

# CRS Report for Congress

## Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1981-1988

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# TRENDS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD BY MAJOR SUPPLIER, 1981-1988

## SUMMARY

The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World seen in recent years continued in 1988. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1988 (\$29.7 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1981-1988 (in constant 1988 dollars).

The Soviet Union and the United States have clearly dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1981-1988. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for half of all arms transfer agreements with and arms deliveries to the Third World during these years.

In the 1980s, China has emerged as an important supplier of arms to the Third World, in large measure due to agreements with Iran and Iraq. As a nation capable and willing to supply a wide variety of basic weapons and ammunition, cheaply, and in quantity, China was well positioned to take advantage of the wartime requirements of these two nations. During the 1981-1988 period, 61.3% of all of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World were with Iran and Iraq collectively.

Whether China will be able to sustain its level of arms sales to the Near East and South Asian region now that the Iran-Iraq war has ended remains to be seen. Despite China's sale and delivery of CSS-2 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to Saudi Arabia in the most recent period (1985-1988), and its historic supplier relationship with Pakistan and Egypt, the notable Chinese arms sales performance from 1981-1988 was essentially based upon trade with Iran and Iraq.

The trade in arms with Iran and Iraq, in itself, was a significant element of the entire Third World arms market from 1981-1988. The war between these two nations created an urgent demand by both belligerents for conventional weapons of all kinds, from the least sophisticated battlefield consumables to more advanced combat vehicles and aircraft. The Iran-Iraq war thus also created arms sales opportunities for both major and minor arms suppliers.

For the 1981-1988 period, the total value of arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers constituted over one-fifth (21.5%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World. The Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively was 32% for the 1981-1988 period, while that of China was 15%. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 23% of these agreements.

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# TRENDS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD BY MAJOR SUPPLIER, 1981-1988

## INTRODUCTION

This report provides unclassified background data on transfers of conventional arms to the Third World by major suppliers for the period from 1981 through 1988. It updates and revises the study entitled "Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1980-1987" which was published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on May 9, 1988 (CRS Report 88-352F).

### CONSTANT 1988 DOLLARS

Throughout this report values of arms transfer agreements and values of arms deliveries for all suppliers are expressed in U.S. dollars. Values for any given year generally reflect the exchange rates that prevailed during that specific year. In many instances, the report converts these dollar amounts (current dollars) into constant 1988 dollars. This helps to eliminate the distorting effects of inflation to permit a more accurate comparison of various dollar levels over time, but the effects of fluctuating exchange rates are not necessarily neutralized. The deflators used for the constant dollar calculations in this report are those provided by the Department of Defense and are set out at the bottom of Tables 1 and 2. Because all regional data tables must be composed of four-year aggregate dollar totals, (1981-1984 and 1985-1988), they must be expressed in current dollar terms. Likewise, the two tables ranking leading suppliers to the Third World must also use four-year aggregate dollar totals, and thus must also use current dollars. But unless otherwise noted in the report all dollar values are stated in constant terms.



## MAJOR FINDINGS

### GENERAL TRENDS IN ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD

The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World seen in recent years continued in 1988. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1988 (\$29.7 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1981-1988 (in constant 1988 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak year of 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$59.5 billion (in constant 1988 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1). In a similar vein, in 1988 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World was the lowest of any year during the period from 1981-1988 (in constant 1988 dollars). This is a resumption of the overall decline in the value of Third World arms deliveries that begin after the peak year of 1983 (table 2A) (charts 11, 12, and 13).

Two principal factors explain the overall decline in Third World arms transfers. First, many recipient nations in the Third World are absorbing the weaponry they bought in the late 1970s and early 1980s and are not purchasing large numbers of new, expensive, items. In recent years, purchases have included a greater proportion of spare parts, ammunition, and support services, items much less costly than major weapons systems such as combat aircraft, main battle tanks or ships.

Second, many Third World countries are burdened by significant debts and are thus unable or unwilling to commit the funds necessary to obtain additional weapons they might otherwise buy. Even oil-rich nations in the Third World have made more selective purchases in recent years, and have sought various concessions from suppliers to offset the costs involved in procuring weapons. These factors apply in differing ways to individual countries, but their collective effect throughout the Third World has been to depress the arms market notably.

The Soviet Union and the United States have clearly dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1981-1988. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for half of all arms transfer agreements with and arms deliveries to the Third World during these years (tables 1A and 2A).

### UNITED STATES

In 1988, the total value, in real terms, of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World dramatically increased over the previous year's total, growing from \$5.8 billion in 1987 to \$9.2 billion in 1988. The

U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 31% in 1988, up from 14.9% in 1987 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

The substantial increase in the value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in 1988 is attributable to good sized new orders from traditional buyers, and an agreement with Kuwait for the purchase of 40 F-18 aircraft and various missiles for an estimated \$1.9 billion. During the years 1981-1988, United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a low of \$4.2 billion to a high of \$12.7 billion (table 1A).

The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in any given year generally reflects whether or not large contracts for the sale of major weapons systems were concluded. Thus, the overall decline in U.S. Third World arms sales following 1982 (a year in which major contracts for aircraft sales were made) reflects the fact that fewer large U.S. sales have been made of expensive weapons such as aircraft or main battle tanks. Unlike most key suppliers of arms to the Third World, the United States does not build major weapons systems primarily for export. Instead they are built for the American armed services. As a result they are more advanced, complex and costly.

## SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union registered a substantial decrease in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements, falling from 50.3% in 1987 to 33.4% in 1988. The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements also fell dramatically in 1988-- from \$19.4 billion in 1987 to \$9.9 billion. (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

During the 1981-1988 period, Soviet arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a low of \$7.9 billion to a high of \$25.6 billion, but for four of the eight years, levels remained notably constant at between \$16.8 billion and \$19.4 billion. Like the United States, the total value of Soviet arms transfer agreements can be affected by a decline in orders for major weapons systems. However, the Soviet Union, in contrast to the United States, sells a wider variety of military equipment and large quantities of ordnance. As a consequence, throughout the 1980s, the Soviets have sustained a consistently high level of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. In this context, it seems likely that the Soviet Union's comparatively low level of arms transfer agreements in 1988 is an aberration, similar to that which occurred in 1983, caused by a short term decline in demand from major Soviet clients (table 1A).

## CHINA

In the 1980s, China has emerged as an important supplier of arms to the Third World, in large measure due to agreements with Iran and Iraq. The value of China's agreements with the Third World reached a peak of nearly

\$4.8 billion in 1987, but fell dramatically back to about \$1.9 billion in 1988, a level more typical of Chinese agreements values from 1981-1988 (table 1A).

As a nation capable and willing to supply a wide variety of basic weapons and ammunition, cheaply, and in quantity, China was well positioned to take advantage of the requirements of Iran and Iraq in their recent war. During the 1981-1988 period, 61.3% of all of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World were with Iran and Iraq collectively (tables 1F, 1G, and 1H). Whether China will be able to sustain its level of arms sales to the Near East and South Asian region now that the Iran-Iraq war has ended remains to be seen. Despite China's sale and delivery of CSS-2 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to Saudi Arabia in the most recent period (1985-1988), and its historic supplier relationship with Pakistan and Egypt, the notable Chinese arms sales performance from 1981-1988 was essentially based upon trade with Iran and Iraq.

### **THE IRAN - IRAQ ARMS MARKET**

The trade in arms with Iran and Iraq was a significant element of the entire Third World arms market from 1981-1988. The war between these two nations created an urgent demand by both belligerents for conventional weapons of all kinds, from the least sophisticated battlefield consumables to more advanced combat vehicles and aircraft. The Iran-Iraq war thus also created arms sales opportunities for both major and minor arms suppliers. Salient details of supplier relationships with Iran and Iraq are summarized below.

For the 1981-1988 period, the total value of arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers constituted over one-fifth (21.5%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World (tables 1, 1G and 1H).

The Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively was 32% for the 1981-1988 period, while that of China was 15%. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 23% of these agreements. (tables 1, 1G and 1H) (chart 7).

### DEFINITION OF THE THIRD WORLD

The Third World category includes all countries except NATO nations, Warsaw Pact nations, Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given, except for the U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training) program data in the agreements table, which are included for the particular fiscal year. All Foreign Military Sales (FMS) construction sales and deliveries are included in the U.S. values totals.

### UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL ARMS EXPORTS EXCLUDED

U.S. commercial sales and deliveries data are excluded. This is done because the U.S. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program accounts for the largest portion of U.S. conventional arms transfer agreements and deliveries. Further, the data maintained on U.S. commercial sales agreements and deliveries is significantly incomplete and is less precise than that for the FMS program. There are no commercial agreement data comparable to that for the FMS program maintained on an annual basis, and annual commercial deliveries data is compiled from shipper's export documents and completed licenses returned from ports of exit by the U.S. Customs Service to the Office of Munitions Control (OMC) of the State Department-which makes the final compilation. This approach to obtaining commercial deliveries data is less systematic than that taken by the Department of Defense for government-to-government transactions.

Although the rank of the United States is not affected in any year from 1981-1988 by exclusion of the existing data on U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World, the total value of such deliveries is understated somewhat. The values of U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World for fiscal years 1981-1988, according to the State Department, were as follows:

FY1981	\$737,719
FY1982	\$903,100
FY1983	\$1,621,748
FY1984	\$1,655,729
FY1985	\$2,267,265
FY1986	\$1,744,681
FY1987	\$2,192,810
FY1988	\$2,197,604

## SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1981-1988

Tables 1 through 1I (pages 33-42) present data on arms transfer agreements with Third World nations by major suppliers from 1981-1988. These data show the most recent trends in arms contract activity by major suppliers in contrast to delivery data (Tables 2 through 2I, pages 43-52) which reflect implementation of sales decisions taken earlier. To use these data regarding agreements for purposes other than assessing general trends in seller/buyer activity is to risk drawing hasty conclusions that can be rapidly invalidated by events--precise values and comparisons, for example, may be changed by cancellations of major arms transfer agreements.

What follows is a detailed summary of data trends from the tables in the report. The summary statements also reference tables and/or charts pertinent to the point(s) noted.

### TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES

Table 1 shows the annual current dollar values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Since these figures do not allow for the effects of inflation, they are, by themselves, of limited use. They provide, however, the data from which tables 1A (constant dollars) and 1B (supplier percentages) are derived. Some of the more notable facts reflected by these data are summarized below.

- The value of all arms transfers agreements with the Third World in 1988 (\$29.7 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1981-1988 (in constant 1988 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak year of 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$59.5 billion (in constant 1988 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1).
- In 1988, the total value of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased significantly over the previous year's total (tables 1A and 1B).
- The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased to \$9.2 billion in 1988, from \$5.8 billion in 1987 (in constant 1988 dollars). The U.S. share of all such agreements was 31% in 1988, up from 14.9% in 1987 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2).
- The Soviet Union registered a substantial decrease in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1987 and 1988. The Soviet Union's share fell from 50.3% in 1987, to 33.4% in 1988. The value of the Soviet Union's agreements dropped to \$9.9 billion in 1988, from \$19.4 billion in 1987 (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 2).

CHART 1.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988  
 UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED  
 (billions of constant 1988 dollars and % of total agreements)

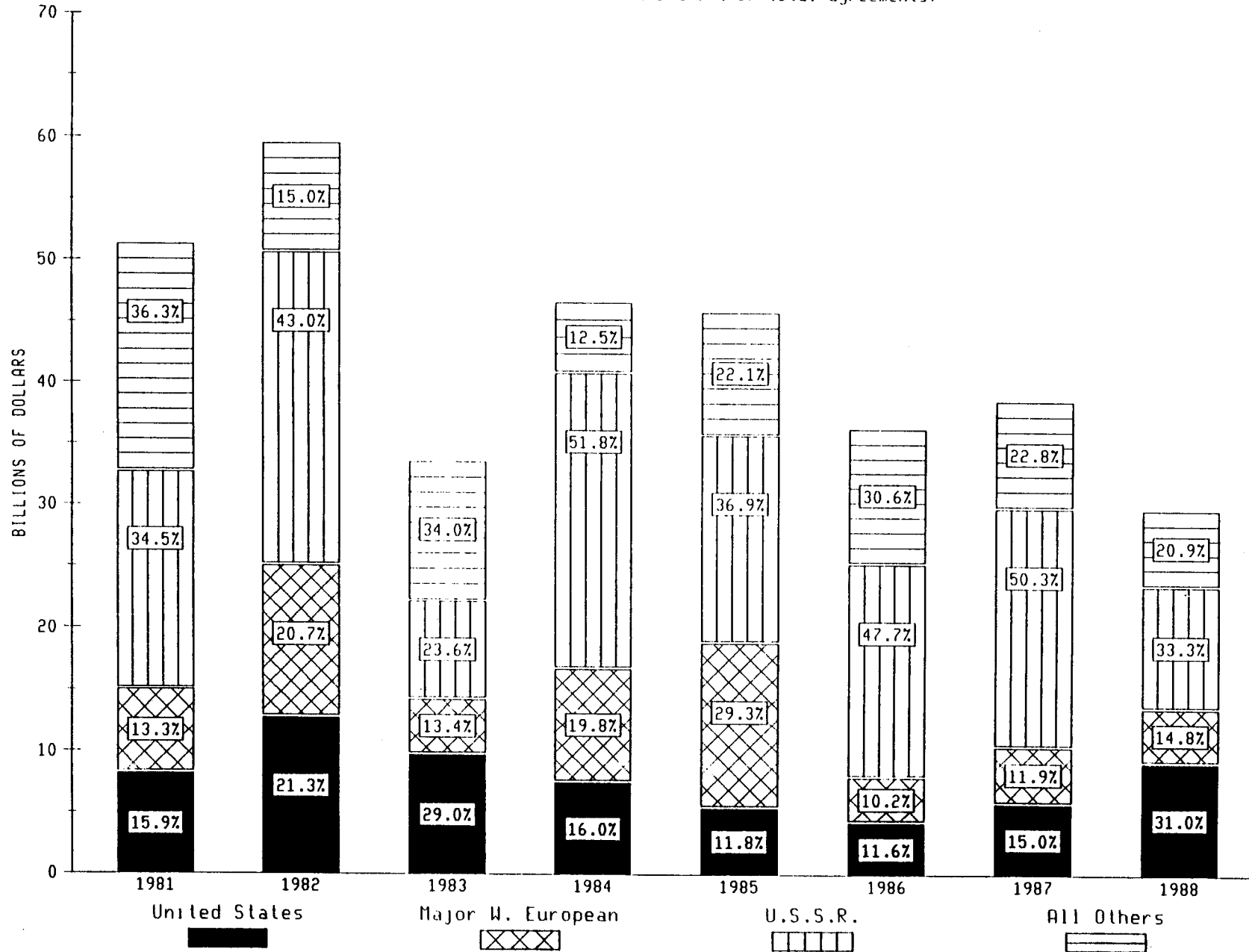
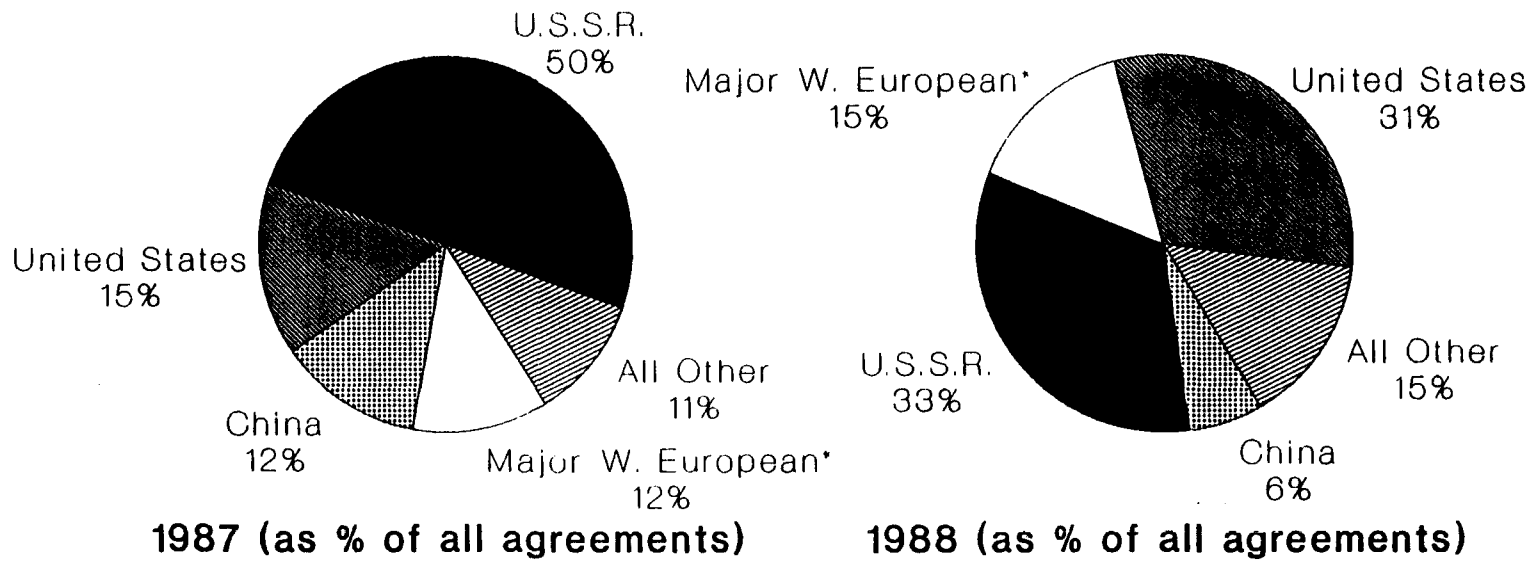


