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To: Office of Senator John McCain, Attention: Walter Lohman.

From: Kenneth Katzman, Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs, and Elizabeth Dunstan, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division.

Subject: Arms and Technology Transfers to Iran.

This memorandum responds to your request to provide an unclassified chronology of reported weapons and technology transfers or agreements to Iran. Please call 7-7612 if you have any questions.

CHRONOLOGY OF WEAPONS AND TECHNOLOGY
TRANSFERS TO IRAN USING PRESS REPORTS:
OCTOBER 1992-PRESENT

10/8/92—The International Institute for Strategic Studies reported that China would supply a nuclear reactor under construction at Qazvin in northwestern Iran.

10/24/92—An editorial in the Washington Times reported Iran bought Sukhoi-24 light bombers from Russia and three diesel submarines, for \$750 million per submarine. Most other sources cite a figure of \$450 million a piece. Also, F-7 jet fighters were purchased from China. China reportedly agreed on September 10, 1992 to sell Iran a large nuclear reactor.

11/21/92—According to Defense Weekly, Russia delivered to Iran the first Kilo class submarine with a surface to air missile capacity in the form of manportable SA-14 Gremlin or SA-16 Gimlet.

2/10/93—According to the Jerusalem Israel Television Network, Iran recently took delivery of some Scud-C surface to air missiles with a range of about 500 km, as well as a number of launching pods, in accordance with a deal signed with North Korea. These are in addition to about 250 Scud missiles supplied to Iran before the Gulf War.

2/17/93—According to the U.S. Director of Naval Intelligence Iran has been negotiating for the purpose of five mini-submarines from an unspecified source to augment its Kilo submarines.

4/8/93—According to the New York Times, Iran was close to concluding a deal with North Korea to buy a new intermediate-range missile that the Koreans are developing. (The missile, called Nodong I, is said to have a range of 600 miles, although an extended range version may be able to reach up to about 800 miles).

5/11/93—Iran has taken delivery of eight supersonic, sea-skimming cruise missiles from the Ukraine, according to the Washington Times. The Sunburst missiles, to be based in the Strait of Hormuz, have reportedly been bought as part of a \$1.5 billion barter agreement between Tehran, Moscow, and Kiev. Also included in the reported deal are 50 MiG-29, and other combat aircraft, more than 200 T-72M1 battle tanks and S-300 air defense system missiles.

8/8/93—Iran took delivery of its second Russian made Kilo-class submarine.

1/17/94—Defense News reported that Iran was negotiating with China to purchase a rocket-propelled mine called the EM52 that is planted on the sea floor until it detects a target. The report added that Iran had purchased 1,000 modern mines from Russia, including those that detect approaching ships with magnetic, acoustic, and pressure sensors.

3/28/94—China's Xian Aircraft Corporation will fly its Jian Hong-7 bomber on March 28, 1994, to Iran for a series of flight demonstrations, according to a Chinese defense industry source.

5/7/94—Iran will take delivery of its third Kilo-class diesel-electric submarine within

five months, according to Jane's Defense Weekly. Iran reportedly bought an estimated 1,800 mines of various types from Russia when it received its first "Kilo" in November 1992.

9/19/94—Iran has acquired four or five fast attack missile (FACM) boats from China, according to US Vice Admiral Douglas Katz. The Hegu class vessel is 68 tons and is capable of being armed with C-801 and C-802 surface-to-surface missiles (Delivery of the missiles has not been confirmed).

9/26/94—Director of Central Intelligence James R. Woosley said Iran had acquired MiG29's, Su 24's, and T-72 tanks, as well as two Kilo-class attack submarines, from Russia. He added that Iran had turned to suppliers in "both East and West," using intermediaries to purchase military technology clandestinely.

9/27/94—A senior U.S. official reportedly said in the Washington Post that Russia has given Iran sophisticated aircraft missiles to go along with the jets it sold to Iran.

12/14/94—Iran is trying to buy weapons technology in Germany for use in building Scud missiles, according to Reuters. In October 1994, the International Institute for Strategic Studies said Tehran had obtained 20 Chinese CSS-8 surface-to-surface missiles, armed with conventional weapons.

