

# CRS Report for Congress

## Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1983-1990

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**CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS  
TO THE THIRD WORLD,  
1983-1990**

**SUMMARY**

The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World seen in recent years was reversed in 1990. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 was \$41.3 billion. This was the first year since 1987 that the total value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased over the previous year (in constant 1990 dollars). At the same time, in 1990 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$26.3 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1983-1990. This is the third consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly (in constant 1990 dollars).

The Soviet Union and the United States have dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1983-1990. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for over 60% of all arms transfer agreements with and arms deliveries to the Third World during these years.

In 1990, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased dramatically from the previous year's total, rising from nearly \$8 billion in 1989 to \$18.5 billion in 1990. For the first time since 1983, the United States ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 44.8% in 1990, up from 23.6% in 1989.

The extraordinary increase in the value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in 1990 is directly attributable to very costly new orders from Saudi Arabia. In 1990, the value of Saudi Arabia's arms transfer agreements with the United States was over \$14.5 billion. These agreements constituted 78.7% of all U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The value of the Saudi agreements with the United States also exceeded the total value (\$12.1 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by the Soviet Union with the Third World in 1990.

The total value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements fell from \$13 billion in 1989 to \$12.1 billion in 1990. The Soviet Union registered a significant decline in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements, falling from 38.5% in 1989 to 29.2% in 1990.

In 1990 China ranked third among all suppliers with nearly \$2.6 billion in arms transfer agreements. China ranked fourth among all suppliers in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1987-1990 (in constant 1990 dollars).

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# **CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The year 1990 continued the major political transitions and realignments wrought by the ending of the Cold War. Germany reunited, many Eastern European nations made further steps toward democracy and establishment of market economies, and the Soviet Union continued to grapple with a myriad of domestic political and economic issues.

Because of reductions in defense procurement in the United States resulting from the Cold War's end, American arms producers began to focus greater attention on obtaining foreign markets for their weapons to compensate partially for shrinking domestic orders. By late 1990, U.S. executive branch officials decided to offer government support for American arms exporters and began plans to seek Congressional approval for a \$1 billion pilot program. Reductions in domestic defense spending also occurred in major arms supplying nations in Europe, while their traditional foreign arms sales programs continued. Arms exports by European suppliers have generally been much more important to the vitality of their defense industries than has been the case for those of the United States.

The net result of these events has been the development of an intense competition for a greater share of the existing and prospective Third World arms market. Various arms producers in the United States and in foreign countries face the prospect of having to close production lines for certain weapons systems if they cannot secure sufficient export contracts.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and the threat it posed to neighboring states led to an acceleration of arms purchases by Saudi Arabia, among others. The United States secured major arms agreements in the late summer of 1990. The subsequent outstanding performance of many American weapons systems during the air and ground campaigns of Operation Desert Storm against Iraq in January and February 1991 undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of these arms in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Third World. This may create a high interest in obtaining such weapons among Third World nations friendly to the United States, even though most systems used in Operation Desert Storm are very sophisticated, very expensive, and require highly skilled personnel to operate them effectively.

In the scramble to gain an increased Third World arms market share, the traditional leading suppliers have some distinct advantages, notably a variety of high-quality items to sell and greater flexibility in lowering prices to secure a

contract. Smaller arms suppliers are less able to lower prices and still make a profit. Smaller suppliers, however, may be able to supply medium and lower technology items at competitive prices to Third World states for whom the lowest price for a basic weapon system is the most critical consideration.

Some leading arms suppliers will still encounter important difficulties in increasing their sales in the near term, given their own economic needs in the current international environment. For example, the Soviet Union, the leading supplier of weapons to the Third World in most years, strongly desires to obtain hard currency from its weapons sales. In light of its serious domestic economic problems, the Soviet Union will be hard pressed to give deep discounts and grants for arms purchases to its traditional clients as it has in the past.

While the current international circumstances have created a buyer's market for weapons in the Third World, key problems remain for some major Third World arms purchasers. Many Third World states lack significant cash reserves and are thus dependent on securing credit from sellers to conclude major arms purchases. In important instances, it may not be possible for some prospective arms suppliers to provide this credit because these suppliers are strapped with financial problems of their own and cannot or will not risk the prospective losses that might result from the extension of such credit. Furthermore, some nations and international lending institutions, such as the IMF, the UN Development Program and the World Bank have raised concerns over the high levels of Third World defense expenditures and may recommend linking future aid transfers to such countries with reductions in defense spending.

The inability or unwillingness of some Third World arms purchasers to pay for their weapons on a timely basis has also reduced their attractiveness as clients. This suggests that in the near future only those Third World nations that clearly have the means to pay for their weapons will be likely to obtain them. This seems certain to make the oil-rich nations of the Near East a continuing focus of major marketing efforts by arms manufacturers of many nations attempting to deal with the economic consequences of the Cold War's end.

In 1991, however, a new element was added to the arms transfer equation: the prospect of an arms transfer restraint regime for the Near East region, and perhaps, ultimately, for the rest of the world. Support for this initiative resulted from concerns stimulated by Iraq's massive arms buildup in the 1980s, which facilitated its invasion and temporary occupation of Kuwait. Should the key arms supplying nations agree to regulate arms transfers to the Near East region--the largest arms market in the Third World--it could result in notable reductions in overall Third World arms trade.

This report provides unclassified background data on transfers of conventional arms to the Third World by major suppliers for the period from 1983 through 1990. It updates and revises the study entitled "Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1982-1989," which was published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on June 19, 1990 (CRS Report 90-298F). The data in this new report completely supersede all data published in previous editions. Since various changes occur in the data from one edition of the report to the next, only those data in the most recent edition should be used. Comparisons of data in earlier editions with those in the most recent edition can result in significant computational errors.

### CONSTANT 1990 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 1990 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 (1983-1986 and 1987-1990), they must be expressed in current dollar terms. Where tables rank leading arms suppliers to the Third World or leading Third World arms recipients using four-year aggregate dollar totals, these values must also be expressed in 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 was reversed in 1990. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 was \$41.3 billion. This was first year since 1987 when the total value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased over the previous year (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1). The end of the Iran-Iraq war in mid-1988 and the scaling back of other regional conflicts such as the civil war in Angola have contributed to a general lack of growth in the Third World arms market since 1987. Were it not for the Kuwait crisis in August 1990 and the major new arms agreements it helped stimulate, it is likely that the figures for total Third World arms transfer agreements for calendar year 1990 would have either remained at roughly 1989 levels or continued their decline.

At the same time, in 1990 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$26.3 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1983-1990. This is the third consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly. This pattern reflects the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the winding down of other regional conflicts in the Third World (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 2A) (charts 11, 12, and 13). However, if most arms transfer agreements concluded with the Third World in 1990 are fully implemented, then the total value of arms deliveries may increase in future years.

The Soviet Union and the United States have dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1983-1990. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for over 60% of all arms transfer agreements with and arms deliveries to the Third World during these years (tables 1B and 2B).

The Third World arms market today is comprised of three tiers of suppliers. In the first tier is the Soviet Union and the United States whose positions far surpass those of all other arms suppliers to the Third World. In the second tier is France, the United Kingdom and China whose positions are notably less than those of the Soviet Union and the United States, but substantially above the positions of the remaining arms suppliers to the Third World. The five nations in the first two tiers have the means to supply the most advanced weapons systems to the Third World in quantity and on a continuing basis. In the third tier are both other traditional European arms suppliers as well as suppliers--largely developing countries--that have generally been marginal and sporadic participants in the Third World arms trade. The names of countries in this third tier are likely to change from time to time, especially at its lower end, since some of these nations lack the means to be major suppliers of advanced military equipment on a sustained basis. Some of them, however, are capable of having an impact on potential conflicts within Third World regions because

of their willingness to supply weapons based almost exclusively on commercial considerations (tables 1F, 1G, 2F and 2G).

Many recipient nations in the Third World continue to absorb 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. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 did, however, accelerate major purchases by key Persian Gulf states. This reversed the overall pattern of decline in Third World arms transfer agreements that began after 1987.

Many Third World countries continue to be burdened by significant debts and are thus unable or unwilling to commit the funds necessary to obtain additional weapons they might otherwise buy. Some oil-rich nations in the Third World have made more selective purchases in recent years as oil revenues have declined, and they 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 keep the arms market generally flat, with few exceptions.

## UNITED STATES

In 1990, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased dramatically from the previous year's total, rising from nearly \$8 billion in 1989 to \$18.5 billion in 1990. For the first time since 1983, the United States ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 44.8% in 1990, up from 23.6% in 1989 (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

The extraordinary increase in the value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in 1990 is directly attributable to very costly new orders from Saudi Arabia. In 1990, the value of Saudi Arabia's arms transfer agreements with the United States was over \$14.5 billion. These agreements constituted 78.7% of all U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The value of the Saudi agreements with the United States also exceeded the total value (\$12.1 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by the Soviet Union with the entire Third World in the same year.

The signing of a few particularly large contracts for major weapons systems generally determines whether the total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in any given year is high relative to other years. The extraordinary Third World agreements figure for the United States in 1990 illustrates this point. The U.S. arms transfer agreements figure not only includes the large arms agreements made after the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but also consummation of major U.S. arms transfer agreements with Saudi Arabia in 1990 reached in

whole or in part prior to the Kuwait crisis. Some of these pre-August Saudi arms deals were quite large. They included, for example, an estimated \$3 billion package of 1,117 light armored vehicles (LAVs) and associated weapons and equipment, 2,000 TOW II missiles and 116 TOW launchers, and 27 M198 155 mm howitzers for the Saudi National Guard; an estimated \$3.1 billion agreement for a ground weapons package that included 315 M1A2 main battle tanks, with associated weapons and equipment, 30 M88A1 tank recovery vehicles, and a variety of other military trucks, ammunition and support equipment; and a \$600 million package of system upgrades of the Saudi E-3A AWACS and KE-3 tanker aircraft. Thus, the United States and Saudi Arabia concluded an estimated \$6.1 billion worth of major arms transfer agreements prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait out of a calendar year total of over \$14.5 billion.

United States weapons systems have been built primarily for the American armed services, with only secondary consideration being given to foreign sales. As a result these arms are more advanced, complex and costly than those of most other suppliers of arms to the Third World. Aggressive promotion of foreign purchases of American weapons has not been the traditional policy of the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government, through various means, has also controlled and restricted transfers of U.S. weaponry to the Third World. In late 1990, however, the U.S. executive branch did decide to offer limited government support for American arms exporters and initiate efforts to secure congressional approval to fund such an effort. And, as the dramatic events surrounding the Kuwait crisis of 1990 demonstrated, the United States will make major sales of advanced arms to friendly Third World states whenever its Government believes that U.S. national interests are served by doing so.

## SOVIET UNION

The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell from \$13 billion in 1989 to \$12.1 billion in 1990. The Soviet Union registered a significant decline in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements, falling from 38.5% in 1989 to 29.2% in 1990 (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

During the 1983-1990 period, Soviet arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a low of \$8.6 billion to a high of \$26.1 billion. But with the exception of 1987, Soviet agreement totals have declined from those of the previous year from 1985 through 1990. Like the United States, the total value of Soviet arms transfer agreements can be affected significantly by a decline or increase in orders for major weapons systems.

However, the Soviet Union has maintained close relationships with a wide range of Third World states. Indeed, in 1989, the Soviet Union has provided these purchasers with a wide range of armaments from the highly sophisticated to the most basic, including a large

quantity of ordnance. It ~~has also~~ actively sought to export weapons as one means of gaining needed hard currency.

As a consequence, throughout the 1980s, the Soviets sustained a consistently high level of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. It seems likely, therefore, that the Soviet Union's comparatively lower level of arms transfer agreements in 1990 reflects a decline in demand from key Soviet clients as well as a reduction in agreements with Iraq, the Soviet Union's leading customer in the 1980s. It also likely reflects, in part, Soviet cutbacks on costly commitments to some traditional clients that have been involved in regional conflicts that are ending.

## CHINA

In the 1980s, China 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 \$5.2 billion in 1987. China ranked fourth among all suppliers in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1987-1990. In 1990 China ranked third among all suppliers with nearly \$2.6 billion in arms transfer agreements (a 6% share of all such agreements) (tables 1A and 1F).

As a nation able 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 Iran and Iraq. During the 1983-1990 period, over 48.4% of all of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World were with Iran and Iraq collectively. During 1987-1990, China became Iran's largest single arms supplier, concluding agreements valued at over \$3 billion and making deliveries valued at nearly \$2.4 billion (tables 1F, 1H, 1I and 2H) (in current dollars).

It is not clear whether China will be able to sustain its level of arms sales to the Near East region now that the Iran-Iraq war has ended and it is a party to discussions aimed at regulating arms transfers to this region. Of particular interest is China's ability and willingness to sell various missiles throughout the Third World. In the latter half of the 1980s, China sold and delivered CSS-2 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to Saudi Arabia, Silkworm anti-shiping missiles to Iran, and anti-tank and other surface-to-surface missiles to various Third World purchasers. Given China's need and desire to obtain hard currency, it seems prepared to pursue arms sales opportunities it deems appropriate wherever they present themselves. A key question is whether China will agree to curtail its arms transfers to the Near East as part of an arms restraint regime led by major suppliers.

## **MAJOR WEST EUROPEAN**

The four major West European suppliers (France, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) registered a decline in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990, falling to 10.3% from 22.4% in 1989. Of these suppliers, France suffered a notable decline in the value of its agreements from \$3.7 billion in 1989 to \$2.2 billion in 1990. The value of the United Kingdom's agreements also fell substantially from \$2.7 billion in 1989 to \$1.6 billion in 1990. Germany registered a significant decrease in the value of its agreements from \$886 million in 1989 to \$190 million in 1990. Italy's decrease in agreements value was marginal, falling from \$268 million in 1989 to \$230 million in 1990 (in constant 1990 dollars) (tables 1A, 1B, charts 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Throughout the period from 1983-1990, the major West European suppliers, as a group, averaged over 17% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Throughout the 1983-1990 period, individual suppliers within the major West European group have had exceptional years for arms agreements, such as France in 1984 (\$7.9 billion) and 1989 (\$3.7 billion), and the United Kingdom in 1985 (\$10.4 billion) and 1988 (\$5.2 billion) (in constant 1990 dollars). Such totals have generally reflected conclusion of exceptionally large arms transfer agreements with a major Third World purchaser (tables 1A and 1B).

Since the four major West European suppliers produce both advanced and basic ground, air, and naval weapons systems, they have the capability to compete successfully with the United States, and in certain instances, with the Soviet Union, for arms sales contracts throughout the Third World. Because these major West European suppliers do not usually tie their arms sales decisions to foreign policy considerations but essentially to economic ones, they have provided a viable alternative source of arms for nations to whom the United States will not sell for policy reasons. Generally strong government marketing support for foreign arms sales enhances the competitiveness of weapons produced by these major West European suppliers.

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

The trade in arms with Iran and Iraq was a significant element of the entire Third World arms market during the period 1983-1990. The war between these two nations created an urgent demand by both belligerents, throughout most of the 1980s, for conventional weapons of all kinds, from the least sophisticated battlefield consumables to more advanced combat vehicles, missiles and aircraft. During their war, Iran and Iraq bought arms from both major and minor arms suppliers. In the aftermath of the war, some arms-supplying nations continued to maintain a supply relationship with the combatants that had been forged during the war itself. Other suppliers sought to establish a new relationship where possible. Salient details of supplier relationships with Iran and Iraq are summarized below.



For the 1983-1990 period, the total value of arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers constituted nearly one-sixth (16.4%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World (tables 1, 1H and 1I).

The Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively was 37.8% for the 1983-1990 period, while that of China was 14.7%. European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, collectively held a 22.1% share of these agreements (tables 1, 1H and 1I) (chart 9).

In the period from 1987-1990, which includes the last full year of the Iran-Iraq war (1987) and the first five months of the Kuwait crisis (August-December 1990), significant changes in arms supplying relationships with Iran and Iraq occurred. Most notably the Soviet Union became Iran's second principal supplier, concluding over \$2.7 billion in arms transfer agreements during this period. This Soviet total contrasts markedly with its \$10 million figure for arms agreements with Iran from 1983-1986. ~~The Soviet Union remained Iran's leading arms supplier during the 1987-1990 period, making over \$3 billion in agreements, up from over \$1.8 billion in the 1983-1986 period (in current dollars) (table 1H).~~

Other suppliers registered notable declines in their arms transfer agreements with Iran from the 1983-1986 period (when the Iran-Iraq war was at its height) to the 1987-1990 period. Iran's arms agreements with the four major West European suppliers as a group declined from \$865 million in 1983-1986 to \$145 million in 1987-1990. The agreements of all other European suppliers collectively with Iran declined from over \$3.8 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$2.1 billion in 1987-1990. Arms agreements with Iran by all other suppliers as a group declined from nearly \$2.4 billion in 1983-1986 to less than \$2 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars) (table 1H).

During 1987-1990, Iraq made nearly \$10 billion in arms transfer agreements with all suppliers. Of this total, nearly \$4.1 billion agreements were made with the Soviet Union (over 41% of all of Iraq's agreements). While a substantial total, Soviet agreements with Iraq late in the decade were dramatically less than in the period 1983-1986 when their value was over \$11.8 billion and represented nearly 57.7% of all of Iraq's arms agreements. This sharp decline in the value of the Soviet Union's arms agreements with Iraq, its leading customer in the Third World through most of the 1980s, reflects both the slowing down of arms deals as the Iran-Iraq war ended as well as the impact of Soviet participation in the United Nations arms embargo against Iraq which began August 6, 1990 (table 1I).

The only supplier group to increase arms transfer agreements with Iraq in the recent period was the four major West European suppliers--their agreements rose to nearly \$2.7 billion in the 1987-1990 period from about \$1 billion in 1983-1986. The value of the arms agreements with Iraq of all other suppliers as a group, however, fell from over \$1.9 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1.6 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars). As in the case of the Soviet Union, these

declines in arms transfer agreement values are likely attributable to the winding down of the Iran-Iraq war after 1987 and the impact of the U.N. embargo on arms transfers to Iraq. Most other arms suppliers registered notable declines in the value of their arms agreements with Iraq from the 1983-1986 period to the 1987-1990 period. China's arms agreements values dropped from nearly \$1.8 billion in 1983-1986 to \$615 million in 1987-1990. European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, collectively experienced a decline in the value of their arms agreements with Iraq from nearly \$4 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars) (table 1I).

### LEADING THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS

Saudi Arabia and Iraq have been, by a wide margin, the top two Third World arms purchasers from 1983-1990, making arms transfer agreements of \$57.3 billion and \$30.4 billion, respectively, during these years (in current dollars). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1983-1990 was \$301.7 billion (in current dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 19% and 10.1%, respectively, of all Third World arms transfer agreements during this time period (tables 1 and 1K).

Five of the ten leading Third World arms recipients registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. Some of these declines were significant. All recipients registering major declines were principal customers of the Soviet Union: Iraq declined 51.4%, Syria 22.7%, India 19% and Vietnam 15.2% (table 1K).

Despite large increases in the values of arms transfer agreements by some of the top ten Third World arms recipients, the data reflect only an overall 7% increase in new arms transfer agreements by the top ten nations collectively from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. Although their arms purchases in the late 1980s resulted in only a modest rise, these ten recipient nations represent a formidable influence on the total Third World arms market--between 1983-1990 they collectively made 66.1% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$199.3 billion out of \$301.7 billion)(in current dollars).

Saudi Arabia ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1990, concluding \$18.65 billion in such agreements. The United States was its major supplier (table 1L).

The Soviet Union was the major supplier to five of the top ten recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1990 (Afghanistan, Iran, India, Cuba and Vietnam) (table 1L).

Eight of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered declines in the values of their arms deliveries from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. Some declines were substantial. Iraq fell 48.5%, from \$26.1 billion to \$13.4 billion; Syria fell 38.9% from nearly \$8.6 billion to \$5.2 billion; Egypt fell 37.8%, from \$6 billion to \$3.7 billion (in current dollars) (table 2K).

The Soviet Union was the major supplier to six of the top ten arms recipients in the Third World in 1990 (Afghanistan, India, Iran, Cuba, Vietnam and Syria (table 2L).

Saudi Arabia was the leading recipient of arms in the Third World in 1990, receiving over \$6.7 billion in deliveries. The United Kingdom was its major supplier (table 2L).

### DEFINITION OF THE THIRD WORLD

The Third World category includes all countries except the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe, Canada, 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, in part, 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 are significantly incomplete and are 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. Annual commercial deliveries data are obtained from shipper's export documents and completed licenses returned from ports of exit by the U.S. Customs Service to the Office of Defense Trade Controls (PM/DTC) 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 1983-1990 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 by this exclusion. The values of U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World for fiscal years 1983-1990, according to the State Department, were as follows:

FY 1983	\$433,200
FY 1984	\$1,465,604
FY 1985	\$2,017,839
FY 1986	\$1,609,142
FY 1987	\$2,401,662
FY 1988	\$3,373,398
FY 1989	\$1,625,804
FY 1990	\$564,181

(In thousands of current U.S. dollars)

## SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1983-1990

Tables 1 through 1L (pages 45-57) present data on arms transfer agreements with Third World nations by major suppliers from 1983-1990. These data show the most recent trends in arms contract activity by major suppliers in contrast to delivery data (Tables 2 through 2L, pages 58-70) 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 change due to 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 transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 was \$41.3 billion. This was the first year since 1987 when the total value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased over the previous year (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1).
- In 1990, the total value of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased dramatically from the previous year's total. For the first time since 1983, the United States ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Third World (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 4).
- The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased to \$18.5 billion in 1990, up from nearly \$8 billion in 1989 (in constant 1990 dollars). The U.S. share of all such agreements was 44.8% in 1990, up from 23.6% in 1989 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2).

CHART 1.  
 ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990  
 UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED  
 (billions of constant 1990 dollars and % of total agreements)

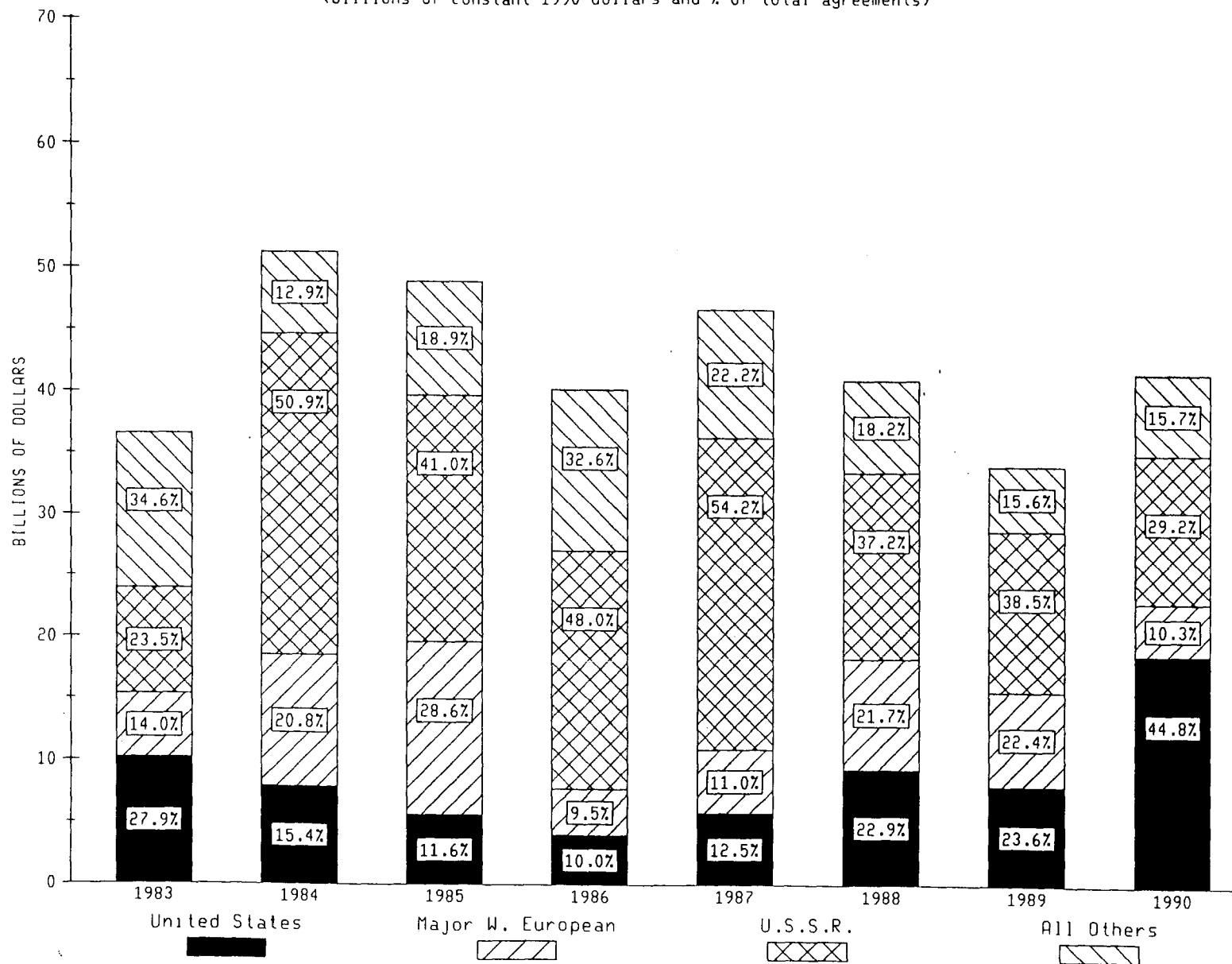
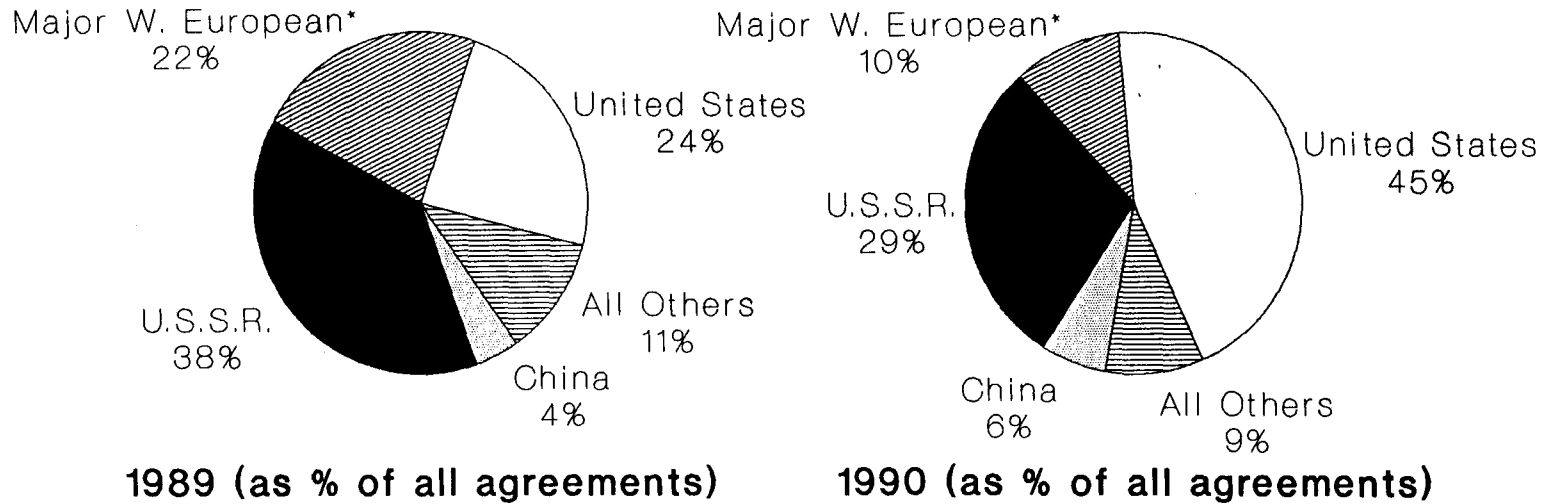


CHART 2.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD



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

CHART 3.  
**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS  
WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990**  
U.S., U.S.S.R., AND MAJOR W. EUROPEAN

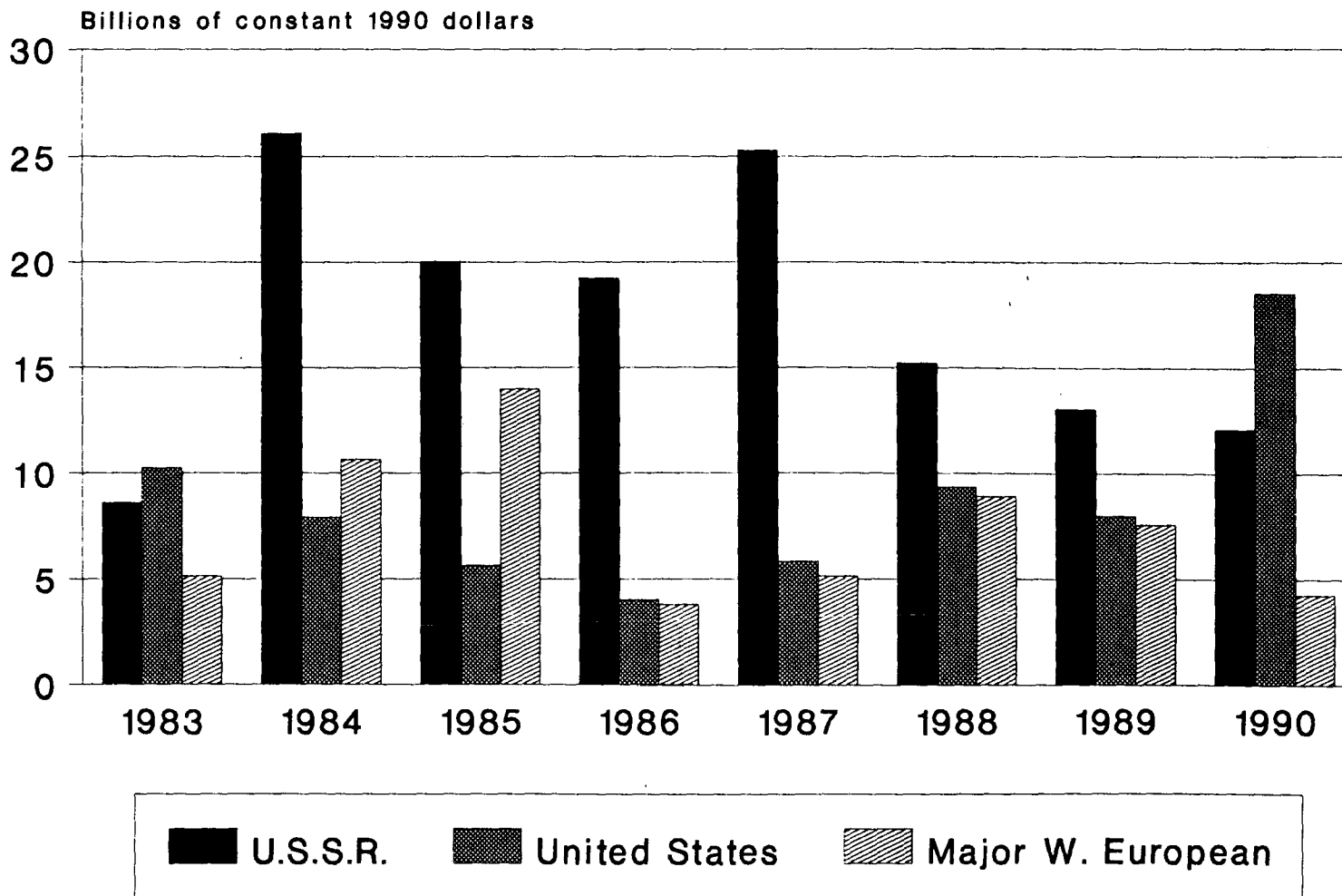


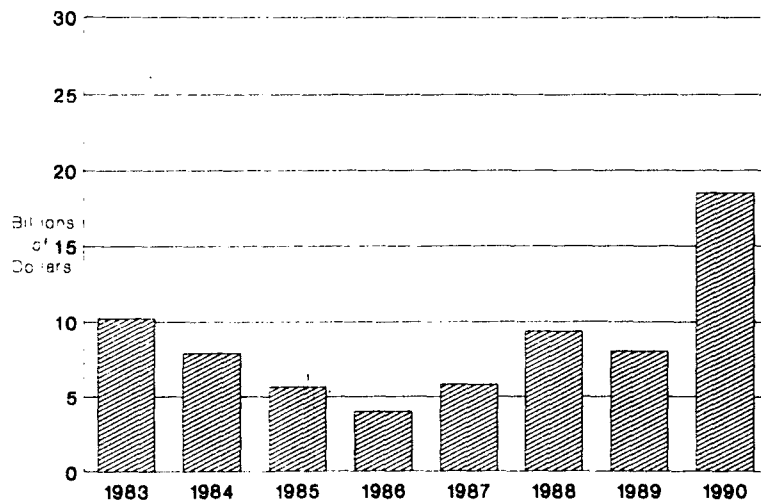


CHART 4.

