CRS Report for Congress

9

Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1982-1989

Richard F. Grimmett Specialist in National Defense Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division

June 19, 1990



Congressional Research Service • The Library of Congress

TRENDS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD BY MAJOR SUPPLIER, 1982-1989

SUMMARY

The general decline in the value of new arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with the Third World seen in recent years continued in 1989. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1989 (\$29.3 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1982-1989 (in constant 1989 dollars).

The Soviet Union and the United States have clearly dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1982-1989. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for 60% of all arms transfer agreements with, and arms deliveries to, the Third World during these years.

In real terms, the value of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from the 1988 total of \$9.3 billion to \$7.7 billion in 1989, a 26% share of all such agreements in 1989. The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell from \$14.7 billion in 1988 to \$11.2 billion in 1989, a 38.4% share of all Third World arms transfer agreements in 1989.

In the 1980s, China has emerged as an important supplier of arms to the Third World, in large measure due to agreements with Iran and Iraq. During the 1982-1989 period, 54.6% of all of China's arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with the Third World were with Iran and Iraq collectively.

The trade in arms with Iran and Iraq, stimulated by their war, was a significant element of the entire Third World arms market during most of the 1980s. For the 1982-1989 period, the total value of arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with Iran and Iraq <u>collectively</u> by all suppliers constituted nearly one-fifth (19.7%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World.

The four major West European suppliers registered a decline in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1989, falling to 17.2% from 21.6% in 1988. From 1982-1985, the major West European suppliers, as a group, averaged over 20% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. More recently, from 1986-1989, this collective share of arms agreements has been, on average, just less than 15%.

Despite the scaling back of regional conflicts throughout the Third World, several nations directly involved in them received significant arms <u>deliveries</u> in 1989. Most notably, Afghanistan received \$3.8 billion in arms deliveries (with the Soviet Union as its major supplier). Iraq and Iran received over \$1.9 billion and \$1.3 billion in arm deliveries respectively in 1989. Iraq's major supplier was the Soviet Union; Iran's major supplier was China.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ç

INTRODUCTION	1
MAJOR FINDINGS	2
WORLD	2
UNITED STATES	
SOVIET UNION	
MAJOR WEST EUROPEAN	
THE IRAN - IRAQ ARMS MARKET	
	U
SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1982-1989	9
TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT	
VALUES	9
REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES,	10
1982-1989 ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD,	. 12
1982-1989: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED	18
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1982-1989:	10
SUPPLIERS COMPARED	21
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1982-1989:	
SUPPLIERS COMPARED	22
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1982-1989:	
SUPPLIERS COMPARED	25
ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS	25
AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS	20
TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES	27
REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1982-1989	31
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989:	
LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED	32
ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1982-1989:	
SUPPLIERS COMPARED	33
ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED	22
ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1982-1989:	00
SUPPLIERS COMPARED	37
ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989:	
DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS	37
LEADING THIRD WORLD RECIPIENTS OF ARMS DELIVERIES	
IN 1989	38
THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER DATA TABLES	39
SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD	
1982-1989	62
WEAPONS DELIVERED TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- CONTINUED

-1

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC, 1982-1989	
	62
WEAPONS DELIVERED TO NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA,	
1982-1989	
WEAPONS DELIVERED TO LATIN AMERICA, 1982-1989	63
WEAPONS DELIVERED TO AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN),	
1982-1989	64
REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1986-1989	64
THIRD WORLD WEAPONS DELIVERIES TABLES	66
DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN WEAPONS CATEGORIES,	
1982-1989	71
REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND	
CHARTS	72

•

¢

.

CHART 1. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: United States, Major West European, U.S.S.R., All Others Compared (Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars and Percentage of Total Agreements)	10
CHART 2. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD 1988 AND 1989: BY SUPPLIER (As percentage of All Agreements)	11
CHART 3. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: United States, U.S.S.R., and Major West European Compared (In Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars) 1	13
CHART 4. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: By Major Supplier (In Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars) 1	14
CHART 5. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: Non-Communist and Communist Suppliers Compared (In Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars) 1	15
CHART 6. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1986-1989, With Near East and South Asia (Supplier Percentage) 1	L 7
CHART 7. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA, 1982-1985 AND 1986-1989 (Supplier Percentage) 1	L 9
CHART 8. SOVIET UNION ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA, 1982-1985 AND 1986-1989 (Supplier Percentage)	20
CHART 9. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, WITH IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1982-1989 (Supplier Percentage) 2	23
CHART 10. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS. 1982-1989, WITH IRAN AND WITH IRAQ (Supplier Percentage)	24
CHART 11. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: United States, Major West European, U.S.S.R., All Others Compared (Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars and Percentage of Total Deliveries)	28
CHART 12. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: By All Suppliers (In Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars) 2	29
CHART 13. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: Non-Communist and Communists Suppliers Compared. (In Billions of Constant 1989 Dollars and Percentage of Total)	80

LIST OF CHARTS -- CONTINUED

CHART 14. ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1982-1989 (Supplier Percentage)	. 35
CHART 15. ARMS DELIVERIES, 1982-1989, TO IRAN AND TO IRAQ (Supplier Percentage)	

а

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRDWORLD, BY SUPPLIER (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	39
TABLE 1A.ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER (In Millions of Constant 1989 U.S. Dollars)	40
TABLE 1B. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRDWORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (Expressed as a Percent of Grand Total, By Year)	41
TABLE 1C.REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BYSUPPLIER, 1982-1989(In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	42
TABLE 1D. PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTSVALUE BY REGION, 1982-1989	43
TABLE 1E. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BYSUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1982-1989	44
TABLE 1F. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRDWORLD, 1982-1989:LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	45
TABLE 1G. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	46
TABLE 1H. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	47
TABLE 11. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	48
TABLE 1J. ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989:AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS	49
TABLE 2. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BYSUPPLIER (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	50
TABLE 2A.ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BYSUPPLIER (In Millions of Constant 1989 Dollars)	51
TABLE 2B.ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIERS, 1982-1989 (Expressed As a Percent of Grand Total, By Year)	52
TABLE 2C. REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars).	53

T.

LIST OF TABLES -- CONTINUED

TABLE 2D. PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1982-1989	
TABLE 2E.PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BYSUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1982-1989	55
TABLE 2F. ARMS TRANSFER DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD,1982-1989:LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	56
TABLE 2G. ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERSCOMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	
TABLE 2H.ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERSCOMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	58
TABLE 2I. ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1982-1989:SUPPLIERSCOMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars)	59
TABLE 2J. ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989:DELIVERIES TO LEADING RECIPIENTS	60
TABLE 2K.LEADING THIRD WORLD RECIPIENTS OFARMS DELIVERIES IN 1989	61
TABLE 3.NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJORSUPPLIERS TO THE THIRD WORLD	66
TABLE 4. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJORSUPPLIERS TO EAST ASIA & THE PACIFIC	67
TABLE 5.NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJORSUPPLIERS TO NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA	6 8
TABLE 6. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO LATIN AMERICA	69
TABLE 7. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN)	

TRENDS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD BY MAJOR SUPPLIER, 1982-1989

INTRODUCTION

This report provides unclassified background data on transfers of conventional arms to the Third World by major suppliers for the period from 1982 through 1989. It updates and revises the study entitled "Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1981-1988" which was published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on August 4, 1989 (CRS Report 89-434F).

CONSTANT 1989 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 1989 This helps to eliminate the distorting effects of dollars. 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. (1982-1985 and 1986-1989), they must be expressed in current dollar terms. Likewise, the two tables ranking leading suppliers to the Third World must also use four-year aggregate dollar totals, and thus must also use current dollars. But unless otherwise noted in the report all dollar values are stated in constant terms.

MAJOR FINDINGS

GENERAL TRENDS IN ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD

The general decline in the value of new arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with the Third World seen in recent years continued in 1989. The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1989 (\$29.3 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1982-1989 (in constant 1989 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak year of 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$61.4 billion (in constant 1989 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1). In a similar vein, in 1989 the value of all arms <u>deliveries</u> to the Third World (\$30.4 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1982-1989. This is the second consecutive year since 1987 when the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly (in constant 1989 dollars)(table 2A) (charts 11, 12, and 13).

The Soviet Union and the United States have dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1982-1989. 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 1A and 2A).

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

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

Another factor that has played a role in reducing the levels of arms supplied to the Third World has been the end of the Iran-Iraq war in mid-1988. Whether this war's end and the scaling back of other regional conflicts such as the civil wars in Afghanistan and Angola will lead to a continuing decline in Third World arms transfers remains to be seen.

The year 1989 was one of great transition internationally, holding out the prospect of significant reduction in political and military tensions between the superpowers and their respective allies in the historic East-West conflict. It is not clear at this time whether a resolution of major East-West differences in Europe and a reduction in defense spending by most parties to the Cold War will necessarily translate into reduced arms transfers to the Third World. Indeed, one could argue that an intense competition may develop among most arms suppliers for increased shares of the Third World market to compensate, in part, for loss of domestic defense business. Current data suggest that any such competition, if it develops, would be over a smaller Third World arms marketplace than existed in the past. For in <u>constant</u> dollar terms, the global total of all new Third World arms transfer agreements in 1989 is less than half of what it was as recently as 1982.

UNITED STATES

In 1989, the total value, in real terms, of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from the previous year's total, falling from \$9.3 billion in 1988 to \$7.7 billion in 1989. Yet the U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 26% in 1989, up from 23% in 1988 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

The decreased value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in 1989 is attributable to a lack of major new orders from traditional buyers. During the years 1982-1989, United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a low of \$4.3 billion to a high of \$12.9 billion (table 1A).

