

CRS Report for Congress

Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1984-1991

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July 20, 1992



CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991

SUMMARY

The major political transitions wrought by the end of the Cold War continued in 1991, resulting in a significant impact on the Third World arms marketplace. The disintegration of the Soviet Union contributed to a sharp fall in Soviet arms agreements, while the United States remained the leader in arms sales to the Third World. The U.N. embargo against Iraq dropped Baghdad from being one of the largest Third World arms purchasers, leading to intense competition among former suppliers for new arms deals elsewhere. Reductions in domestic defense spending in many nations became a matter of acute concern to their weapons exporting industries. Further, in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war, a number of initiatives were launched to control destabilizing conventional arms transfers, especially to the Near East region.

The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 was \$24.7 billion. This was by far the lowest yearly total, calculated in either nominal or real terms, for any of the years during the 1984-1991 period. The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World seen in recent years was dramatically reversed in 1990 as the result of major new arms agreements related to the Gulf War. However, in 1991, the pattern of overall decline in the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World resumed in an equally dramatic fashion. At the same time, in 1991 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$18.4 billion) was the lowest total, in nominal and real terms, by a substantial margin for any year during the 1984-1991 period. This is the fourth consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly.

The Soviet Union and the United States have dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1984-1991. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for 63% of all arms transfer agreements with and 59% of all arms deliveries to the Third World during these years.

In 1991, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell from \$19.1 billion in 1990 to \$14.2 billion. For the second year in a row, however, the United States ranked first by a substantial margin in arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 57.4% in 1991, up from 44.3% in 1990. Nearly 76% of the 1991 U.S. sales agreements came as a result of costly new orders from Saudi Arabia, South Korea and Egypt (\$5.6 billion, \$2.9 billion, and \$2.3 billion, respectively). The value of the Saudi agreements with the United States alone exceeded the total value (\$5 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by the Soviet Union with the entire Third World in the same year.

The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements with the Third World fell dramatically from \$11.8 billion in 1990 to \$5 billion in 1991, ranking it second among all suppliers. The Soviet Union's share of all Third World arms transfer agreements declined as well, falling from 27.2% in 1990 to 20.3% in 1991 (in constant 1991 dollars).

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CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991

INTRODUCTION

The major political transitions wrought by the end of the Cold War continued in 1991, accelerating the changes under way in 1990 which have had a significant impact on the Third World arms marketplace. The dramatic political and economic evolution in the Soviet Union contributed to a substantial decline in its arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991. The United States, meanwhile, remained the leader in arms sales to the Third World. Reductions in domestic defense spending in many nations became a matter of acute concern to their weapons exporting industries. The United Nations embargo against Iraq has removed it from its previous position as one of the largest Third World arms purchasers, leading to intense competition among former suppliers for new arms deals elsewhere. Finally, in 1991, in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war, a number of initiatives have been launched to control destabilizing conventional arms transfers, especially to the Near East region.

The collaboration of the United States, the Soviet Union and other nations in opposing the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait led to the denial of new arms transfers to Iraq under the aegis of a United Nations embargo. Subsequently, in early 1991, much of Iraq's military arsenal was destroyed during Operation Desert Storm. These events had the effect of removing Iraq, historically one of the Third World's largest arms purchasers, from the arms marketplace. The loss of Iraq as a weapons purchaser had an especially significant effect on the former Soviet Union, as Iraq for years had been its largest weapons customer, and one that had the ability to pay for its weapons in hard currency or its equivalent.

The Gulf War's effect of marginalizing Iraq as a force in the Third World arms market occurred even as the Soviet Union was entering a significant new phase in its own post-Cold War development. The August 1991 aborted coup in the Soviet Union further exacerbated the political and economic problems of that country, and ultimately led to its formal dissolution in late December 1991. The dramatic political and economic transitions taking place in the now former Soviet Union--historically the single largest arms supplier to the Third World--raise yet unanswered questions regarding its future role in the conventional arms market.

On the one hand, the new Russian leadership seems committed to strengthening its domestic non-military industrial base and developing a market economy. On the other hand, Russia faces severe foreign exchange shortages and

debt servicing problems. Arms exports have been one of the few vehicles the former Soviet Union has had to obtain hard currency. Russian President Boris Yeltsin on February 22, 1992, told *Izvestia* that arms exports were a "buffer" that could reduce the blow to the Russian defense industry suffering from sharp cutbacks in domestic defense spending.

To maximize its income from weapons sales, in the post-Cold War period, the Soviet Union effectively terminated its grant military aid program with most of its arms customers in the Third World. At the same time, it sought more lucrative arms deals with countries such as Iran that can pay in hard currency or its equivalent. This relatively new arms sales approach by the Soviet Union--eliminating deep discounts and grants for weapons purchases by most of its key Cold War era clients--led to substantial reductions in new arms orders by Vietnam, Cuba, Syria and India in the most recent period.

