Exocet missile 135
  Export Control Committee see KEKMO
  F-14 aircraft 143
  F-15 aircraft 143
  F-16 aircraft 95, 97, 143, 190
  F-18 aircraft 143, 190
  Fakel 195
  Federal Border Troops 126, 221
  Federal Security Service:
  Finance Ministry:
    arms exports and 241:
      revenue from 14, 133
    arms industry and 129
    debts to arms industry 128
    financial–industrial groups see under Russia
    Flanker aircraft see Su-27 aircraft
Florence agreement see Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control (1996)
FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) 70
FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) 67
Foreign Affairs, Ministry of:
arms export data 12
military–technical cooperation and 239, 241
Foreign Economic Relations, Ministry of see MFER
Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Ministry of 270–78
Foreign Trade, Ministry of 59
France:
arms exports 20, 21, 23, 75, 94, 95, 97, 206
arms imports 23
Guidelines for Conventional Arms Transfers and 97
military expenditure 25
military–technical cooperation with Russia 114, 135
FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) 68
Friedman, Norman 196
FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) 70
Fyodorov, Aleksey 144
Gagra 156
Gaidar, Yegor 76, 205
Gamsakhurdia, Zviad 156
Garang, Colonel John 70
Gates, Robert 195
GEC Marconi 90
Georgia 217:
Abkhazia and 148, 155–56, 171, 172
air defences 166
arms imports 155–56, 172
arms shipments from 227
CFE Treaty and 147, 148, 172
Russia and 154, 155–56, 167, 168, 171–72, 226
German Democratic Republic:
arms exports 54
arms imports 29, 30, 79, 80, 13
Germany:
arms exports 20, 21, 75, 204
arms industry 25
military expenditure 25
military–technical cooperation with Russia 135
unification 28
Russia’s troop withdrawals from 225 see also previous entry
GIAT 135
Gidromash 266
GIU (Glavnoye inzhenernomye upravleniye):
arms exports and 50, 117, 200
creation 53
reparations and 54
GKI (Gosudarstvenny komitet po upravleniu imushchestva) 37, 132
GKVTP (Gosudarstvenny komitet voyenno-tekhchekeskoy politike) 103, 104, 108, 109, 159, 183, 255, 256, 257, 268, 269
Glaziev, Sergey 196
Glukhikh, Viktor 130, 196
Glybin, Yuriy 128
Gorbachev, President Mikhail:
arms exports and 100
China and 194
foreign relations and 3, 28
Goskomoboronprom see State Committee on Defence Industries
Goskomstat 87, 88, 128
Gosplan 50, 53
Govurukhin Commission 228, 229–30
Grabowski, Tadeusz 187
Grachev, Pavel 154, 169, 170, 171, 188, 194, 199, 225
Grad multiple-rocket launch systems 69
Granit financial–industrial group 166
Greece:
military–technical cooperation with Russia 114
Grenada 77
Griff Class ship 174
Gripen (JAS-39) aircraft 190
Gromyko, Andrey 60
Grumble missile see S-300 air defence system
GTU (Glavnoye tekhnicheskoye upravleniye) 50, 54, 117
Guatemala 70
Gudauta base 148, 156, 172
GUMVS (Glavnoye upravleniye mezhdunarodnogo voyennogo sotrudnichestva) 120, 121
Guseinov, Suret 155
GUSK (Glavnoye upravleniye po sotrudnichestvu i kooperatsii) 50, 54, 117

Han Class submarine 212
Honduras 70
Hungary:
arms exports 54
arms imports 29, 30, 79
military–technical cooperation 190–91
NATO and 182, 192
Russia and 189, 190–91
Russia’s debts to 80
Huzar programme 187

II-10 aircraft 48, 55
II-14 aircraft 64
II-28 aircraft 55
II-76 aircraft 191
Ilyushin aircraft 153
Ilyushin financial–industrial group 175
IMF see International Monetary Fund
Impex 215
India:
arms imports 4, 14, 29, 30, 32, 33, 64, 76, 80–81, 115, 183
arms production 66
debts 82–83
military expenditure 15, 33
military–technical cooperation and 66
Pakistan, conflict with 61
Russia, relations with 32, 33
USSR coup attempt and 32