The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in any given year generally reflects whether or not large contracts for the sale of major weapons systems were concluded. Thus, the overall decline in U.S. Third World arms sales following 1982 (a year in which major contracts for aircraft sales were made) reflects the fact that fewer large U.S. sales have been made of expensive weapons such as aircraft or main battle tanks. (From 1986-1989, the United States <u>delivered</u> 179 supersonic combat aircraft and 596 tanks and selfpropelled guns compared to deliveries of 321 and 2,253 in these respective categories during 1982-1985).

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 Third World arms suppliers. Furthermore, the aggressive promotion of foreign purchases of American weapons has not been the traditional policy of the U.S. Government. And the U.S. Government, through various means, has controlled and restricted transfers of United States weaponry to the Third World.

SOVIET UNION

The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell notably--from \$14.7 billion in 1988 to \$11.2 billion in 1989. The Soviet Union registered a slight increase in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements, increasing from 36.8% in 1988 to 38.4% in 1989 (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

During the 1982-1989 period, Soviet arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a low of \$8.1 billion to a high of \$26.2 billion. But with the exception of 1987, Soviet agreement totals have declined from those of the previous year from 1985 through 1989. Like the United States, the total value of Soviet arms transfer agreements can be affected by a decline or increase in orders for major weapons systems. However, the Soviet Union has had longstanding supplier relationships with many of the leading purchasers of weapons in the Third World. Indeed, in 1989 it was the major supplier to eight of the top ten Third World arms recipients. The Soviet Union has provided these purchasers 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 have sustained a consistently high level of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. In this context, it seems likely that the Soviet Union's comparatively lower level of arms transfer agreements in 1989 reflects a decline in demand from major Soviet clients. It may also reflect, in part, the beginning of a Soviet cutback on commitments to some clients that have been major players in regional conflicts (table 1A).

CHINA

In the 1980s, China has emerged as an important supplier of arms to the Third World, in large measure due to agreements with Iran and Iraq. The value of China's agreements with the Third World reached a peak of nearly \$5 billion in 1987, but fell dramatically back to about \$2.4 billion in 1988, a level more typical of Chinese agreements values from 1982-1989. China ranked third among all suppliers in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1986-1989 (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 requirements of Iran and Iraq in their recent war. During the 1982-1989 period, nearly 55% of all of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World were with Iran and Iraq collectively (tables 1F, 1G, and 1H). Whether China will be able to sustain its level of arms sales to the Near East and South Asian region now that the Iran-Iraq war has ended remains to be seen. Despite China's sale and delivery of CSS-2 Intermediate Range

Ballistic Missiles to Saudi Arabia in the most recent period (1986-1989), and its historic supplier relationship with Pakistan and, to a lesser extent, Egypt, the notable Chinese arms sales performance from 1982-1989 was essentially based upon trade with Iran and Iraq. Yet, given China's need and desire to obtain hard currency, it seems likely to continue to pursue arms sales opportunities with enthusiasm.

MAJOR WEST EUROPEAN

The four major West European suppliers registered a decline in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1989, falling to 17.2% from 21.6% in 1988. Of these suppliers, France suffered a massive decline in the value of its agreements from \$3.2 billion in 1988 to \$300 million in 1989. The value of the United Kingdom's agreements also fell substantially from \$5.2 billion in 1988 to \$3.2 billion in 1989. West Germany registered a significant increase in the value of its agreements from \$83 million in 1988 to nearly \$1.3 billion in 1989. Italy's increase in agreements value was marginal, rising from \$166 million in 1988 to \$240 million in 1989 (in constant 1989 dollars)(tables 1A, 1B, charts 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Throughout the period from 1982-1985, the major West European suppliers, as a group, averaged over 20% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. More recently, from 1986-1989, this collective share of arms agreements has been, on average, just less than 15%. Throughout the 1982-1989 period, individual suppliers within the major West European group have had exceptional years for arms agreements, such as France in 1982 (\$8.3 billion) and 1984 (\$7.6 billion), and the United Kingdom in 1985 (\$9.9 billion) and 1988 (\$5.2 billion)(in constant 1989 dollars). Such totals have generally reflected conclusion of exceptionally large arms transfer agreements with a major Third World purchaser.

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 provide 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 from 1982-1989. 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. The Iran-Iraq war thus created arms sales opportunities for both major and minor arms suppliers. Salient details of supplier relationships with Iran and Iraq are summarized below.

For the 1982-1989 period, the total value of arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with Iran and Iraq <u>collectively</u> by all suppliers constituted nearly one-fifth (19.7%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World (tables 1, 1G and 1H).

The Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with Iran and Iraq <u>collectively</u> was 39% for the 1982-1989 period, while that of China was 13%. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, held a 15% share of these agreements (tables 1, 1G and 1H) (chart 9).

LEADING THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS

Saudi Arabia and Iraq have been, by a wide margin, the top two Third World arms purchasers from 1982-1989, making arms transfer <u>agreements</u> of \$44.3 billion and \$42.8 billion respectively during these years (in <u>current</u> dollars). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1982-1989 was \$303.48 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 14.6% and 14.1%, respectively, of all Third World arms transfer agreements during this time period (tables 1 and 1J).

The increase in the value of arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with Afghanistan from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 was enormous (222.7%), a jump from nearly \$2.7 billion to nearly \$8.6 billion. The value of Angola's agreements increased by over 37%, and those of Vietnam by nearly 12% during these same two periods (in <u>current</u> dollars)(table 1J).

Seven of the ten leading Third World arms recipients registered declines in the value of their arms transfer <u>agreements</u> from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. Some of these declines were quite substantial, particularly among Middle East and Persian Gulf countries. Syria declined 54.6%, Saudi Arabia nearly 49%, Iraq 43.4% and Libya 30.3%.(table 1J).

Despite large increases in the values of arms transfer <u>agreements</u> by some of the top ten Third World arms recipients, the data clearly reflect a notable overall decline in new arms transfer agreements by these ten nations from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (a 23.9% decline for group as a whole). From 1982-1989 these ten nations made nearly 64.2% of <u>all</u> arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$194.8 billion out of \$303.48 billion)(in <u>current</u> dollars); clearly, the impact of their purchasing behavior on the total Third World arms market is formidable (tables 1 and 1J).

Three of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered substantial declines in the values of their arms <u>deliveries</u> from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. Libya fell nearly 62%, from \$9.1 billion to \$3.4 billion; Syria fell 44.3% from nearly \$9.9 billion to \$5.5 billion; Iraq fell 34.9%, from \$27.7 billion to \$18 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars)(table 2J).

The increase in the value of arms <u>deliveries</u> to Afghanistan from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 was enormous (262.5%), a jump from over \$2.5 billion to nearly \$9.1 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars)--and a change in rank from tenth in 1982-1985 to fourth in 1986-1989 (table 2J).

India registered a massive increase in the value of arms <u>deliveries</u> it received from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (90.5%), rising from \$6.8 billion in 1982-1985 to nearly \$13 billion in 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars)(table 2J).

The Soviet Union was the major supplier to eight of the top ten arms recipients in the Third World in 1989 (table 2K).

Saudi Arabia was the leading recipient of arms in the Third World in 1989, receiving nearly \$4.9 billion in <u>deliveries</u>. The United Kingdom was its major supplier (table 2K).

Despite the scaling back of regional conflicts throughout the Third World, several nations directly involved in them received significant arms <u>deliveries</u> in 1989. Most notably, Afghanistan received \$3.8 billion in arms deliveries, with the Soviet Union as its major supplier. Iraq and Iran received over \$1.9 billion and \$1.3 billion in arm deliveries respectively in 1989. Iraq's major supplier was the Soviet Union; Iran's major supplier was China (table 2K).

DEFINITION OF THE THIRD WORLD

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

UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL ARMS EXPORTS EXCLUDED

U.S. <u>commercial</u> sales and deliveries data are <u>excluded</u>. 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 is significantly incomplete and is less precise than that for the FMS program. There are no <u>commercial agreement</u> data comparable to that for the FMS program maintained on an annual basis, and annual <u>commercial deliveries</u> data are compiled 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 <u>rank</u> of the United States is not affected in any year from 1982-1989 by exclusion of the existing data on U.S. commercial arms <u>deliveries</u> 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 <u>fiscal</u> years 1982-1989, according to the State Department, were as follows:

FY1982	\$551,145
EY 1983	\$433,200
TRADEA	** 408 OGA
FY1984	\$1,465,604
123/2131535	\$24017(889
T377 000	
153/219336	\$1,609,142
FY1987	\$2,401,662
T T T 2.0.0 4	
EY/1988	\$3,306,077
	a a sea ann an tha a
17771 000	AT 210 DQA
FY1989	\$1,613,284

(In thousands of current U.S. dollars)

SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1982-1989

Tables 1 through 1J (pages 39-49) present data on arms transfer <u>agreements</u> with Third World nations by major suppliers from 1982-1989. These data show the most recent trends in arms contract activity by major suppliers in contrast to <u>delivery</u> data (Tables 2 through 2K, pages 50-61) which reflect implementation of sales decisions taken earlier. To use these data regarding agreements for purposes other than assessing general trends in seller/buyer activity is to risk drawing hasty conclusions that can be rapidly invalidated by events--precise values and comparisons, for example, may be changed by cancellations of major arms transfer agreements.