CHART 2.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD



\* (France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy)

- The four major West European suppliers, as a group, experienced a slight increase in their share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1987 and 1988. This group's share increased from 11.9% in 1987 to 14.7% in 1988. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1988 was roughly \$4.4 billion compared to a total of \$4.6 billion in 1987 (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2, and 3).
- In 1988 the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$9.9 billion. The United States ranked a very close second at \$9.2 billion, while France ranked third at \$3.1 billion. The United States' share of all Third World agreements in 1987 was 31%, up from 14.9% in 1987 (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).
- The total value of all Communist nations' arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1981-1988 (\$182.6 billion) exceeded the total value of all such agreements by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$158.5 billion) (table 1A) (chart 5).

### REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1981-1988

Table 1C gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1981-1984 and 1985-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars.<sup>1</sup> Table 1D, derived from table 1C, gives the percentage distribution of each supplier's agreement values within the regions for the two time periods. Table 1E, also derived from table 1C, illustrates what percentage share of each Third World region's total arms transfer agreements was held by specific suppliers during the years 1981-1984 and 1985-1988. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

#### Near East and South Asia

- The Near East and South Asia region is the largest Third World arms market. In 1985-1988 it accounted for 66.8% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The Near East and South Asia region ranked first in arms transfer agreements with all suppliers, in both the 1981-1984 and 1985-1988 time periods, with the single exception of West Germany in 1985-1988 (table 1D).

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<sup>1</sup>Because these regional data must be composed of four-year aggregate dollar totals, they must be expressed in current dollar terms.



CHART 3.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988 U.S., U.S.S.R., AND MAJOR W. EUROPEAN

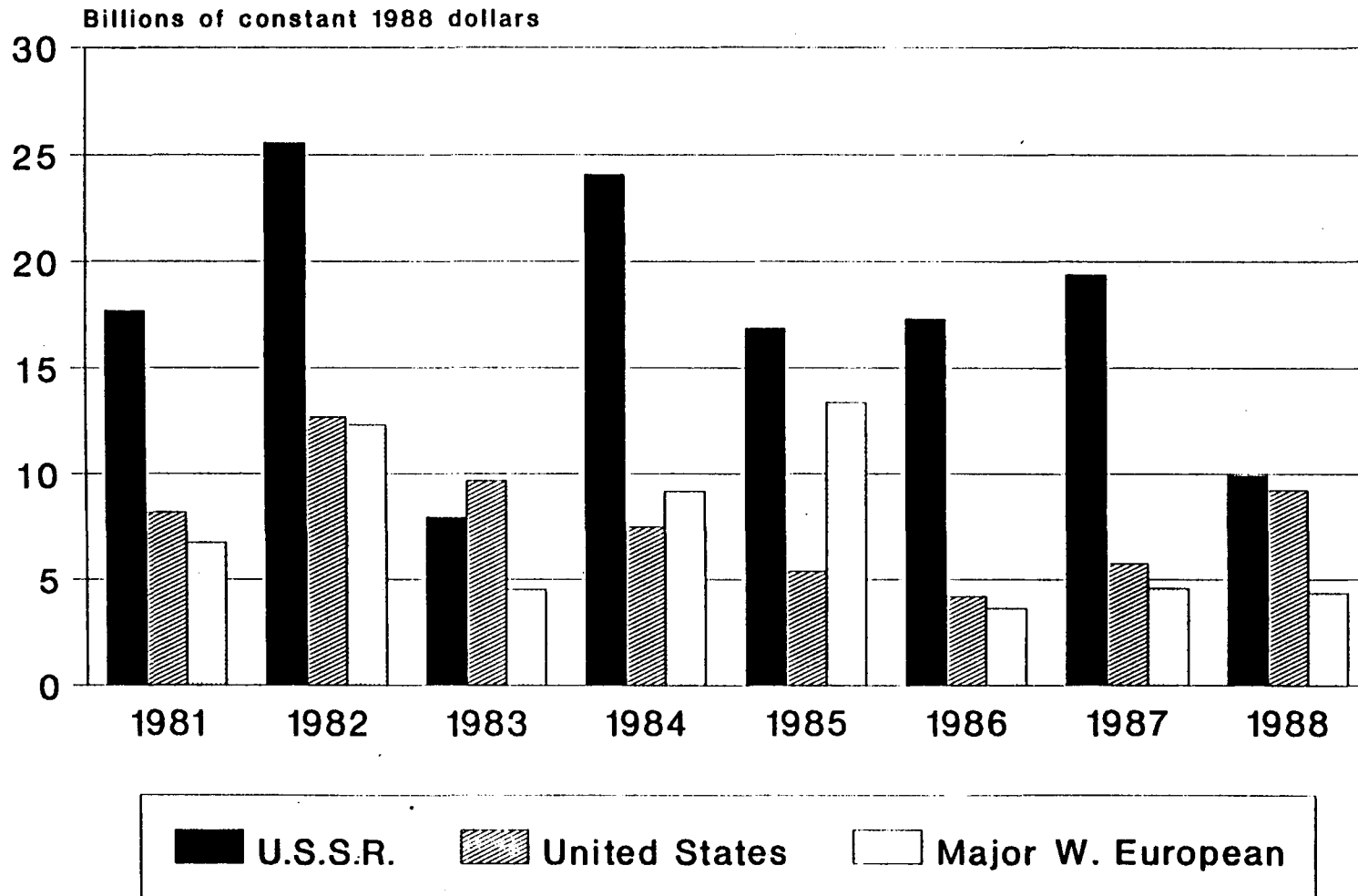
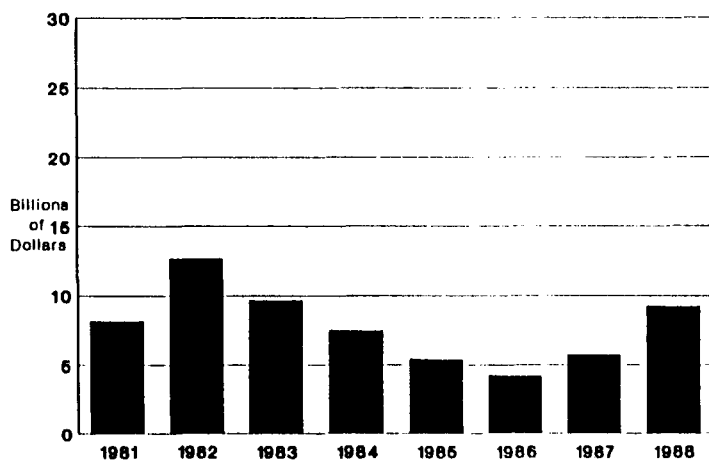


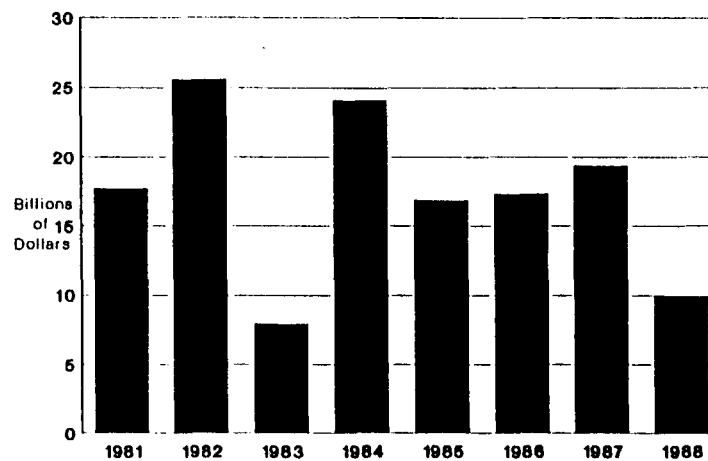
CHART 4.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER (in Constant 1988 Dollars)