Inkombank 134, 203
Interdepartmental Commission on Military–Technical Cooperation between Russia and Foreign States see KVTS
Interdepartmental Coordinating Council for Military–Technical Cooperation between the Russian Federation and Foreign States see KMS
Interdepartmental Coordinating Council for Military–Technical Policy of the Russian Federation see KMSVTP
Interior Ministry 126, 218, 221, 227, 230
Internal and Foreign Trade, Ministry of 53
International Aircraft Engines 170
International Aircraft Project 170
International Monetary Fund 24–25
Inter-regional Volgo-Kama Bank of Reconstruction and Development 170
Ioseliani, Dzhaba 155, 171
Iran:
arms embargo on 23, 96, 99, 112
Chechnya and 230
Russia and 35
Iraq:
arms embargo on 23, 96, 99, 112
arms imports 1, 3, 29, 30, 63, 64, 65, 83, 96, 100, 143
Chechnya and 230
cold war end and 95
debts to USSR/Russia 82–83, 100
Kuwait and 1, 23
oil exports 83
UN and 23, 96
Iraq–Iran War 23, 41, 61, 65
Irkutsk 36, 144, 201
Irkutsk Aviation Production Association 144, 200
Islamic fundamentalism 69, 199–200
Israel:
arms industry 21
Lebanon and 69
see also Arab–Israeli wars
Italy:
arms exports 206
military–technical cooperation with Russia 135
Izhevsk 227
Izhevsk Mechanical Plant 226

J-10 airframe 214
Japan 23, 199, 211, 215
JAS-39 Gripen aircraft 190
Jiangwei Class frigate 211
Jordan 29, 60, 230:
  Chechnya and 230

Ka-27 helicopter 142, 211
Ka-31 helicopter 142
Ka-32 helicopter 142
Ka-50 helicopter 142
Kalashnikov 134
Kalashnikov rifles 42
Kaliningrad 189, 226
Kamov 137, 142–43
Kamov, N. I. 142
Karmanovskiy, S. 139
Kaul, Air Chief Marshal S. K. 32
Kazakhstan:
  air defence 165, 166
  arms exports 154, 174
  arms imports 30, 173, 174
  arms industry 151–52, 173
  CFE Treaty and 147
  military–technical cooperation with
    Russia 114, 167, 168, 172–74
  naval base 174
  nuclear facilities 157
  officer corps 157
  Russia and 158, 167, 168, 172–74
  test ranges 174
  USA and 174
KEKMO (Komitet eksportnogo kontrolya
  Ministerstva oborony) 120, 121, 249
KGB (Komitet gosudarstvenny
  bezopasnosti) 66, 218
Kharbin Commercial Trade Company 215
Kharkov State Aircraft Enterprise 170
Khizha, Georgiy 224
Khripunov, Igor 222
Khrushchev, First Secretary Nikita 70
Kiev Aircraft Plant 170
Kiev Design Bureau 153

Kilo Class submarine 200, 201, 203, 204,
  211, 214
Kim Il Sung 48, 59, 60
*Kirov* 138
Kirov Class submarine 137
Kirov Plant 201
Kitovani, Tengiz 155, 171
Klimov 191
KMS (Koordinatsionny
  mezhvedomstvenny sovet po voyenno-
  tekhnicheskomy sotrudnichestvu
  Rossiyskoy Federatsii s inostrannymi
  gosudarstvami) 282–84
KMSVTP (Koordinatsionny mezh-
  vedomstvenny sovet po voyenno-
  tekhnicheskoy politike) 108, 121, 243–
  46, 249, 253, 254, 255, 265, 266, 267,
  272, 279
Kokoshin, Andrey 37
Kolodziejczik, Piotr 188
Komorowski, Bronislaw 188
Komsomolsk-na-Amure 36, 144
Korea, North:
  arms imports 3, 28, 29, 48, 55, 112
  arms industry 21
  debts to USSR 82
  military aid to 56–60, 80
  USSR’s support 56–60
Korea, South:
  arms imports 23
  arms industry 22
Korean War 42, 48, 56–60
Kotelkin, Alexander 75, 135, 183
Kozyrev, Andrey 97, 98, 114, 197
Krasnoye Sormovo 200, 201, 202, 203
Krishnaswamy, Air Vice-Marshal S. 32
Kronstadt patrol craft 211
Kub missile complex 65
Kuchma, President Leonid 157, 170
Kurdish people 70
Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK) 221
Kuwait:
  arms imports 24
  invasion of 1, 23, 96
Kuzyk, Boris 103, 182–83, 197
Kvadrat anti-aircraft system 64
Kvasha, N. I. 129, 141–42
KVTS (Komitet voyenno-tekhnicheskogo sotrudnichestva) 103, 108, 200
Kwasnewski, Alexander 182
Kyrgyzstan:
aire defences 166
Russia and 167, 168
La-9 aircraft 55
Latin America:
arms imports 24, 77, 183
military expenditure 24
Russia and 70