The United States, meanwhile, has emerged as the principal arms supplier to most regions of the Third World in the last two years, replacing the former Soviet Union. Because of reductions in defense procurement in the United States resulting from the Cold War's end, American arms producers focused greater attention on obtaining additional foreign arms sales contracts to compensate, to the degree possible, for lost domestic orders. United States weapons systems have traditionally been built primarily for the American armed services, with only secondary consideration being given to foreign sales. As a result, these arms are more advanced, complex and costly than those of most other suppliers of arms to the Third World. Aggressive promotion of foreign purchases of American weapons has not been the traditional policy of the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government, through various means, has also controlled and restricted transfers of U.S. weaponry to the Third World. But as the events surrounding the Kuwait crisis of 1990 demonstrated, the United States will make major sales of advanced arms to friendly Third World states whenever its Government believes that U.S. national interests are served by doing so.

The prestige of American weapons was enhanced by their apparently overwhelming success on the Gulf War battlefield. As a consequence, several Near Eastern countries have sought to purchase U.S. weapons in large quantities in the period since the war. Saudi Arabia continues to be the single largest arms client of the United States in the Third World, concluding roughly \$5.6 billion in arms transfer agreements in 1991, or nearly 40% of all U.S. Third World arms agreements in that year.

Reductions in domestic defense spending also continued in both major and minor arms supplying nations in Europe and elsewhere. At the same time, these nations attempted to maintain their traditional foreign arms sales programs. In most cases these supplier countries faced difficulties in concluding large new arms deals even though these nations have historically placed greater emphasis on foreign arms sales--in contrast to the United States--because of the importance of such exports to maintaining their respective defense industrial bases. Difficulties stemmed from significant reductions in demand for weapons

from major clients and an overall increase in competition for available arms sales contracts.

Although the post-Cold War environment may have created a more acute need for many traditional arms supplying nations to sell conventional weapons to the Third World wherever possible, there are countervailing pressures against such sales. Many Third World countries, apart from oil rich states such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, lack large cash reserves and are thus dependent on securing some degree of credit from sellers in order to conclude major new arms purchases. Some leading arms suppliers may not be in a position to supply such credit, or may only be prepared to supply it to the most creditworthy customers. Some sellers may be willing to lower arms prices to secure a contract, but it seems clear that in most of those cases they will demand payment for such discounted sales. These circumstances suggest that most major suppliers may well focus their foreign arms sales activities on wealthier clients in the Near East and Asia. Most of the smaller arms suppliers are likely to compete successfully only for sales of medium and lower technology items to Third World states for whom the lowest price for a basic weapon system is the most critical consideration. The collective effect of these circumstances, however, may well be to dampen the overall level of the Third World arms trade.

Also working against future large increases in arms purchases by Third World nations is a growing debate within some international lending institutions about linking economic assistance to the reduction of defense expenditures by recipient nations. Such a linkage could, it is argued, reduce the prospect for additional military conflicts between developing nations while ensuring that greater levels of spending on needed social programs would occur in aid recipient countries. Institutions raising such concerns include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the U.N. Development Program. Some bilateral donors of economic assistance to Third World nations have recently indicated that they may condition such aid on reduction of military spending by prospective recipients. At the same time, some donors note that arms supplying nations also have responsibilities not to stimulate unnecessary arms purchases by Third World countries. They argue that if developing countries are pressed to decrease defense expenditures then arms suppliers must not encourage new sales.

In the aftermath of the Gulf War, many called for dramatic new approaches to controlling conventional arms transfers, especially in the Near East region. Proponents saw this period as a notable opportunity to garner international support, especially among the major arms suppliers. British Prime Minister Major called for the establishment of an arms transfer register under the aegis of the U.N. Secretary General. French President Mitterrand called for an arms control initiative that was global in focus. Members of Congress endorsed arms control initiatives related to the Near East, and both Houses passed bills requiring an arms sales moratorium to the region pending a conference of the major arms suppliers.

A more direct effort at curtailing the size and nature of arms sales to the Near East region was launched in May 1991 by the Bush Administration. The focus for negotiations was on the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the top five suppliers of arms to the Third World in 1991. Collectively these five nations delivered nearly \$16.7 billion in arms to the Third World in 1991, 90.7% of all arms deliveries made to the Third World by all suppliers. The Bush initiative sought to capitalize on the concerns raised by Iraq's massive arms buildup in the 1980s, which facilitated its invasion and temporary occupation of Kuwait. After a year of meetings and discussions among the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the U.S., the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France and China), the parties reached agreement on interim guidelines on transfers relating to weapons of mass destruction. These guidelines deal with chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, but not missiles or the technology associated with them. It was initially hoped that these discussions might lead to agreement on a mechanism for the Permanent Five nations to notify one another in advance of their prospective arms sales to the Near East. It was also hoped that such an agreement might lead to on-going consultations among the Permanent Five, following such advance notifications, and possible curtailment of destabilizing arms sales to the Near East region. Agreement has not been reached on advance notifications regarding conventional weapons sales to this region, although additional meetings are planned on this and other unresolved issues.