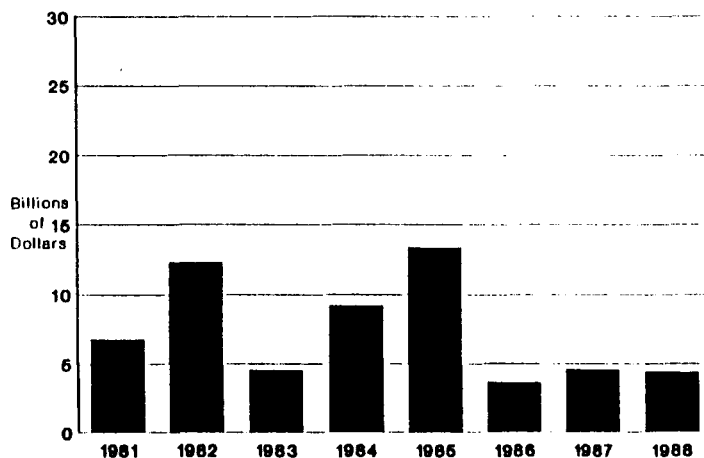
## United States



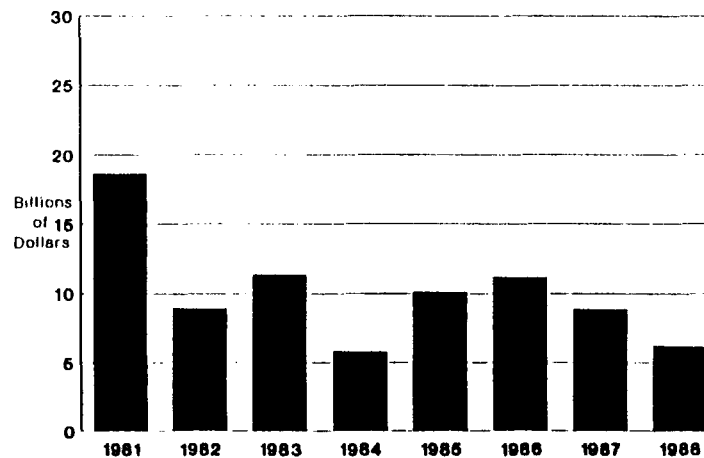
## Soviet Union



## Major Western European

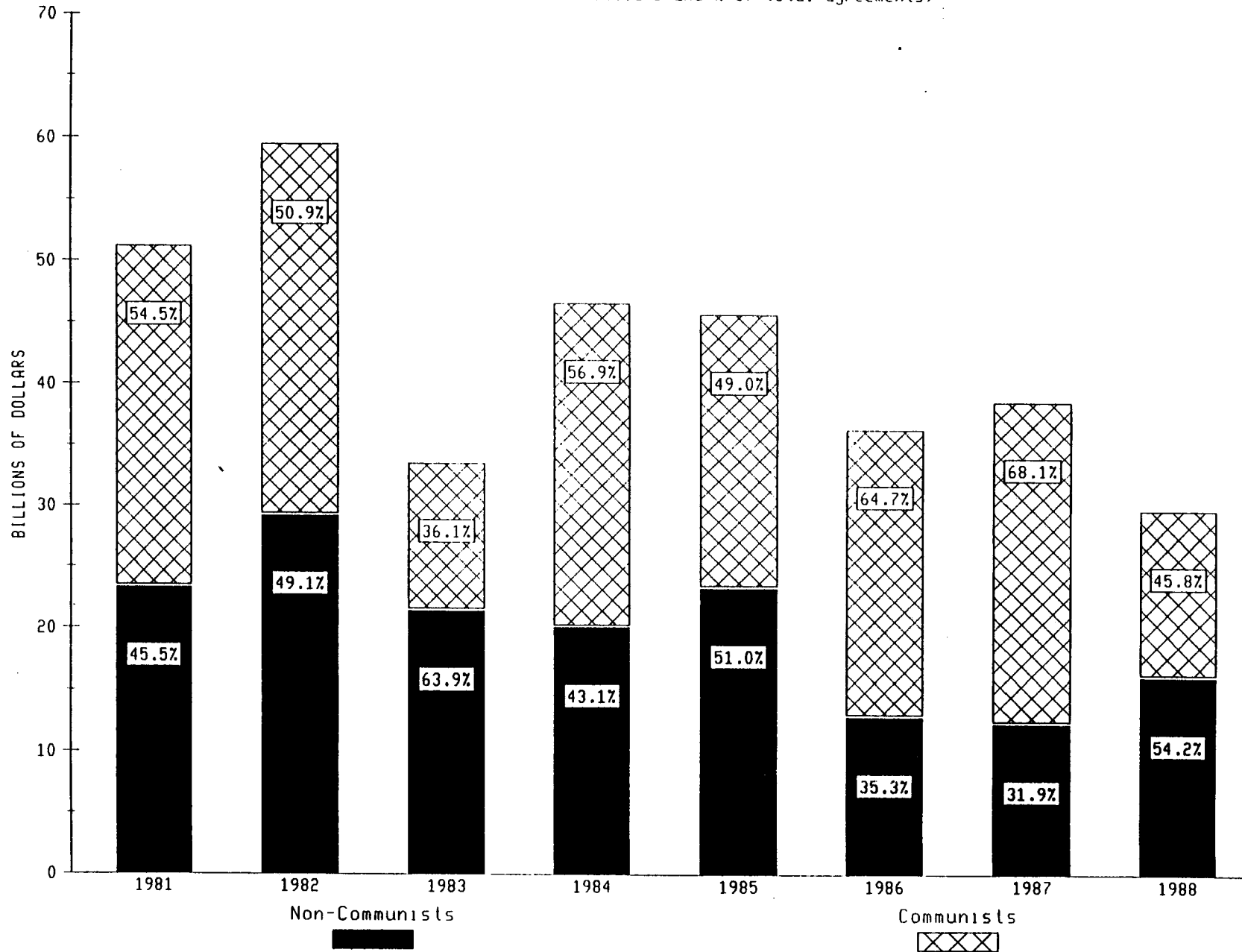


## All Others



**CHART 5.**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988**  
**NON-COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(billions of constant 1988 dollars and % of total agreements)



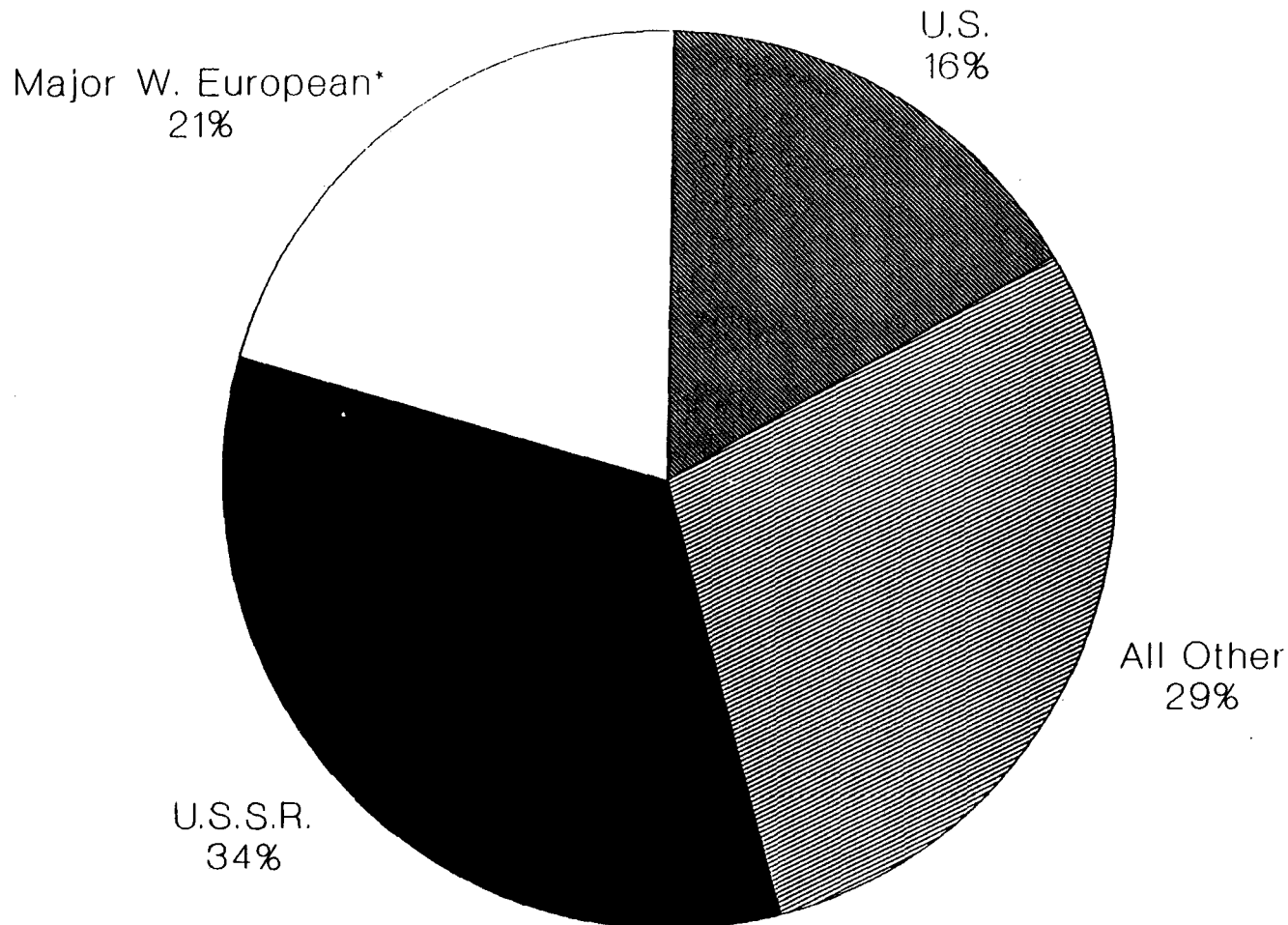
- For the period 1981-1984, China concluded 91.6% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East and South Asian region. For the more recent period, 1985-1988, China concluded 93.1% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East and South Asian region (table 1D).
- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with the Near East and South Asia with 35%. The United States ranked second with 21.5%. The French ranked third with 12.9%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 18.9% of this region's agreements in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East and South Asian agreements with 33.5%. The United States ranked second with 16.3%. The United Kingdom ranked third with 11.1%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 20.8% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988 (table 1E) (chart 6).

### **Latin America**

- In the Latin American region shares of arms transfer agreements of Communist and non-Communist suppliers have undergone a major shift during the period from 1981-1984 and 1985-1988. In the earlier period, all non-Communist suppliers collectively held 41.4% of all Latin American agreements. This share dropped to 30.4% in 1985-1988. By contrast, in the earlier period, all Communist suppliers collectively held 58.6% of all Latin American agreements. The share of all Communist suppliers collectively increased substantially to 69.6% in 1985-1988. The Soviet Union held the greatest share of any supplier in the region with 55.8% of all agreements from 1981-1984 and 58.7% in 1985-1988--figures which result from the substantial Soviet agreements with Cuba. (tables 1C and 1E) (charts 9 and 10).

CHART 6.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1985-1988 WITH NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



\* (France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy)

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- Of the Soviet Union's nearly \$6.9 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America from 1981-1984 (in current dollars), 83.5% (nearly \$5.8 billion) went to Cuba alone. In the period from 1985-1988, the Soviet Union made nearly \$8.3 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America (in current dollars). Of this total, over 72% (nearly \$6.1 billion) were arms transfer agreements with Cuba (tables 1C and 1I). (Chart 10).
- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Latin America with 55.8%. The United States ranked second with 10.4%. The French ranked third with 6.9%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 15.3% of this region's agreements in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American agreements with 58.7%. The United States ranked second with 10.2%. France ranked third with 8.7%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 11.9% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988 (table 1E) (chart 10).

### **East Asia and the Pacific**

- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with East Asia and the Pacific with 38%. The United States ranked second with 29.9%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.4% of this region's agreements in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in East Asia and Pacific agreements with 55%. The United States again ranked second with 29.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 8.4% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988 (table 1E).

### **Africa**

- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Africa (Sub-Saharan) with 65.3%. The United Kingdom ranked second with 5.9%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 16.8% of this region's agreements in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union continued to rank first in Sub-Saharan African agreements with 68.7%. France ranked second with 4.6%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.1% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988 (table 1E).

## **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1F gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1981-1988 by the Third World's top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with the Third World for each of three periods--1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. Table 1F further shows the percentage change in the value of Third World arms transfer agreements from 1981-1984 to 1985-1988 for each of the 11 suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- In the period from 1981-1988, certain emerging suppliers of armaments to the Third World ranked ahead of some of the traditional, industrialized, suppliers in the value

of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. During the period from 1985-1988, the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World made by both Czechoslovakia and North Korea exceeded that of West Germany, which ranked ninth (in a tie with Brazil) among all arms suppliers to the Third World during this timeframe (in current U.S. dollars).

- China ranked fourth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1981-1984, fourth from 1985-1988, and fifth from 1981-1988.
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, the United Kingdom, China, and North Korea registered the greatest percentage increases in the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1981-1984 to the period 1985-1988 (the United Kingdom increased 188.3%, China 65.5% and North Korea 36.9%).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, West Germany registered the greatest percentage decline (63.5%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1981-1984 to the period 1985-1988. Spain registered the second greatest percentage decline (51.4%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World between the same two time periods. France registered the third greatest percentage decline (43.3%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World between the same two time periods.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1G gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1981-1988 period, China's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iran was 22.7% compared to 1.4% for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 30.5% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 12.5% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 32.8% (chart 8).
- The Soviet Union made minimal arms transfer agreements with Iran (\$240 million in 1981-1984) (in current dollars). In the most recent period (1985-1988) the Soviet Union concluded no arms transfer agreements with Iran.
- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1981-1988 (over \$5.3 billion) (in current dollars).

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

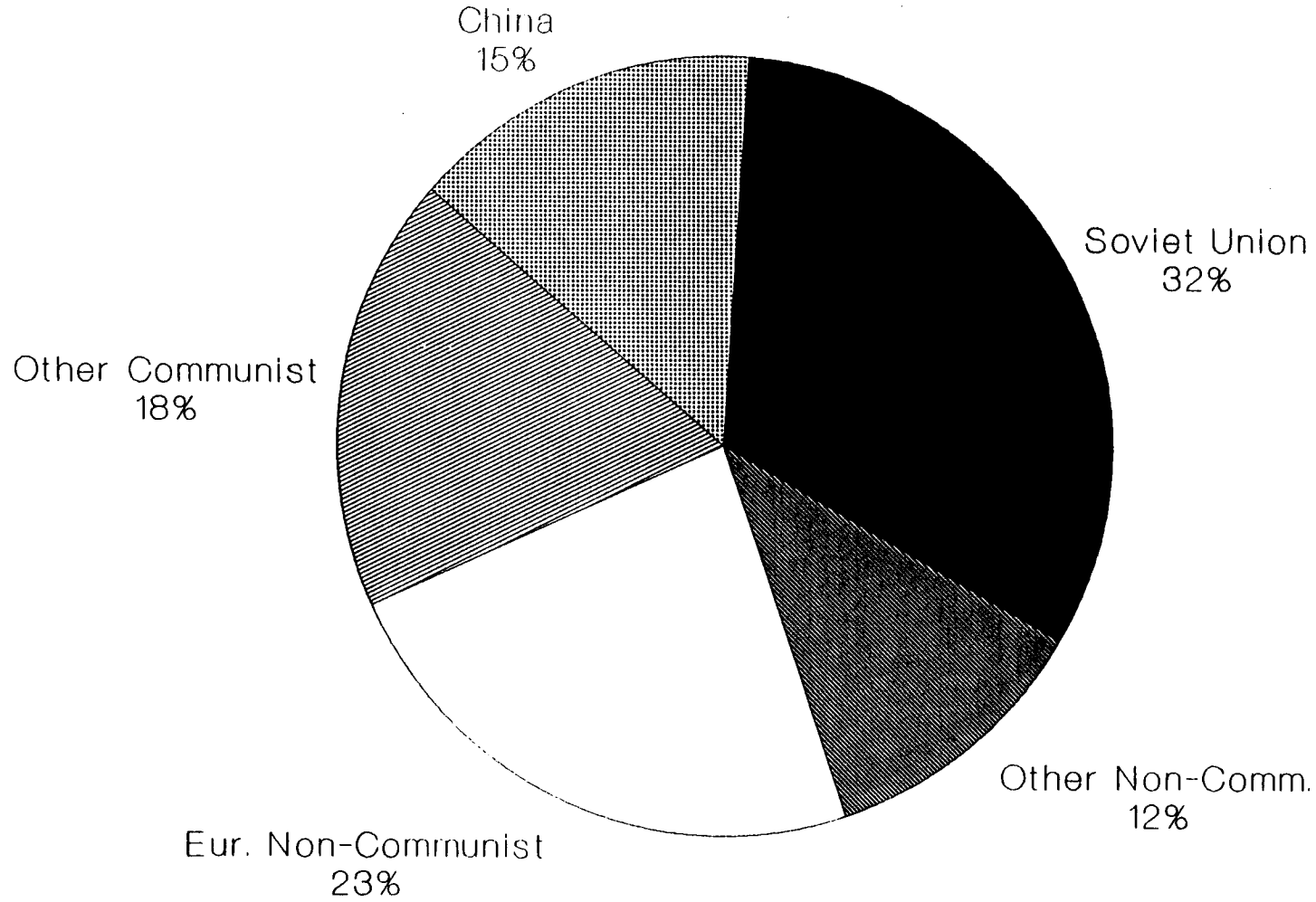
Table 1H gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1981-1988 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iraq was 43.7% compared to 11.7% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 20.7% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 11.1% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 12.8% (chart 8).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1981-1988, the value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements with Iraq totaled roughly \$20.7 billion (in current dollars). In the most recent period from 1985-1988, the Soviet Union concluded nearly \$4.7 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq.