see also under names of countries
Latvia 221, 227
Law on Defence (1996) 129
Law on Principles of State Policy on Military and Technical Cooperation with other States (draft) 7–8, 9–10, 107
Law on State Procurement 130
Law on State Regulation of Foreign Trade Activity (1995) 250–52
Law on the Defence Order and the Status of Plants which Fulfil It (draft) 88
Law on the Formation of Financial–Industrial Groups 130
Lazurit 129, 139, 141–42
Lazur plant 215
League of Assistance to Defence Enterprises 86, 136
Lebanon 40, 69, 222:
Chechnya and 230
Lebed, Alexander 181
Leclerc tank 135
Leninskiy Komsomolets 139

Libya:
arms embargo on 23, 99, 112
arms exports 43
arms imports 3, 28, 29, 30, 64, 65, 83, 84, 143, 100
debts to USSR/Russia 64, 100
Egypt and 69, 84
Syria and 84
Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) 33
Limbank 134
Lin-tao 211
Li Phar 60
Lithuania 221, 227
Loara programme 187
Lobov, Oleg 191
Lockheed Martin 190
Lora Trading Company 227
Luhu Class destroyer 211
Lukashenko, President Alexander 169
Lukyanenko, Levko 192
Luna rocket system 64

McDonnell Douglas 190
Main Administration for International Military Cooperation see GUMVS
Maksimov, Lieutenant-Colonel Yuriy 60
Malakhit 139–41
Malaysia 213:
arms imports 4, 28, 30, 90–91, 115
Maley, Mikhail 197
Malutka anti-tank system 64
Mao Zedong, Chairman 55, 59
MAPO (Moscow Aviation Production Organization) 110, 111, 200, 202
see also MiG-MAPO
Mashzavod plant 203, 211
Mengistu, Lieutenant-Colonel Haile Mariam 61

MFER (Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations) 54, 73, 86, 102, 108, 109, 110, 113, 200:
Mi-1 helicopter 62
Mi-4 helicopter 64–65
Mi-8 helicopter 62
Mi-24 helicopter 142
Middle East:
arms control in 96, 98
arms imports 22, 23–24, 28, 40, 76, 77, 183
arms trade and 1
Chechen diaspora in 230
militarization 43

see also under names of countries
MiG-9 aircraft 58
MiG-15 aircraft 55, 57, 58
MiG-17 aircraft 64
MiG-19 aircraft 62
MiG-21 aircraft 32, 33, 62, 66, 84, 96, 188
MiG-23 aircraft 62, 64, 66, 96, 213
MiG-27 aircraft 32, 66
MiG-29 aircraft 32, 65, 90–91, 111, 134, 173, 184, 186, 188, 190, 191, 195, 200
MiG-31 aircraft 214
MiG Design Bureau 202, 214
MiG financial–industrial group 202
MiG-MAPO (Moscow Aviation Production Organization) 11, 134, 191
Mikheyev, S. V. 142
military doctrine 26
military exhibitions 41, 42
military expenditure 24–25:
cuts in 3, 177
see also under names of countries
Military–Industrial Commission 72
military technology, spread of 2
Mil, M. L. 142
Mineyev, Yuriy 139, 140
Minoboronprom see Defence Industry, Ministry of
Mirage-2000 aircraft 97, 190
Mirage aircraft 95
Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) 105
Mitterrand, President François 95
Moldova:
arms exports 154
CFE Treaty and 147, 148
CIS and 162
military–technical cooperation 162, 167, 168, 170–71
Russia and 35, 148, 167, 168, 170–71, 226
Mongolia 80:
debt to USSR 82
Morocco 60, 68
Mozambique: arms imports 68
MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) 67, 68
Murmansk Parakhodstvo 138
Nadibaidze, General Varden 171, 172
Nagorno-Karabakh 154
Nambiar, K. A. 32
Namibia 67, 68
NATO:
enlargement of 153, 182, 189–90, 192–93
military expenditure 25, 177 fn
Partnership for Peace 174
Nazarbayev, President Nursultan 172, 173, 174
Netherlands: arms exports 20
Netscape 27
Nicaragua 43, 70:
arms imports 3, 28, 29
Niyazov, President Saparmurat 174 fn
Nizhniy Novgorod 111, 131, 134, 139, 141, 196, 201, 203, 211, 212, 215
NLFE (National Liberation Front of Eritrea) 43, 67
Novecon 195
Novosibirsk 144
nuclear, biological and chemical weapons 96, 122
Numeiri, President Gafaar Mohammed 69, 81
Oboronexport 102, 117, 200
Oceania 22, 24
Ocean Shuttle 141
Office of the President 37
Ogaden 62
oil 43, 63, 79, 83, 84, 186
OKB-2 142
Oleksy, Josef 188
Onaksimbank 134
On measures to improve the system of management of military–technical cooperation with foreign countries decree (1997) 10, 278–79
On measures to strengthen state control of foreign trade activity in the field of military–technical cooperation decree (1997) 10, 279–81
On the order of the sale and use of military property being released decree (1992) 224
On the State Committee of the Russian Federation on military–technical policy decree (1994) 103
On the struggle against corruption in the system of government service decree (1992) 224
Osa missile complex 65
Ossetia see South Ossetia