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

TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES

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

- The value of all arms transfers agreements with the Third World in 1989 (\$29.3 billion) was the lowest total for any year during the period from 1982-1989 (in constant 1989 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak year of 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$61.4 billion (in constant 1989 dollars) (table 1A) (chart 1).
- In 1989, the total value of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from the previous year's total (tables 1A and 1B).
- The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased to \$7.7 billion in 1989, down from \$9.3 billion in 1988 (in constant 1989 dollars). The U.S. share of all such agreements was 26% in 1989, up from 23% in 1988 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2).
- The Soviet Union registered a slight increase in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1988 and 1989. The Soviet Union's share rose from 36.8% in 1988, to 38.4% in 1989. The value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell notably from \$14.7 billion in 1988, to \$11.2 billion in 1989 (in constant 1989) dollars)(tables 1A and 1B) (chart 2).

CHART 1.



.



ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD



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

- The four major West European suppliers, as a group, experienced a decrease in their share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1988 and 1989. This group's share fell from 21.6% in 1988 to 17.2% in 1989. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1989 was over \$5 billion compared to a total of \$8.6 billion in 1988 (in constant 1989 dollars)(tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2, and 3).
- In 1989 the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$11.2 billion. The United States ranked second at \$7.7 billion, while the United Kingdom ranked third at \$3.2 billion. The United States' share of all Third World agreements in 1989 was 26.4%, up from 23.4% in 1988 (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).
- The total value of all Communist nations' arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1982-1989 (\$184.3 billion) exceeded the total value of all such agreements by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$158 billion)(in constant 1989 dollars)(table 1A) (chart 5).

REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1982-1989

Table 1C gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1982-1985 and 1986-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars.¹ 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 1982-1985 and 1986-1989. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

Near East and South Asia

- The Near East and South Asia region is the largest Third World arms market. In 1986-1989 it accounted for 66% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The Near East and South Asia region ranked first in arms transfer agreements with all suppliers, in both the 1982-1985 and 1986-1989 time periods, with the single exception of West Germany in 1986-1989 (table 1D).

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

CHART 3.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 U.S., U.S.S.R., AND MAJOR W. EUROPEAN



CHART 4.



CRS-14

.

CHART 5.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 NON-COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST SUPPLIERS COMPARED (billions of constant 1989 dollars and % of total deliveries)



- For the period 1982-1985, China concluded 88.5% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East and South Asian region. For the more recent period, 1986-1989, China concluded 87.5% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East and South Asian region (table 1D).
- In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with the Near East and South Asia with 37.5%. The United States ranked second with 18.8%. France ranked third with 12.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 24.8% of this region's agreements in 1982-1985. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East and South Asian agreements with 36.5%. The United States ranked second with 19.3%. China ranked third with 9.2%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 16.1% of this region's agreements in 1986-1989 (table 1E) (chart 6).

Latin America

In the Latin American region shares of arms transfer agreements of Communist and non-Communist suppliers remained fairly constant during the period from 1982-1985 and 1986-1989. In the earlier period, all non-Communist suppliers collectively held 35.8% of all Latin American agreements. This share dropped to 33.5% in 1986-1989. By contrast, in the earlier period, all Communist suppliers collectively held 64.2% of all Latin American agreements. The share of all Communist suppliers collectively increased slightly to 66.5% in 1986-1989. The Soviet Union held the greatest share of any supplier in the region with 51.1% of all agreements from 1982-1985 and 64.6% in 1986-1989-figures which result from the substantial Soviet agreements with Cuba. (tables 1C and 1E) (charts 7 and 8).

CHART 6.



- Of the Soviet Union's nearly \$6.4 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America from 1982-1985 (in <u>current</u> dollars), 83% (\$5.3 billion) went to <u>Cuba</u> alone. In the period from 1986-1989, the Soviet Union made over \$8.7 billion in arms transfer agreements with Latin America (in <u>current</u> dollars). Of this total, over 70% (over \$6.1 billion) were arms transfer agreements with <u>Cuba</u> (tables 1C and 1I). (Chart 8).
- In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Latin America with 51.1%. The United States ranked second with 11.1%. The French ranked third with 5.3%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 12.% of this region's agreements in 1982-1985. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American agreements with 64.6%. The United States ranked second with 11%. France ranked third with 8.6%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 13.8% of this region's agreements in 1986-1989 (table 1E) (chart 8).

East Asia and the Pacific

In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with East Asia and the Pacific with 48.1%. The United States ranked second with 34.5%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 5.9% of this region's agreements in 1982-1985. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in East Asia and Pacific agreements with 50%. The United States again ranked second with 28.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 13.7% of this region's agreements in 1986-1989 (table 1E).

Africa

In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Africa (Sub-Saharan) with 57.4%. Italy ranked second with 5.7%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 19.8% of this region's agreements in 1982-1985. The United States made 4.1%. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first, increasing its share of Sub-Saharan African agreements to 70.5%. China ranked second with 3.1%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, made 7.2% of this region's agreements in 1986-1989. The United States made 2.7% (table 1E).

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1F gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1982-1989 by the Third World's top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total <u>current</u> dollar values of their respective agreements with the Third World for each of three periods--1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. Table 1F further shows the <u>percentage change</u> in the value of Third World arms transfer agreements from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 for each of the 11 suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following: CHART 7.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



 (France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy) CHART 8.

SOVIET UNION ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA



- During the most recent period (1986-1989) some emerging suppliers of armaments to the Third World ranked ahead of some of the traditional, industrialized, suppliers in the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. In the period from 1986-1989, the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World made by China exceeded those of France, the United Kingdom or West Germany. Both North Korea and Brazil ranked ahead of Italy, which ranked eleventh among all arms suppliers to the Third World during this timeframe (in current U.S. dollars).
- China ranked third among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1986-1989, and fifth from 1982-1989.
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, China and North Korea registered the greatest <u>percentage increases</u> in the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1982-1985 to the period 1986-1989 (China increased 137.5% and North Korea 60.3%).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, Italy registered the greatest <u>percentage decline</u> (76.4%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1982-1985 to the period 1986-1989. France registered the second greatest <u>percentage decline</u> (52.9%) in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World between the same two time periods.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1G gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1982-1989 period, China's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iran was 25.1% compared to <u>less than 1%</u> for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 13.9% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 28.2% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 32.7% (chart 10).
- The Soviet Union made minimal arms transfer agreements with Iran (\$20 million in 1982-1985) (in <u>current</u> dollars). In the most recent period (1986-1989) the Soviet Union concluded no arms transfer agreements with Iran. China made over \$1.6 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1982-1985 and \$2.7 billion during the period from 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars) (chart 10).
- All other non-Communist suppliers as a group (excluding those in Europe and the United States) made substantial arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1982-1989 (nearly \$4.8 billion) (in <u>current</u> dollars). However, this group of non-Communist suppliers suffered a dramatic decline more recently in the value of its arms agreements with Iran. The total value of its agreements fell form \$3.4 billion in 1982-1985 to \$1.4 billion in 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars)--a graphic reflection of the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on this group of suppliers.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1H gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1982-1989 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iraq was 54.8% compared to 7.9% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 14.7% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 11.7% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 10.8% (chart 10).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1982-1989, the value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements with Iraq totaled roughly \$23.5 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars). In the most recent period from 1986-1989, the Soviet Union concluded nearly \$6.2 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq, although this latter total is a massive decline from the value of Soviet arms transfer agreements with Iraq for the 1982-1985 period (\$17.3 billion) (in <u>current</u> dollars) (chart 10).
- European non-Communist suppliers collectively, and all other non-Communist suppliers as a group, registered dramatic declines in the value of their respective arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. In <u>current</u> dollar terms, the collective value of European non-Communist agreements with Iraq declined from nearly \$3.9 billion in 1982-1985 to \$2.4 billion in 1986-1989. The collective value (in <u>current</u> dollars) of all other non-Communist suppliers (excluding the United States) fell from nearly \$3.2 billion in 1982-1985 to \$1.8 billion in 1986-1989--reflecting the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on these groups of suppliers.
- Both China, and all other Communist suppliers as a group (excluding the Soviet Union) increased the values of their respective arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars). The latter group of suppliers almost doubled the value of their agreements with Iraq.

CHART 9.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1982-1989 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



CHART 10.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS 1982-1989 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1I gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

• The Soviet Union is Cuba's primary, and nearly exclusive, arms supplier. The Soviet Union made over \$5.3 billion in arms transfer agreements with Cuba from 1982-1985 and nearly \$6.2 billion in arms transfer agreements with that country from 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars). From 1982-1989, 88.6% of Cuba's arms transfer agreements were made with the Soviet Union. Cuba has made no arms transfer agreements with non-Communist suppliers from 1982-1989. Cuba did make arms transfer agreements with Communist suppliers, other than the Soviet Union and China, during the period 1982-1985 totaling nearly \$1.4 billion. But the total value of the agreements with these other Communist suppliers from 1986-1989 was only \$90 million (in <u>current</u> dollars).

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS

Table 1J gives the values of arms transfer agreements made by the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1982-1989 with all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total <u>current</u> dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers for each of three periods--1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. Table 1J further shows the <u>percentage change</u> in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 made by each of the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World. 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 1982-1989, making arms transfer agreements of \$44.3 billion and \$42.8 billion respectively during these years (in <u>current</u> dollars). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1982-1989 was \$303.48 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars)(see table 1). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 14.6% and 14.1%, respectively, of all Third World arms transfer agreements during this time period.
- The increase in the value of arms transfer agreements with Afghanistan from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 was enormous (222.7%), a jump from nearly \$2.7 billion to nearly \$8.6 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- Angola registered a substantial increase in the value of its arms transfer agreements from 1982-1985 and 1986-1989 (37.1%), rising from \$4.2 billion to nearly \$5.8 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- Seven of the ten leading Third World arms recipients registered declines in the values of their arms transfer agreements from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. Some of these declines were quite substantial, particularly among Middle East and Persian Gulf

countries. Syria declined 54.6%, Saudi Arabia nearly 49%, Iraq 43.4% and Libya 30.3%. Other declines among the top ten were small or marginal--Cuba 7.1%, India 2% and Iran 1.7%.