1/5/95—The New York Times reported that Russia had entered into a deal with Iran to provide up to four nuclear power reactors at the Bushehr nuclear reactor complex, a deal valued at nearly \$1 billion. Later reports said the first reactor would be a water-pressurized reactor with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts. Russia might construct an additional 1,000 megawatt reactor and 2,440 megawatt reactors under the deal. The deal, formally announced January 8, 1995, also provides for Russia to train Iranian nuclear scientists and possibly provide research reactors as well. Russia reportedly is also required to recycle nuclear fuel for Iran. The New York Times report added that China has sold Iran two similar reactors and has provided two research reactors, but that those projects have been delayed. China reportedly has also sold several calutrons-magnetic isotope separation devices that can be used to derive uranium for an atomic bomb. In addition, according to the Times, China was setting up an assembly plant in Iran to produce intermediate range ballistic missiles (M-9's and M-11's).

1/30/95—The Washington Times reported that Iran has secured the aid of Indian companies in the construction of a poison-gas complex, according to a classified German intelligence report. The Indian companies have told authorities in Europe and elsewhere that they are engaged in building a pesticide factory just outside Tehran.

2/1/95—Belgian officials impounded a Russian-built surface to air missile bound for Iraq, according to the Washington Times.

3/2/95—The Associated Press said Israel had claimed Iran signed a contract with Argentina to buy fuel rods for reactors and then negotiated over the purchase of heavy water, considered essential for a nuclear weapons program. The report did not make clear whether or not the United States had succeeded in blocking the deal.

3/15/95—The New York Times reported that Iran had developed a vast network in Europe, Russia, and the Central Asian Republics to smuggle to Iran weapons parts and nuclear technology.

3/17/95—Poland announced that it will honor any existing contracts to supply tanks to Iran. Poland did not reveal the details of any tank sale to Iran, however.

4/3/95—The New York Times reported that the United States had provided intelligence to Russia about Iran's nuclear program, as

part of any effort to dissuade Russia from providing nuclear technology to Iran. The intelligence reportedly showed that Iran is importing equipment needed to import nuclear weapons, that it has sought to but enriched uranium from former Soviet republics, such as Kazakhstan, and that it is using many of the same smuggling techniques and routes that Iraq and Pakistan used in their efforts to acquire nuclear technology.●

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, as a cosponsor of the original Iran-Iraq Non-Proliferation Act, I am pleased to join Senator MCCAIN as well in this amendment to the 1992 act. Regrettably, Iran and Iraq have become no more law abiding during the past 2 years than they were when this law was first enacted. On the contrary, Iraq has attempted by persuasion or force to get the international community to lift economic sanctions while preserving as much as possible its catastrophic weapons capability. Iran, meanwhile, has continued its support for international terrorism.

The United States must remain vigilant in its effort to inhibit the destructive capability of these two renegade states. We must do everything we can to prevent them from receiving assistance from any source to pursue international lawlessness.

I believe this amendment will strengthen the current legislation and send a strong signal both to the renegade states and to other states which trade with Iran and Iraq that the United States remains committed to tight economic sanctions. There will be consequences for those who trade in embargoed goods with Iran and Iraq, just as there will be consequences for us all if renegade states are able to pursue their destructive objectives without hindrance. I urge my colleagues to join us in supporting this amendment to strengthen Iran-Iraq sanctions.●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 198

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 198, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to permit Medicare select policies to be offered in all States, and for other purposes.

S. 252

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the names of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] were added as cosponsors of S. 252, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the earnings test for individuals who have attained retirement age.

S. 253

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the name of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] was added as a cosponsor of S. 253, a bill to repeal certain prohibitions against political recommendations relating to Federal employment, to reenact certain provisions

relating to recommendations by Members of Congress, and for other purposes.

S. 295

At the request of Mrs. KASSEBAUM, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 295, a bill to permit labor management cooperative efforts that improve America's economic competitiveness to continue to thrive, and for other purposes.

S. 306

At the request of Mr. DORGAN, the name of the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 306, a bill entitled the "Television Violence Reduction Through Parental Empowerment Act of 1995."

S. 351

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. KYL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 351, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to make permanent the credit for increasing research activities.

S. 356

At the request of Mr. COATS, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 356, a bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

S. 440

At the request of Mr. COATS, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 440, a bill to amend title 23, United States Code, to provide for the designation of the National Highway System, and for other purposes.