Pajak, Roger 81
Pak, Zinoviy 36, 37, 130, 180
Pakistan 61
Pak Sobon 60
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 69
Panama 70
Papa Class submarine 139
Paracel Islands 211
Parliament 7, 8, 9:
Federation Council 8
State Duma 7, 8, 37, 129, 171–72, 224:
Defence Committee 13, 224
Patriot missile system 41
Pechora anti-aircraft complex 62
Perry, William 215
Persian Gulf 2:
arms imports 19, 21, 135
Persian Gulf War 19, 41, 95
Peru 29, 43
Petropavlovsk 151
Philippines 213
Piranha submarine 137, 139
Plotnikov, Nikolay 167
PO-2 aircraft 48
Poland:
arms exports 58
arms imports 29, 30, 80
arms industry 21, 186–90
military expenditure 177fn, 187
military–technical cooperation 187, 188, 189

NATO and 182, 188, 189–90, 192
privatization 187
public opinion 188
Russia and 188, 189–90
Slovakia and 192
Ukraine and 188, 192
USA and 188
Polisario Front 68
Politburo 49, 50, 59
political movements: arms exports to 66–70
Portugal 68
Povazhaska Stroyanye 191
Principal Guidelines for the Evolution of CIS Integration (1992) 146
Promexport 10, 109, 119, 279, 280, 281
Proinvestbank 170
Proshenetorg 134
Prudnikov, Colonel-General Viktor 165, 166
PT-91 Twardy tank 187
Pyankov, Colonel-General B. Y. 157
Pyotr Velikiy 138
Rao, Narasimha 32
RD-35 engine 191
Regulations on licensing in the Russian Federation of special assembly transfer for production of armaments and weapon systems in the CIS member states 159
RENAMO (National Resistance of Mozambique) 68
Rodionov, Igor 182
Rogachev, Igor 196
Rokhlin, Lev 13, 224
Romania 217:
arms exports 54
arms imports 29, 79
arms industry 21
Russia and 189
West and 20fn
Romeo Class submarine 211
Rossiyskiye Tekhnologii 10, 109, 279, 280
Rosvertol 134
Rosvooruzhenie 10, 107, 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 121, 159, 200:
arms export data 4, 11, 12, 73, 74, 80
arms exports and:
  banks dealing with 134
  Defence Ministry and 117, 118, 119
  profits and 133
  revenue from and 13–14, 86, 87
charges of 204
complaints against 204
contracts and 11
creation of 103, 117
criminal proceedings against 137
criticisms of 87, 204–5
investment and 134
military–technical cooperation and 110, 117, 119
prices and 89, 204
regulations and 246–48, 254, 279, 280, 281–82
training of foreign servicemen 120
Rubin 139, 141
Russia:
  air defence 165–67
armed forces:
  arms sales by 137, 222–26
crime and 218, 222–26
General Staff of 120, 121
inter-service conflict 218
modernization 129, 181–82
social programmes 197
arms export data 7, 11–13, 72–76
arms exports:
after-sales service 95, 113, 115
arms industry and 3, 6, 14, 15, 34, 36, 71, 124–45, 133–37, 195, 196, 201, 203
Asia, East 114
Asia, South-East 114
barriers to 6, 113
barter 113, 134, 183, 198, 203
certification of companies see licences
changes and 3–6, 107, 116
cold war end and 94–97
commercialization 100, 112, 113, 183, 205
competitiveness of 14
control of 98, 99–100, 104–13, 109, 100, 112–16, 120–21, 122, 125, 201, 218, 226, 236–82, 255–62
counter-trade see offsets
credit and 183
customs service and 11
decline in 4, 15, 20, 94, 107, 113
demand for 34
detention of 222
difficulties of 112–13
economic aspects 71–92
economic factors 2, 5, 28, 129–30, 196, 197
embargoes and 248–49
financial aspects 6, 11, 90–91
foreign policy and 2, 5, 15, 154–56
future of 14–15, 33–37
hard currency and 28, 72, 76, 89, 92, 100, 112, 113, 196, 197, 201, 203
illegal 133, 136–37
illicit 217–32
increase in 4, 75, 116, 183
industrial factors 2, 5
internal conflict over 113
joint ventures 34
legislation and 8, 9, 107, 219 see also under Laws
managing 9–10, 200–5
market expansion 115
marketing 95, 113
market research 118
military exhibitions and 42, 118
motives for 5, 71, 99, 122, 144–45, 195–98
offsets and 11, 91, 134
patterns of 28–33
policy on 5, 7–10, 93–106, 116, 135, 180–81
prices 87–91, 119
production process management 202–3
profits 72, 91–92, 130, 133, 134, 136
recipients 28, 29, 76, 77
regulations 236–82
INDEX