Despite large increases in the values of arms transfer agreements by some of the top ten Third World arms recipients, the data clearly reflect a notable overall decline in new arms transfer agreements by these ten nations from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (a 23.9% decline for group as a whole). From 1982-1989 these ten nations made nearly 64.2% of <u>all</u> arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$194.8 billion out of \$303.48 billion)(in <u>current</u> dollars); clearly, the impact of their purchasing behavior on the total Third World arms market is formidable.

TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES

Table 2 shows the annual <u>current</u> dollar values of arms deliveries (items actually transferred) to Third World nations by major suppliers from 1982-1989. 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 1989, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$30.4 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1982-1989. The total value of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1989 remains well below the peak year of 1984, when such deliveries reached nearly \$52.5 billion (in <u>constant</u> dollars)(table 2A)(charts 11 and 12).
- In 1989 the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World delivery values at \$17.4 billion. The United States ranked second at \$3.6 billion. The United Kingdom ranked third with \$2.3 billion in deliveries (in 1989 dollars)(tables 2 and 2A).
- The Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1989 was its highest (57.1%) of any year from 1982-1989(table 2B).
- In 1989 the total value of arms deliveries by the United States to the Third World (\$3.6 billion)(in <u>constant</u> 1989 dollars) was its lowest of any year during the period from 1982-1989 (table 2A).
- The total value of all Communist nations' arms deliveries to the Third World from 1982-1989 (\$188.2 billion) exceeded that of all such deliveries by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$149.9 billion)(in constant 1989 dollars)(table 2A)(chart 13).

CHART 11.


CHART 12.



CHART 13.



e y

Ŷ **b**

REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1982-1989

Table 2C gives the values of arms deliveries between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1982-1985, and 1986-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> 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 1982-1985 and 1986-1989. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

Near East and South Asia

- The Near East and South Asia region has historically been dominant in the value of deliveries received by the Third World. In 1986-1989, it accounted for 70.5% of the total value of all Third World arms deliveries (tables 2C and 2D).
- The Near East and South Asia region ranked first in the value of arms deliveries from all suppliers in both time periods, with only one exception (West Germany in 1982-1985) (table 2D).
- For the period 1982-1985, nearly 91% of China's arms deliveries to the Third World were to nations in the Near East and South Asian region. For the more recent period, 1985-1989, 94.2% of China's Third World arms deliveries were to nations of this region (table 2D).
- In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Near East and South Asia with 34.2%. The United States ranked second with 20.9%. France ranked third with 13.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 21.4% of this region's delivery values in 1982-1985. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East and South Asian delivery values with 43%. The United States ranked second with 15.3%. France ranked third with 8.8%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 18.9% of this region's delivery values in 1986-1989 (table 2E).

East Asia and the Pacific

• In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to East Asia and the Pacific with 51.5%. The United States ranked second with 25.1%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 8.7% of this region's delivery values in 1982-1985. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in East Asia and Pacific delivery values with 59.9%. The United States ranked second with 26%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 3% of this region's delivery values in 1986-1989 (table 2E).

Latin America

• In the earlier period (1982-1985), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Latin America with 44.2%. West Germany ranked second with 15.8%. The United States ranked third with 7.6%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 26% of this region's delivery values in 1982-1985. In the later period

(1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American delivery values with 72.6%. The United States ranked second with 9.7%. France ranked third with 5.5%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 8.5% of this region's delivery values in 1986-1989 (table 2E).

Africa

• In the earlier period (1982-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Africa (Sub-Saharan) with 68.8%. France ranked second with 5.5%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 15.1% of this region's delivery values in 1982-1985. The United States made 3.1% of these deliveries. In the later period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union ranked first in Sub-Saharan Africa delivery values with 74.1%. France ranked second with 3.4%. The Major West European suppliers, as a group, held 7.4% of this region's delivery values in 1986-1989. The United States made 3.1% (table 2E).

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2F gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World from 1982-1989 by the Third World's top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total <u>current</u> dollar values of their respective deliveries to the Third World for each of three periods--1982-1985, 1986-1989, and 1982-1989. Table 2F further shows the <u>percentage change</u> in the value of Third World deliveries from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 for each of the 11 suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Eight of the ten leading suppliers of arms to the Third World registered moderate to substantial declines in the values of their deliveries from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- The Soviet Union was the leading supplier of arms to the Third World from 1982-1989. The value of its deliveries to the Third World rose from \$61.4 billion in 1982-1985 to \$71.6 billion in 1986-1989, a 16.6% increase (in <u>current</u> dollars). By contrast, the United States ranked second during 1982-1989, but the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World declined from \$28.4 billion in 1982-1985 to \$21.5 billion in 1986-1989, a decline of 24.3% (in <u>current</u> dollars). France, the third leading supplier, suffered an even greater decline in the value of its deliveries to the Third World, falling from \$16.5 billion in 1982-1985 to \$9.9 billion in 1986-1989, a 40% decline)(in <u>current</u> dollars).
- China ranked fifth in the value of arms delivered to the Third World during the period 1982-1989 (\$13.1 billion)--more than the combined deliveries values of Italy and West Germany (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, the United Kingdom and China registered the greatest <u>percentage increases</u> in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1982-1985 to the period 1986-1989 (the United Kingdom increased 77.5%, and China 37.1%).

Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World, Italy registered the greatest <u>percentage decline</u> (77%) in the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1982-1985 to the period 1986-1989. West Germany and Spain registered the second and third greatest <u>percentage declines</u> (72.1% and 61.8% respectively) in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World between the same two time periods.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2G gives the values of arms delivered to Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1982-1989 period, China's share of all arms deliveries to Iran was 21.8% compared to 1.6% for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 15.8% of these deliveries. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 29.4% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 31.4% (chart 14).
- The value of China's arms deliveries to Iran has risen dramatically in recent years, from \$570 million in 1982-1985 to over \$2.7 billion in 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- The Soviet Union has made no arms deliveries to Iran from 1986-1989. Its deliveries to Iran in the period from 1982-1985 were \$240 million (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- All non-Communist suppliers as a group (excluding European suppliers and the United States) have delivered substantial amounts of arms to Iran from 1982-1989 (\$4.4 billion) (in <u>current</u> dollars). All other Communist suppliers (excluding China and the Soviet Union) also delivered substantial amounts of arms to Iran from 1982-1989 (nearly \$4.8 billion) (in <u>current</u> dollars).

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2H gives the values of arms delivered to Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1982-1989 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to Iraq was 48.3% compared to 9.1% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 17.6% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined made 13.4% (chart 15).
- From 1982-1989, the Soviet Union delivered nearly \$22.1 billion in arms to Iraq (in <u>current</u> dollars). In the most recent period from 1986-1989, the Soviet Union delivered \$10.7 billion in arms to Iraq.

•

European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms deliveries to Iraq, delivering \$8 billion of arms from 1982-1989. However, from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989, the value of these deliveries to Iraq fell dramatically from \$6.7 billion to \$1.3 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars), a decline of 80.7%.

CHART 14.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN AND IRAQ COLLECTIVELY, 1982-1989 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



CRS-35



ARMS DELIVERIES 1982-1989 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



ĩ

ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1982-1989: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2I gives the values of arms delivered to Cuba by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. These values are expressed in <u>current</u> U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

• The Soviet Union is Cuba's principal arms supplier. It made over \$5.3 billion in arms deliveries to Cuba from 1982-1985 and nearly \$6.2 billion in arms deliveries in 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars). From 1982-1989, the Soviet Union delivered 88.5% of all arms received by Cuba. Cuba has received no arms from non-Communist suppliers from 1982-1989. Cuba did receive arms deliveries from Communist suppliers, other than the Soviet Union and China, during the 1982-1985 period totaling nearly \$1.4 billion. But the total value of the arms deliveries from these other Communist suppliers from 1986-1989 was only \$120 million (in <u>current</u> dollars).

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS

Table 2J gives the values of arms deliveries made to the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1982-1989 by all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total <u>current</u> dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers for each of three periods--1982-1985, 1986-1989 and 1982-1989. Table 2J further shows the <u>percentage change</u> in the value of arms delivered from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 to each of the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World. 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 1982-1989, receiving deliveries valued at \$46.7 billion and \$45.7 billion respectively during these years (in <u>current</u> dollars). The total value of all Third World arms deliveries from 1982-1989 was \$299.78 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars)(see table 2). Thus Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 15.6% and 15.3%, respectively, of all Third World arms deliveries during the 1982-1989 time period.
- Six of the ten leading Third World recipients registered increases in the values of their arms deliveries from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. These increases ranged from marginal (Saudi Arabia 1%) or modest (Vietnam 11.9%, Iran 16.2%) to enormous (Afghanistan 262.5%).
- Three of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered substantial declines in the values of their arms deliveries from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989. Libya fell nearly 62%, from \$9.1 billion to \$3.5 billion; Syria fell 44.3% from nearly \$9.9 billion to \$5.5 billion; Iraq fell 34.9%, from \$27.7 billion to \$18 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars).
- The increase in the value of arms delivered to Afghanistan from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 was enormous (262.5%), a jump from over \$2.5 billion to nearly \$9.1 billion (in <u>current</u> dollars)--and a change in rank from tenth in 1982-1985 to fourth in 1986-1989.

• Angola registered a substantial increase in the value of its arms deliveries from 1982-1985 to 1986-1989 (31.4%), rising from \$4.1 billion in 1982-1989 to over \$5.4 billion in 1986-1989 (in <u>current</u> dollars).