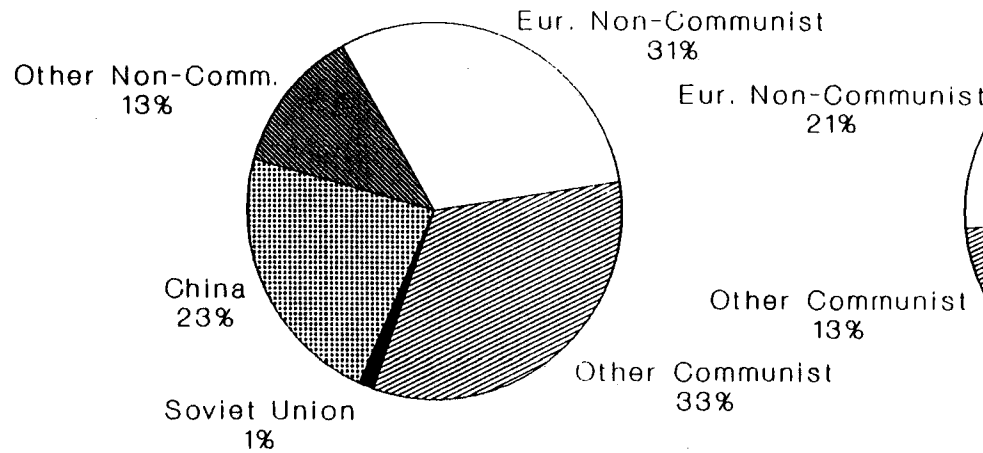
CHART 7.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1981-1988 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

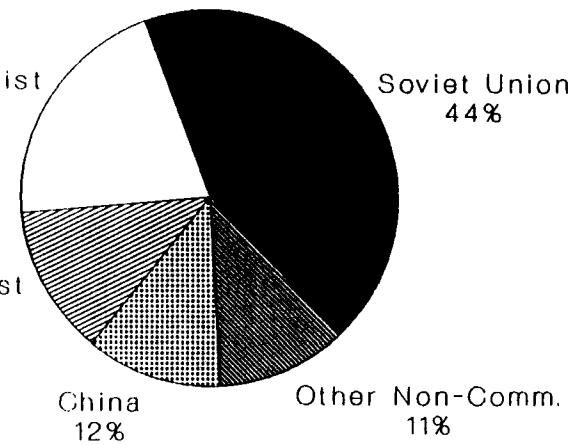


# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS 1981-1988 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

## WITH IRAN



## WITH IRAQ



- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms transfer agreements with Iraq from 1981-1988, nearly \$5.1 billion in agreements in 1981-1984 and nearly \$4.7 billion in agreements in 1985-1988 (in current dollars).

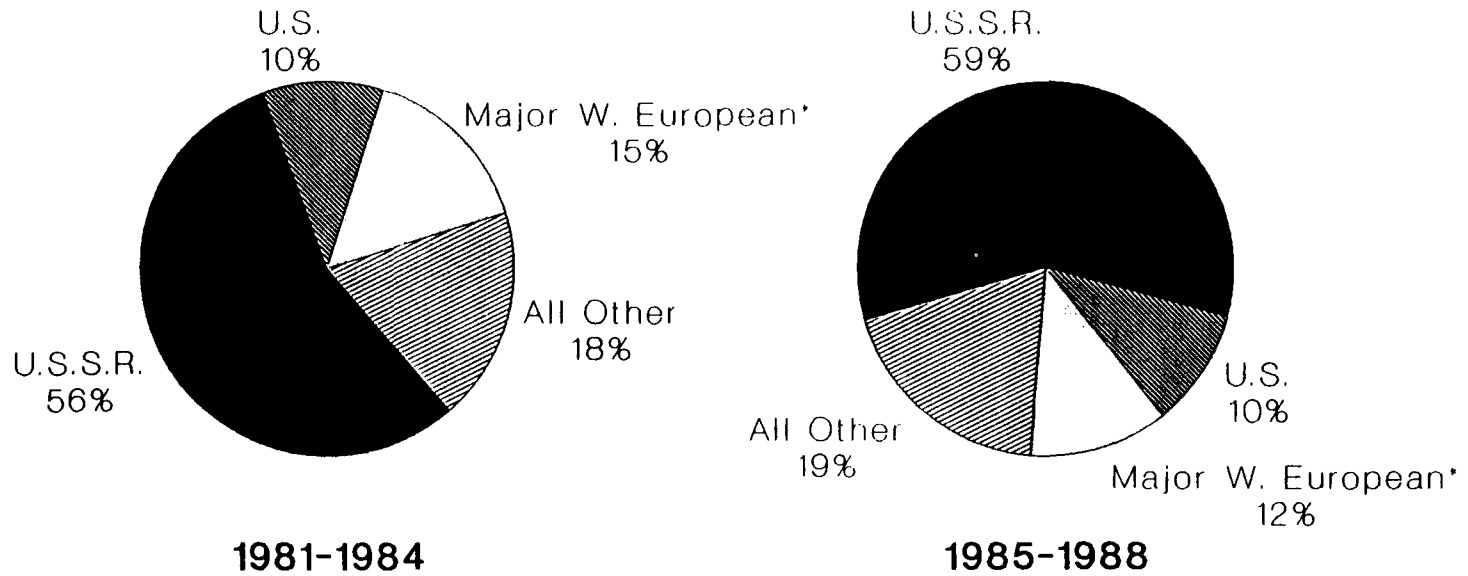
### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table II gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union is Cuba's principal arms supplier. It made nearly \$5.8 billion in arms transfer agreements with Cuba from 1981-1984 and nearly \$6.1 billion in arms transfer agreements with that country from 1985-1988 (in current dollars). Apart from negligible arms transfer agreements with non-Communist suppliers (\$10 million from 1981-1988) (in current dollars), Cuba has made arms transfer agreements only with Communist suppliers from 1981-1988.

CHART 9.

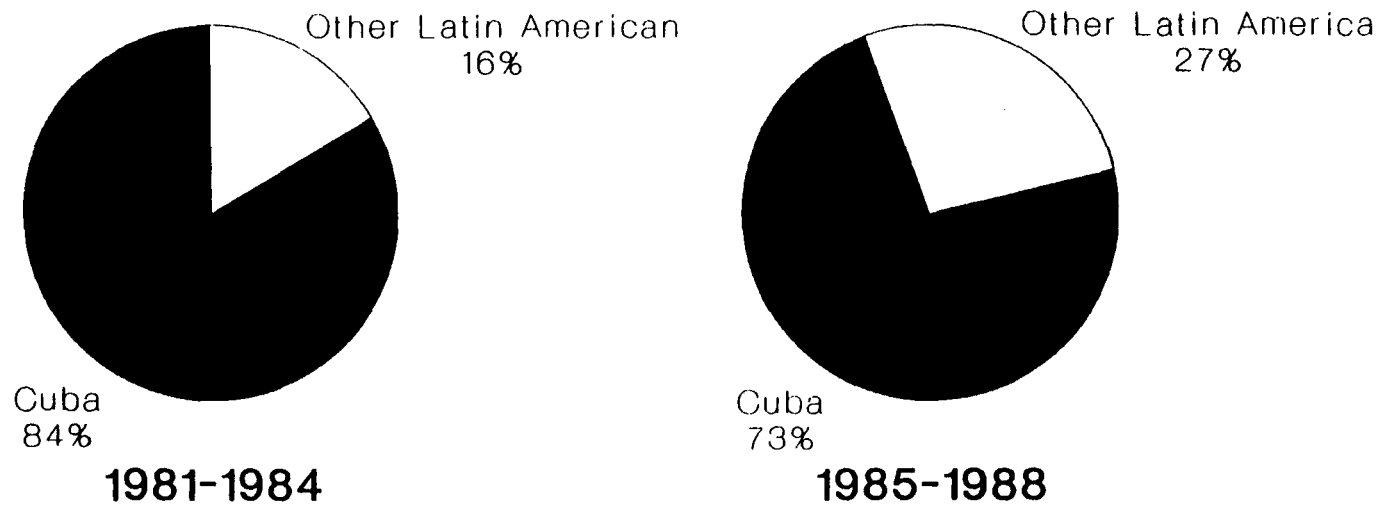
# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



\* (France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy)

CHART 10.

# SOVIET UNION ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA



**TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES**

Table 2 shows the annual current dollar values of arms deliveries (items actually transferred) to Third World nations by major suppliers from 1981-1988. The utility of these particular data is that they reflect transfers that have occurred. They provide the data from which tables 2A (constant dollars) and 2B (supplier percentages) are derived. Some of the more notable facts illustrated by these data are summarized below.

- In 1988 the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World delivery values at \$18.7 billion. The United States ranked second at \$4.9 billion. China ranked third with \$3.1 billion in deliveries.
- In 1988, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$33 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1981-1988 (charts 11 and 12).
- The total value of all Communist nations' arms deliveries to the Third World from 1981-1988 (\$183.5 billion) exceeded that of all such deliveries by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$162.1 billion) (chart 13).
- In 1988 the total value of arms deliveries by the United States to the Third World (\$4.9 billion) was its lowest of any year during the period from 1981-1988.
- The total value of China's arms deliveries to the Third World in 1988 (\$3.1 billion) was its highest of any year during the period from 1981-1988.

CHART 11.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988  
 UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED  
 (billions of constant 1988 dollars and % of total deliveries)

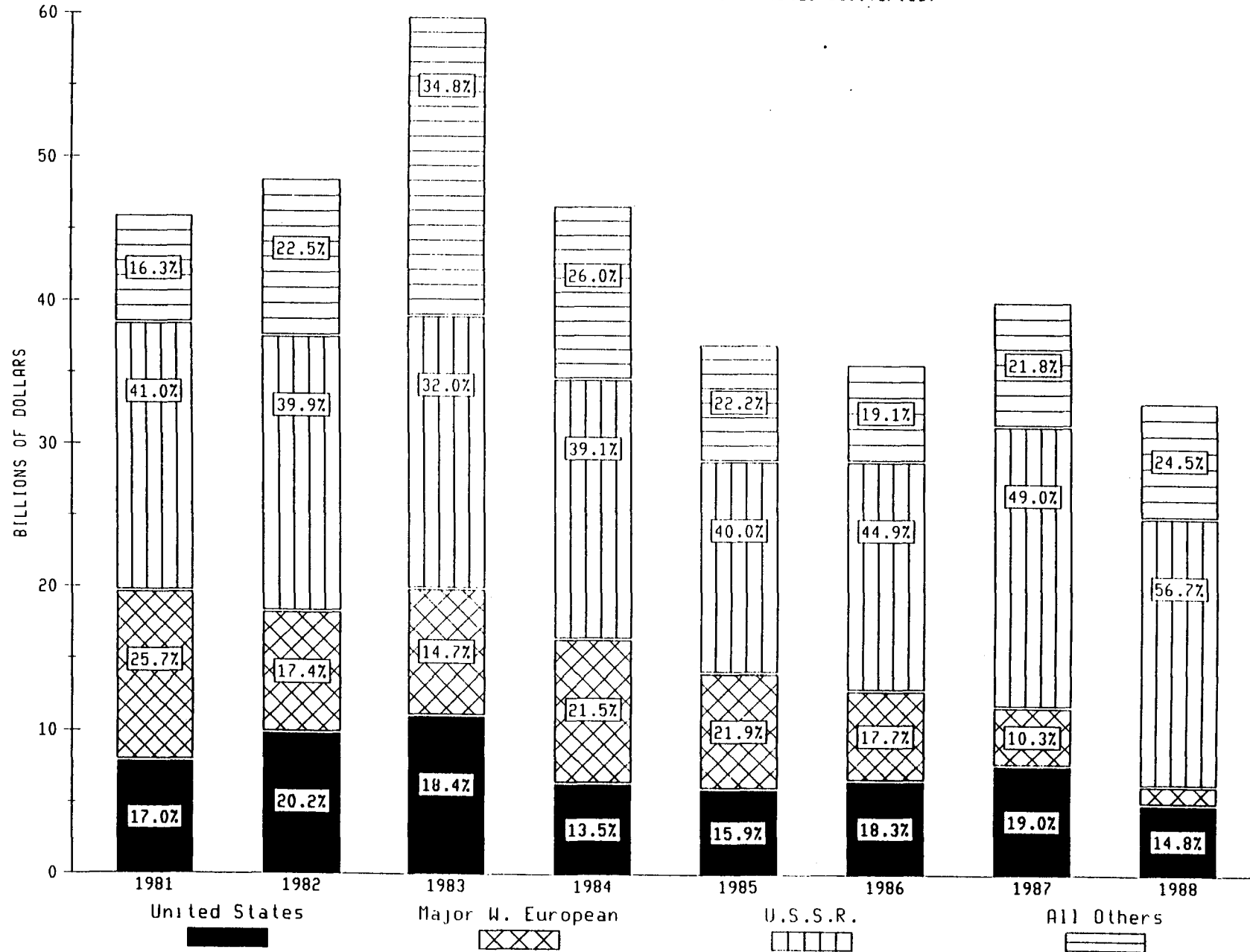
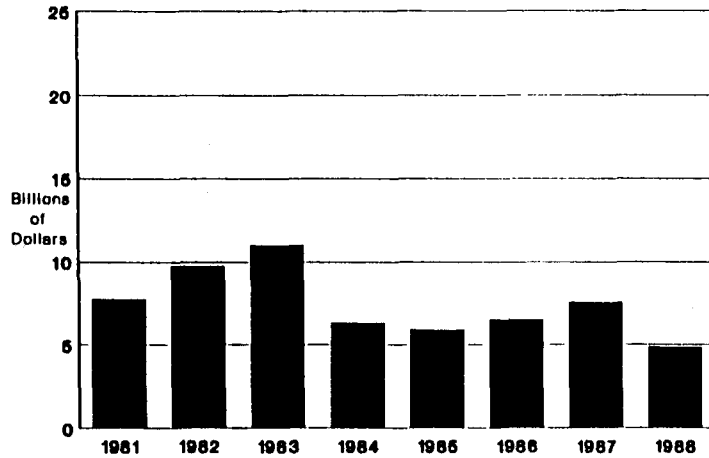


CHART 12.