researching 6–7
revenue from 13–14, 99–100
distribution of 13–14
security and 15, 99, 122–23
spare parts 10, 113, 184
state monopoly 5, 93, 101, 104, 111, 116, 117
transparency 13
value 4, 10–12, 72–76, 197
volume 4, 10, 12–13, 182
West and 114
arms imports 137, 221, 227, 257
arms industry 124–45, 129–30, 181:
arms exports and 36, 102, 110, 111, 226–27
conversion 37, 100, 102, 103, 139, 141, 146, 158, 197, 215
crisis in 71, 102, 112
definition 130
design bureaux 36, 202
employment 97, 123, 148–49
government support 35
inheritance of 28
investment 103, 112
joint-stock companies 132, 202
joint ventures 34, 133, 136
management 125
military reform and 28
military–technical cooperation and 102, 103, 107, 252–53
non-military sales 5
one-factory towns 129
ownership 131–32
privatization 37, 101, 125, 132, 202
production 130–31
production associations 202
profits and 102, 111, 133, 134
protectionism 97
research and development see
Russia: military R&D
restructuring 36–37
state debt to 128
state, relationship with 99, 100, 101, 110–12, 114, 124, 125, 127, 129, 132, 181
state purchases 5, 36, 97, 102, 126, 127, 195–96
unemployment 97
USSR’s collapse and 148–52
see also Russia: defence enterprises
arms procurement 35, 36, 126–30
arms technology exports 6
arms trade, role in 3–6
banks 6, 11, 160
borders 221, 222
Central Bank 11, 91, 128, 160, 204
CFE Treaty and 147, 148
CIS states and 146–76
crime in 218, 221, 231
defence enterprises:
control between 124
investment 133
reorganization 137–45
see also Russia: arms industry
defence science 132
dual-use technology 105, 121, 135, 144, 248–49
economic policy 34–36, 182
export controls 102 see also under
arms exports
financial aid to 197
financial–industrial groups 6, 36, 125, 136, 143–44, 147, 170
firearms, possession of 220–21
foreign policy 4, 28, 35, 135, 146, 180–82, 198
inflation 3–4, 34
intellectual property, export controls 105, 106
legislation types 8
military doctrine 158
military expenditure 3–4, 15, 28, 35, 36, 112, 127, 223
military R&D 15, 36, 181
military reform 28, 34, 35, 181–82
military–technical cooperation 118–20:
commercialization 100
control of 103–5, 108, 109, 110, 121, 238–43, 278–81
coordination of 103–4
disagreements about 93–94
incentives for 152–56
legal basis 7–8, 9–10, 158–61
ministries responsible for 160
policy changes 94, 102, 181
West and 135
NATO and 193
near abroad and 15, 135, 153
president’s powers 9
privatization 37, 101, 125
raw materials and 152
scientific knowledge, export controls 105
Security Council 108, 191
security policy 4, 28, 99
shipbuilding:
production 131
reorganization 138
strategy lacking 141
troops abroad 34
USA, relations with 34
USSR’s dissolution and 64, 71
West, relations with 5, 34, 35
Russian–Georgian Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation (1996) 171
Russian–Belarussian Treaty of Federation (1996) 169–70
S-75 anti-aircraft system 65
S-125 anti-aircraft system 62, 65
S-300 air defence system (Grumble) 41, 133, 206, 212
SA-2 anti-aircraft system 42
SA-5 anti-aircraft system 42
SA-10 missile system see S-300 air defence system
Saab group 190
Sadibekov, Colonel Zhailaubai 174
Sahara, Arab Democratic Republic of 68
St Petersburg 131, 201
Salo, Vladimir 37
Samoylov, Viktor 86
SA-N-6 missile see S-300 missile system
Saipengin, Colonel-General Sergey 166
Sapsayev, General Valeriy 174
Saudi Arabia:
arms imports 24
Chechnya and 230
Savings Bank of Ukraine 170
Selassie, Emperor Haile 67
Severodvinsk 139
Shaposhnikov, Marshal Yevgeniy 223
Shazli, General Sa’ad el-Din 81
Shenyang Aircraft Factory 213
Shevardnadze, President Eduard:
Akhazia and 155–56, 171
Russia and 155–56
USSR’s arms export policy and 7
USSR’s foreign policy and 3, 28
Shilka anti-aircraft gun 64
Shilka anti-aircraft system 42
Shmarov, Valeriy 170
Shemeno, General 59, 60
Shulanov, Alexander 86, 136
Shulyavskiy, O. B. 138
Siyayev, I. S. 143
Simonov, M. P. 143
Singapore: arms industry 21
Slovakia:
arms imports 30
arms industry 21
CFE Treaty and 191
economic reform 191
Poland and 192
Russia and 180, 191–92
Russia’s debts to 80
Ukraine and 191
Smerch rocket artillery system 190
Smolensk army base 137
Sokol 134, 201, 202
Sokolniki 142
Somalia:
arms exports 62
arms imports 64
Ethiopia and 61, 62
Soskovets, Oleg 76, 108
South Africa:
Angola and 67, 68
anti-apartheid struggle 68–69
arms industry 22
South China Sea 213
Southern Machine Construction Plant 157
South Ossetia 172, 226
South-West Africa 68
Sovremenny Class destroyers 211
Spetsvneshtekhnika 102, 117
SPLA (Sudanese People’s Liberation Army) 69, 70
Spratly Islands 211, 212
Starodub, Yuriy 128
State Committee on Defence Industries (Goskomoboronprom) 36, 72, 73, 101, 102, 111, 117, 130, 132, 226, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267
State Committee for External Economic Cooperation of the Council of Ministers 53
State Committee for External Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers 54
State Committee for Industrial Policy 76
State Committee for the Management of State Property see GKI
State Committee on Military–Technical Policy see GKVTP
State Committee on Statistics see Goskomstat
State Customs Committee 254
State Planning Commission see Gosplan
Statute on the Procedure for Provision of Goods (Work, Services) Within the Scope of Production Cooperation and Specialization of Production between Enterprises and Sectors of the Russian Federation and other Members of the CIS 159
Strategic policy of Russia towards CIS member states decree (1995) 160
Strela-1 anti-aircraft missile 65
Strela-2 anti-aircraft missile 65
Su-7 aircraft 65
Su-24 aircraft 65, 143
Su-25 aircraft 171
Su-26 aircraft 143
Su-27 aircraft 89, 143, 144, 191, 200, 202, 203, 207, 210, 212, 213
Su-29 aircraft 143
Su-30 aircraft 33, 144
Su-31 aircraft 33
Su-35 aircraft 213
submarines: manufacture 137, 139, 141
submarines, miniature 137, 139
Sudan:
arms exports 43
arms imports 43, 62, 81
conflict in 69–70
Ethiopia and 62
USSR and 69–70
Suez Crisis 64
Sukhoi 111, 143–44, 191
Sukhoi aircraft 137
Sukhoi Design Bureau 202, 213
Sukhoi, P. O. 143
Sungari Sino-Russian joint venture 215
Sunkara Class ship 174
Sun Microsystems 27
Svechnikov, Sergey 183
SWAPO (South-West African People’s Organization) 68
Sweden: arms exports 20, 21
Syria:
arms imports 3, 28, 29, 30, 40, 64, 65, 80, 83, 112
debts to USSR/Russia 64, 82
Lebanon, invasion of 40
T-34 tank 48, 56
T-43 Class minesweeper 211
T-54 tank 64, 65, 69, 205
T-55 tank 62, 64, 65, 69, 205
T-62 tank 42, 62, 64, 65, 213
T-72 tank 41, 42, 65, 155, 172, 185, 205, 206
T-80 tank 32, 113, 135, 201, 204, 224
Taiwan:
arms imports 23, 94–95, 97, 196
arms industry 23
defence cooperation 23
Tajikistan:
  air defences 166
  Russia and 35, 167, 168, 226
Tamko 135
Tashkent Aircraft Plant 153
Tbilisi 147, 154, 172
Tbilisi Aviation Industrial Association 171
Ter-Petrosyan, President Levon 154
terrorists 122, 137
Tokobank 134
TPLF (Tigray People’s Liberation Front) 43
trade exhibitions 133
trading companies 124–25, 204–5
Transcaucus Military District 147, 155
Triton submarine 139
Tu-2 aircraft 55, 57
Tu-16 aircraft 64
Tula 201, 227
Tuleyev, Aman 153
Tunguska air defence system 32, 224
Tupolev aircraft 170
Tupolev Design Bureau 170
Turkey:
  arms smuggled to 221
  arms industry 22
  Azerbaijan and 155
  Chechnya and 230
  military expenditure 25
  military–technical cooperation with
    Russia 114
  Russia and 35
Turkmenistan:
  arms imports 174
  Russia and 157, 167, 168, 174–75
  Type 636 submarine 33