LEADING THIRD WORLD RECIPIENTS OF ARMS DELIVERIES IN 1989

Table 2K gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms <u>delivered</u> in 1989. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total <u>current</u> dollar values of their respective deliveries from <u>all</u> suppliers in 1989. Table 2K also provides the name of the country that was the <u>major</u> supplier of arms delivered in 1989 to each of the top ten Third World recipients. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The Soviet Union was the major supplier to eight of the top ten arms recipients in the Third World in 1989.
- Saudi Arabia was the leading recipient of arms in the Third World in 1989, receiving nearly \$4.9 billion in deliveries. The United Kingdom was its major supplier.
- Arms deliveries to the top ten Third World recipients constituted 67.5% of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1989.
- Despite the scaling back of regional conflicts throughout the Third World, several nations directly involved in them received significant arms deliveries in 1989. Most notably, Afghanistan received \$3.8 billion in arms deliveries (with the Soviet Union as its major supplier). Iraq and Iran received over \$1.9 billion and \$1.3 billion in arm deliveries respectively in 1989. Iraq's major supplier was the Soviet Union; Iran's major supplier was China.

Table 1

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

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
United States	10,359	8,145	6,506	4,856	3,865	5,371	8,981	7,718
France	6,640	1,680	6,530	1,510	1,270	3,070	3,070	300
United Kingdom	1,380	670	640	8,750	810	510	5,000	3,200
West Germany	940	530	510	170	470	790	80	1,290
Italy	1,170	1,090	690	1,290	490	110	160	240
All Other	3,590	6,190	3,390	3,520	4,730	2,340	2,310	2,650
Total non-Communist	24,079	18,305	18,266	20,096	11,635	12,191	19,601	15,398
Communist								
Of which: U.S.S.R.	20,920	6,730	21,230	16,490	16,280	21,620	14,150	11,230
China	1,580	830	340	1,410	1,790	4,660	2,310	1,120
All Other	2,560	2,760	340 760	4,280	4,740	2,220	2,310	1,120
Total Communist	25,060	10,320	22,330	22,180	22,810	28,500	18,830	13,880
GRAND TOTAL	49 ,139	28,625	40,59 6	42,276	34,445	40,691	38,431	29,278
**Dollar inflation index (1989=1.00)	.7999	.829	.8537	.8816	.9046	.9324	.9658	1

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

Table 1A

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER (In millions of constant 1989 U.S. dollars)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
United States	12,950	9,825	7,621	5,508	4,273	5,760	9,301	7,718
France	8,301	2,027	7,649	1,713	1,404	8,293	3,179	300
United Kingdom	1,725	808	750	9,925	895	547	5,178	8,200
West Germany	1,175	639	597	193	520	847	83	1,290
Italy	1,463	1,315	808	1,463	542	118	166	240
All Other	4,488	7,467	3,971	3,993	5,229	2,510	2,392	2,650
Total non-Communist	30,103	22,081	21,396	22,795	12,862	13,075	20,299	15,398
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	26,153	8,118	24,868	18,705	17,997	23,187	14,654	11,230
China	1,975	1,001	398	1,599	1,979	4,998	2,392	1,120
All Other	3,200	3,329	890	4,855	5,240	2,381	2,454	1,530
Total Communist	31,329	12,449	26,157	25,159	25,216	30,566	19,501	13,880
GRAND TOTAL	61,431	34,530	47,553	47,954	38,078	43,641	39,800	29,278

Table 1B

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
United States	21.08%	28.45%	16.03%	11.49%	11.22%	13.20%	23.37%	26.36%
France	13.51%	5.87%	16.09%	3.57%	3.69%	7.54%	7.99%	1.02%
United Kingdom	2.81%	2.34%	1.58%	20.70%	2.35%	1.25%	13.01%	10.93%
West Germany	1.91%	1.85%	1.26%	.40%	1.36%	1.94%	.21%	4.41%
Italy	2.38%	3.81%	1.70%	3.05%	1.42%	.27%	.42%	.82%
All Other	7.31%	21.62%	8.35%	8.33%	13.73%	5.75%	6.01%	9.05%
Total non-Communist	49.00%	63.95%	44.99%	47.54%	33.78%	29.96%	51.00%	52.59%
(Major West European)*	20.61%	13.87%	20.62%	27.72%	8.83%	11.01%	21.62%	17.18%
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	42.57%	23.51%	52.30%	39.01%	47.26%	53.13%	36.82%	38.36%
China	3.22%	2.90%	.84%	3.34%	5.20%	11.45%	6.01%	3.83%
All Other	5.21%	9.64%	1.87%	10.12%	13.76%	5.46%	6.17%	5.23%
Total Communist	51.00%	36.05%	55.01%	52.46%	66.22%	70.04%	49.00%	47.41%
GRAND 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, West Germany, Italy.)

Table 1C

REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	East Asi	a/Pacific	Near Eas	t/So. Asia	Latin A	America	Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.	5,651	5,937	22,358	18,138	1,401	1,488	455	372
France	240	80	14,820	6,030	670	1,170	620	420
United Kingdom	320	1,30 0	10,380	7,730	130	200	610	300
West Germany	270	1,430	1,050	960	480	210	350	30
Italy	130	50	3,240	410	240	290	630	250
All Other	1,330	600	11,030	8,520	1,590	1,180	1,170	1,420
Total non-Communist	7,941	9,397	62,878	41,788	4,511	4,538	3,835	2,792
(Major West European)*	960	2,860	29,490	15,130	1,520	1,870	2,210	1,000
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	7,880	10,440	44,650	34,260	6,440	8,740	6,400	9,840
China	290	810	3,680	8,640	0	0	190	430
All Other	270	230	7,890	9,290	1,660	260	730	900
Total Communist	8,440	11,480	56,220	52,190	8,100	9,000	7,320	11,170
GRAND TOTAL	16,381	20,877	119,098	93,978	12,611	13,538	11,155	13,962

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

Source: U.S. Government

PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTS VALUE BY REGION, 1982-1989

	East Asia/Pacific		Near Eas	st/So. Asia	Latin A	America	Africa (Su	b-Saharan)	TOTAL	TOTAL
	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist				•						
Of which										
U.S.	18.92%	22.89%	74.86%	69.94%	4.69%	5.74%	1.52%	1.43%	100.00%	100.00%
France	1.47%	1.04%	90.64%	78.31%	4.10%	15.19%	3.79%	5.45%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	2.80%	13.64%	90.73%	81.11%	1.14%	2.10%	5.33%	3.15%	100.00%	100.00%
West Germany	12.56%	54.37%	48.84%	36.50%	22.33%	7.98%	16.28%	1.14%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	3.07%	5.00%	76.42%	41.00%	5.66%	29.00%	14.86%	25.00%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	8.80%	5.12%	72.95%	72.70%	10.52%	10.07%	7.74%	12.12%	100.00%	100.00%
Total non-Communist	10.03%	16.06%	79.43%	71.41%	5.70%	7.76%	4.84%	4.77%	100.00%	100.00%
(Major West European)*	2.81%	13.71%	86.28%	72.53%	4.45%	8.96%	6.47%	4.79%	100.00%	100.00%
Communist										
Of which:										
U.S.S.R.	12.05%	16.50%	68.30%	54.14%	9.85%	13.81%	9.79%	15.55%	100.00%	100.00%
China	6.97%	8.20%	88.46%	87.45%	.00%	.00%	4.57%	4.35%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	2.56%	2.15%	74.79%	86.99%	15.73%	2.43%	6.92%	8.43%	100.00%	100.00%
Total Communist	10.54%	13.69%	70.20%	62.25%	10.11%	10.73%	9.14%	13.32%	100.00%	100.00%
GRAND TOTAL	10.29%	14.67%	74.79%	66.02%	7.92%	9.51%	7.00%	9.81%	100.00%	100.00%

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

\$

٩.

,

Table 1E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1982-1989

	East As	ia/Pacific	Near Ea	st/So. Asia	Latin	America	Africa (Su	b-Saharan)
	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.	34.50%	28.44%	18.77%	19.30%	11.11%	10.99%	4.08%	2.66%
France	1.47%	.38%	12.44%	6.42%	5.31%	8.64%	5.56%	3.01%
United Kingdom	1.95%	6.23%	8.72%	8.23%	1.03%	1.48%	5.47%	2.15%
West Germany	1.65%	6.85%	.88%	1.02%	3.81%	1.55%	3.14%	.21%
Italy	.79%	.24%	2.72%	.44%	1.90%	2.14%	5.65%	1.79%
All Other	8.12%	2.87%	9.26%	9.07%	12.61%	8.72%	10.49%	10.17%
Total non-Communist	48.48%	45.01%	52.80%	44.47%	35.77%	33.52%	34.38%	20.00%
(Major West European)*	5.86%	13.70%	24.76%	16.10%	12.05%	13.81%	19.81%	7.16%
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	48.10%	50.01%	37.49%	36.46%	51.07%	64.56%	57.37%	70.48%
China	1.77%	3.88%	3.09%	9.19%	.00%	.00%	1.70%	3.08%
All Other	1.65%	1.10%	6.62%	9.89%	13.16%	1.92%	6.54%	6.45%
Total Communist	51.52%	54.99%	47.20%	55.53%	64.23%	66.48%	65.62%	80.00%
GRAND 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, West Germany, Italy).

ж. **к**

.