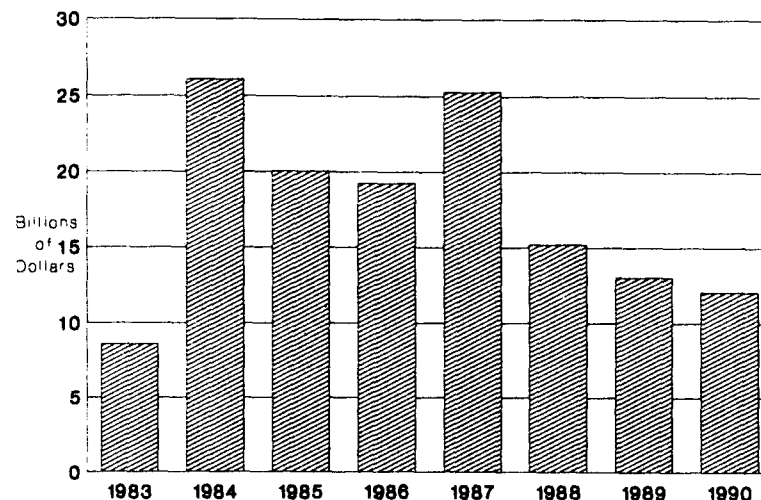
# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(in Constant 1990 Dollars)

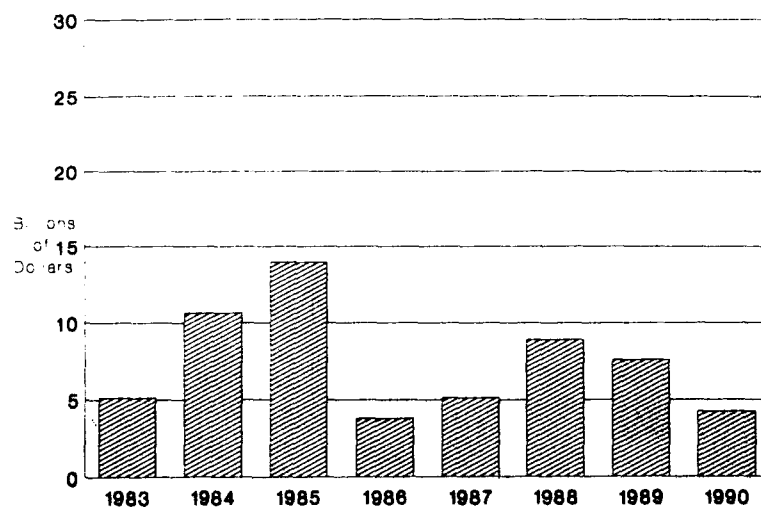
## United States



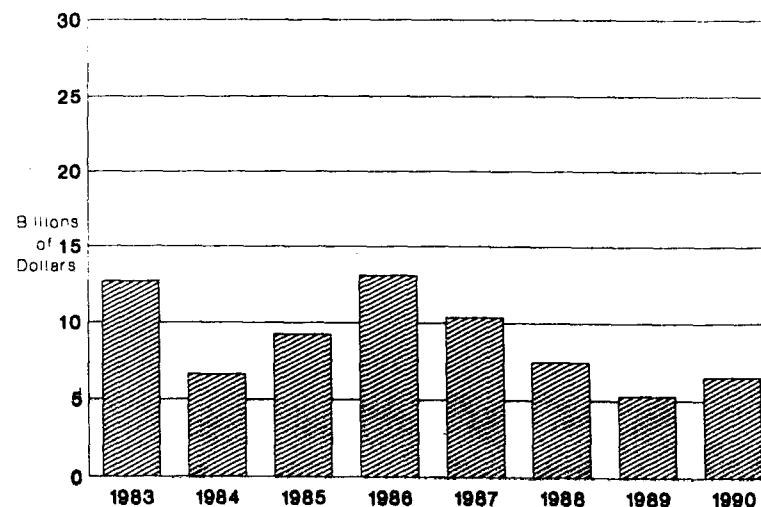
## Soviet Union



## Major Western European



## All Others



- The Soviet Union registered a significant decline in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1989 and 1990. The Soviet Union's share fell from 38.5% in 1989, to 29.4% in 1990. The value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell from \$13 billion in 1989, to \$12.1 billion in 1990 (in constant 1990 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 2).
- The four major West European suppliers, as a group, experienced a significant decrease in their share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1989 and 1990. This group's share fell from 22.4% in 1989 to 10.3% in 1990. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 was \$4.3 billion compared with a total of \$7.6 billion in 1989 (in constant 1990 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2, 3 and 4).
- In 1990 the United States ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$18.5 billion. The Soviet Union ranked second at \$12.1 billion, while China ranked third at \$2.6 billion (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

### REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1983-1990

Table 1C gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1983-1986 and 1987-1990. 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 1983-1986 and 1987-1990. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

#### Near East

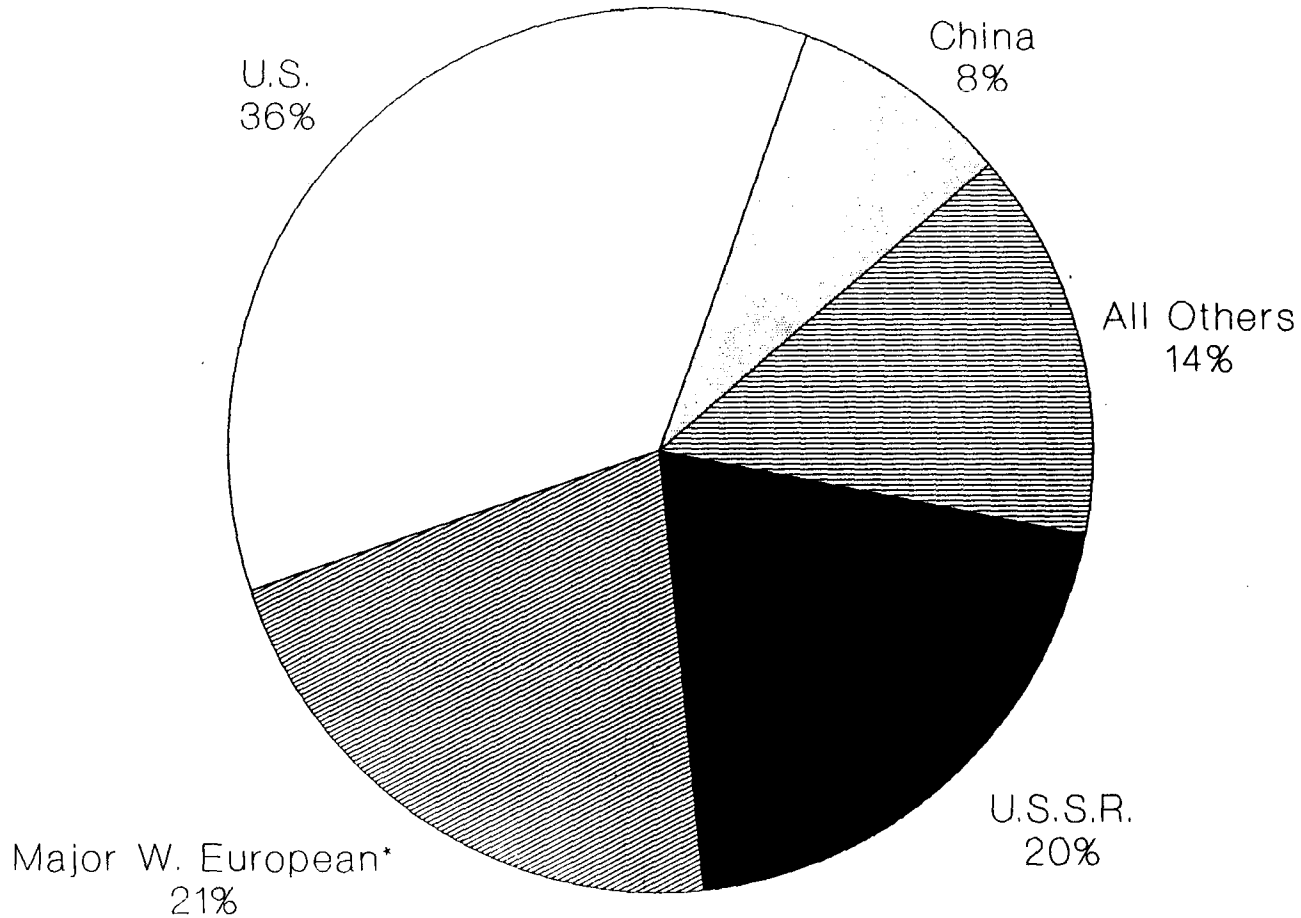
- The Near East region is the largest Third World arms market. In 1983-1986 it accounted for over 61% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1987-1990, the region accounted for 55.7% of all such agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The Near East region ranked first in arms transfer agreements with most suppliers in both the 1983-1986 and 1987-1990 time periods (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 5.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1987-1990 WITH NEAR EAST (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

- For the period 1983-1986, the United States concluded 64.8% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. In 1987-1990, the U.S. concluded 76.3% of its arms agreements with this region (table 1D).
- For the period 1983-1986, the four major West European suppliers collectively made 78.2% of their arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. In 1987-1990, the major West Europeans made about 75% of their arms agreements with the Near East (table 1D).
- For the period 1983-1986, China concluded 89.6% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East region. For the more recent period, 1987-1990, China concluded 66.4% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East region (table 1D).
- For the period 1983-1986, the Soviet Union concluded 46.2% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. For the period 1987-1990, the Soviet Union concluded 28.4% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region (table 1D).
- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Near East with 31.8%. The United States ranked second with 16.4%. The United Kingdom ranked third with 10.7%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 24.3% of this region's agreements in 1983-1986. In the later period (1987-1990), the United States ranked first in Near East agreements with 35.7%. The Soviet Union ranked second with 20.4%. France ranked third with 11.8%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 21.4% of this region's agreements in 1987-1990 (table 1E) (chart 5).

## **Asia**

- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Asia with 57.3%. The United States ranked second with 19.7%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 8.9% of this region's agreements in 1983-1986. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Asian agreements with 63.9%. The United States again ranked second with 18.2%. China ranked third with 7.3%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 7.3% of this region's agreements in 1987-1990 (table 1E).

## Latin America

- Of the Soviet Union's nearly \$6.6 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America from 1983-1986 (in current dollars), 79.7% (\$5.3 billion) were with Cuba alone. In the period from 1987-1990, the Soviet Union made nearly \$7.6 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America (in current dollars). Of this total, 77.6% (over \$5.9 billion) were arms transfer agreements with Cuba (tables 1C and 1J) (Charts 6 and 7).
- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Latin America with 54.6%. The United States ranked second with 8.5%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 12% of this region's agreements in 1983-1986. All other European suppliers collectively made 15.4% of this region's agreements during this period. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American agreements with 59.1%. The United States ranked second with 11.2%. France ranked third with 10.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 15.8% of this region's agreements in 1987-1990 (table 1E) (chart 6).

## Africa

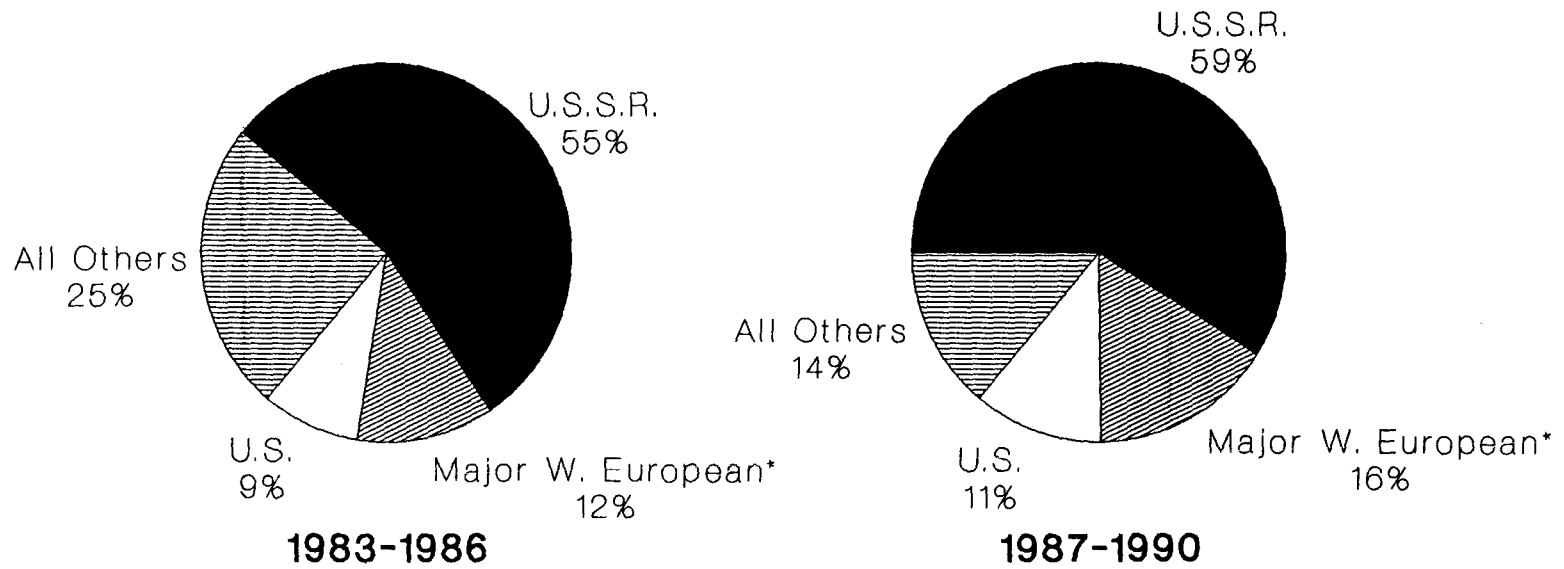
- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Africa (sub-Saharan) with 63.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 13.9% of this region's agreements in 1983-1986. The United States made 4.1%. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first, increasing its share of sub-Saharan African agreements to 72.5%. France ranked second with 3.9%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 7.7% of this region's agreements in 1987-1990. The United States made 2.1% (table 1E).

## ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1F gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1983-1990 by the Third World's top eleven 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--1983-1986, 1986-1989 and 1983-1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

CHART 6.

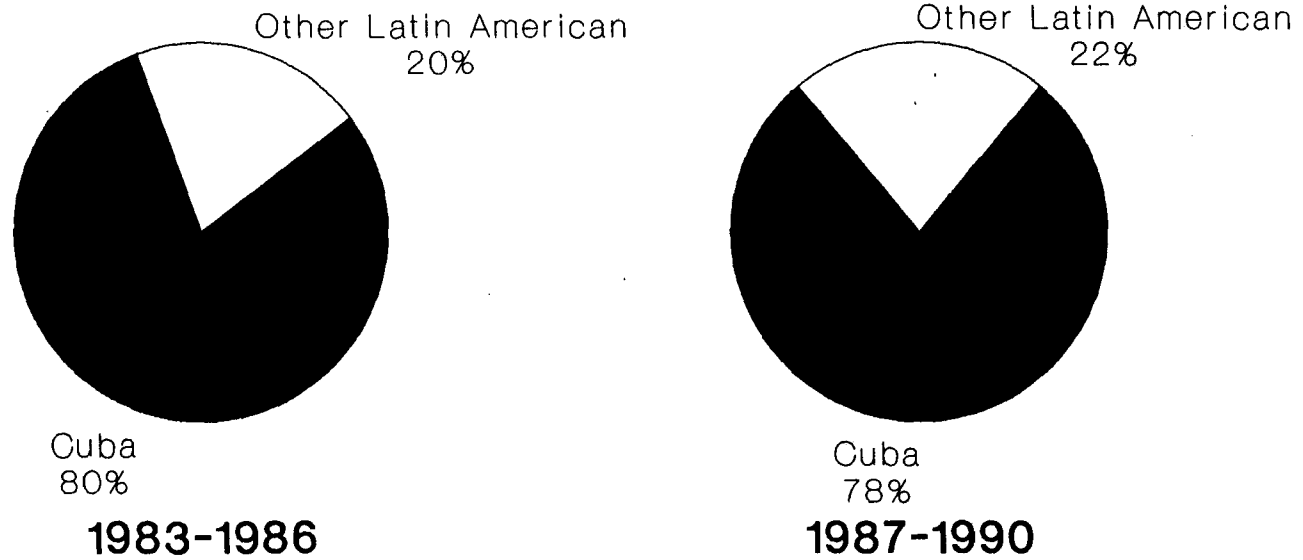
# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

CHART 7.

# SOVIET UNION ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA



- The rankings of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1983-1990 show that there are three tiers of arms suppliers. The Soviet Union and the United States are in the first, and clearly dominate the Third World market. France, the United Kingdom and China are in the second tier. In the third tier are lesser suppliers whose names and rankings undergo significant change from time period to time period.
- China ranked fourth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1987-1990, and fifth from 1983-1990.
- Of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World, China, the United States and North Korea registered the greatest percentage increases in the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1983-1986 to the period 1987-1990 (China increased 143%, the United States 76.5% and North Korea 59.9%).
- Of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World, Czechoslovakia registered the greatest percentage decline (82.1%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1983-1986 to the period 1987-1990. Italy registered the second greatest percentage decline (78.5%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World between the same two time periods.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN 1990: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1G gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World by the top eleven suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with the Third World in 1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The top five arms suppliers ranked by the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 were also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Collectively these five nations made arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 valued at nearly \$37 billion, 89.5% of all arms transfer agreements made with the Third World by all suppliers.
- In 1990, the United States was by far the leader in arms transfer agreements with the Third World, making nearly \$18.5 billion in such agreements.



- The Soviet Union ranked second in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990, making nearly \$12.1 billion in such agreements.
- China ranked third in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990, making nearly \$2.6 billion in such agreements.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1983-1990: SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1H gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1 and table 1C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1983-1990 period, China's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iran was 25.8% compared to 14.6% for the Soviet Union. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 5.3% of these agreements. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 31.3% of these agreements, while all other suppliers combined made 23% (chart 9).
- The Soviet Union from 1983-1986 made negligible arms transfer agreements with Iran (\$10 million) (in current dollars). However, in the period from 1987-1990, the Soviet Union concluded over \$2.7 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iran. China made over \$1.8 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1983-1986 and over \$3.0 billion during the period from 1987-1990 (in current dollars) (chart 9).
- European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, made substantial arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1983-1990 (over \$5.9 billion) (in current dollars). However, this group of European suppliers suffered a dramatic decline more recently in the value of its arms agreements with Iran. The total value of its agreements fell from over \$3.8 billion in 1983-1986 to \$2.1 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars)--a graphic reflection of the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on this group of suppliers.
- The group of all other non-European suppliers suffered a decline in the total value of its arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990, falling from nearly \$2.4 billion in the earlier period to about \$2 billion in 1987-1990.

CHART 8.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1983-1990 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

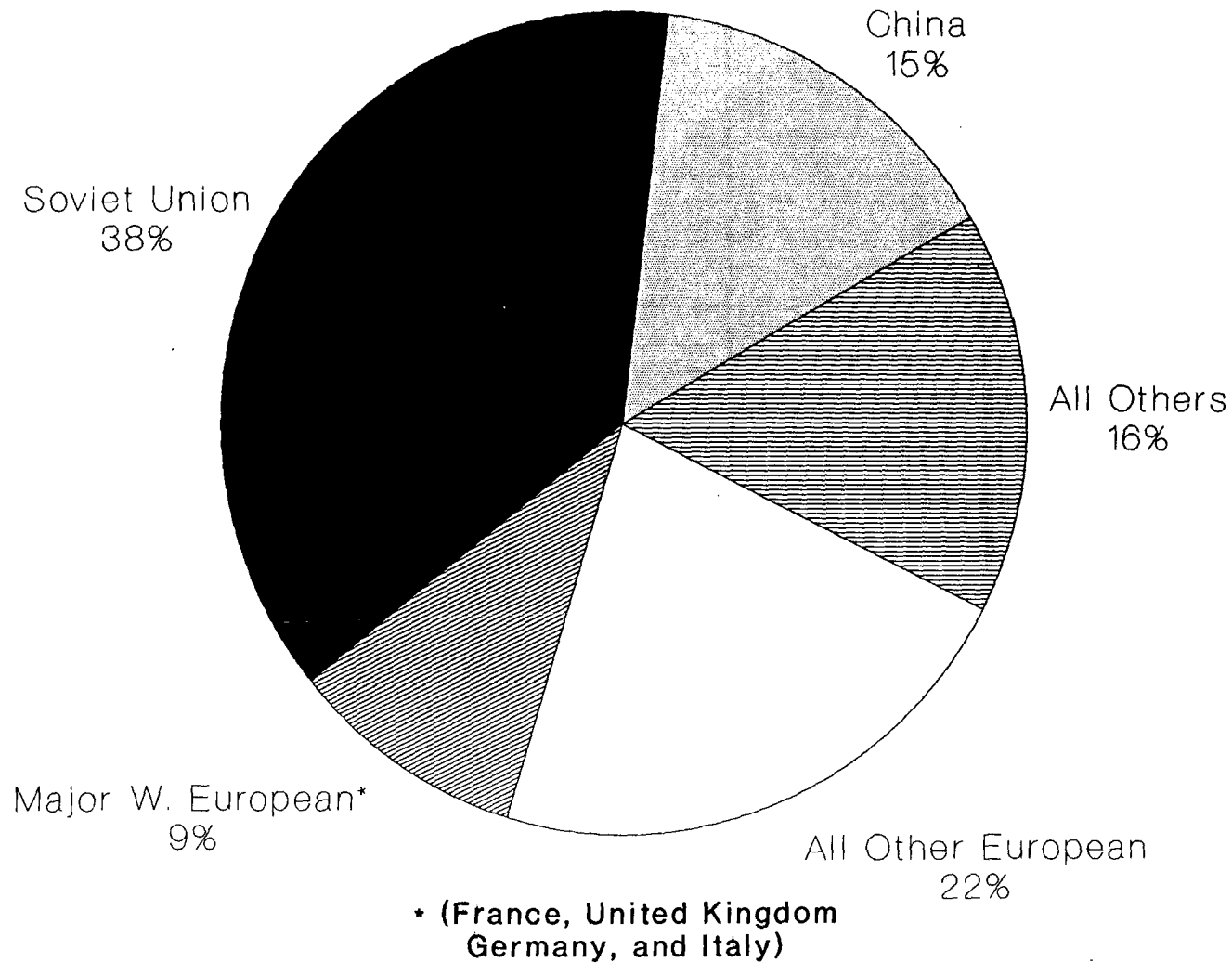
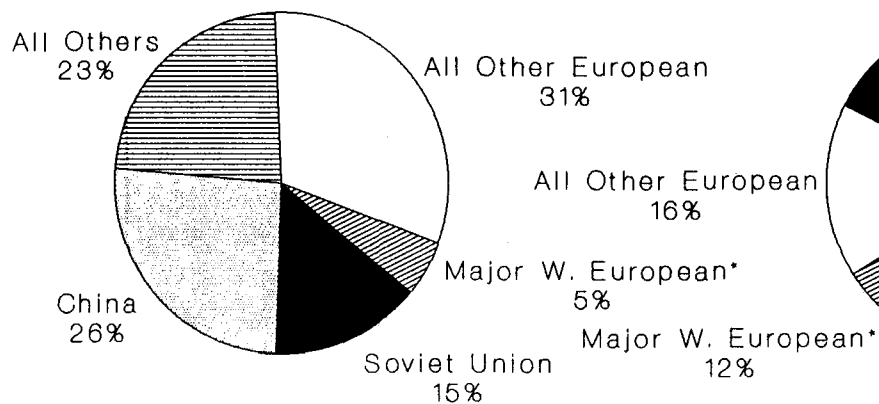


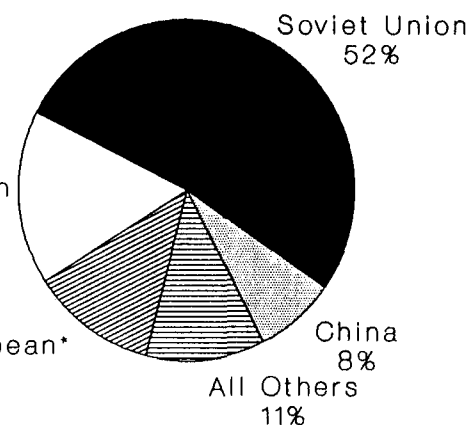
CHART 9.

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS 1983-1990 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

## WITH IRAN



## WITH IRAQ



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

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1983-1990:  
SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1I gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1 and table 1C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1983-1990 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iraq was 52.2% compared to 7.8% for China. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 12% of these agreements. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 16.5% of these agreements, while all other suppliers combined made 11.5% (chart 9).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1983-1990 the value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements with Iraq totaled over \$15.9 billion (in current dollars). Most of their agreements were in the earlier part of the decade, totalling \$11.8 billion from 1983-1986. In the period from 1987-1990, however, Soviet agreements with Iraq fell sharply to \$4.1 billion (in current dollars). Nonetheless, the Soviet Union remained by far the largest single arms supplier to Iraq (chart 9).
- The four major West European suppliers collectively registered a substantial increase in the value of their arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. In current dollar terms, the collective value of major West European agreements with Iraq increased from over \$1 billion in 1983-1986 to nearly \$2.7 billion in 1987-1990.
- The group of all other European suppliers collectively registered a dramatic decline in the value of their arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. In current dollar terms, the collective value of the arms transfer agreements of this group of European suppliers with Iraq declined from nearly \$4 billion in 1983-1986 to slightly over \$1 billion in 1987-1990. The collective value (in current dollars) of all other non-European suppliers fell from over \$1.9 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1.6 billion in 1987-1990--reflecting the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on these groups of suppliers.
- China registered a significant decline in the value of its arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 (in current dollars), dropping from nearly \$1.8 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq in the earlier period to \$615 million in 1987-1990.

- Despite overall declines in arms transfer agreements with Iraq from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990, Iraq still made nearly \$10 billion arms transfer agreements with all suppliers during the most recent period.

### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1983-1990: SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1J gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1 and table 1C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union is Cuba's primary, and nearly exclusive, arms supplier. The Soviet Union made nearly \$5.3 billion in arms transfer agreements with Cuba from 1983-1986 and nearly \$5.9 billion in arms transfer agreements with that country from 1987-1990 (in current dollars). From 1983-1990, 88.6% of Cuba's arms transfer agreements were made with the Soviet Union (chart 7). European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, collectively made arms transfer agreements with Cuba from 1983-1986 totaling nearly \$1.4 billion. But the total value of the agreements with these other European suppliers from 1987-1990 was only \$61 million (in current dollars).

### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 1K gives the values of arms transfer agreements made by the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1983-1990 with all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers for each of three periods--1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Saudi Arabia and Iraq have been, by a wide margin, the top two Third World arms purchasers from 1983-1990, making arms transfer agreements of \$57.3 billion and \$30.4 billion, respectively, during these years (in current dollars). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1983-1990 was \$301.7 billion (in current dollars) (see table 1). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 19% and 10.1%, respectively, of all Third World arms transfer agreements during this time period.

- The increase in the value of arms transfer agreements with Afghanistan from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 was enormous (229.4%), a jump from over \$3.3 billion to over \$10.9 billion (in current dollars).
- The value of Saudi Arabia's agreements increased by over 62.7% (from \$21.8 billion in 1983-1986 to \$35.5 billion in 1987-1990). The value of Egypt's arms agreements increased by 21.1% from this first time period to the second (in current dollars)
- Five of the ten leading Third World arms recipients registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. Some of these declines were significant. All recipients registering major declines were principal customers of the Soviet Union. Iraq declined 51.4%, Syria 22.7%, India 19% and Vietnam 15.2%
- Despite very large increases in the values of arms transfer agreements by some of the top ten Third World arms recipients, the data reflect only an overall 7% increase in new arms transfer agreements by these ten nations collectively from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. However, from 1983-1990 these ten nations collectively made 66.1% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$199.3 billion out of \$301.7 billion) (in current dollars). Clearly, the impact of their purchasing behavior on the total Third World arms market is formidable.

#### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1990: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 1L gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1990. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers in 1990. Table 1L also provides the name of the country that was the major supplier to each recipient country, based on the comparative total value of all arms transfer agreements concluded with that country in 1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union was the major supplier to five of the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1990 (Afghanistan, Iran, India, Cuba and Vietnam).
- Saudi Arabia ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1990, concluding \$18.65 billion in such agreements. The United States was its major supplier.

- Arms transfer agreements with the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, constituted 82.1% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990.
- Some Third World nations made significant arms transfer agreements in 1990. Afghanistan made \$3.7 billion in arms agreements, Iran made nearly \$2.9 billion and India made nearly \$2 billion. The Soviet Union was the major supplier of all three nations. Iraq, despite a successful U.N. arms embargo against it later in 1990, still managed to register over \$1.4 billion in arms agreements over the course of the entire year. France was its major supplier.