Udmurtia 127
Ukraine:
  arms exports 153
  arms industry 21, 151, 157
  Azerbaijan and 155
  CFE Treaty and 147, 148
  CIS and 162
  military–technical cooperation with
    Russia 114, 156–57, 162, 167, 168, 170, 193
    Poland and 188, 192
    Russia and 151, 158, 167, 170, 193
    Russian troops in 137
    Slovakia and 191
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
  air defence system 165
  armed forces, primacy of 85
  arms export data 6–7, 72, 79
  arms exports:
    administrative arrangements for 53–54
    after-sales service 95
    arms industry and 46–47, 71, 92
    barter and 46, 47, 48, 49, 64
    categories, balance of 30, 31
    clearing arrangements 80–83, 92
    CMEA countries 78–80
    contracts 51, 52
    control of 44
    costs and 46
    credit and 46, 47, 48, 63–64
    decision making 49–54
    demonstrations 44–45
    design bureaux and 52, 86
    domestic reforms and 84–91
    economic aspects 45–49, 63–64, 71–92
    foreign policy and 1, 2, 3, 5
    free 46, 47
    hard currency and 63, 72, 74, 77, 83–84, 86, 89, 90–91, 100, 112
    Korean War and 56–60
    licences 54
    limitations of 42
    manufacturers and 46
    military exhibitions and 41, 42
    military–technical cooperation 42, 52, 53, 117
    negotiations 89
    non-socialist countries 80–83
    patterns of 38–39
    payment, forms of 48–49, 77–84
    political factors 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 93, 100
    political movements and 66–70
    prices 46, 48, 78, 81, 85–91
index 303