Table 1F

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1982-1985 Agreements Values Rank	1986-1989 Agreements Values Rank	1982-1989 Agreements Values Rank	% of change from 1982-85 to 1986-89
U.S.S.R.	65,370 (1)	63,280 (1)	128,650 (1)	-3.20%
U.S.	29,865 (2)	25,935 (2)	55,800 (2)	-13.16%
France	16,350 (3)	7,700 (5)	24,050 (3)	-52.91%
United Kingdom	11,440 (4)	9,530 (4)	20,970 (4)	-16.70%
China	4,160 (6)	9,880 (3)	14,040 (5)	137.50%
Italy	4,240 (5)	1,000 (11)	5,240 (6)	-76.42%
West Germany	2,150 (9)	2,630 (6)	4,780 (7)	22.33%
Czechoslovakia	2,330 (7)	1,610 (10)	3,940 (8)	-30.90%
Spain	2,160 (8)	1,650 (9)	3,810 (9)	-23.61%
North Korea	1,360 (11)	2,180 (7)	3,540 (10)	60.29%
Brazil	1,500 (10)	1,760 (8)	3,260 (11)	17.33%

Table 1G

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

IRAN IRAN IRAN 1982-1985 1986-1989 1982-1989 SUPPLIER: Soviet Union 20 0 20 China 1,610 2,660 4,270 All Other Communist 2,190 3,370 5,560 **TOTAL Communist** 3,820 6,030 9,850 European Non-Communist 1,410 960 2,370 United States 0* 0* 0 All Other Non-Communist 3,350 1,440 4,790 **TOTAL Non-Communist** 4,760 2,400 7,160 **GRAND TOTAL** 17,010 8,580 8,430

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

Table 1H

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAQ 1982-1985	IRAQ 1986-1989 :	IRAQ 1982-1989
SUPPLIER:			
Soviet Union	17,290	6,180	23,470
China	1,460	1,930	3,390
All Other Communist	1,560	3,080	4,640
TOTAL Communist	20,310	11,190	31,500
European Non-Communis	st 3,870	2,440	6,310
United States	0	0	0
All Other Non-Communist	t 3,150	1,840	4,990
TOTAL Non-Communist	7,020	4,280	11,300
GRAND TOTAL	27,330	15,470	42,800

Table 1I

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH CUBA, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	CUBA	CUBA	CUBA
·	1982-1985	1986-1989	1982-1989
SUPPLIER:			
Soviet Union	5,330	6,150	11,480
China	0	0	0
All Other Communist	1,390	90	1,480
TOTAL Communist	6,720	6,240	12,960
European Non-Communis	st O	0	0
United States	0	0	0
All Other Non-Communis	t 0	0	0
TOTAL Non-Communist	0	0	0
GRAND TOTAL	6,720	6,240	12,960

Table 1J

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1982-1985 Agreements	1986-1989 Agreements	1982-1989 Agreements	% of change from 1982-85
	Values Rank	Values Rank	Values Rank	to 1986-89
Saudi Arabia	29,324 (1)	14,959 (2)	44,283 (1)	-48.99%
Iraq	27,336 (2)	15,471 (1)	42,807 (2)	-43.40%
India	9,361 (4)	9,173 (3)	18,534 (3)	-2.01%
Iran	8,579 (5)	8,430 (5)	17,009 (4)	-1.74%
Syria	10,781 (3)	4,893 (9)	15,674 (5)	-54.61%
Cuba	6,726 (6)	6,246 (7)	12,972 (6)	-7.14%
Vietnam	6,011 (7)	6,725 (6)	12,736 (7)	11.88%
Afghanistan	2,656 (10)	8,570 (4)	11,226 (8)	222.67%
Angola	4,220 (9)	5,784 (8)	10,004 (9)	37.06%
Libya	5,627 (8)	3,925 (10)	9,552 (10)	-30.25%

Table 2

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

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
United States	8,081	9,392	5,583	5,367	6,068	7,202	4,688	8,552
France	3,690	3,760	4,080	5,000	4,300	2,380	1,440	1,810
United Kingdom	1,630	1,270	1,310	910	2,720	3,560	510	2,310
West Germany	490	1,250	2,480	590	290	560	240	250
Italy	1,020	1,200	1,260	1,040	460	350	200	20
All Other	4,650	2,810	8,560	3,040	2,280	3,230	2,950	1,670
Total non-Communist	19,561	19,682	23,273	15,947	16,118	17,282	10,028	9,612
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	15,480	16,370	16,140	13,380	16,390	18,840	18,950	17,370
China	1,240	1,560	2,060	670	1,250	1,800	2,580	1,950
All Other	3,000	2,260	3,320	3,640	2,850	2,940	2,740	1,500
Total Communist	19,720	20,190	21,520	17,690	20,490	23,580	24,270	20,820
GRAND TOTAL	39,281	39,872	44,793	33,637	36,608	40,862	34,298	30,432
**Dollar inflation index (1989=1.00)	.7999	.829	.8537	.8816	.9046	.9324	.9656	1

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

Source: U.S. Government

e

Table 2A

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

5

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
United States	10,103	11,329	6,540	6,088	6,708	7,724	4,855	3,552
France	4,613	4,536	4,779	5,672	4,753	2,553	1,491	1,810
United Kingdom	2,038	1,532	1,534	1,032	3,007	3,818	528	2,310
West Germany	613	1,508	2,905	669	321	601	249	250
Italy	1,275	1,448	1,476	1,180	509	375	207	20
All Other	5,813	3,390	10,027	3,448	2,520	3,464	3,055	1,670
Total non-Communist	24,454	23,742	27,261	18,089	17,818	18,535	10,385	9,612
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	19,352	19,747	18,906	15,177	18,119	20,206	19,625	17,370
China	1,550	1,882	2,413	760	1,382	1,931	2,672	1,950
All Other	3,750	2,726	3,889	4,129	3,151	3,153	2,838	1,500
Total Communist	24,653	24,355	25,208	20,066	22,651	25,290	25,185	20,820
GRAND TOTAL	49,107	48,097	52,469	38,154	40,469	43,825	35,520	30,432

.

١

Table 2B

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

·	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Non-Communist	1004	1000	1004	1000	1000	1001	1000	1000
Of which:								
United States	20.57%	23.56%	12.46%	15.96%	16.58%	17.63%	13.67%	11.67%
France	9.39%	9.43%	9.11%	14.86%	11.75%	5.82%	4.20%	5.95%
United Kingdom	4.15%	3.19%	2.92%	2.71%	7.43%	8.71%	1.49%	7.59%
West Germany	1.25%	3.14%	5.54%	1.75%	.79%	1.37%	.70%	.82%
Italy	2.60%	3.01%	2.81%	3.09%	1.26%	.86%	.58%	.07%
All Other	11.84%	7.05%	19.11%	9.04%	6.23%	7.90%	8.60%	5.49%
Total non-Communist	49.80%	49.36%	51.96%	47.41%	44.03%	42.29%	29.24%	31.59%
(Major West European)*	17.39%	18.76%	20.38%	22.42%	21.22%	16.76%	6.97%	14.43%
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	39.41%	41.06%	36.03%	39.78%	44.77%	46.11%	55.25%	57.08%
China	3.16%	3.91%	4.60%	1.99%	3.41%	4.41%	7.52%	6.41%
All Other	7.64%	5.67%	7.41%	10.82%	7.79%	7.19%	7.99%	4.93%
Total Communist	50.20%	50.64%	48.04%	52.59%	55.97%	57.71%	70.76%	68.41%
GRAND 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, West Germany, Italy.)

7

Table 2C

REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1982-1989 (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	East Asi	ast Asia/Pacific Nea		t/So. Asia	Latin A	Latin America		-Saharan)
	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.	3,623	4,626	23,257	15,357	1,120	1,154	424	373
France	250	80	14,960	8,770	580	660	740	420
United Kingdom	230	140	4,200	8,680	140	130	550	140
West Germany	360	210	1,790	920	2,350	130	310	80
Italy	410	100	2,880	580	780	100	450	260
All Other	1,540	1,560	11,470	6,950	1,730	790	830	830
Total non-Communist	6,413	6,716	58,557	41,257	6,700	2,964	3,304	2,103
(Major West European)*	1,250	530	23,830	18,950	3,850	1,020	2,050	900
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	7,440	10,670	38,040	43,130	6,560	8,690	9,340	9,070
China	270	190	5,020	7,130	0	0	230	250
All Other	330	230	9,600	8,690	1,580	310	700	810
Total Communist	8,040	11,090	52,660	58,950	8,140	9,000	10,270	10,130
GRAND TOTAL	14,453	17,806	111,217	100,207	14,840	11,964	13,574	12,233

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

Source: U.S. Government

22

.

Table 2D

PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1982-1989

	East Asi	a/Pacific	Near Eas	st/So. Asia	Latin A	America	Africa (Su	b-Saharan)	TOTAL	TOTAL
	1982-85	1 986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist										
Of which:										
U.S.	12.75%	21.51%	81.82%	71.39%	3.94%	5.36%	1.49%	1.73%	100.00%	100.00%
France	1.51%	.81%	90.50%	88.32%	3.51%	6.65%	4.48%	4.23%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	4.49%	1.54%	82.03%	95.49%	2.73%	1.43%	10.74%	1.54%	100.00%	100.00%
West Germany	7.48%	15.67%	37.21%	68.66%	48.86%	9.70%	6.44%	5.97%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	9.07%	9.62%	63.72%	55.77%	17.26%	9.62%	9.96%	25.00%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	9.89%	15.40%	73.67%	68.61%	11.11%	7.80%	5.33%	8.19%	100.00%	100.00%
Total non-Communist	8.55%	12.66%	78.10%	77.78%	8.94%	5.59%	4.41%	3.96%	100.00%	100.00%
(Major West European)*	4.03%	2.48%	76.92%	88.55%	12.43%	4.77%	6.62%	4.21%	100.00%	100.00%
Communist										
Of which:										
U.S.S.R.	12.12%	14.91%	61.97%	60.27%	10.69%	12.14%	15.22%	12.67%	100.00%	100.00%
China	4.89%	· 2.51%	90.94%	94.19%	.00%	.00%	4.17%	3.30%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other	2.70%	2.29%	78.62%	86.55%	12.94%	3.09%	5.73%	8.07%	100.00%	100.00%
Total Communist	10.16%	12.44%	66.57%	66.11%	10.29%	10.09%	12.98%	11.36%	100.00%	100.00%
GRAND TOTAL	9.38%	12.52%	72.18%	70.46%	9.63%	8.41%	8.81%	8.60%	100.00%	100.00%

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

1

.