### **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 1983-1990. 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 1990, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$26.3 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1983-1990. It was the third year in a row when arms deliveries to the Third World declined from the previous year's total. This pattern reflects the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the winding down of other regional conflicts (table 2A) (charts 10 and 11).
- In 1990 the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World delivery values at over \$12.8 billion. The United States ranked second at \$5 billion. The United Kingdom ranked third with over \$2.6 billion in deliveries (in constant 1990 dollars) (tables 2 and 2A).
- The Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1990 was 48.8%, down from 56.1% in 1989 (table 2B). The U.S. share of all deliveries in 1990 was 19.1%, up from 10.6% in 1989.
- In 1990 the total value of arms deliveries by the United States to the Third World (\$5 billion) was the highest figure for the United States since 1983 (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 2A).
- The total value of all arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1987-1990 (\$142.5 billion) was notably less than the value of arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1983-1986 (\$184.9 billion) (in constant 1990 dollars) (table 2A).

CHART 10.  
 ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990  
 UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED  
 (billions of constant 1990 dollars and % of total deliveries)

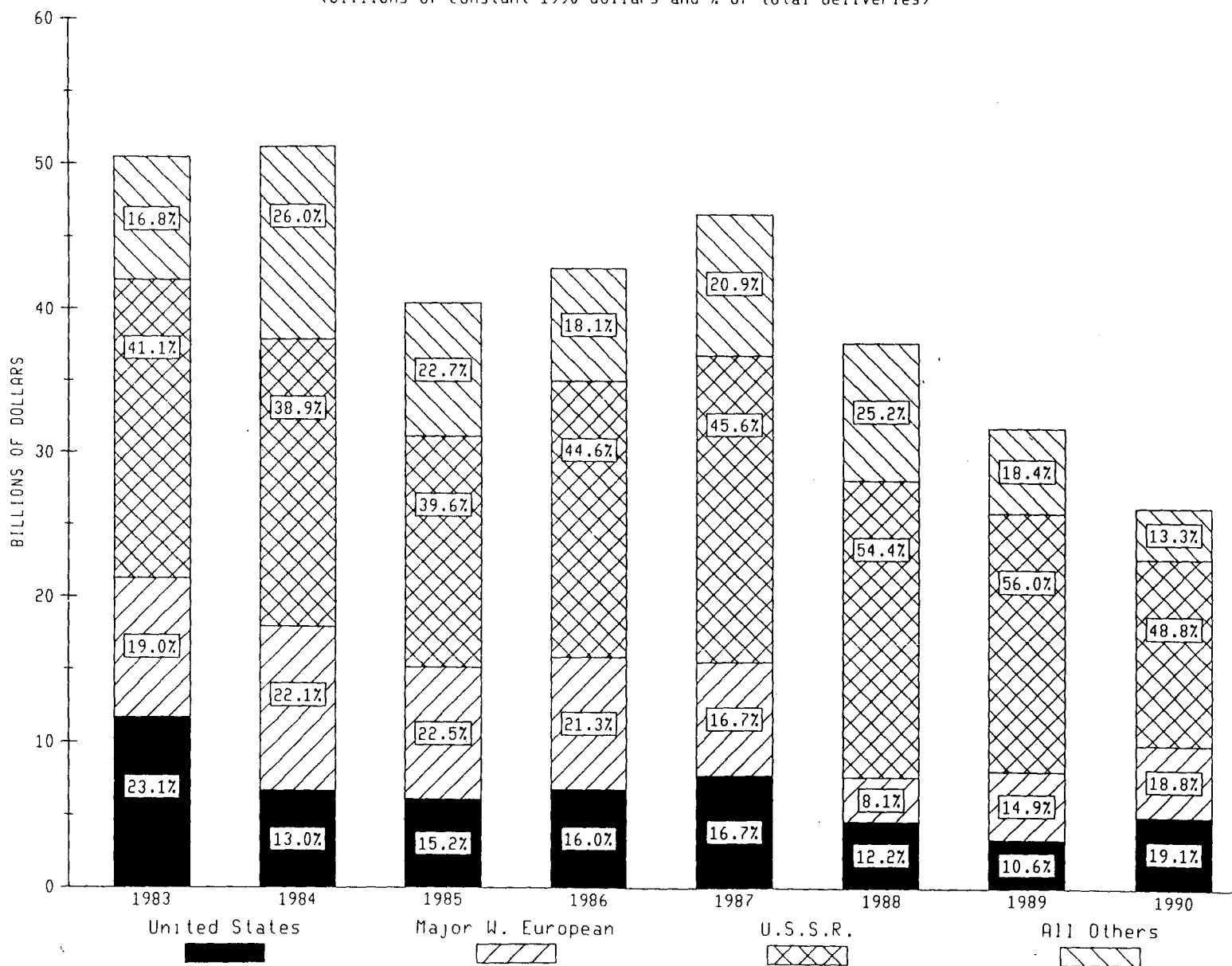


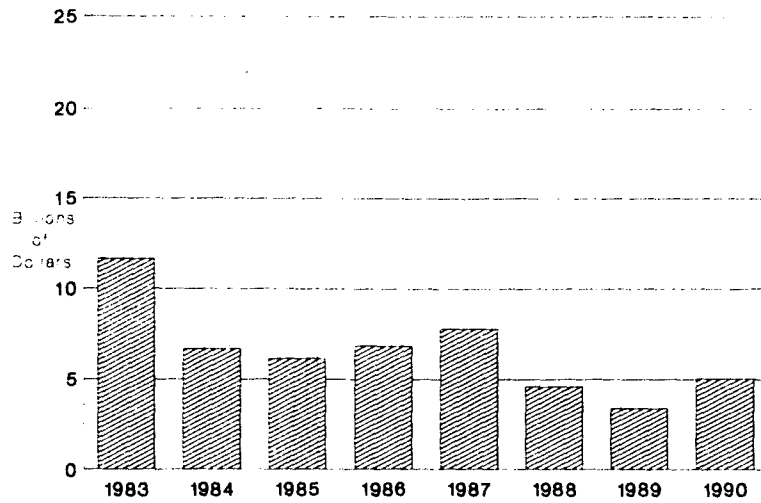


CHART 11.

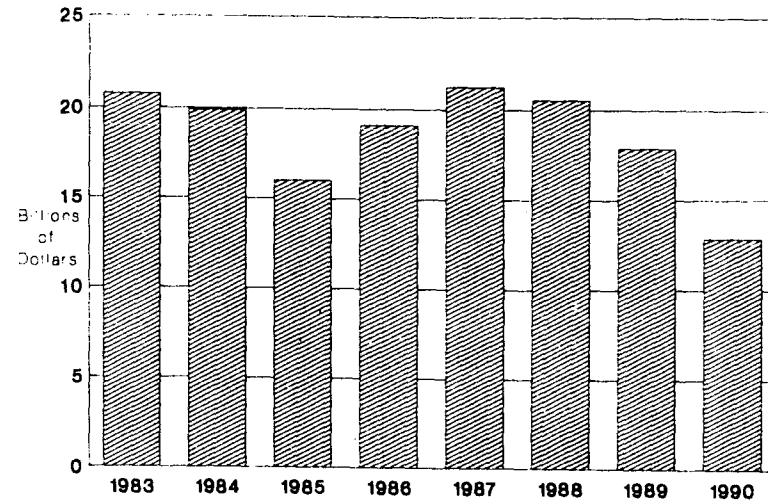
# ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(in Constant 1990 Dollars)

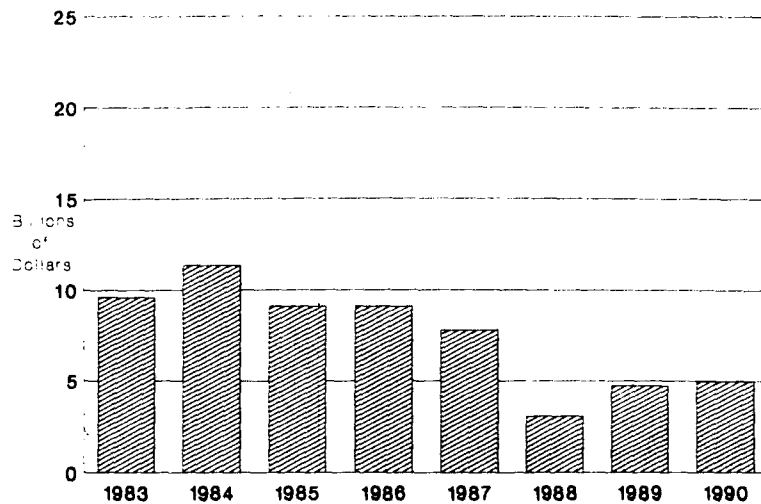
## United States



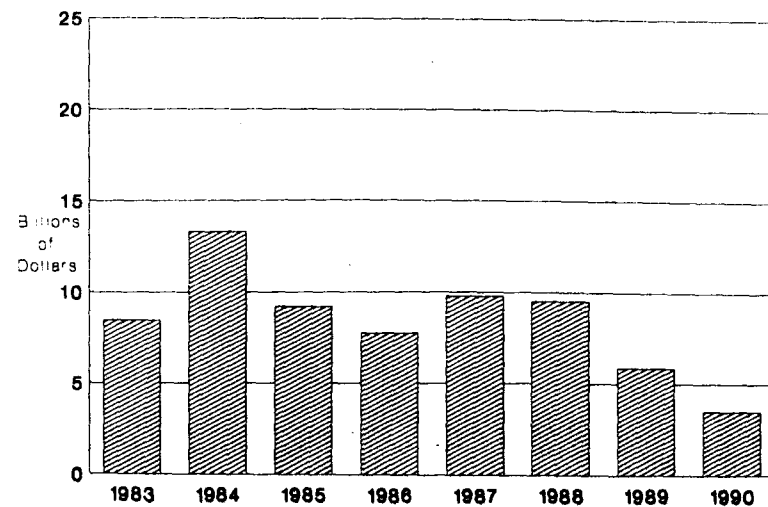
## Soviet Union



## Major Western European



## All Others



## REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1983-1990

Table 2C gives the values of arms deliveries between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1983-1986, and 1987-1990. 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 1983-1986 and 1987-1990. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

### Near East

- The Near East region has historically been dominant in the value of arms deliveries received by the Third World. In 1983-1986, it accounted for 62.5% of the total value of all Third World arms deliveries. During 1987-1990, the Near East region accounted for 50.8% of all such deliveries (tables 2C and 2D).
- The Near East region ranked first in the value of arms deliveries from most suppliers in both time periods (table 2D).
- For the period 1983-1986, nearly 89.8% of China's arms deliveries to the Third World were to nations in the Near East region. In the more recent period, 1987-1990, 83.5% of China's Third World arms deliveries were to nations of this region (table 2D).
- For the period 1983-1986, the United States made 77.8% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1987-1990, the U.S. made 67.9% of such arms deliveries to the Near East region (table 2D).
- For the period 1983-1986, the Soviet Union made 46% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1987-1990, the Soviet Union made 31.7% of such arms deliveries to the Near East (table 2D).
- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Near East with 30.2%. The United States ranked second with about 20%. France ranked third with 14.8%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 23.8% of this region's delivery values in 1983-1986. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East delivery values with 31.3%. The United States ranked second with 19.5%. The United Kingdom ranked third with 12.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 22.3% of this region's delivery values in 1987-1990 (table 2E).

### Asia

- The Asia region ranked second in the value of arms deliveries from most suppliers in both time periods. For the period 1987-1990, the Soviet Union made 44.8% of its Third World deliveries to the Asia region, while the United States made 27.6% (table 2D).
- In the period from 1983-1986, the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Asia with 59%. The United States ranked second with 14.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held about 15% of this region's delivery values in 1983-1986. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Asian delivery values with 72.1%. The United States ranked second with 11.2%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 4.5% of this region's delivery values in 1987-1990 (table 2E).

### Latin America

- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Latin America with 47%. West Germany ranked second with 16%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 23.7% of this region's delivery values in 1983-1986. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American delivery values with 63.8%. The United States ranked second with 9.5%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 14.1% of this region's delivery values in 1987-1990 (table 2E).

### Africa

- In the earlier period (1983-1986), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Africa (Sub-Saharan) with 72.2%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 13.5% of this region's delivery values in 1983-1986. The United States made 2.8% of Africa (Sub-Saharan) deliveries. In the later period (1987-1990), the Soviet Union ranked first in Sub-Saharan Africa delivery values with 75.7%. The other non-European suppliers as a group collectively held 10.5% of this region's delivery values in 1987-1990. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 5.5% of this region's delivery values in 1987-1990. The United States made 3.1% (table 2E).

## ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2F gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World from 1983-1990 by the Third World's top eleven 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--1983-1986, 1987-1990, and 1983-1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Six of the eleven leading suppliers of arms to the Third World registered moderate to substantial declines in the values of their deliveries from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 (in current dollars).
- The Soviet Union was the leading supplier of arms to the Third World from 1983-1990. The value of its deliveries to the Third World rose from \$62.9 billion in 1983-1986 to \$68.5 billion in 1987-1990, an 8.9% increase (in current dollars). By contrast, the United States ranked second during 1983-1990, but the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World declined from \$25.8 billion in 1983-1986 to \$19.6 billion in 1987-1990, a drop of 24% (in current dollars). France, the third leading supplier, suffered an even greater decline in the value of its deliveries to the Third World, falling from \$17.2 billion in 1983-1986 to \$7.8 billion in 1987-1990 (a 54.5% decline) (in current dollars).
- China ranked fifth in the value of arms delivered to the Third World during the period 1983-1990 (\$13.2 billion)--more than the combined deliveries values of Italy and Germany (in current dollars).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, the United Kingdom and China registered the greatest percentage increases in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1983-1986 to the period 1987-1990 (the United Kingdom increased 43.1%, and China 38.5%).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, Italy registered the greatest percentage decline (83%) in the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1983-1986 to the period 1987-1990. Germany and Spain registered the second and third greatest percentage declines (63.4% and 55.9%, respectively) in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World between the two time periods.

#### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1990: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2G give the values of arms deliveries to the Third World in 1990 by the top eleven suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total dollar values of their respective deliveries to the Third World in 1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The top five suppliers of arms to the Third World in 1990 are also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Collectively these five nations delivered nearly \$23.9 billion in arms to the Third World in 1990, 90.6% of all arms deliveries made to the Third World by all suppliers.
- In 1990, the Soviet Union was by far the leader in arms deliveries to the Third World, making over \$12.8 billion in such deliveries.
- The United States ranked second in arms deliveries to the Third World in 1990, making over \$5 billion in such deliveries.
- The United Kingdom ranked third in arms deliveries to the Third World in 1990, making over \$2.6 billion in such deliveries.