principles behind 39–49
profits and 46, 72, 91–92
quality of 42, 51
recipients 28, 29, 30, 64–66, 77–84
re-exports 42–43, 51, 54
repair and maintenance 45, 46, 52
restraint 40–41
secrecy 41, 93
security policy and 1, 43, 85
socialist countries, to 51–52, 54–60, 61, 78–80
spare parts 51, 52, 95
standardization and 52
state monopoly 49, 93
strategic factors 43–45
value 72–76, 79–80
WTO and 43–44
arms industry:
distribution 151
employment 148–49
managers 52
ministries involved 52–53
subcontractors 88
China, relations with 23, 55, 59
conventional arms control and 96, 100
Council of Ministers 49, 50, 51, 53, 56, 59, 223
debts owed by 80, 113
debts owed to 82–83, 84
dissolution of:
armed forces and 147–48, 217
arms industry and 28
effect of 28, 91, 147–52, 179
illicit arms sales and 223–26, 231:
in Chechnya 228–29
military assets, division of 147
economy:
military planning and 84
prices 85, 86, 87–91
training of foreign servicemen 44, 51, 52, 58
foreign policy 3
military aid given by 44, 56, 57, 60–66, 77–78, 80
politics and 39–43
trade:
domestic reforms and 84–91
prices and 85, 86, 89
trading organizations 46, 50, 51, 86
troop withdrawals 34
UN and 65
USA, collaboration with 28
see also under names of ministries
UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) 67, 68
United Arab Emirates:
arms imports 28, 30, 115, 134–35
USSR and 61
United Kingdom:
arms exports 20, 21, 75, 94, 95
arms imports 23
arms industry 25
military expenditure 25
United Nations:
arms embargoes 23, 99, 112, 192
arms transfer control 76
Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice 220
c conventional arms control and 96–97
Register of Conventional Arms 12–13, 155
Security Council 1, 21, 23, 96
United States of America:
ACDA 73–74
arms exports 1, 19, 20–21, 22–23, 94, 95
CIA 195
conventional arms transfers and 96, 97
foreign policy 8
military expenditure on R&D 21
military technology 27
technology transfers 26
USSR, collaboration with 28
Ural 138
Uzbekistan:
air defences 166
Russia and 167, 168, 175
Vanous, Jan 79
Varshavyanka Class submarine see Kilo Class submarine
Varyag 212
Vasilevskiy, Marshal Alexander M. 57, 59
Vaziani airfield 156, 172
Viet Nam 43: arms imports 3, 28, 29, 30, 56, 143
debt to USSR 82
military aid to 42, 56, 80
Viet Nam War 42
Vijayanta tank 32
Vneshtorgbank 134
Volga anti-aircraft complex 62
Volna 139
Votkinsk Mechanical Plant 127
Voyentech 224
VPK see Military–Industrial Commission
Vyshinskiy, Andrey 60