,

:

Table 2E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1982-1989

.

	East As	ia/Pacific	Near East/So. Asia		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1982-85	1986-8 9	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89	1982-85	1986-89
Non-Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.	25.07%	25.98%	20.91%	15.33%	7.55%	9.65%	3.12%	3.05%
France	1.73%	.45%	13.45%	8.75%	3.91%	5.52%	5.45%	3.43%
United Kingdom	1.59%	.79%	3.78%	8.66%	.94%	1.09%	4.05%	1.14%
West Germany	2.49%	1.18%	1.61%	.92%	15.84%	1.09%	2.28%	.65%
Italy	2.84%	.56%	2.59%	.58%	5.26%	.84%	3.32%	2.13%
All Other	10.66%	8.76%	10.31%	6.94%	11.66%	6.60%	6.11%	6.78%
Total non-Communist	44.37%	37.72%	52.65%	41.17%	45.15%	24.77%	24.34%	17.19%
(Major West European)*	8.65%	2.98%	21.43%	18.91%	25.94%	8.53%	15.10%	7.36%
Communist								
Of which:								
U.S.S.R.	51.48%	59.92%	34.20%	43.04%	44.20%	72.63%	68.81%	74.14%
China	1.87%	1.07%	4.51%	7.12%	.00%	.00%	1.69%	2.04%
All Other	2.28%	1.29%	8.63%	8.67%	10.65%	2.59%	5.16%	6.62%
Total Communist	55.63%	62.28%	47.35%	58.83%	54.85%	75.23%	75.66%	82.81%
GRAND 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, West Germany, Italy).

Table 2F

ARMS TRANSFER DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

1986-1989 1982-1989 1982-1985 % of change Deliveries Deliveries Deliveries from 1982-85 Values Rank Values Rank Values Rank to 1986-89 U.S.S.R. 61,380 (1) 71,560 (1) 132,940 (1) 16.59% 28,424 (2) 21,510 (2) 49,934 (2) U.S. -24.32% France 16,530 (3) 9,930 (3) 26,460 (3) -39.93% United Kingdom 5,120 (5) 9,090 (4) 14,210 (4) 77.54% 5,520 (4) China 7,570 (5) 13,090 (5) 37.14% West Germany -72.14% 4,810 (6) 1,340 (9) 6,150 (6) 1,040 (10) 4,520 (7) 5,560 (7) -76.99% Italy Czechoslovakia 2,430 (9) 1,880 (6) 4,310 (8) -22.63% 940 (11) Spain 2,460 (8) 3,400 (9) -61.79% North Korea 1,520 (7) 1,780 (10) 3,300 (10) -14.61% 1,380 (8) Brazil 1,740 (11) 3,120 (11) -20.69%

Source: U.S. Government

CRS-56

Table 2G

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAN 1982-1985	IRAN 1986-1989	IRAN 1982-1989
SUPPLIER:			
Soviet Union	240	0	240
China	570	2,730	3,300
All Other Communist	2,150	2,600	4,750
TOTAL Communist	2,960	5,330	8,290
European Non-Communis	-	•	-
United States	0*	0*	0*
All Other Non-Communis	t 2,740	1,700	4,440
TOTAL Non-Communist	4,030	2,790	6,820
GRAND TOTAL	6,990	8,120	15,110

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

Source: U.S. Government

.

Table 2H

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAQ 1982-1985	IRAQ 1986-1989	IRAQ 1982-1989
SUPPLIER:			<u> </u>
Soviet Union	11,370	10,700	22,070
China	3,110	1,050	4,160
All Other Communist	3,110	3,020	6,130
TOTAL Communist	17,590	14,770	32,360
European Non-Communis	st 6,740	1,300	8,040
United States	0	0	0
All Other Non-Communis	t 3,370	1,960	5,330
TOTAL Non-Communist	10,110	3,260	13,370
GRAND TOTAL	27,700	18,030	45,730

Table 2I

ARMS DELIVERIES TO CUBA, 1982-1989 SUPPLIERS COMPARED (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	CUBA 1982-1985	CUBA 1986-1989	CUBA 1982-1989
SUPPLIER:			
Soviet Union	5,330	6,150	11,480
China	0	0	0
All Other Communist	1,370	120	1,490
TOTAL Communist	6,700	6,270	12,970
European Non-Communi	ist 0	0	0
United States	0	0	0
All Other Non-Communi	st 0	0	0
TOTAL Non-Communist	0	0	0
GRAND TOTAL	6,700	6,270	12,970

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2J

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989 DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1982-1985 Deliveries Values Rank	1986-1989 Deliveries Values Rank	1982-1989 Deliveries Values Rank	% of change from 1982-85 to 1986-89
Saudi Arabia	23,255 (2)	23,481 (1)	46,736 (1)	.97%
Iraq	27,709 (1)	18,028 (2)	45,737 (2)	-34.94%
India	6,806 (6)	12,964 (3)	19,770 (3)	90.48%
Syria	9,887 (3)	5,507 (8)	15,394 (4)	-44.30%
Iran	6,987 (5)	8,120 (5)	15,107 (5)	16.22%
Cuba	6,700 (7)	6,268 (7)	12,968 (6)	-6.45%
Vietnam	6,011 (8)	6,725 (6)	12,736 (7)	11.88%
Libya	9,086 (4)	3,458 (10)	12,544 (8)	-61.94%
Afghanistan	2,506 (10)	9,084 (4)	11,590 (9)	262.49%
Angola	4,124 (9)	5,418 (9)	9,542 (10)	31.38%

Table 2K

LEADING THIRD WORLD RECIPIENTS OF ARMS DELIVERIES IN 1989 (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Country	Value	Major Supplier
(1)		4 050	¥1
(1)	Saudi Arabia	4,876	United Kingdom
(2)	Afghanistan	3,800	U.S.S.R.
(3)	India	3,271	U.S.S.R.
(4)	Iraq	1,930	U.S.S.R.
(5)	Iran	1,290	PRC
(6)	Vietnam	1,260	U.S.S.R.
(7)	Cuba	1,200	U.S.S.R.
(8)	Syria	1,010	U.S.S.R.
(9)	Libya	980	U.S.S.R.
(10)	Ethiopia	920	U.S.S.R.

SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD 1982-1989

Other useful data for assessing arms transfers to the Third World by suppliers are those that indicate <u>who</u> has actually <u>delivered</u> numbers of <u>specific classes</u> of military items to a <u>region</u>. These data are relatively "hard" in that they reflect actual transfers of specific items of military equipment. They have the limitation of not giving detailed information regarding the sophistication level of the equipment delivered. However, these data will show <u>relative trends</u> in the delivery of various classes of military equipment and will also indicate who the leading suppliers are from region to region over time. These data can also indicate who has developed a market for a category of weapon in a region, and perhaps suggest whether regional arms races are emerging or winding down. For these reasons, the following tables set out actual deliveries of 12 separate categories of weaponry to the Third World from 1982-1989 by the United States, the Soviet Union, and the four Major West European suppliers as a group.

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1982-1989

- The data in table 3 show that from 1982-1989 the Soviet Union led in 10 of the 12 categories of weapons delivered to the Third World as a whole, while the Major West European suppliers led in two. The United States led in none. The Soviets and the Major West Europeans suppliers tied in one. In the most recent 4-year period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in ten categories, the Major West Europeans in two, and the United States in none.
- Table 3 illustrates that from 1982-1989, the Soviets led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, submarines, guided missile boats, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. In the 1982-1989 period the Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of both major and minor surface combatants.
- Table 3 shows that in the most recent period (1986-1989) the Soviets led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, major surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of minor surface combatants and guided missile boats.

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

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC, 1982-1989

• The data in Table 4 show that from 1982-1989, the United States led in five categories of the 12 categories of major weapons deliveries to East Asia and the Pacific. The Soviet Union led in three. The Major West Europeans led in three. In

the most recent period (1986-1989) the Soviet Union led in six categories. The United States led in three. The Major West Europeans led in one.

- Table 4 illustrates that from 1982-1989, the United States led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, APCs and armored cars, subsonic combat aircraft, helicopters and surface-to-air missiles. The Soviet Union led in deliveries of artillery, minor surface combatants and supersonic combat aircraft. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of major surface combatants, submarines and other aircraft.
- Table 4 shows that in the most recent period (1986-1989), the United States led in deliveries of supersonic combat aircraft, other aircraft and helicopters. The Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, subsonic combat aircraft and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of major surface combatants.

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA, 1982-1989

- The data in Table 5 show that from 1982-1989, the Soviet Union dominated the delivery of major weapons to the Near East and South Asian region, leading in 10 of the 12 categories. The Major West European suppliers led in two categories. The United States led in none. In the most recent period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in 10 categories. The Major West Europeans led in two categories. The United States led in no category.
- Table 5 illustrates that from 1982-1989, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, major surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of minor surface combatants and guided missile boats.
- Table 5 shows that in the most recent period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, major surface combatants, submarines, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in the delivery of minor surface combatants and guided missile boats.