S. 506

At the request of Mr. CRAIG, the name of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 506, a bill to amend the general mining laws to provide a reasonable royalty from mineral activities on Federal lands, to specify reclamation requirements for mineral activities on Federal lands, to create a State program for the reclamation of abandoned hard rock mining sites on Federal lands, and for other purposes.

S. 565

At the request of Mr. PRESSLER, the names of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. FRIST] were added as cosponsors of S. 565, a bill to regulate interstate commerce by providing for a uniform product liability law, and for other purposes.

At the request of Mr. GORTON, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] was added as a cosponsor of S. 565, supra.

S. 584

At the request of Mr. ROBB, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 584, a bill to authorize the award of the Purple Heart to persons who were prisoners of war on or before April 25, 1962.

S. 602

At the request of Mr. BROWN, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 602, a bill to amend the NATO Participation Act of 1994 to expedite the transition to full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of European countries emerging from communist domination.

SENATE RESOLUTION 85

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 85, A resolution to express the sense of the Senate that obstetrician-gynecologists should be included in Federal laws relating to the provision of health care.

AMENDMENT NO. 596

At the request of Mr. GORTON the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 596 proposed to H.R. 956, a bill to establish legal standards and procedures for product liability litigation, and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 11—RELATIVE TO CYPRUS

Ms. SNOWE (for herself, Mr. SIMON, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. D'AMATO, and Mr. DODD) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 11

Whereas the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus remains unresolved;

Whereas the military occupation by Turkey of a large part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus has continued for over 20 years;

Whereas the status quo on Cyprus remains unacceptable;

Whereas the United States attaches great importance to a just and peaceful resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations and the United States are using their good offices to resolve such dispute;

Whereas on January 5, 1995, President Clinton appointed a Special Presidential Emissary for Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions that set forth the basis of a solution for the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas paragraph (2) of United Nations Security Council Resolution 939 of July 29, 1994, reaffirms that a solution must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality, and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as described in the relevant Security Council Resolutions, in a bicomunal and bizonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession;

Whereas the United Nations Secretary General has described the occupied part of Cyprus as one of the most highly militarized areas in the world;

Whereas the continued overwhelming presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus hampers the search for a freely nego-

tiated solution to the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations and the United States have called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus; and

Whereas comprehensive plans for the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus have been proposed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress—

(1) reaffirms that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable;

(2) welcomes the appointment of a Special Presidential Emissary for Cyprus;

(3) expresses its continued strong support for efforts by the United Nations Secretary General and the United States Government to help resolve the Cyprus problem in a just and viable manner at the earliest possible time;

(4) insists that all parties to the dispute regarding Cyprus agree to seek a solution based upon the relevant United Nations resolutions, including paragraph (2) of United Nations Security Council Resolution 939 of July 29, 1994;

(5) reaffirms the position that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus;

(6) considers that demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties involved, would enhance prospects for a peaceful and lasting resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus, would benefit all of the people of Cyprus, and merits international support; and

(7) encourages the United Nations Security Council and the United States Government to consider alternative approaches to promote a resolution of the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus based upon relevant Security Council resolutions, including incentives to encourage progress in negotiations or effective measures against any recalcitrant party.

• Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, today I am submitting a resolution calling for the end of the long-standing dispute on Cyprus. I am pleased to be joined as original cosponsors by my distinguished colleagues, Senators SIMON, PRESSLER, SARBANES, D'AMATO, and DODD.

Mr. President, last year marked the 20th anniversary of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Year after year the political deadlock over Cyprus has endured. But elsewhere in the world these same two decades has seen the end to the Soviet Union, mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO, a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa, and a renunciation of terrorism by the Irish Republican Army and movement toward an enduring peace in Northern Ireland. It is long past time for a similar breakthrough for peace on Cyprus.

That is the purpose of this resolution. This resolution speaks with moderation with the hope of bringing together all sides to the conflict. But despite its moderate tones, the resolution calls for looking at the problem of Cyprus in a radically new way. The resolution: declares the status quo on Cyprus to be unacceptable; welcomes President Clinton's appointment of a special emissary for Cyprus; calls on all parties to seek a solution based on the U.N. Security Council resolution of