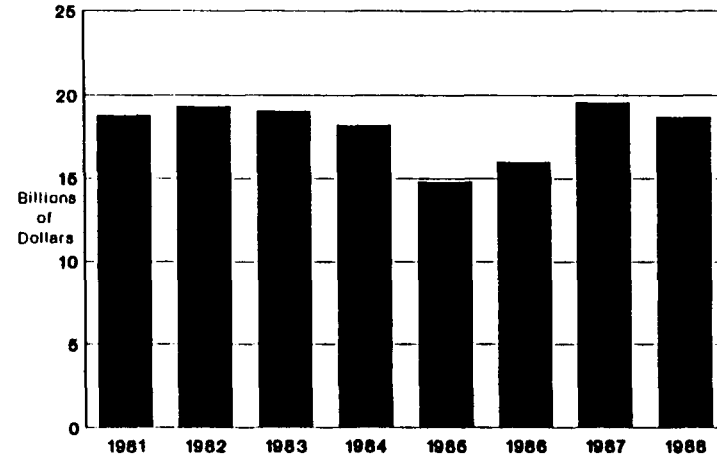
# ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(in Constant 1988 Dollars)

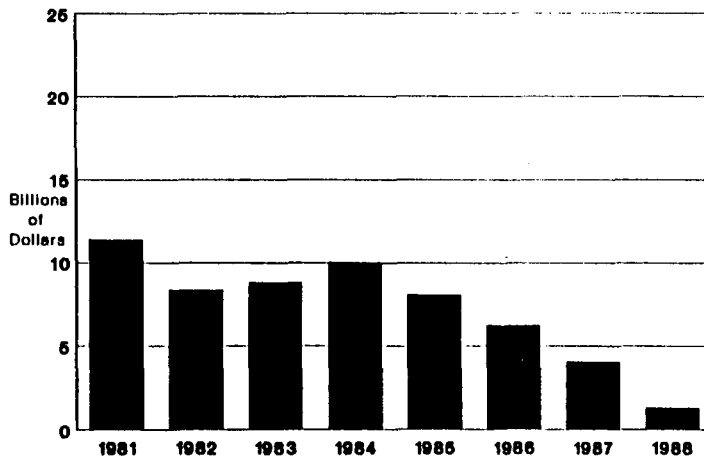
## United States



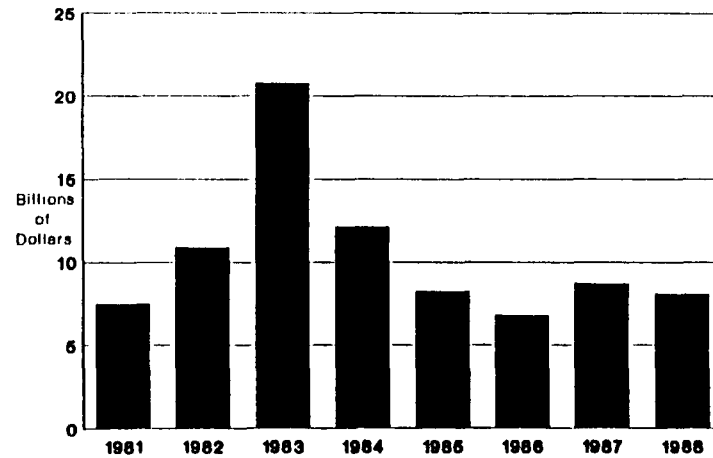
## Soviet Union



## Major Western European



## All Others

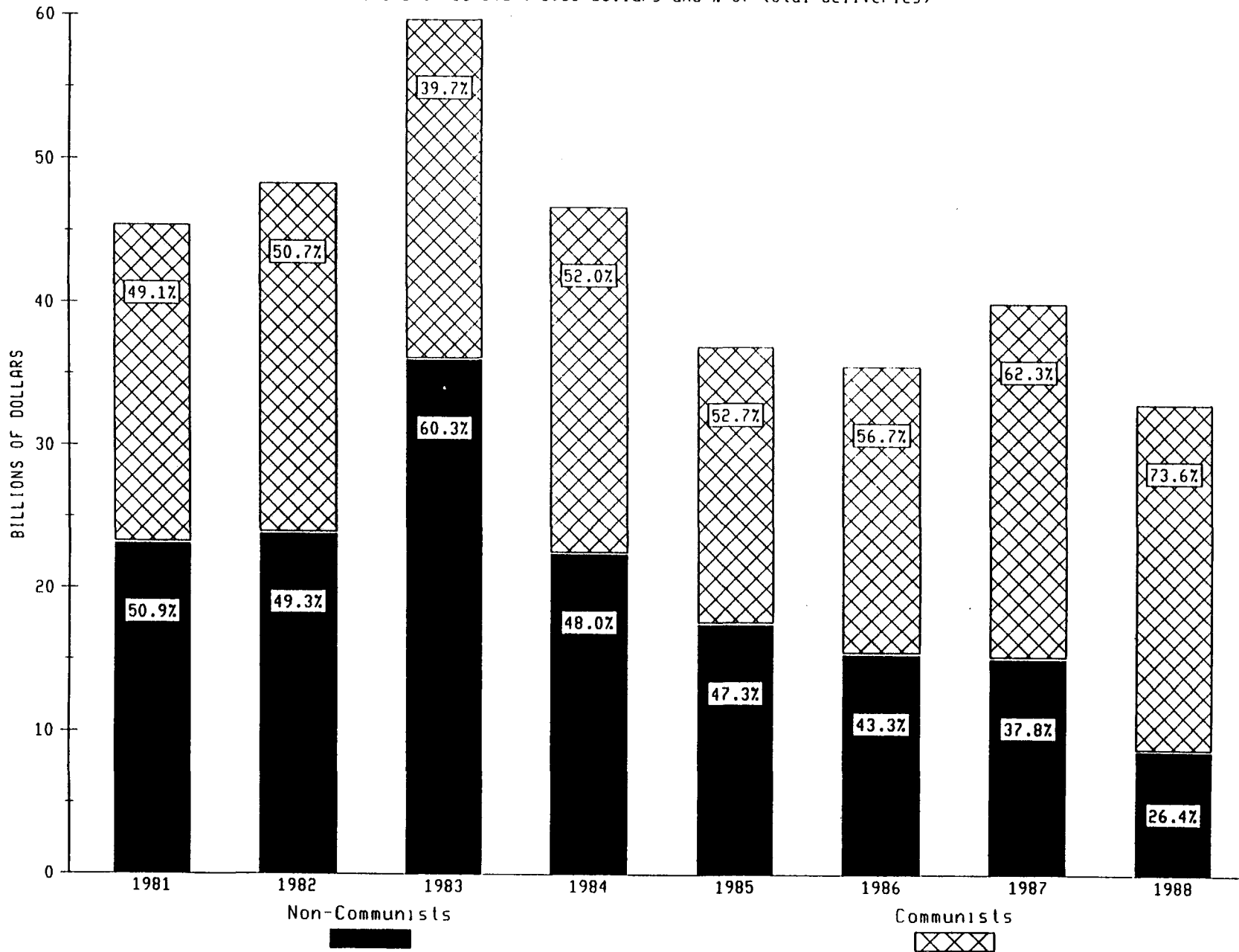


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**CHART 13.**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988**  
**NON-COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(billions of constant 1988 dollars and % of total deliveries)



## REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1981-1988

Table 2C gives the values of arms deliveries between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1981-1984, and 1985-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. Table 2D, derived from table 2C, gives the percentage distribution of each supplier's delivery values within the regions for the two time periods. Table 2E, also derived from table 2C, illustrates what percentage share of each Third World region's total arms delivery values was held by specific suppliers during the years 1981-1984 and 1985-1988. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

### Near East and South Asia

- The Near East and South Asia region has historically dominated in the value of deliveries made to the Third World. In 1985-1988, it accounted for 67.6% of the total value of all Third World arms deliveries (tables 2C and 2D).
- The Near East and South Asia region ranked first in the value of arms deliveries with all suppliers in both time periods, with only one exception (West Germany) (table 2D).
- For the period 1981-1984, over 90% of China's arms deliveries to the Third World were to nations in the Near East and South Asian region. For the more recent period, 1985-1988, 94% of China's Third World arms deliveries were to nations of this region (table 2D).
- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Near East and South Asia with 35.5%. The United States ranked second with 21.3%. France ranked third with 11.8%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 20.8% of this region's delivery values in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East and South Asian delivery values with 40.7%. The United States ranked second with 18.7%. France ranked third with 10.8%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 16.1% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988 (table 2E).

### East Asia and the Pacific

- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to East Asia and the Pacific with 46.4%. The United States ranked second with 25.5%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 9.9% of this region's delivery values in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in East Asia and Pacific delivery values with 56.1%. The United States ranked second with 22.7%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 5.1% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988 (table 2E).

### Latin America

- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Latin America with 47.4%. West Germany ranked second with 15.7%. Italy ranked third with 7.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 32.1% of this region's delivery values in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988),

the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American delivery values with 62.5%. The United States ranked second with 10.4%. France ranked third with 5.2%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 8.9% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988 (table 2E).

### Africa

- In the earlier period (1981-1984), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Africa (Sub-Saharan) with 65.4%. France ranked second with 6.6%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 18% of this region's delivery values in 1981-1984. In the later period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in Sub-Saharan Africa delivery values with 72.7%. France ranked second with 4.5%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 10.4% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988 (table 2E).

### ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2F gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World from 1981-1988 by the Third World's top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries to the Third World for each of three periods--1981-1984, 1985-1988, and 1981-1988. Table 2F further shows the percentage change in the value of Third World deliveries from 1981-1984 to 1985-1988 for each of the 11 suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- China ranked fourth in the value of arms delivered to the Third World during the period 1985-1988 (\$7.3 billion)--more than the combined deliveries values of the United Kingdom, Italy, and West Germany (in current dollars).
- In the period from 1981-1988, China ranked fourth in the value of arms delivered to the Third World--ahead of the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy (in current dollars).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, Czechoslovakia, and China registered the greatest percentage increases in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1981-1984 to the period 1985-1988 (Czechoslovakia increased 62.6%, and China 38.2%).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, West Germany registered the greatest percentage decline (nearly 71%) in the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1981-1984 to the period 1985-1988. Italy and the United Kingdom registered the second and third greatest percentage declines (56.7% and 47.4% respectively) in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World between the same two time periods.

### ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2G gives the values of arms delivered to Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current

U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1981-1988 period, China's share of all arms deliveries to Iran was 19.9% compared to 2.7% for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 30.2% of these deliveries. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 14.3% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 32.9% (chart 15).
- The Soviet Union has made no arms deliveries to Iran from 1985-1988. Its largest deliveries to Iran were in the period from 1981-1984 (\$370 million)(in current dollars).
- European non-Communist suppliers have delivered substantial amounts of arms to Iran from 1985-1988 (\$2.5 billion) (in current dollars). All other Communist suppliers also delivered substantial amounts of arms to Iran from 1985-1988 (nearly \$2.6 billion) (in current dollars).

#### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2H gives the values of arms delivered to Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1981-1988 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to Iraq was 45.8% compared to 9.4% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made nearly 23% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 13.5% (chart 15).
- From 1981-1988, the Soviet Union delivered nearly \$21.4 billion in arms to Iraq (in current dollars). In the most recent period from 1985-1988, the Soviet Union delivered nearly \$10.6 billion in arms to Iraq.
- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms deliveries to Iraq from 1981-1988, delivering over \$8.1 billion of arms from 1981-1984 and nearly \$2.6 billion from 1985-1988 (in current dollars).

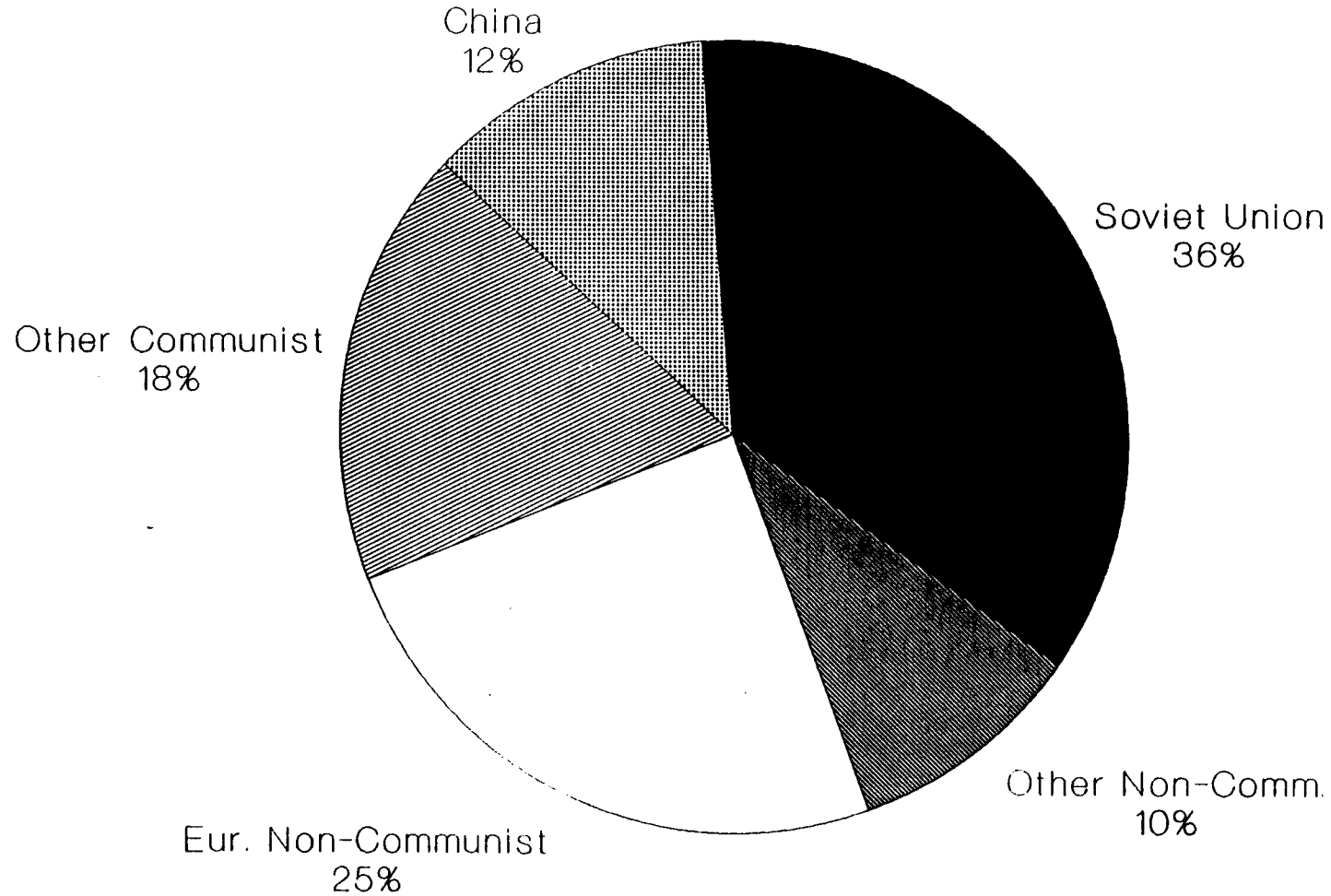
#### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1981-1988 SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2I gives the values of arms delivered to Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1981-1984, 1985-1988 and 1981-1988. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union is Cuba's principal arms supplier. It made nearly \$5.8 billion in arms deliveries to Cuba from 1981-1984 and nearly \$6.1 billion in arms deliveries in 1985-1988 (in current dollars). Apart from negligible arms deliveries from non-Communist suppliers (\$10 million from 1981-1988)(in current dollars), Cuba has received arms deliveries only from Communist nations.