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO LATIN AMERICA, 1982-1989

- The data in Table 6 show that from 1982-1989 the Soviet Union led in eight categories of weapons delivered to Latin America. The Major West European suppliers led in two categories. The United States in two. In the most recent period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in six categories. The United States led in three categories, while the Major West European suppliers led in two.
- Table 6 illustrates that from 1982-1989, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, supersonic combat aircraft, helicopters, guided missile boats and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European Suppliers led in the delivery of major surface combatants

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

• Table 6 shows that in the most recent period (1986-1989) the Soviet Union led in deliveries of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, minor surface combatants, helicopters and surface-to-air missiles. The United States led in the delivery of supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft and other aircraft. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of major surface combatants and submarines.

WEAPONS DELIVERED TO AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN), 1982-1989

- The data in table 7 show that from 1982-1989, the Soviet Union led in seven categories of weapons delivered to Sub-Saharan Africa. The Major West European suppliers led in four categories. The United States led in none. In the most recent period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in eight categories, while the Major West European suppliers led in one. The United States led in none.
- Table 7 illustrates that from 1982-1989, the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic combat aircraft, helicopters, guided missile boats and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of major and minor surface combatants, subsonic combat aircraft, and other aircraft.
- Table 7 shows in the most recent period (1986-1989), the Soviet Union led in the delivery of tanks and self-propelled guns, artillery, APCs and armored cars, supersonic and subsonic combat aircraft, other aircraft, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles. The Major West European suppliers led in deliveries of minor surface combatants.

REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1986-1989

- 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 1986-1989. 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 1986-1989, making notable deliveries of certain categories of armaments to every region of the Third World--most particularly to the Near East and South Asia and to Latin America. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region the Major Western European suppliers were the major non-Communist competition to the Soviet Union in arms deliveries.

Despite these various numerical trends a cautionary note is warranted. Aggregate data on weapons categories delivered by suppliers do not provide precise indices of the quality and/or level of sophistication of the weaponry actually provided. As the history of recent conventional conflicts suggests, quality and/or sophistication of weapons can offset a quantitative disadvantage. The fact that the United States, for example, may not "lead" in quantities of weapons delivered to a region does not necessarily mean that the weaponry it has transferred cannot compensate, to an important degree, for larger quantities of less capable weapons systems delivered by the Soviet Union or others.

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

Table 3

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western
1982-1985			European 2/
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2253	3565	590
Artillery	1505	7890	1845
APCs and Armored Cars	4224	6615	1800
Major Surface Combatants	7	26	38
Minor Surface Combatants	27	96	118
Submarines	0	7	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	321	1340	235
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	170	80	100
Other Aircraft	135	330	415
Helicopters	168	790	350
Guided Missile Boats	0	21	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	2864	14505	3130
1986-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	596	3700	100
Artillery	760	5840	3030
APCs and Armored Cars	642	6445	240
Major Surface Combatants	0	15	13
Minor Surface Combatants	4	54	101
Submarines	0	10	8
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	179	615	150
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	20	125	50
Other Aircraft	170	240	70
Helicopters	112	700	200
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	2
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	956	11875	565
1982-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2849	7265	690
Artillery	2265	13730	4875
APCs and Armored Cars	4866	13060	2040
Major Surface Combatants	7	41	51
Minor Surface Combatants	31	150	219
Submarines	0	17	15
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	500	1955	385
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	190	205	150
Other Aircraft	305	570	485
Helicopters	280	1490	5 50
Guided Missile Boats	0	21	12
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	3820	26380	3695

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

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

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

Table 4

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western
			European 2/
1982-1985			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	253	135	0
Artillery	454	390	670
APCs and Armored Cars	966	235	70
Major Surface Combatants	3	3	5
Minor Surface Combatants	10	29	14
Submarines	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	99	205	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	127	0	10
Other Aircraft	51 30	40	65
Helicopters Guided Missile Boats	0	35 0	65 0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1159	320	365
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1158	320	305
1986-1989			_
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	40	60	0
Artillery	262	355	25
APCs and Armored Cars	178	225	0
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	1
Minor Surface Combatants	0	14	5
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	129	70	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	35	0
Other Aircraft	19	10	10
Helicopters	78	25	35
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	335	1040	140
1982-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	293	195	0
Artillery	716	745	695
APCs and Armored Cars	1144	460	70
Major Surface Combatants	.3	3	6
Minor Surface Combatants	10	43	19
Submarines	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	228	275	Ō
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	127	35	10
Other Aircraft	70	50	75
Helicopters	106	60	100
Guided Missile Boats	0	Ő	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1494	1360	505
Dallace Maril Hitsence (Dunite)	*303	1000	

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

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

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

Table 5

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

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western
			European 2/
1982-1985			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1980	2445	420
Artillery	582	4850	920
APCs and Armored Cars	3147	5220	1185
Major Surface Combatants	2	17	17
Minor Surface Combatants	12	18	45
Submarines	0	6	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	180	785	210
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	4	80	40
Other Aircraft	15	215	150
Helicopters Guided Missile Boats	32	520	150
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0 1675	11	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1079	9735	1840
1986-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	533	2810	0
Artillery	315	3910	2900
APCs and Armored Cars	395	5375	55
Major Surface Combatants	0	14	8
Minor Surface Combatants	0	11	75
Submarines	0	10	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	12	440	135
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	65	25
Other Aircraft	29	165	25
Helicopters	1	445	40
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	2
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	371	8455	315
1982-1989			_
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2513	5255	420
Artillery	897	8760	3820
APCs and Armored Cars	3542	10595	1240
Major Surface Combatants	2	31	25
Minor Surface Combatants	12	29	120
Submarines	0	18	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	192	1225	345
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	4	145	65
Other Aircraft	44	380	175
Helicopters	33	965	190
Guided Missile Boats	0	11	12
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	2046	18190	2155

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

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

.

Table 6

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
1982-1985			_
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	475	0
Artillery	342	740	. 0
APCs and Armored Cars	- 0	290	35
Major Surface Combatants	2	3	11
Minor Surface Combatants	4	33	16
Submarines	0	1	6
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	36	80	5
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	39	0	20
Other Aircraft	68	15	85
Helicopters	106	85	80
Guided Missile Boats	0	4	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	1105	465
1986-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	260	0
Artillery	130	495	65
APCs and Armored Cars	16	310	60
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	4
Minor Surface Combatants	4	17	3
Submarines	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	38	10	15
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	20	0	5
Other Aircraft	117	50	25
Helicopters	35	100	80
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	0	1310	0
1982-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	735	0
Artillery	472	1235	. 65
APCs and Armored Cars	16	600	95
Major Surface Combatants	2	4	15
Minor Surface Combatants	8	50	19
Submarines	Õ	1	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	74	90	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	59	0	25
Other Aircraft	185	65	110
Helicopters	141	185	160
Guided Missile Boats	0	4	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	Õ	2415	465

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

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

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

CRS-70 **Table 7**

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

Weapons Category	United States	U.S.S.R.	Major Western European 2/
1982-1985			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	20	510	170
Artillery	127	1910	255
APCs and Armored Cars	111	870	510
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	5
Minor Surface Combatants	1	16	43
Submarines	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	6	270	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	30
Other Aircraft	1	60	115
Helicopters	0	150	55
Guided Missile Boats	0	6	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	30	3345	460
1986-1989			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	570	100
Artillery	53	1080	100 40
APCs and Armored Cars	53	535	125
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	Ő	12	18
Submarines	Õ	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	ŏ	95	ŏ
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	Ō	25	20
Other Aircraft	5	15	10
Helicopters	Ō	130	45
Guided Missile Boats	Ō	0	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	250	1070	110
1982-1989	00	1000	050
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	20	1080	270
Artillery APCs and Armored Cars	180	2990	295
	164	1405 3	635 5
Major Surface Combatants Minor Surface Combatants	0 1		61
Submarines	1		0
		0 365	20
Supersonic Combat Aircraft Subsonic Combat Aircraft	6 0	300 25	20 50
Other Aircraft	6	25 75	50 125
	· 0	280	125
Helicopters Guided Missile Boats	0	280 6	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	280	4415	570
Salisce w. VIL MISSILLS (SVIIIS)	400	4. 10	010

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

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

DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN WEAPONS CATEGORIES, 1982-1989

Tanks and Self-propelled Guns

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

Artillery

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

Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs) and Armored Cars Personnel carriers, armored and amphibious Armored infantry fighting vehicles Armored reconnaissance and command vehicles

Major Surface Combatants Aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, frigates

Minor Surface Combatants

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

Submarines

All submarines, including midget submarines

Guided Missile Patrol Boats All boats in this class

Supersonic Combat Aircraft

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

Subsonic Combat Aircraft

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

Other Aircraft

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

Helicopters

All helicopters, including combat and transport

Surface-to-air Missiles (SAMs) All air defense missiles

REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

EUROPE

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

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

Albania Austria Bulgaria Belgium Canada Czechoslovakia Cyprus Denmark Finland France Germany, Democratic Republic Germany, Federal Republic Greece Hungary Iceland Ireland Italv 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 Togo Benin Uganda Botswana Upper Volta Burundi (Burkina Faso) Cameroon Zaire Cape Verde Zambia Central African Zimbabwe Empire/Republic Chad Congo Djibouti **Equatorial Guinea** Ethiopia Gabon Gambia Ghana Guinea Guinea-Bissau **Ivory Coast** Kenya Lesotho Liberia Madagascar Malawi Mali Mauritania Mauritius Mozambique Niger Nigeria Reunion Rwanda Senegal Seychelles Sierra Leone Somalia South Africa St. Helena Sudan Swaziland Tanzania

LATIN AMERICA

Turks and Caicos Antigua Bahamas Uruguay Argentina Venezuela 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 Monteserrat **Netherlands Antilles** Nicaragua Panama Paraguay Peru St. Christ-Nevis St. Lucia St. Pierre and Miquelon St. Vincent Suriname Trinidad