W-3 Sokol helicopter 187
Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO):
arms imports 28, 30, 47, 54–55
arms production 54, 55
debts owed to 47
dissolution of 3, 28, 135, 178, 217, 223
Joint Armed Forces 55
legacy of 178–82
membership of 3fn
military–technical cooperation in 3, 78

Wassenaar Arrangement:
control systems and 98, 104, 105
establishment 2
Russian arms exports and 115, 268–70
Western Group of Forces 225
Western Sahara 68
Woody Island 211
World War II 84, 122
Wuhu air base 206

Xing-Yui-Ju 215
Xinjiaju J-10 airframe 214

Yabloko Party 199
Yak-9 aircraft 57
Yak-18 aircraft 48
Yak-41 aircraft 212
Yak-112 aircraft 144
Yak-130 aircraft 191
Yakovlev 191
Yalosbank 144
Yekaterinburg 201
Yeltsin, President Boris:
Armenia and 154
arms exports and 8, 10, 76, 196
Chechnya and 230
China and 194
CIS and 146, 160
India, visit to 32, 82, 198
Kazakhstan and 172, 173
Korea, South, visit to 199
military reform and 35
technical cooperation and 108
Russia’s Eurasian identity and 199
Yugoslavia and 192

Yemen, North:
arms imports 29, 64, 65
USSR and 61, 65
Yemen, South and 61

Yemen, South:
arms imports 29, 44, 64, 65
USSR and 65
Yemen, North and 61
Yeremichev, Vadim 134

Yugoslavia 217:
arms embargo 99, 112, 192
arms imports 29, 30, 222

Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro):
arms embargo 99
arms imports 224
arms industry 192

Yuilang Trading 215

Zaire see Congo, Democratic Republic of
Zambia: debts 64
ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) 43
Zaporozhe Aircraft Engine Plant 153, 156
Zharkov, Nikolay 201
Zhou Enlai 55
Zimbabwe 43