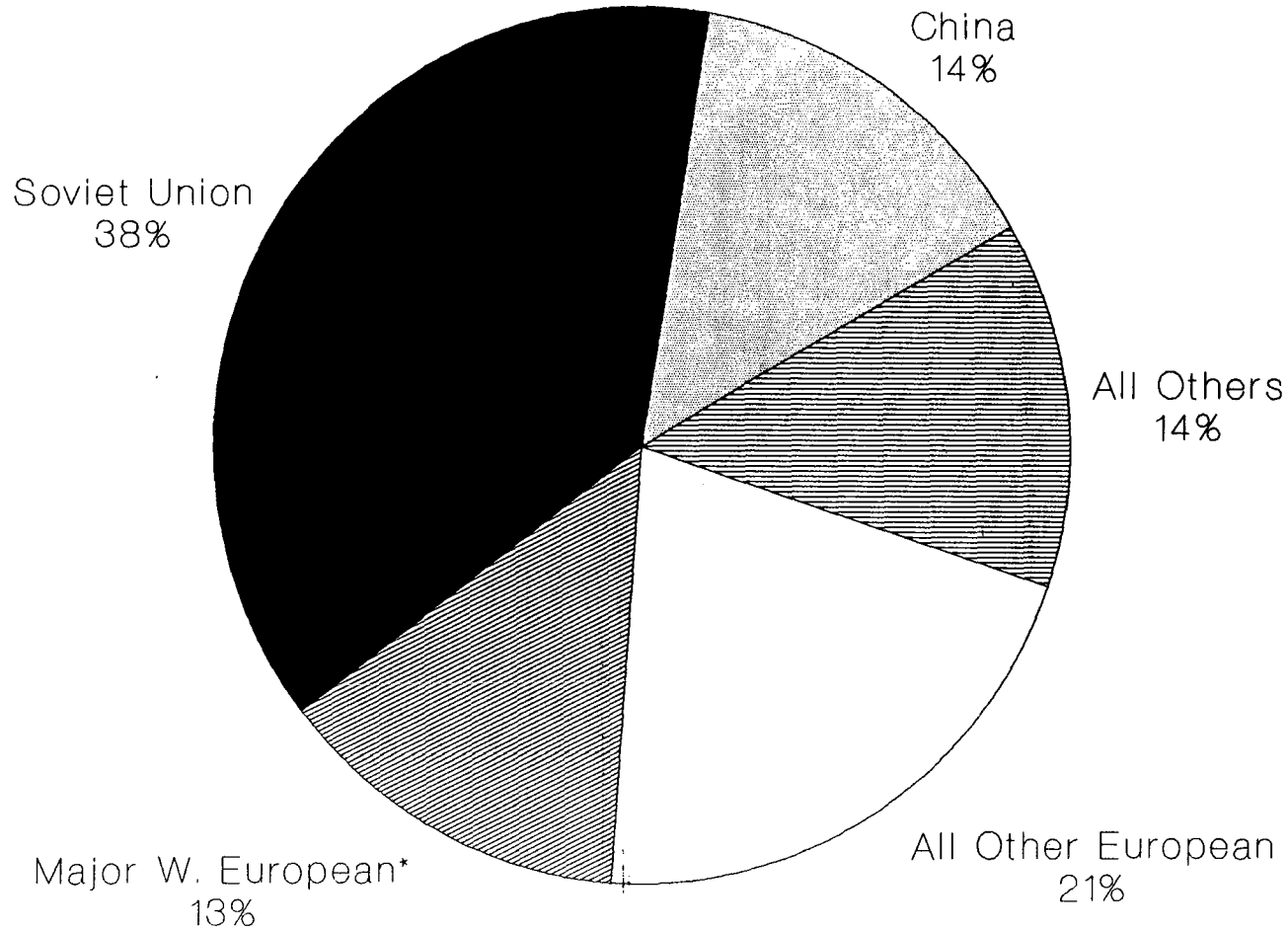
### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1983-1990: SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2H gives the values of arms delivered to Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2 and table 2C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1983-1990 period, China's share of all arms deliveries to Iran was 24.5% compared to 6.9% for the Soviet Union. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 6% of these deliveries. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 34.2% of these arms deliveries, while all other suppliers combined made 28.4% (chart 13).
- The value of China's arms deliveries to Iran has doubled in recent years, from nearly \$1.2 billion in 1983-1986 to nearly \$2.4 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars).
- The Soviet Union made negligible arms deliveries to Iran from 1983-1986 (\$100 million). However, its deliveries to Iran from 1987-1990 increased markedly to \$900 million (in current dollars).
- European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, made substantial deliveries of arms to Iran from 1983-1990 (nearly \$5 billion) (in current dollars). However, this group of suppliers experienced a dramatic decline in the value of its arms deliveries to Iran more recently. The total value of this group's deliveries fell from nearly \$3.3 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1.7 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars)--a graphic reflection of the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on this group of suppliers.

CHART 12.

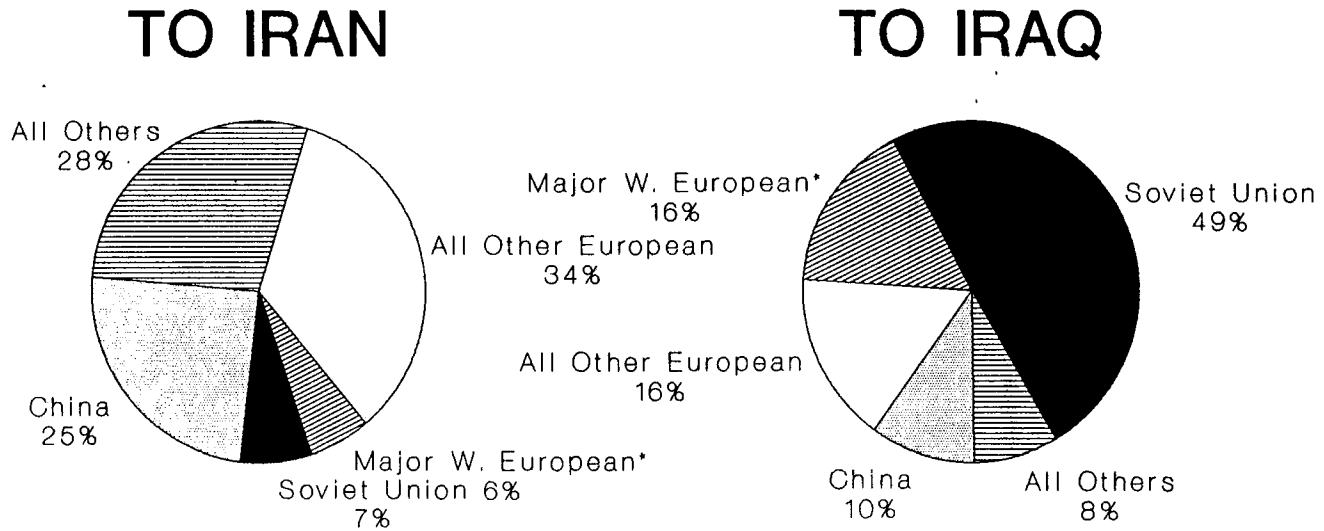
# ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1983-1990 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

CHART 13.

# ARMS DELIVERIES 1983-1990 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

- The group of all other non-European suppliers suffered a decline in the total value of its arms deliveries to Iran from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990, falling from nearly \$2.3 billion in the earlier period to about \$1.9 billion in 1987-1990.

### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1983-1990: SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2I gives the values of arms delivered to Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2 and 2C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1983-1990 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to Iraq was 49.4% compared to 10.1% for China. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 16.2% of these deliveries, while all other European suppliers combined made 16.1%. All other non-European suppliers collectively made 8.2% of deliveries to Iraq (chart 13).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1983-1990 the value of the Soviet Union's arms deliveries to Iraq totaled over \$19.5 billion (in current dollars). In the period from 1987-1990, the Soviet Union made roughly \$7.4 billion in arms deliveries to Iraq. This latter total is a massive decline from the value of Soviet arms deliveries to Iraq from the 1983-1986 period (nearly \$12.2 billion) (in current dollars) (chart 13).
- China registered a significant decline in the value of its arms deliveries with Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 (in current dollars), dropping from nearly \$3.2 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq in the earlier period to \$820 million in 1987-1990.
- The four major West European suppliers collectively registered a dramatic decrease in the value of their arms deliveries to Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. In current dollar terms, the collective value of major West European arms deliveries to Iraq decreased from nearly \$5.3 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1.2 billion in 1987-1990.



- The group of all other European suppliers collectively registered a substantial decline in the value of their arms deliveries to Iraq from the period 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. In current dollar terms, the collective value of arms deliveries of this group of European suppliers with Iraq declined from \$3.6 billion in 1983-1986 to roughly \$2.8 billion in 1987-1990. The collective value (in current dollars) of arms deliveries by all other non-European suppliers to Iraq fell from over \$1.9 billion in 1983-1986 to about \$1.3 billion in 1987-1990. All of these individual and group declines reflect the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war.

### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1983-1990: SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2J gives the values of arms delivered to Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2 and 2C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union is Cuba's primary, and nearly exclusive, arms supplier. The Soviet Union made nearly \$5.3 billion in arms deliveries to Cuba from 1983-1986 and \$5.9 billion in arms deliveries to that country from 1987-1990 (in current dollars). From 1983-1990, 88.6% of Cuba's arms deliveries were made with the Soviet Union. European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, collectively made arms deliveries to Cuba from 1983-1986 totaling nearly \$1.4 billion. But the total value of the deliveries from these other European suppliers from 1987-1990 was only \$15 million (in current dollars).

### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 2K gives the values of arms deliveries made to the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1983-1990 by all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers for each of three periods--1983-1986, 1987-1990 and 1983-1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Saudi Arabia and Iraq have been, by a wide margin, the top two Third World arms recipients from 1983-1990, receiving deliveries valued at \$48.1 billion and \$39.6 billion, respectively, during these years (in current dollars). The total value of all Third World arms deliveries from 1983-1990 was \$287.9 billion (in current dollars) (see table 2). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 16.7% and 13.7%, respectively, of all Third World arms deliveries during the 1983-1990 time period.

- Eight of the ten leading Third World recipients registered decreases in the values of their arms deliveries from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990.
- Three of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered substantial decreases in the values of their arms deliveries from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990. Iraq fell 48.5%, from \$26.1 billion to \$13.4 billion; Syria fell 38.9% from nearly \$8.6 billion to \$5.2 billion; Egypt fell 37.8%, from over \$6 billion to \$3.7 billion (in current dollars).
- The increase in the value of arms delivered to Afghanistan from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 was enormous (266.5%), a jump from nearly \$3.1 billion to nearly \$11.3 billion (in current dollars).
- India registered a massive increase in the value of its arms deliveries from 1983-1986 to 1987-1990 (57%), rising from \$8.3 billion in 1983-1986 to over \$13 billion in 1987-1990 (in current dollars).

#### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1990: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 2L gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms delivered in 1990. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers in 1990. Table 2L also provides the name of the country that was the major supplier to each recipient country, based on the comparative total value of all arms deliveries to that country in 1990. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union was the major supplier to six of the top ten arms recipients in the Third World in 1990.
- Saudi Arabia was the leading recipient of arms deliveries in the Third World in 1990, receiving over \$6.7 billion in such deliveries. The United Kingdom was its major supplier.
- Arms deliveries to the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, constituted 73% of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1990.
- Some Third World nations received significant arms deliveries in 1990. Most notably, Afghanistan received nearly \$3.5 billion in arms deliveries, with the Soviet Union its major supplier. Iran received over \$1.4 billion in arms deliveries in 1990, with the Soviet Union notably serving as its major supplier. Iraq received over \$1.1 billion in arms deliveries in 1990 despite being the subject of a United Nations arms embargo which began on August 6, 1990. Iraq's major supplier was France.

**Table 1**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990\***

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	8,077	6,432	4,802	3,491	5,248	8,736	7,767	18,496
Soviet Union	6,800	21,270	17,030	16,790	22,785	14,205	12,665	12,070
France	1,700	6,470	1,535	1,300	3,205	3,085	3,605	2,250
United Kingdom	670	735	8,820	905	515	4,880	2,635	1,575
China	830	340	1,410	1,795	4,660	1,975	1,405	2,590
Germany	540	765	230	495	780	155	860	190
Italy	1,145	695	1,300	610	130	185	260	230
All Other European	4,620	3,265	4,515	7,130	2,275	1,860	1,965	2,240
All Others	4,565	1,785	1,910	2,485	2,405	3,130	1,750	1,670
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28,947</b>	<b>41,757</b>	<b>41,552</b>	<b>35,001</b>	<b>42,003</b>	<b>38,211</b>	<b>32,912</b>	<b>41,311</b>
<b>**Dollar inflation index (1990=1)</b>	<b>0.7908</b>	<b>0.8153</b>	<b>0.8506</b>	<b>0.873</b>	<b>0.9013</b>	<b>0.9347</b>	<b>0.9712</b>	<b>1</b>

\*Third World category excludes the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, 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, 1983-1990**

(in millions of constant 1990 U.S. dollars)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	10,214	7,889	5,645	3,999	5,823	9,346	7,997	18,496
Soviet Union	8,599	26,089	20,021	19,233	25,280	15,197	13,041	12,070
France	2,150	7,936	1,805	1,489	3,556	3,301	3,712	2,250
United Kingdom	847	902	10,369	1,037	571	5,221	2,713	1,575
China	1,050	417	1,658	2,056	5,170	2,113	1,447	2,590
Germany	683	938	270	567	865	166	886	190
Italy	1,448	852	1,528	699	144	198	268	230
All Other European	5,842	4,005	5,308	8,167	2,524	1,990	2,023	2,240
All Others	5,773	2,189	2,245	2,847	2,668	3,349	1,802	1,670
<hr/>								
TOTAL	36,605	51,217	48,850	40,093	46,603	40,880	33,888	41,311

**Table 1B**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990**

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	27.90%	15.40%	11.56%	9.97%	12.49%	22.86%	23.60%	44.77%
Soviet Union	23.49%	50.94%	40.98%	47.97%	54.25%	37.18%	38.48%	29.22%
France	5.87%	15.49%	3.69%	3.71%	7.63%	8.07%	10.95%	5.45%
United Kingdom	2.31%	1.76%	21.23%	2.59%	1.23%	12.77%	8.01%	3.81%
China	2.87%	0.81%	3.39%	5.13%	11.09%	5.17%	4.27%	6.27%
Germany	1.87%	1.83%	0.55%	1.41%	1.86%	0.41%	2.61%	0.46%
Italy	3.96%	1.66%	3.13%	1.74%	0.31%	0.48%	0.79%	0.56%
All Other European	15.96%	7.82%	10.87%	20.37%	5.42%	4.87%	5.97%	5.42%
All Others	15.77%	4.27%	4.60%	7.10%	5.73%	8.19%	5.32%	4.04%
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(Major West European)*	14.01%	20.75%	28.60%	9.46%	11.02%	21.73%	22.36%	10.28%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
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\*(Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy.)