CHART 14.

# ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1981-1988 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

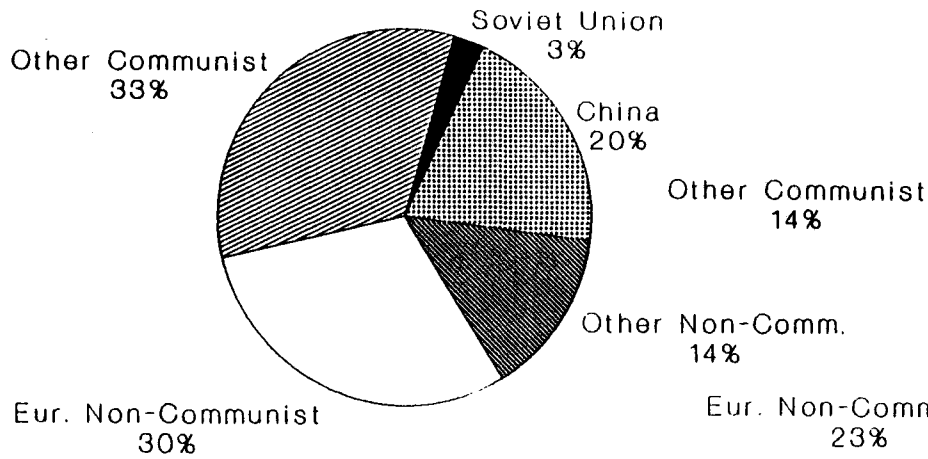


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CHART 15.

# ARMS DELIVERIES 1981-1988 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

## TO IRAN



## TO IRAQ



Table 1

## ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER\*

(In millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	6,298	10,508	8,289	6,607	4,922	3,930	5,559	9,222
France	1,700	6,630	1,680	6,190	1,520	1,550	3,080	3,050
United Kingdom	1,430	1,390	470	730	9,210	840	530	1,000
West Germany	1,690	1,020	570	510	180	470	680	70
Italy	380	1,170	1,170	690	1,300	560	130	250
All Other	6,490	3,500	6,180	3,020	4,160	4,670	1,860	2,500
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>17,988</b>	<b>24,218</b>	<b>18,359</b>	<b>17,747</b>	<b>21,292</b>	<b>12,020</b>	<b>11,839</b>	<b>16,092</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	13,650	21,200	6,800	21,290	15,400	16,230	18,720	9,920
China	3,010	1,610	830	380	1,410	1,790	4,610	1,850
All Other	4,850	2,280	2,750	1,720	3,660	3,960	2,070	1,860
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>21,510</b>	<b>25,090</b>	<b>10,380</b>	<b>23,390</b>	<b>20,470</b>	<b>21,980</b>	<b>25,400</b>	<b>13,630</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>39,498</b>	<b>49,308</b>	<b>28,739</b>	<b>41,137</b>	<b>41,762</b>	<b>34,000</b>	<b>37,239</b>	<b>29,722</b>
<b>**Dollar inflation</b>								
index (1988=100)-----	.7704	.8284	.8585	.8841	.913	.9368	.9656	1

\*Third World category excludes Europe, NATO nations, Warsaw Pact nations, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training) data which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. U.S. commercial sales contract values are excluded.

\*\*Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator

Source: U.S. Government



**Table 1A**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER**  
(In millions of constant 1988 U.S. dollars)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	8,175	12,685	9,655	7,473	5,391	4,195	5,757	9,222
France	2,207	8,003	1,957	7,001	1,665	1,655	3,190	3,050
United Kingdom	1,856	1,678	547	826	10,088	897	549	1,000
West Germany	2,194	1,231	664	577	197	502	704	70
Italy	493	1,412	1,363	780	1,424	598	135	250
All Other	8,424	4,225	7,199	3,416	4,556	4,985	1,926	2,500
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>23,349</b>	<b>29,235</b>	<b>21,385</b>	<b>20,074</b>	<b>23,321</b>	<b>12,831</b>	<b>12,261</b>	<b>16,092</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	17,718	25,592	7,921	24,081	16,867	17,325	19,387	9,920
China	3,907	1,944	967	430	1,544	1,911	4,774	1,850
All Other	6,295	2,752	3,203	1,945	4,009	4,227	2,144	1,860
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>27,921</b>	<b>30,287</b>	<b>12,091</b>	<b>26,456</b>	<b>22,421</b>	<b>23,463</b>	<b>26,305</b>	<b>13,630</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>51,269</b>	<b>59,522</b>	<b>33,476</b>	<b>46,530</b>	<b>45,742</b>	<b>36,294</b>	<b>38,566</b>	<b>29,722</b>

**Table 1B**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1981-1988**  
 (expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	15.95%	21.31%	28.84%	16.06%	11.79%	11.56%	14.93%	31.03%
France	4.30%	13.45%	5.85%	15.05%	3.64%	4.56%	8.27%	10.26%
United Kingdom	3.62%	2.82%	1.64%	1.77%	22.05%	2.47%	1.42%	3.36%
West Germany	4.28%	2.07%	1.98%	1.24%	.43%	1.38%	1.83%	.24%
Italy	.96%	2.37%	4.07%	1.68%	3.11%	1.65%	.35%	.84%
All Other	16.43%	7.10%	21.50%	7.34%	9.96%	13.74%	4.99%	8.41%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>45.54%</b>	<b>49.12%</b>	<b>63.88%</b>	<b>43.14%</b>	<b>50.98%</b>	<b>35.35%</b>	<b>31.79%</b>	<b>54.14%</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>13.17%</b>	<b>20.71%</b>	<b>13.54%</b>	<b>19.74%</b>	<b>29.24%</b>	<b>10.06%</b>	<b>11.87%</b>	<b>14.70%</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	34.56%	43.00%	23.66%	51.75%	36.88%	47.74%	50.27%	33.38%
China	7.62%	3.27%	2.89%	.92%	3.38%	5.26%	12.38%	6.22%
All Other	12.28%	4.62%	9.57%	4.18%	8.76%	11.65%	5.56%	6.26%
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>54.46%</b>	<b>50.88%</b>	<b>36.12%</b>	<b>56.86%</b>	<b>49.02%</b>	<b>64.65%</b>	<b>68.21%</b>	<b>45.86%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

**Table 1C**

**REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BY SUPPLIER, 1981-1988**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.</b>	5,583	6,136	24,372	15,579	1,293	1,434	454	484
<b>France</b>	230	240	14,630	7,160	850	1,220	490	570
<b>United Kingdom</b>	550	530	2,420	10,570	200	230	850	260
<b>West Germany</b>	820	840	2,110	470	490	10	390	70
<b>Italy</b>	160	130	2,210	1,660	360	220	670	230
<b>All Other</b>	3,690	680	12,340	10,060	1,930	1,170	1,220	1,300
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>11,033</b>	<b>8,556</b>	<b>58,082</b>	<b>45,499</b>	<b>5,123</b>	<b>4,284</b>	<b>4,074</b>	<b>2,914</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>1,760</b>	<b>1,740</b>	<b>21,370</b>	<b>19,860</b>	<b>1,900</b>	<b>1,680</b>	<b>2,400</b>	<b>1,130</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	7,100	11,470	39,590	31,980	6,910	8,260	9,340	8,570
<b>China</b>	270	550	5,340	8,980	0	0	220	120
<b>All Other</b>	290	270	10,280	8,880	350	1,530	670	870
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>7,660</b>	<b>12,290</b>	<b>55,210</b>	<b>49,840</b>	<b>7,260</b>	<b>9,790</b>	<b>10,230</b>	<b>9,560</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>18,693</b>	<b>20,846</b>	<b>113,292</b>	<b>95,339</b>	<b>12,383</b>	<b>14,074</b>	<b>14,304</b>	<b>12,474</b>

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1D

PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTS VALUE BY REGION, 1981-1988

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>										
<b>Of which</b>										
<b>U.S.</b>	17.61%	25.96%	76.88%	65.92%	4.08%	6.07%	1.43%	2.05%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>France</b>	1.42%	2.61%	90.31%	77.91%	5.25%	13.28%	3.02%	6.20%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	13.68%	4.57%	60.20%	91.20%	4.98%	1.98%	21.14%	2.24%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>West Germany</b>	21.52%	60.43%	55.38%	33.81%	12.86%	.72%	10.24%	5.04%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Italy</b>	4.71%	5.80%	65.00%	74.11%	10.59%	9.82%	19.71%	10.27%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>All Other</b>	19.24%	5.15%	64.34%	76.15%	10.06%	8.86%	6.36%	9.84%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	14.09%	13.97%	74.17%	74.28%	6.54%	6.99%	5.20%	4.76%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	6.42%	7.13%	77.91%	81.36%	6.93%	6.88%	8.75%	4.63%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Communist</b>										
<b>Of which:</b>										
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	11.28%	19.03%	62.90%	53.05%	10.98%	13.70%	14.84%	14.22%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>China</b>	4.63%	5.70%	91.60%	93.06%	.00%	.00%	3.77%	1.24%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>All Other</b>	2.50%	2.34%	88.70%	76.88%	3.02%	13.25%	5.78%	7.53%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Total Communist</b>	9.53%	15.08%	68.70%	61.17%	9.03%	12.02%	12.73%	11.73%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	11.78%	14.60%	71.40%	66.80%	7.80%	9.86%	9.01%	8.74%	100.00%	100.00%

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

**Table 1E**

**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1981-1988**

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.</b>	29.87%	29.43%	21.51%	16.34%	10.44%	10.19%	3.17%	3.88%
<b>France</b>	1.23%	1.15%	12.91%	7.51%	6.86%	8.67%	3.43%	4.57%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	2.94%	2.54%	2.14%	11.09%	1.62%	1.63%	5.94%	2.08%
<b>West Germany</b>	4.39%	4.03%	1.86%	.49%	3.96%	.07%	2.73%	.56%
<b>Italy</b>	.86%	.62%	1.95%	1.74%	2.91%	1.56%	4.68%	1.84%
<b>All Other</b>	19.74%	3.26%	10.89%	10.55%	15.59%	8.31%	8.53%	10.42%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>59.02%</b>	<b>41.04%</b>	<b>51.27%</b>	<b>47.72%</b>	<b>41.37%</b>	<b>30.44%</b>	<b>28.48%</b>	<b>23.36%</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>9.42%</b>	<b>8.35%</b>	<b>18.86%</b>	<b>20.83%</b>	<b>15.34%</b>	<b>11.94%</b>	<b>16.78%</b>	<b>9.06%</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	37.98%	55.02%	34.95%	33.54%	55.80%	58.69%	65.30%	68.70%
<b>China</b>	1.44%	2.64%	4.71%	9.42%	.00%	.00%	1.54%	.96%
<b>All Other</b>	1.55%	1.30%	9.07%	9.31%	2.83%	10.87%	4.68%	6.97%
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>40.98%</b>	<b>58.96%</b>	<b>48.73%</b>	<b>52.28%</b>	<b>58.63%</b>	<b>69.56%</b>	<b>71.52%</b>	<b>76.64%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

**\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).**

Table 1F

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988  
LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1981-1984		1985-1988		1981-1988		% of change from 1981-84 to 1985-88
	Agreements Values	Rank	Agreements Values	Rank	Agreements Values	Rank	
U.S.S.R.	62,940	(1)	60,280	(1)	123,220	(1)	-4.23%
U.S.	31,702	(2)	23,633	(2)	55,335	(2)	-25.45%
France	16,200	(3)	9,190	(5)	25,390	(3)	-43.27%
United Kingdom	4,020	(5)	11,590	(3)	15,610	(4)	188.31%
China	5,830	(4)	9,650	(4)	15,480	(5)	65.52%
Italy	3,400	(7)	2,240	(7)	5,640	(6)	-34.12%
West Germany	3,810	(6)	1,390	(9)	5,200	(7)	-63.52%
Czechoslovakia	1,960	(10)	2,480	(6)	4,440	(8)	26.53%
North Korea	1,570	(11)	2,150	(8)	3,720	(9)	36.94%
Spain	2,430	(8)	1,180	(11)	3,610	(10)	-51.44%
Brazil	2,180	(9)	1,390	(9)	3,570	(11)	-36.24%

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1G

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1981-1988**  
**SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAN 1981-1984	IRAN 1985-1988	IRAN 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
<b>Soviet Union</b>	240	0	240
<b>China</b>	570	3,400	3,970
<b>All Other Communist</b>	2,260	3,480	5,740
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	3,070	6,880	9,950
<b>European Non-Communist</b>	2,810	2,530	5,340
<b>United States</b>	0	0*	0*
<b>All Other Non-Communist</b>	1,410	780	2,190
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	4,220	3,310	7,530
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	7,290	10,190	17,480

\*Values of covert United States sales to Iran in 1985-1986 are excluded.