**Table 1C**  
**REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90
United States	6,500	7,830	14,776	30,708	1,029	1,441	496	268
Soviet Union	18,925	27,475	28,610	17,500	6,605	7,590	7,750	9,155
France	775	245	9,090	10,110	595	1,295	545	495
United Kingdom	1,150	2,050	9,595	7,075	95	190	285	295
China	275	3,135	3,925	7,055	0	1	180	440
Germany	735	690	605	1,045	370	225	320	25
Italy	290	150	2,530	180	390	325	545	155
All Other European	2,170	635	14,305	6,835	1,865	455	1,195	415
All Others	2,235	785	6,480	5,460	1,150	1,330	880	1,380
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(Major West European)*	2,950	3,135	21,820	18,410	1,450	2,035	1,695	970
<hr/>								
TOTAL	33,055	42,995	89,916	85,968	12,099	12,852	12,196	12,628

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1D

## PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTS VALUE BY REGION, 1983-1990

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90
United States	28.51%	19.45%	64.80%	76.30%	4.51%	3.58%	2.18%	0.67%	100.00%	100.00%
Soviet Union	30.58%	44.52%	46.23%	28.35%	10.67%	12.30%	12.52%	14.83%	100.00%	100.00%
France	7.04%	2.02%	82.60%	83.24%	5.41%	10.66%	4.95%	4.08%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	10.34%	21.33%	86.25%	73.62%	0.85%	1.98%	2.56%	3.07%	100.00%	100.00%
China	6.28%	29.49%	89.61%	66.36%	0.00%	0.01%	4.11%	4.14%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	36.21%	34.76%	29.80%	52.64%	18.23%	11.34%	15.76%	1.26%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	7.72%	18.52%	67.38%	22.22%	10.39%	40.12%	14.51%	19.14%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	11.11%	7.61%	73.23%	81.95%	9.55%	5.46%	6.12%	4.98%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	20.80%	8.77%	60.31%	60.97%	10.70%	14.85%	8.19%	15.41%	100.00%	100.00%
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(Major West European)*	10.57%	12.77%	78.17%	74.99%	5.19%	8.29%	6.07%	3.95%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
GRAND TOTAL	22.45%	27.84%	61.06%	55.66%	8.22%	8.32%	8.28%	8.18%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 1E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1983-1990

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90
United States	19.66%	18.21%	16.43%	35.72%	8.50%	11.21%	4.07%	2.12%
Soviet Union	57.25%	63.90%	31.82%	20.36%	54.59%	59.06%	63.55%	72.50%
France	2.34%	0.57%	10.11%	11.76%	4.92%	10.08%	4.47%	3.92%
United Kingdom	3.48%	4.77%	10.67%	8.23%	0.79%	1.48%	2.34%	2.34%
China	0.83%	7.29%	4.37%	8.21%	0.00%	0.01%	1.48%	3.48%
Germany	2.22%	1.60%	0.67%	1.22%	3.06%	1.75%	2.62%	0.20%
Italy	0.88%	0.35%	2.81%	0.21%	3.22%	2.53%	4.47%	1.23%
All Other European	6.56%	1.48%	15.91%	7.95%	15.41%	3.54%	9.80%	3.29%
All Others	6.76%	1.83%	7.21%	6.35%	9.50%	10.35%	7.22%	10.93%
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	8.92%	7.29%	24.27%	21.41%	11.98%	15.83%	13.90%	7.68%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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



**TABLE 1F. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World, 1983-1990:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1983-1986</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	61,890
2	U.S.	22,802
3	U.K.	11,130
4	France	11,005
5	China	4,375
6	Italy	3,750
7	Czechoslovakia	3,025
8	Spain	2,820
9	Poland	2,705
10	Brazil	2,195
11	Israel	2,045

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1987-1990</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	61,725
2	U.S.	40,247
3	France	12,145
4	China	10,630
5	U.K.	9,605
6	North Korea	2,135
7	Germany	1,985
8	Switzerland	1,555
9	Yugoslavia	1,370
10	Spain	1,125
11	South Korea	1,005

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1983-1990</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	123,615
2	U.S.	63,049
3	France	23,150
4	U.K.	20,735
5	China	15,005
6	Italy	4,555
7	Germany	4,015
8	Spain	3,945
9	Czechoslovakia	3,565
10	North Korea	3,470
11	Israel	3,025

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1G. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1990:  
Leading Suppliers Compared  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1990</b>
1	U.S	18,496
2	U.S.S.R.	12,070
3	China	2,590
4	France	2,250
5	U.K.	1,575
6	Switzerland	1,285
7	South Korea	855
8	South Africa	300
9	Yugoslavia	265
10	Italy	230
11	Czechoslovakia	210

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1H. Arms Transfer Agreements with Iran, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Iran 1983-1986</b>	<b>Iran 1987-1990</b>	<b>Iran 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	10	2,745	2,755
China	1,845	3,035	4,880
United States	0*	0	0*
Major West European	865	145	1,010
All Other European	3,835	2,090	5,925
All Others	2,385	1,975	4,360
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>8,940</b>	<b>9,990</b>	<b>18,930</b>

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

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE II. Arms Transfer Agreements with Iraq, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Iraq 1983-1986</b>	<b>Iraq 1987-1990</b>	<b>Iraq 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	11,815	4,090	15,905
China	1,760	615	2,375
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	1,005	2,665	3,670
All Other European	3,990	1,020	5,010
All Others	1,920	1,575	3,495
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>20,490</b>	<b>9,965</b>	<b>30,455</b>

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1J. Arms Transfer Agreements with Cuba, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Cuba 1983-1986</b>	<b>Cuba 1987-1990</b>	<b>Cuba 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	5,265	5,900	11,165
China	0	0	0
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	0	0	0
All Other European	1,360	20	1,380
All Others	60	1	61
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>6,685</b>	<b>5,921</b>	<b>12,606</b>

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1K. Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1983-1990:  
Agreements with the Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1983-1986</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	21,819
2	Iraq	20,490
3	India	9,261
4	Iran	8,940
5	Syria	7,235
6	Vietnam	6,700
7	Cuba	6,685
8	Egypt	5,812
9	Angola	5,155
10	Libya	5,030

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1987-1990</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	35,504
2	Afghanistan	10,920
3	Iran	9,990
4	Iraq	9,965
5	India	7,505
6	Egypt	7,040
7	Cuba	5,921
8	Angola	5,775
9	Vietnam	5,680
10	Syria	5,590

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1983-1990</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	57,323
2	Iraq	30,455
3	Iran	18,930
4	India	16,766
5	Afghanistan	14,235
6	Egypt	12,852
7	Syria	12,825
8	Cuba	12,606
9	Vietnam	12,380
10	Angola	10,930

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1L. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1990:  
Agreements with Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1990</b>	<b>M a j o r Supplier</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	18,649	U.S.
2	Afghanistan	3,700	U.S.S.R.
3	Iran	2,860	U.S.S.R.
4	India	1,960	U.S.S.R.
5	Iraq	1,435	France
6	Cuba	1,300	U.S.S.R.
7	Egypt	1,163	U.S.
8	Vietnam	1,055	U.S.S.R.
9	Burma (Myanmar)	980	China
10	Malaysia	793	U.K.

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2**  
**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990\***

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	9,208	5,435	5,218	5,975	7,019	4,311	3,283	5,033
Soviet Union	16,420	16,225	13,600	16,660	19,135	19,180	17,345	12,835
France	3,770	4,100	4,990	4,340	2,440	1,525	1,845	2,010
United Kingdom	1,320	1,345	1,000	2,750	3,630	560	2,360	2,635
China	1,555	2,060	665	1,250	1,835	2,535	1,950	1,340
Germany	1,285	2,520	690	310	585	560	335	280
Italy	1,225	1,270	1,055	545	370	220	70	35
All Other European	3,250	5,295	5,030	3,810	3,905	3,065	1,805	1,145
All Others	1,895	3,475	2,115	1,720	3,045	3,290	1,955	1,015
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39,928</b>	<b>41,725</b>	<b>34,363</b>	<b>37,360</b>	<b>41,964</b>	<b>35,246</b>	<b>30,948</b>	<b>26,328</b>

\*\*Dollar inflation index (1990=1)      0.7908      0.8153      0.8506      0.873      0.9013      0.9347      0.9712      1

\*Third World category excludes the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, 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, 1983-1990**

(in millions of constant 1990 dollars)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	11,644	6,666	6,134	6,844	7,788	4,612	3,380	5,033
Soviet Union	20,764	19,901	15,989	19,084	21,230	20,520	17,859	12,835
France	4,767	5,029	5,866	4,971	2,707	1,632	1,900	2,010
United Kingdom	1,669	1,650	1,176	3,150	4,028	599	2,430	2,635
China	1,966	2,527	782	1,432	2,036	2,712	2,008	1,340
Germany	1,625	3,091	811	355	649	599	345	280
Italy	1,549	1,558	1,240	624	411	235	72	35
All Other European	4,110	6,495	5,913	4,364	4,333	3,279	1,859	1,145
All Others	2,396	4,262	2,486	1,970	3,378	3,520	2,013	1,015
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50,491</b>	<b>51,177</b>	<b>40,399</b>	<b>42,795</b>	<b>46,559</b>	<b>37,708</b>	<b>31,866</b>	<b>26,328</b>

**Table 2B**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990**

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
United States	23.06%	13.03%	15.18%	15.99%	16.73%	12.23%	10.61%	19.12%
Soviet Union	41.12%	38.89%	39.58%	44.59%	45.60%	54.42%	56.05%	48.75%
France	9.44%	9.83%	14.52%	11.62%	5.81%	4.33%	5.96%	7.63%
United Kingdom	3.31%	3.22%	2.91%	7.36%	8.65%	1.59%	7.63%	10.01%
China	3.89%	4.94%	1.94%	3.35%	4.37%	7.19%	6.30%	5.09%
Germany	3.22%	6.04%	2.01%	0.83%	1.39%	1.59%	1.08%	1.06%
Italy	3.07%	3.04%	3.07%	1.46%	0.88%	0.62%	0.23%	0.13%
All Other European	8.14%	12.69%	14.64%	10.20%	9.31%	8.70%	5.83%	4.35%
All Others	4.75%	8.33%	6.15%	4.60%	7.26%	9.33%	6.32%	3.86%
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	19.03%	22.13%	22.51%	21.27%	16.74%	8.13%	14.90%	18.84%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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

**Table 2C**  
**REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1983-1990**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Asia</b>		<b>Near East</b>		<b>Latin America</b>		<b>Africa (Sub-Saharan)</b>	
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90
United States	4,141	4,864	20,101	13,336	1,212	1,112	382	334
Soviet Union	17,330	31,385	28,970	21,360	6,865	7,510	9,745	8,240
France	1,945	625	14,160	6,320	425	640	665	240
United Kingdom	1,230	580	4,670	8,255	110	220	415	130
China	435	1,035	4,965	6,395	0	1	130	225
Germany	675	580	1,450	485	2,340	680	345	10
Italy	545	185	2,560	170	590	120	400	215
All Other European	1,415	1,880	13,175	7,245	1,970	445	830	350
All Others	1,660	2,390	5,860	4,740	1,100	1,040	590	1,140
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	4,395	1,970	22,840	15,230	3,465	1,660	1,825	595
<hr/>								
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>29,376</b>	<b>43,524</b>	<b>95,911</b>	<b>68,306</b>	<b>14,612</b>	<b>11,768</b>	<b>13,502</b>	<b>10,884</b>

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

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2D**  
**PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1983-1990**

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90
United States	16.03%	24.76%	77.80%	67.88%	4.69%	5.66%	1.48%	1.70%	100.00%	100.00%
Soviet Union	27.55%	45.82%	46.05%	31.18%	10.91%	10.96%	15.49%	12.03%	100.00%	100.00%
France	11.31%	7.99%	82.35%	80.77%	2.47%	8.18%	3.87%	3.07%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	19.14%	6.31%	72.68%	89.87%	1.71%	2.40%	6.46%	1.42%	100.00%	100.00%
China	7.87%	13.52%	89.78%	83.53%	0.00%	0.01%	2.35%	2.94%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	14.03%	33.05%	30.15%	27.64%	48.65%	38.75%	7.17%	0.57%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	13.31%	26.81%	62.52%	24.64%	14.41%	17.39%	9.77%	31.16%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	8.14%	18.95%	75.76%	73.03%	11.33%	4.49%	4.77%	3.53%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	18.02%	25.67%	63.63%	50.91%	11.94%	11.17%	6.41%	12.24%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
(Major West European)*	13.51%	10.13%	70.22%	78.28%	10.65%	8.53%	5.61%	3.06%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
GRAND TOTAL	19.15%	32.36%	62.52%	50.79%	9.53%	8.75%	8.80%	8.09%	100.00%	100.00%

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

**Table 2E**

**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1983-1990**

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		
	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	1983-86	1987-90	
United States	14.10%	11.18%	20.96%	19.52%	8.29%	9.45%	2.83%	3.07%	
Soviet Union	58.99%	72.11%	30.21%	31.27%	46.98%	63.82%	72.17%	75.71%	
France	6.62%	1.44%	14.76%	9.25%	2.91%	5.44%	4.93%	2.21%	
United Kingdom	4.19%	1.33%	4.87%	12.09%	0.75%	1.87%	3.07%	1.19%	
China	1.48%	2.38%	5.18%	9.36%	0.00%	0.01%	0.96%	2.07%	
Germany	2.30%	1.33%	1.51%	0.71%	16.01%	5.78%	2.56%	0.09%	
Italy	1.86%	0.43%	2.67%	0.25%	4.04%	1.02%	2.96%	1.98%	
All Other European	4.82%	4.32%	13.74%	10.61%	13.48%	3.78%	6.15%	3.22%	
All Others	5.65%	5.49%	6.11%	6.94%	7.53%	8.84%	4.37%	10.47%	
<hr/>									
(Major West European)*	14.96%	4.53%	23.81%	22.30%	23.71%	14.11%	13.52%	5.47%	
<hr/>									
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	

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

**TABLE 2F. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1983-1990:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1983-1986</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	62,905
2	U.S.	25,836
3	France	17,200
4	U.K.	6,420
5	China	5,530
6	Germany	4,805
7	Italy	4,095
8	Czechoslovakia	2,770
9	Spain	2,110
10	Yugoslavia	1,770
11	Israel	1,540

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1987-1990</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	68,495
2	U.S.	19,646
3	U.K.	9,185
4	France	7,820
5	China	7,660
6	Germany	1,760
7	North Korea	1,665
8	Poland	1,535
9	Sweden	1,415
10	Czechoslovakia	1,355
11	Israel	1,330

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1983-1990</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	131,400
2	U.S.	45,482
3	France	25,015
4	U.K.	15,600
5	China	13,190
6	Germany	6,565
7	Italy	4,790
8	Czechoslovakia	4,125
9	North Korea	3,060
10	Spain	3,040
11	Poland	2,910

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2G. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1990:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1990</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	12,835
2	U.S.	5,033
3	U.K.	2,635
4	France	2,010
5	China	1,340
6	Israel	295
7	Germany	280
8	Yugoslavia	225
9	Czechoslovakia	210
10	Switzerland	210
11	North Korea	200

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2H. Arms Deliveries to Iran, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Iran 1983-1986</b>	<b>Iran 1987-1990</b>	<b>Iran 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	100	900	1,000
China	1,165	2,385	3,550
United States	0*	0	0*
Major West European	460	405	865
All Other European	3,285	1,660	4,945
All Others	2,250	1,860	4,110
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>7,260</b>	<b>7,210</b>	<b>14,470</b>

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

Source: U.S. Government



**TABLE 2I. Arms Deliveries to Iraq, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Iraq 1983-1986</b>	<b>Iraq 1987-1990</b>	<b>Iraq 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	12,170	7,370	19,540
China	3,180	820	4,000
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	5,225	1,180	6,405
All Other European	3,615	2,765	6,380
All Others	1,920	1,310	3,230
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>26,110</b>	<b>13,445</b>	<b>39,555</b>

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2J. Arms Deliveries to Cuba, 1983-1990:  
Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	<b>Cuba 1983-1986</b>	<b>Cuba 1987-1990</b>	<b>Cuba 1983-1990</b>
<b>Supplier</b>			
Soviet Union	5,265	5,900	11,165
China	0	0	0
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	0	0	0
All Other European	1,360	15	1,375
All Others	18	40	58
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>6,643</b>	<b>5,955</b>	<b>12,598</b>

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2K. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1983-1990:**  
**Deliveries to the Leading Recipients**  
 (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1983-1986</b>
1	Iraq	26,110
2	Saudi Arabia	25,952
3	Syria	8,555
4	India	8,286
5	Iran	7,260
6	Libya	7,120
7	Vietnam	6,700
8	Cuba	6,643
9	Egypt	6,010
10	Angola	4,725

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1987-1990</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	22,157
2	Iraq	13,445
3	India	13,005
4	Afghanistan	11,270
5	Iran	7,210
6	Cuba	5,955
7	Vietnam	5,675
8	Syria	5,225
9	Angola	4,580
10	Egypt	3,737

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1983-1990</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	48,109
2	Iraq	39,555
3	India	21,296
4	Iran	14,470
5	Afghanistan	14,345
6	Syria	13,780
7	Cuba	12,598
8	Vietnam	12,375
9	Egypt	9,747
10	Libya	9,680

**TABLE 2L. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1990:  
Deliveries to the Leading Recipients  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1990</b>	<b>Major Supplier</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	6,749	U.K.
2	Afghanistan	3,460	U.S.S.R.
3	India	1,760	U.S.S.R.
4	Iran	1,400	U.S.S.R.
5	Cuba	1,300	U.S.S.R.
6	Iraq	1,125	France
7	Vietnam	1,055	U.S.S.R.
8	Syria	960	U.S.S.R.
9	U.A.E.	846	France
10	Taiwan	586	U.S.