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1H

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1981-1988  
SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAQ 1981-1984	IRAQ 1985-1988	IRAQ 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
<b>Soviet Union</b>	15,960	4,690	20,650
<b>China</b>	3,640	1,880	5,520
<b>All Other Communist</b>	3,710	2,320	6,030
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	23,310	8,890	32,200
<b>European Non-Communist</b>	5,110	4,680	9,790
<b>United States</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Non-Communist</b>	2,720	2,540	5,260
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	7,830	7,220	15,050
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	31,140	16,110	47,250

Source: U.S. Government



Table 11

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1981-1988**  
**SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	CUBA 1981-1984	CUBA 1985-1988	CUBA 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
<b>Soviet Union</b>	5,770	6,050	11,820
<b>China</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Communist</b>	120	1,350	1,470
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	5,890	7,400	13,290
<b>European Non-Communist</b>	5	0	5
<b>United States</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Non-Communist</b>	5	0	5
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	10	0	10
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	5,900	7,400	13,300

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER\***  
(In millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	5,978	8,084	9,438	5,603	5,397	6,120	7,316	4,865
France	3,950	3,780	3,770	4,060	5,050	4,230	1,600	630
United Kingdom	2,510	1,600	1,360	1,190	780	890	1,550	280
West Germany	1,160	490	1,230	2,460	570	240	550	190
Italy	1,140	1,050	1,220	1,170	990	500	240	240
All Other	3,080	4,740	13,900	5,330	3,220	2,440	3,300	2,530
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>17,818</b>	<b>19,744</b>	<b>30,918</b>	<b>19,813</b>	<b>16,007</b>	<b>14,420</b>	<b>14,556</b>	<b>8,735</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	14,470	16,010	16,380	16,100	13,500	14,980	18,900	18,710
China	400	1,250	1,570	2,040	670	1,240	2,310	3,070
All Other	2,300	3,010	2,360	3,340	3,620	2,700	2,810	2,480
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>17,170</b>	<b>20,270</b>	<b>20,310</b>	<b>21,480</b>	<b>17,790</b>	<b>18,920</b>	<b>24,020</b>	<b>24,260</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>34,988</b>	<b>40,014</b>	<b>51,228</b>	<b>41,293</b>	<b>33,797</b>	<b>33,340</b>	<b>38,576</b>	<b>32,995</b>
<b>**Dollar inflation</b>								
Index (1988=100)-----	.7704	.8284	.8585	.8841	.913	.9368	.9656	1

\*Third World category excludes Europe, NATO nations, Warsaw Pact nations, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given. All amounts given include the values of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. U.S. commercial sales delivery values are excluded.

\*\*Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator.

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2A**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER**  
(In millions of constant dollars)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	7,760	9,759	10,994	6,338	5,911	6,533	7,577	4,865
France	5,127	4,563	4,391	4,592	5,531	4,515	1,657	630
United Kingdom	3,258	1,931	1,584	1,346	854	950	1,605	280
West Germany	1,506	592	1,433	2,782	624	256	570	190
Italy	1,480	1,268	1,421	1,323	1,084	534	249	240
All Other	3,998	5,722	16,191	6,029	3,527	2,605	3,418	2,530
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>23,128</b>	<b>23,834</b>	<b>36,014</b>	<b>22,410</b>	<b>17,532</b>	<b>15,393</b>	<b>15,075</b>	<b>8,735</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	18,782	19,326	19,080	18,211	14,786	15,991	19,573	18,710
China	519	1,509	1,829	2,307	734	1,324	2,392	3,070
All Other	2,985	3,634	2,749	3,778	3,965	2,882	2,910	2,480
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>22,287</b>	<b>24,469</b>	<b>23,658</b>	<b>24,296</b>	<b>19,485</b>	<b>20,196</b>	<b>24,876</b>	<b>24,260</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>45,415</b>	<b>48,303</b>	<b>59,672</b>	<b>46,706</b>	<b>37,018</b>	<b>35,589</b>	<b>39,950</b>	<b>32,995</b>

**Table 2B**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1981-1988**  
 (expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
United States	17.09%	20.20%	18.42%	13.57%	15.97%	18.36%	18.97%	14.74%
France	11.29%	9.45%	7.36%	9.83%	14.94%	12.69%	4.15%	1.91%
United Kingdom	7.17%	4.00%	2.65%	2.88%	2.31%	2.67%	4.02%	.85%
West Germany	3.32%	1.22%	2.40%	5.96%	1.69%	.72%	1.43%	.58%
Italy	3.26%	2.62%	2.38%	2.83%	2.93%	1.50%	.62%	.73%
All Other	8.80%	11.85%	27.13%	12.91%	9.53%	7.32%	8.55%	7.67%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>50.93%</b>	<b>49.34%</b>	<b>60.35%</b>	<b>47.98%</b>	<b>47.36%</b>	<b>43.25%</b>	<b>37.73%</b>	<b>26.47%</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>25.04%</b>	<b>17.29%</b>	<b>14.80%</b>	<b>21.50%</b>	<b>21.87%</b>	<b>17.58%</b>	<b>10.21%</b>	<b>4.06%</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	41.36%	40.01%	31.97%	38.99%	39.94%	44.93%	48.99%	56.71%
China	1.14%	3.12%	3.06%	4.94%	1.98%	3.72%	5.99%	9.30%
All Other	6.57%	7.52%	4.61%	8.09%	10.71%	8.10%	7.28%	7.52%
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>49.07%</b>	<b>50.66%</b>	<b>39.65%</b>	<b>52.02%</b>	<b>52.64%</b>	<b>56.75%</b>	<b>62.27%</b>	<b>73.53%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy.

**Table 2C**

**REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1981-1988**

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.	3,925	4,440	24,023	17,547	777	1,322	378	389
France	300	180	13,310	10,110	1,060	660	890	560
United Kingdom	500	310	5,270	2,820	270	110	610	260
West Germany	500	210	2,020	1,010	2,330	260	490	70
Italy	230	300	2,810	1,160	1,100	100	430	420
All Other	2,160	2,620	10,900	7,400	2,010	760	890	700
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>7,615</b>	<b>8,060</b>	<b>58,333</b>	<b>40,047</b>	<b>7,547</b>	<b>3,212</b>	<b>3,688</b>	<b>2,399</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>1,530</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>23,410</b>	<b>15,100</b>	<b>4,760</b>	<b>1,130</b>	<b>2,420</b>	<b>1,310</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
U.S.S.R.	7,150	10,990	39,980	38,210	7,030	7,970	8,810	9,120
China	260	260	4,760	6,830	0	0	240	180
All Other	380	270	9,630	8,730	260	1,580	740	850
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>7,790</b>	<b>11,520</b>	<b>54,370</b>	<b>53,770</b>	<b>7,290</b>	<b>9,550</b>	<b>9,790</b>	<b>10,150</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>15,405</b>	<b>19,580</b>	<b>112,703</b>	<b>93,817</b>	<b>14,837</b>	<b>12,762</b>	<b>13,478</b>	<b>12,549</b>

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2D

PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1981-1988

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>										
Of which:										
U.S.	13.49%	18.74%	82.54%	74.04%	2.67%	5.58%	1.30%	1.64%	100.00%	100.00%
France	1.93%	1.56%	85.54%	87.84%	6.81%	5.73%	5.72%	4.87%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	7.52%	8.86%	79.25%	80.57%	4.06%	3.14%	9.17%	7.43%	100.00%	100.00%
West Germany	9.36%	13.55%	37.83%	65.16%	43.63%	16.77%	9.18%	4.52%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	5.03%	15.15%	61.49%	58.59%	24.07%	5.05%	9.41%	21.21%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	13.53%	22.82%	68.30%	64.46%	12.59%	6.62%	5.58%	6.10%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>9.87%</b>	<b>15.00%</b>	<b>75.58%</b>	<b>74.55%</b>	<b>9.78%</b>	<b>5.98%</b>	<b>4.78%</b>	<b>4.47%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>4.76%</b>	<b>5.39%</b>	<b>72.88%</b>	<b>81.45%</b>	<b>14.82%</b>	<b>6.09%</b>	<b>7.53%</b>	<b>7.07%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
<b>Communist</b>										
Of which:										
U.S.S.R.	11.35%	16.58%	63.49%	57.64%	11.16%	12.02%	13.99%	13.76%	100.00%	100.00%
China	4.94%	3.58%	90.49%	93.95%	.00%	.00%	4.56%	2.48%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	3.45%	2.36%	87.47%	76.38%	2.36%	13.82%	6.72%	7.44%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>9.83%</b>	<b>13.55%</b>	<b>68.61%</b>	<b>63.27%</b>	<b>9.20%</b>	<b>11.24%</b>	<b>12.35%</b>	<b>11.94%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>9.85%</b>	<b>14.12%</b>	<b>72.05%</b>	<b>67.64%</b>	<b>9.49%</b>	<b>9.20%</b>	<b>8.62%</b>	<b>9.05%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

**Table 2E**

**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1981-1988**

	East Asia/Pacific		Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88	1981-84	1985-88
<b>Non-Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.</b>	25.48%	22.68%	21.32%	18.70%	5.24%	10.36%	2.80%	3.10%
<b>France</b>	1.95%	.92%	11.81%	10.78%	7.14%	5.17%	6.60%	4.46%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	3.25%	1.58%	4.68%	3.01%	1.82%	.86%	4.53%	2.07%
<b>West Germany</b>	3.25%	1.07%	1.79%	1.08%	15.70%	2.04%	3.64%	.56%
<b>Italy</b>	1.49%	1.53%	2.49%	1.24%	7.41%	.78%	3.19%	3.35%
<b>All Other</b>	14.02%	13.38%	9.67%	7.89%	13.55%	5.96%	6.60%	5.58%
<b>Total non-Communist</b>	<b>49.43%</b>	<b>41.16%</b>	<b>51.76%</b>	<b>42.69%</b>	<b>50.87%</b>	<b>25.17%</b>	<b>27.36%</b>	<b>19.12%</b>
<b>(Major West European)*</b>	<b>9.93%</b>	<b>5.11%</b>	<b>20.77%</b>	<b>16.10%</b>	<b>32.08%</b>	<b>8.85%</b>	<b>17.96%</b>	<b>10.44%</b>
<b>Communist</b>								
<b>Of which:</b>								
<b>U.S.S.R.</b>	46.41%	56.13%	35.47%	40.73%	47.38%	62.45%	65.37%	72.68%
<b>China</b>	1.69%	1.33%	4.22%	7.28%	.00%	.00%	1.78%	1.43%
<b>All Other</b>	2.47%	1.38%	8.54%	9.31%	1.75%	12.38%	5.49%	6.77%
<b>Total Communist</b>	<b>50.57%</b>	<b>58.84%</b>	<b>48.24%</b>	<b>57.31%</b>	<b>49.13%</b>	<b>74.83%</b>	<b>72.64%</b>	<b>80.88%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy).

Table 2F

**ARMS TRANSFER DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988  
LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1981-1984		1985-1988		1981-1988		% of change from 1981-84 to 1985-88
	Deliveries Values	Rank	Deliveries Values	Rank	Deliveries Values	Rank	
U.S.S.R.	62,970	(1)	66,290	(1)	129,260	(1)	5.27%
U.S.	29,103	(2)	23,698	(2)	52,801	(2)	-18.57%
France	15,560	(3)	11,510	(3)	27,070	(3)	-26.03%
China	5,260	(6)	7,270	(4)	12,530	(4)	38.21%
United Kingdom	6,650	(4)	3,500	(5)	10,150	(5)	-47.37%
West Germany	5,340	(5)	1,550	(9)	6,890	(6)	-70.97%
Italy	4,570	(7)	1,980	(7)	6,550	(7)	-56.67%
Czechoslovakia	1,630	(10)	2,650	(6)	4,280	(8)	62.58%
North Korea	1,930	(9)	1,430	(10)	3,360	(9)	-25.91%
Spain	2,040	(8)	1,240	(11)	3,280	(10)	-39.22%
Brazil	1,570	(11)	1,570	(8)	3,140	(11)	.00%

Source: U.S. Government



Table 2G

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1981-1988**  
**SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAN 1981-1984	IRAN 1985-1988	IRAN 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
Soviet Union	370	0	370
China	540	2,210	2,750
All Other Communist	1,990	2,560	4,550
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	<b>2,900</b>	<b>4,770</b>	<b>7,670</b>
European Non-Communist	1,670	2,500	4,170
United States	0	0*	0*
All Other Non-Communist	1,360	610	1,970
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	<b>3,030</b>	<b>3,110</b>	<b>6,140</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>5,930</b>	<b>7,880</b>	<b>13,810</b>

\*Values of U.S. covert deliveries to Iran in 1985-1986 are not included.

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2H

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1981-1988**  
**SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>IRAQ</b> 1981-1984	<b>IRAQ</b> 1985-1988	<b>IRAQ</b> 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
<b>Soviet Union</b>	10,820	10,550	21,370
<b>China</b>	2,840	1,540	4,380
<b>All Other Communist</b>	3,540	2,760	6,300
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	17,200	14,850	32,050
<b>European Non-Communist</b>	8,130	2,580	10,710
<b>United States</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Non-Communist</b>	2,140	1,760	3,900
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	10,270	4,340	14,610
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	27,470	19,190	46,660

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2I

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1981-1988**  
**SUPPLIERS COMPARED**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	CUBA 1981-1984	CUBA 1985-1988	CUBA 1981-1988
<b>SUPPLIER:</b>			
<b>Soviet Union</b>	5,770	6,050	11,820
<b>China</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Communist</b>	120	1,380	1,500
<b>TOTAL Communist</b>	5,890	7,430	13,320
<b>European Non-Communist</b>	5	0	5
<b>United States</b>	0	0	0
<b>All Other Non-Communist</b>	5	0	5
<b>TOTAL Non-Communist</b>	10	0	10
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	5,900	7,430	13,330

Source: U.S. Government

## SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD 1981-1988

Another type of useful data for assessing arms transfers to the Third World by suppliers are those that indicate who has actually delivered numbers of specific classes of military items to a region. These data are relatively "hard" in that they reflect actual transfers of specific items of military equipment. They have the limitation of not giving detailed information regarding the sophistication level of the equipment delivered. However, these data will show relative trends in the delivery of various classes of military equipment and will also indicate who the leading suppliers are from region to region over time. These data can also indicate who has developed a market for a category of weapon in a region, and perhaps suggest whether or not regional arms races are emerging. For these reasons, the following tables set out actual deliveries of 12 separate categories of weaponry to the Third World from 1981-1988 by the United States, the Soviet Union, and the four Major West European suppliers as a group.

### WEAPONS DELIVERED TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1981-1988

- The data in table 3 show that from 1981-1988 the Soviet Union led in 7 of the 12 categories of weapons delivered to the Third World as a whole, while the Major West European suppliers led in four. The United States led in one. In the most recent 4-year period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in ten categories, the Major West Europeans in two, and the United States in none.
- Table 3 illustrates that from 1981-1988, the Soviets led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. In the 1981-1988 period the Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of both major and minor surface combatants, submarines and guided missile boats. The United States led in deliveries of subsonic combat aircraft.
- Table 3 shows that in the most recent period (1985-1988) the Soviets led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of major surface combatants and guided missile boats.

Breaking the Third World delivery data into major regions gives an indication of which supplier or suppliers are dominant in deliveries of specific classes of equipment and where. The regions examined are East Asia and the Pacific, Near East and South Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

### WEAPONS DELIVERED TO EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC, 1981-1988

- The data in Table 4 show that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union led in seven categories of the 12 categories of major weapons deliveries to East Asia and the Pacific. The United States led in three. The Major West Europeans led in two. In the most recent period (1985-1988) the Soviet Union led in five categories. The United

States led in three. The Major West Europeans led in one and tied with the Soviet Union in one.