Source: U.S. Government

## **SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1983-1990**

Other 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 either the sophistication or the specific name of the equipment delivered. However, these data will show relative trends in the delivery of important classes of military equipment and will also indicate who the leading suppliers are from region to region over time. Data in the following tables set out actual deliveries of fourteen categories of weaponry to the Third World from 1983-1990 by the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the four major West European suppliers as a group, all other European suppliers as a group, and all other suppliers as a group.

Despite various numerical trends within these data 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, the major West Europeans or other suppliers.

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.

### **REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1987-1990**

- 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 1987-1990. 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 1987-1990, making notable deliveries of certain categories of armaments to every region of the Third World--most particularly to the Near East and to Latin America. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region the major Western

European suppliers were the principal competition for the Soviet Union in arms deliveries.

- The regional weapons delivery data reflect graphically the diverse sources of supply of conventional weaponry available to Third World nations. Even though the Soviet Union, the United States and the four major West European suppliers dominate in the delivery of the fourteen classes of weapons examined, it is also evident that the other European suppliers, and non-European suppliers, including China, are fully capable of providing a wide-range of conventional armaments to nearly any country in the Third World should they chose to do so.
- It is noteworthy that there have been substantial quantities of specific categories of weapons delivered to individual regions of the Third World by specific suppliers from 1987-1990. Among such notable deliveries, by region, are the following:

### **Asia**

The Soviet Union delivered 2,190 tanks and self-propelled guns; 200 supersonic combat aircraft; 4,880 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); and 3,905 surface-to-surface missiles. The United States delivered 152 supersonic combat aircraft and 1,299 surface-to-surface missiles. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered 625 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). China delivered 105 supersonic combat aircraft.

### **Near East**

The Soviet Union delivered 820 tanks and self-propelled guns, 370 supersonic combat aircraft, 3,025 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 170 anti-shipping missiles. The United States delivered 272 tanks and self-propelled guns and 4,734 surface-to-surface missiles. China delivered 215 anti-shipping missiles. The four major West European suppliers delivered 115 supersonic combat aircraft and 100 anti-shipping missiles. All other European suppliers as a group delivered 515 tanks and self-propelled guns, 1,260 APCs and armored cars, and 2,720 surface-to-surface missiles. All other suppliers collectively delivered 1,200 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).

### **Latin America**

The Soviet Union delivered 265 tanks and self-propelled guns, 75 helicopters, 1,245 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), and 60 anti-shipping missiles. The United States delivered 38 supersonic combat aircraft and 180 surface-to-surface missiles. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered 60 helicopters and 60 anti-shipping missiles.

**Africa**

The Soviet Union delivered 565 tanks and self-propelled guns, 80 supersonic combat aircraft, 105 helicopters and 680 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). The United States delivered 200 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). China delivered 4,000 surface-to-surface missiles. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered 790 surface-to-surface missiles. All other non-European suppliers as a group delivered 190 tanks and self-propelled guns, 470 artillery pieces, 25 supersonic combat aircraft and 300 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).

Table 3

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major Western European*	All Other European	All Others
<b>1983-1986</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1433	3020	1590	460	695	470
Artillery	2660	4855	1410	870	5740	1285
APCs and Armored Cars	981	6550	1190	1350	1770	1110
Major Surface Combatants	4	25	2	37	12	5
Minor Surface Combatants	13	101	17	69	103	55
Guided Missile Boats	0	8	14	12	0	0
Submarines	0	7	2	8	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	216	1140	95	190	0	11
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	148	80	80	80	0	15
Other Aircraft	144	345	20	315	380	195
Helicopters	151	685	0	310	100	80
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	2210	13130	350	2510	6005	30
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	10298	10025	1010	5665	7890	310
Anti-Shipping Missiles	102	495	175	1115	0	10
<b>1987-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	442	3840	140	25	606	305
Artillery	443	3790	1815	2740	680	1145
APCs and Armored Cars	588	6080	535	140	1280	430
Major Surface Combatants	6	18	1	12	0	10
Minor Surface Combatants	7	56	21	97	19	178
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	5	2	0	2
Submarines	0	12	0	6	0	3
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	231	670	130	135	1	110
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	27	105	21	65	0	5
Other Aircraft	151	230	20	60	260	181
Helicopters	130	710	0	165	70	25
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1596	9830	385	700	190	1500
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	6363	4225	4160	870	2720	255
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	530	215	200	0	10
<b>1983-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1875	6860	1730	485	1301	775
Artillery	3103	8645	3225	3610	6420	2430
APCs and Armored Cars	1569	12630	1725	1490	3050	1540
Major Surface Combatants	10	43	3	49	12	15
Minor Surface Combatants	20	157	38	166	122	233
Guided Missile Boats	0	8	19	14	0	2
Submarines	0	19	2	14	0	3
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	447	1810	225	325	1	121
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	175	185	101	145	0	20
Other Aircraft	295	575	40	375	640	376
Helicopters	281	1395	0	475	170	105
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	3806	22960	735	3210	6195	1530
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	16661	14250	5170	6535	10610	565
Anti-Shipping Missiles	102	1025	390	1315	0	20

1/ Third World category excludes Europe, the United States, U.S.S.R., Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All data are for calendar years given.

\*Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government



Table 4

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Asia 1/

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major Western European*	All Other European	All Others
<b>1983-1986</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	381	1025	115	0	265	0
Artillery	1050	1345	30	270	105	135
APCs and Armored Cars	535	2655	0	115	290	40
Major Surface Combatants	4	6	0	5	5	1
Minor Surface Combatants	0	40	7	15	5	20
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	8	0	0	0
Submarines	0	1	0	3	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	113	355	0	40	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	106	0	70	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	47	160	10	90	90	50
Helicopters	58	200	0	40	60	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	756	1275	230	470	1000	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	5560	2160	0	1350	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	84	65	60	100	0	0
<b>1987-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	147	2190	105	0	1	0
Artillery	295	2150	235	15	400	175
APCs and Armored Cars	145	4490	465	0	0	0
Major Surface Combatants	0	15	1	5	0	10
Minor Surface Combatants	0	15	10	5	3	45
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	5	0	0	0
Submarines	0	10	0	5	0	2
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	152	200	105	10	0	70
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	65	20	10	0	0
Other Aircraft	37	150	20	15	20	1
Helicopters	88	235	0	40	5	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	876	4880	0	625	80	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	1299	3905	55	80	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	280	0	40	0	0
<b>1983-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	528	3215	220	0	266	0
Artillery	1345	3495	265	285	505	310
APCs and Armored Cars	680	7145	465	115	290	40
Major Surface Combatants	4	21	1	10	5	11
Minor Surface Combatants	0	55	17	20	8	65
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	13	0	0	0
Submarines	0	11	0	8	0	2
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	265	555	105	50	0	70
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	106	65	90	30	0	0
Other Aircraft	84	310	30	105	110	51
Helicopters	146	435	0	80	65	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1632	6155	230	1095	1080	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	6859	6065	55	1430	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	84	345	60	140	0	0

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

\*Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Table 5

## Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Near East 1/

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major Western European*	All Other European	All Others
<b>1983-1986</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1052	1115	1440	320	430	270
Artillery	1247	1475	1330	410	5380	665
APCs and Armored Cars	369	2655	1190	810	1245	575
Major Surface Combatants	0	15	2	15	3	0
Minor Surface Combatants	4	15	8	20	90	15
Guided Missile Boats	0	6	6	12	0	0
Submarines	0	5	2	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	77	475	90	125	0	1
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	75	5	30	0	5
Other Aircraft	22	100	0	65	185	45
Helicopters	23	215	0	135	15	45
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1374	7605	120	1490	5005	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	4373	7255	1010	3735	7890	60
Anti-Shipping Missiles	18	300	115	825	0	0
<b>1987-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	272	820	35	0	515	115
Artillery	64	740	1465	2660	245	440
APCs and Armored Cars	380	1020	25	15	1260	180
Major Surface Combatants	6	2	0	4	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	10	5	80	5	105
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	2	0	0
Submarines	0	2	0	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	41	370	10	115	1	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	20	1	40	0	0
Other Aircraft	0	20	0	20	145	80
Helicopters	0	295	0	40	35	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	520	3025	385	75	110	1200
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	4734	270	105	0	2720	255
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	170	215	100	0	10
<b>1983-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1324	1935	1475	320	945	385
Artillery	1311	2215	2795	3070	5265	1105
APCs and Armored Cars	749	3675	1215	825	2505	755
Major Surface Combatants	6	17	2	19	3	0
Minor Surface Combatants	4	25	13	100	95	120
Guided Missile Boats	0	6	6	14	0	0
Submarines	0	7	2	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	118	845	100	240	1	1
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	95	6	70	0	5
Other Aircraft	22	120	0	85	330	125
Helicopters	23	510	0	175	50	50
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1894	10630	505	1565	5115	1200
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	9107	7525	1115	3735	10610	315
Anti-Shipping Missiles	18	470	330	925	0	10

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

\*Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 6**  
**Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers to Latin America <sup>1/</sup>**

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major Western European*	All Other European	All Others
<b>1983-1986</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	505	0	0	0	25
Artillery	241	580	0	35	140	155
APCs and Armored Cars	12	330	0	70	85	145
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	15	4	4
Minor Surface Combatants	8	33	0	9	0	9
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	1	0	5	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	24	30	0	5	0	10
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	42	0	0	5	0	0
Other Aircraft	71	25	0	55	55	70
Helicopters	70	100	0	80	5	15
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	04	855	0	180	0	25
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	610	0	110	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	10	0	160	0	10
<b>1987-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	265	0	0	0	0
Artillery	49	325	0	65	30	60
APCs and Armored Cars	4	255	0	20	0	15
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	3	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	7	15	0	0	0	10
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	1	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	38	20	0	10	0	15
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	27	0	0	5	0	5
Other Aircraft	112	50	0	20	35	75
Helicopters	42	75	0	60	25	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	1245	0	0	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	180	50	0	70	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	60	0	60	0	0
<b>1983-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	770	0	0	0	25
Artillery	290	905	0	100	170	215
APCs and Armored Cars	16	585	0	90	85	160
Major Surface Combatants	0	2	0	18	4	4
Minor Surface Combatants	15	48	0	9	0	19
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	1	0	6	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	62	50	0	15	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	69	0	0	10	0	5
Other Aircraft	183	75	0	75	90	145
Helicopters	112	175	0	140	30	20
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	2100	0	180	0	25
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	180	660	0	110	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	70	0	220	0	10

<sup>1/</sup> All data are for calendar years given.

\*Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

Table 7

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major Western European*	All Other European	All Others
<b>1983-1986</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	375	35	140	0	175
Artillery	122	1455	50	155	115	330
APCs and Armored Cars	65	910	0	355	150	350
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	2	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	13	2	25	8	11
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	2	280	5	20	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	5	5	25	0	10
Other Aircraft	4	60	10	105	50	30
Helicopters	0	170	0	55	20	15
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	80	3395	0	370	0	5
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	365	0	0	470	0	250
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	120	0	30	0	0
<b>1987-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	565	0	25	90	190
Artillery	35	575	115	0	5	470
APCs and Armored Cars	59	315	45	105	20	235
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	16	6	12	11	18
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	80	15	0	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	20	0	10	0	0
Other Aircraft	2	10	0	5	60	25
Helicopters	0	105	0	25	5	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	200	680	0	0	0	300
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	150	0	4000	790	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	20	0	0	0	0
<b>1983-1990</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	940	35	165	90	365
Artillery	157	2030	165	155	120	800
APCs and Armored Cars	124	1225	45	460	170	585
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	2	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	29	8	37	19	29
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	2	360	20	20	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	25	5	35	0	10
Other Aircraft	6	70	10	110	110	55
Helicopters	0	275	0	80	25	25
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	280	4075	0	370	0	305
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	515	0	4000	1260	0	250
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	140	0	30	0	0

<sup>1/</sup> All data are for calendar years given.

\*Major Western European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure.

**DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN  
WEAPONS CATEGORIES, 1983-1990**

**TANKS AND SELF-PROPELLED GUNS:** This category includes light, medium, and heavy tanks; self-propelled artillery; self-propelled assault guns.

**ARTILLERY:** This category includes 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:** This category includes personnel carriers, armored and amphibious; armored infantry fighting vehicles; Armored reconnaissance and command vehicles.

**MAJOR SURFACE COMBATANTS:** This category includes aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, frigates.

**MINOR SURFACE COMBATANTS:** This category includes minesweepers, subchasers, motor torpedo boats, patrol craft, motor gunboats.

**SUBMARINES:** This category includes all submarines, including midget submarines.

**GUIDED MISSILE PATROL BOATS:** This category includes all boats in this class.

**SUPERSONIC COMBAT AIRCRAFT:** This category includes all fighters and bombers designed to function operationally at speeds above Mach 1.

**SUBSONIC COMBAT AIRCRAFT:** This category includes all fighters and bombers, including propeller driven, designed to function operationally at speeds below Mach 1.

**OTHER AIRCRAFT:** This category includes all other fixed-wing aircraft, including trainers, transports, reconnaissance aircraft, and communications/utility aircraft.

**HELICOPTERS:** This category includes all helicopters, including combat and transport.

**SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES (SAMs):** This category includes all air defense missiles.

**SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES:** This category includes all anti-tank missiles, such as AT-3s, AT-5s and TOWs; and all other surface-to-surface missiles without regard to range, such as SCUDs and CSS-2s. It excludes all anti-shipping missiles.

**ANTI-SHIPING MISSILES:** This category includes all missiles in this class such as the Harpoon, Silkworm, Styx and Exocet.



## REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS

## ASIA

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

## NEAR EAST

Algeria  
 Bahrain  
 Egypt  
 Iran  
 Iraq  
 Israel  
 Jordan  
 Kuwait  
 Lebanon  
 Libya  
 Morocco  
 Oman  
 Qatar  
 Saudi Arabia  
 Syria  
 Tunisia  
 United Arab Emirates  
 Yemen

## EUROPE

Albania  
 Austria  
 Bulgaria  
 Belgium  
 Canada  
 Czechoslovakia  
 Cyprus  
 Denmark  
 Finland  
 France  
 Germany  
 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  
 Burkina Faso  
 Burundi  
 Cameroon  
 Cape Verde  
 Central African  
 Republic  
 Chad  
 Congo  
 Côte d'Ivoire  
 Djibouti  
 Equatorial Guinea  
 Ethiopia  
 Gabon  
 Gambia  
 Ghana  
 Guinea  
 Guinea-Bissau  
 Kenya  
 Lesotho  
 Liberia  
 Madagascar  
 Malawi  
 Mali  
 Mauritania  
 Mauritius  
 Mozambique  
 Niger  
 Nigeria  
 Réunion  
 Rwanda  
 Senegal  
 Seychelles  
 Sierra Leone  
 Somalia  
 South Africa  
 St. Helena  
 Sudan  
 Swaziland  
 Tanzania

Togo  
 Uganda  
 Zaire  
 Zambia  
 Zimbabwe

## LATIN AMERICA

Antigua  
 Argentina  
 Bahamas  
 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. Kitts and Nevis  
 St. Lucia  
 St. Pierre and Miquelon  
 St. Vincent  
 Suriname  
 Trinidad

Turks & Caicos  
 Venezuela