- Table 4 illustrates that from 1981-1988, the United States led in the delivery of major surface combatants, subsonic combat aircraft, and surface-to-air missiles. The Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, supersonic combat aircraft, other aircraft and guided missile boats. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of submarines and helicopters.
- Table 4 shows that in the most recent period (1985-1988), the United States led in deliveries of APCs and armored cars, subsonic combat aircraft, and helicopters. The Soviet Union led in deliveries of artillery, tanks and self-propelled guns, minor surface combatants subsonic combat aircraft and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of major surface combatants, and tied with the Soviet Union in the delivery of other aircraft.

#### **WEAPONS DELIVERED TO NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA, 1981-1988**

- The data in Table 5 show that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union dominated the delivery of major weapons to the Near East and South Asian region, leading in 10 of the 12 categories. The Major West European suppliers led in two categories. The United States led in none. In the most recent period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in 10 categories. The Major West Europeans led in two categories. The United States led in no category.
- Table 5 illustrates that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, major surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface- to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of minor surface combatants and guided missile boats.
- Table 5 shows that in the most recent period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, major surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of minor surface combatants and guided missile boats.

#### **WEAPONS DELIVERED TO LATIN AMERICA, 1981-1988**

- The data in Table 6 show that from 1981-1988 the Soviet Union led in seven categories of weapons delivered to Latin America. The Major West European suppliers led in three categories. The United States in two. In the most recent period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in six categories. The United States led in three categories, while the Major West European suppliers led in two.
- Table 6 illustrates that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, supersonic combat aircraft, guided missile boats and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European Suppliers led in the delivery of major surface combatants,

submarines, and helicopters. The United States led in the delivery of subsonic combat aircraft and other aircraft.

- Table 6 shows that in the most recent period (1985-1988) the Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, helicopters and surface-to-air missiles. The United States led in the delivery of supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft and other aircraft. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of major surface combatants and submarines.

### **WEAPONS DELIVERED TO AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN), 1981-1988**

- The data in table 7 show that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union led in seven categories of weapons delivered to Sub-Saharan Africa. The Major West European suppliers led in four categories. The United States led in none. In the most recent period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in six categories, while the Major West European suppliers led in three. The United States led in none.
- Table 7 illustrates that from 1981-1988, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic combat aircraft, helicopters, guided missile boats and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of major and minor surface combatants, subsonic combat aircraft, and other aircraft.
- Table 7 shows in the most recent period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic combat aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of minor surface combatants, subsonic combat aircraft, and other aircraft.

### **REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1985-1988**

- The regional weapons delivery data collectively show that the Soviet Union was the leading arms supplier to the Third World of several major classes of conventional weaponry from 1985-1988. The United States also transferred substantial quantities of many of the same weapons classes, but did not match the Soviets in sheer numbers delivered during this period.
- The Major West European suppliers were serious competitors of the two superpowers in weapons deliveries from 1985-1988, making notable deliveries of certain categories of armaments to every region of the Third World--most particularly to the Near East and South Asia and Latin America. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region the Major Western European suppliers were the major non-Communist competition to the Soviet Union in arms deliveries.

In spite of these various trends a cautionary note is warranted. Aggregate data on weapons categories delivered by suppliers do not provide precise indices of the quality and/or level of sophistication of the weaponry actually provided. As the history of recent conventional conflicts suggests, quality and/or sophistication of weapons can offset a

quantitative disadvantage. The fact that the United States, for example, may not "lead" in quantities of weapons delivered to a region does not necessarily mean that the weaponry it has transferred cannot compensate, to an important degree, for larger quantities of less capable weapons systems delivered by the Soviet Union or others.

Further, these data do not provide an indication of the capabilities of the recipient nations to use effectively the weapons actually delivered to them. Superior training--coupled with quality equipment--may, in the last analysis, be a more important factor in a nation's ability to engage successfully in conventional warfare than the size of its weapons inventory.

Table 3

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to the Third World 1/

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
<b>1981-1984</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2211	4320	660
Artillery	1691	9420	1790
APCs and Armored Cars	4179	7085	2390
Major Surface Combatants	17	27	51
Minor Surface Combatants	31	84	121
Submarines	0	6	10
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	344	1610	250
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	236	70	155
Other Aircraft	108	345	375
Helicopters	116	785	330
Guided Missile Boats	0	26	31
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	3003	14920	3140
<b>1985-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	950	3055	145
Artillery	1014	5690	750
APCs and Armored Cars	772	6095	480
Major Surface Combatants	0	17	18
Minor Surface Combatants	6	72	69
Submarines	0	10	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	193	570	145
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	13	95	50
Other Aircraft	206	300	210
Helicopters	130	760	280
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	1
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	697	14495	925
<b>1981-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	3161	7375	805
Artillery	2705	15110	2540
APCs and Armored Cars	4951	13180	2870
Major Surface Combatants	17	44	69
Minor Surface Combatants	37	156	190
Submarines	0	16	17
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	537	2180	395
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	249	165	205
Other Aircraft	314	645	585
Helicopters	246	1545	610
Guided Missile Boats	0	26	32
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	3700	29415	4065

1/ Third World category excludes Europe, NATO nations, Warsaw Pact nations, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for calendar years given.

2/ Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government



Table 4

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to East Asia &amp; the Pacific 1/

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
<b>1981-1984</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	372	475	0
Artillery	472	505	315
APCs and Armored Cars	717	875	225
Major Surface Combatants	11	3	3
Minor Surface Combatants	12	24	20
Submarines	0	0	3
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	111	160	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	191	0	15
Other Aircraft	48	70	40
Helicopters	30	55	55
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1305	480	355
<b>1985-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	48	115	0
Artillery	321	425	0
APCs and Armored Cars	436	430	0
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	2
Minor Surface Combatants	0	22	8
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	117	90	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	2	15	0
Other Aircraft	25	30	30
Helicopters	52	30	50
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	272	1065	70
<b>1981-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	420	590	0
Artillery	793	930	315
APCs and Armored Cars	1153	1305	225
Major Surface Combatants	11	3	5
Minor Surface Combatants	12	46	28
Submarines	0	0	3
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	228	250	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	193	15	15
Other Aircraft	73	100	70
Helicopters	82	85	105
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1577	1545	425

1/ Excludes Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for calendar years given.

2/ Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government

Table 5

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Near East &amp; South Asia 1/

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
<b>1981-1984</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1819	2910	485
Artillery	684	5965	1235
APCs and Armored Cars	3334	5150	1275
Major Surface Combatants	4	16	14
Minor Surface Combatants	16	20	47
Submarines	0	5	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	209	1090	225
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	6	70	60
Other Aircraft	18	170	150
Helicopters	4	545	150
Guided Missile Boats	0	10	31
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1668	11125	1875
<b>1985-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	879	2155	10
Artillery	469	3500	550
APCs and Armored Cars	248	4595	200
Major Surface Combatants	0	16	12
Minor Surface Combatants	0	13	35
Submarines	0	10	6
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	44	370	120
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	70	25
Other Aircraft	36	200	95
Helicopters	29	490	100
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	1
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	175	8780	665
<b>1981-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2698	5065	495
Artillery	1153	9465	1785
APCs and Armored Cars	3582	9745	1475
Major Surface Combatants	4	32	26
Minor Surface Combatants	16	33	82
Submarines	0	15	6
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	253	1460	345
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	6	140	85
Other Aircraft	54	370	245
Helicopters	33	1035	250
Guided Missile Boats	0	10	32
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1843	19905	2540

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

2/ Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government

CRS-60  
Table 6

Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Latin America 1/

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
<b>1981-1984</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	485	20
Artillery	459	1050	15
APCs and Armored Cars	0	265	160
Major Surface Combatants	2	4	25
Minor Surface Combatants	3	29	14
Submarines	0	1	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	18	105	10
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	39	0	25
Other Aircraft	40	35	85
Helicopters	82	75	85
Guided Missile Boats	0	6	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	1105	470
<b>1985-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	295	0
Artillery	111	435	70
APCs and Armored Cars	16	390	90
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	4
Minor Surface Combatants	5	24	3
Submarines	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	32	10	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	11	0	5
Other Aircraft	140	45	35
Helicopters	49	75	70
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	1500	60
<b>1981-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	780	20
Artillery	570	1485	85
APCs and Armored Cars	16	655	250
Major Surface Combatants	2	5	29
Minor Surface Combatants	8	53	17
Submarines	0	1	8
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	50	115	30
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	50	0	30
Other Aircraft	180	80	120
Helicopters	131	150	155
Guided Missile Boats	0	6	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	2605	530

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

2/ Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government

Table 7

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Africa (Sub-Saharan) 1/

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
<b>1981-1984</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	20	450	155
Artillery	76	1900	225
APCs and Armored Cars	128	795	730
Major Surface Combatants	0	4	9
Minor Surface Combatants	0	11	40
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	6	255	15
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	55
Other Aircraft	2	70	100
Helicopters	0	110	40
Guided Missile Boats	0	8	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	30	2210	440
<b>1985-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	490	135
Artillery	113	1330	130
APCs and Armored Cars	72	680	190
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	13	23
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	100	5
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	10	20
Other Aircraft	5	25	50
Helicopters	0	165	60
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	250	3150	130
<b>1981-1988</b>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	20	940	290
Artillery	189	3230	355
APCs and Armored Cars	200	1475	920
Major Surface Combatants	0	4	9
Minor Surface Combatants	1	24	63
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	6	355	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	10	75
Other Aircraft	7	95	150
Helicopters	0	275	100
Guided Missile Boats	0	8	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	280	5360	570

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

2/ Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

**DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN WEAPONS CATEGORIES, 1981-1988**

**Tanks and Self-propelled Guns**

Light, medium, and heavy tanks  
Self-propelled artillery  
Self-propelled assault guns

**Artillery**

Field and air defense artillery, mortars, rocket launchers, and recoilless rifles--100 mm and over  
FROG launchers--100 mm and over

**Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs) and Armored Cars**

Personnel carriers, armored and amphibious  
Armored infantry fighting vehicles  
Armored reconnaissance and command vehicles

**Major Surface Combatants**

Aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, frigates

**Minor Surface Combatants**

Minesweepers, subchasers, motor torpedo boats  
Patrol craft, motor gunboats

**Submarines**

All submarines, including midget submarines

**Guided Missile Patrol Boats**

All boats in this class

**Supersonic Combat Aircraft**

All fighters and bombers designed to function operationally at speeds above Mach 1

**Subsonic Combat Aircraft**

All fighters and bombers, including propeller driven, designed to function operationally at speeds below Mach 1

**Other Aircraft**

All other fixed-wing aircraft, including trainers, transports, reconnaissance aircraft, and communications/utility aircraft

**Helicopters**

All helicopters, including combat and transport

**Surface-to-air Missiles (SAMs)**

All air defense missiles

## REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS

EAST ASIA  
AND PACIFIC

Australia  
 Brunei  
 Burma  
 China  
 Fiji  
 French Polynesia  
 Gilbert Islands  
 Hong Kong  
 Indonesia  
 Japan  
 Kampuchea (Cambodia)  
 Laos  
 Macao  
 Malaysia  
 Mongolia  
 Nauru  
 New Caledonia  
 New Hebrides  
 New Zealand  
 Norfolk Islands  
 North Korea  
 Papua New Guinea  
 Philippines  
 Pitcairn  
 Singapore  
 Solomon Islands  
 South Korea  
 Taiwan  
 Thailand  
 Vietnam  
 Western Samoa

NEAR EAST AND  
SOUTH ASIA

Afghanistan  
 Algeria  
 Bahrain  
 Bangladesh  
 Egypt  
 India  
 Iran  
 Iraq  
 Israel  
 Jordan  
 Kuwait  
 Lebanon  
 Libya  
 Morocco  
 Nepal  
 North Yemen (Sana)  
 Oman  
 Pakistan  
 Qatar  
 Saudi Arabia  
 South Yemen (Aden)  
 Sri Lanka  
 Syria  
 Tunisia  
 United Arab Emirates

## EUROPE

Albania  
 Austria  
 Bulgaria  
 Belgium  
 Canada  
 Czechoslovakia  
 Cyprus  
 Denmark  
 Finland  
 France  
 Germany, Democratic  
 Republic  
 Germany, Federal  
 Republic  
 Greece  
 Hungary  
 Iceland  
 Ireland  
 Italy  
 Liechtenstein  
 Luxembourg  
 Malta  
 Netherlands  
 Norway  
 Poland  
 Portugal  
 Romania  
 Spain  
 Sweden  
 Switzerland  
 Turkey  
 United Kingdom  
 U.S.S.R  
 Yugoslavia

## REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS (cont.)

## AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN)

Angola  
 Benin  
 Botswana  
 Burundi  
 Cameroon  
 Cape Verde  
 Central African  
   Empire/Republic  
 Chad  
 Congo  
 Djibouti  
 Equatorial Guinea  
 Ethiopia  
 Gabon  
 Gambia  
 Ghana  
 Guinea  
 Guinea-Bissau  
 Ivory Coast  
 Kenya  
 Lesotho  
 Liberia  
 Madagascar  
 Malawi  
 Mali  
 Mauritania  
 Mauritius  
 Mozambique  
 Niger  
 Nigeria  
 Reunion  
 Rwanda  
 Senegal  
 Seychelles  
 Sierra Leone  
 Somalia  
 South Africa  
 St. Helena  
 Sudan  
 Swaziland  
 Tanzania

Togo  
 Uganda  
 Upper Volta  
   (Burkina Faso)  
 Zaire  
 Zambia  
 Zimbabwe

## LATIN AMERICA

Antigua  
 Bahamas  
 Argentina  
 Barbados  
 Belize  
 Bermuda  
 Bolivia  
 Brazil  
 British Virgin  
   Islands  
 Cayman Islands  
 Chile  
 Colombia  
 Costa Rica  
 Cuba  
 Dominica  
 Dominican Republic  
 Ecuador  
 El Salvador  
 French Guiana  
 Grenada  
 Guadeloupe  
 Guatemala  
 Guyana  
 Haiti  
 Honduras  
 Jamaica  
 Martinique  
 Mexico  
 Montserrat  
 Netherlands Antilles  
 Nicaragua  
 Panama  
 Paraguay  
 Peru  
 St. Christ-Nevis  
 St. Lucia  
 St. Pierre and Miquelon  
 St. Vincent  
 Suriname  
 Trinidad

Turks and Caicos  
 Uruguay  
 Venezuela