A number of members of the U.S. Congress have supported the Bush Administration's arms control initiative for the Near East. Others in Congress have also proposed a wide range of initiatives, some more extensive than that of the Administration, aimed at controlling the arms trade and the United States role in it. This takes place as the conventional arms marketplace proceeds through a major transitional period—one in which efforts continue to reconcile the economic interests of defense industries in key arms supplying nations with the competing policy objective of limiting destabilizing arms transfers to Third World states.

This report provides unclassified background data on transfers of conventional arms to the Third World by major suppliers for the period 1984 through 1991. It updates and revises the study entitled "Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1983-1990," published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on August 2, 1991 (CRS Report 91-578F). The data in this new report completely supersede all data published in previous editions. Since various changes occur in the data from one edition of the report to the next, only those data in the most recent edition should be used. Comparisons of data in earlier editions with those in the most recent edition can result in significant computational errors.

CONSTANT 1991 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 1991 dollars. Although this helps to eliminate the distorting effects of inflation to permit a more accurate comparison of various dollar levels over time, 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 (1984-1987 and 1988-1991), they must be expressed in current dollar terms. Where tables rank leading arms suppliers to the Third World or leading Third World arms recipients using four-year aggregate dollar totals, these values must also be expressed in current dollars. 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 value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 was \$24.7 billion. This was by far the lowest yearly total for agreements with the Third World for any of the years during the 1984-1991 period, whether measured in nominal or real terms. The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World seen in recent years was dramatically reversed in 1990 as the result of major new arms agreements related to the Gulf War. In 1991, however, the pattern of overall decline in the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World resumed in an equally dramatic fashion (table 1A) (chart 1).

At the same time, in 1991 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$18.4 billion) was the lowest total by a substantial margin for any year during the 1984-1991 period. This is the fourth consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly from the previous year. This pattern reflects the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the winding down of other regional conflicts in the Third World (table 2A) (charts 10, 11, and 12). However, if most arms transfer agreements concluded with the Third World in 1990 and 1991 are fully implemented, then the total value of arms deliveries will increase in future years.

The Soviet Union and the United States have dominated the Third World arms market as the top two suppliers from 1984-1991. Collectively, the two superpowers accounted for 63% of all arms transfer agreements with and 59% of all arms deliveries to the Third World during these years.

Most recently, from 1988-1991, the Third World arms market has been comprised of three tiers of suppliers. In the first tier are the United States and the Soviet Union whose positions far surpass those of all other arms suppliers to the Third World. In the second tier are France, the United Kingdom and China whose positions are notably below those of the Soviet Union and the United States, but substantially above the positions of the remaining arms suppliers to the Third World. The five nations in the first two tiers have the means to supply the most advanced weapons systems to the Third World in quantity and on a continuing basis. In the third tier are both other European arms suppliers as well as suppliers--largely developing countries--that have generally been marginal and sporadic participants in the Third World arms trade. The names of countries in this third tier are likely to change over time, especially at its lower end, since some of these nations lack the means to be major suppliers of advanced military equipment on a sustained basis. Some of them, however, are capable of having an impact on potential conflicts within Third World regions because of their willingness to supply weapons based almost exclusively on commercial considerations, including types of weapons that other suppliers would refuse to provide (tables 1F, 1G, 2F and 2G).

UNITED STATES

In 1991, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from the previous year's total, falling from \$19.1 billion in 1990 to \$14.2 billion in 1991. Nonetheless, the 1991 level was significantly higher than any other year between 1984-1989. Further, for the second year in a row, the United States ranked first by a substantial margin in arms transfer agreements with the Third World. The U.S. share of the value of all such agreements was 57.4% in 1991, up from 44.3% in 1990 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

The United States' status as first in the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 is directly attributable to costly new orders from Saudi Arabia, South Korea and Egypt. A substantial portion of the Saudi total was for expensive military support services, military vehicles, and bombs and missiles for Saudi fighter aircraft. Most of South Korea's total was related to its agreement for purchase, co-assembly and licensed production of 120 F-16C/D fighter aircraft. Most of Egypt's total was due to its purchase of 46 F-16 C/D fighter aircraft. In 1991, the total values of the arms transfer agreements of Saudi Arabia, South Korea and Egypt with the United States were \$5.6 billion, \$2.9 billion and \$2.3 billion, respectively. These agreements collectively constituted 76% of all U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991. The value of the Saudi agreements with the United States alone exceeded the total value (\$5 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by the Soviet Union with the entire Third World in the same year.

The signing of a few particularly large contracts for major weapons systems generally determines whether the total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements in any given year is high relative to other years. The Third World agreements figure for the United States in 1991 illustrates this point. The United States also made arms transfer agreements at extraordinary levels in 1990 (\$19.1 billion to the Third World, and \$14 billion to Saudi Arabia alone). In part due to these exceptional arms agreements totals in 1990 and 1991, the United States arms transfer agreements totals for 1988-1991 to the Near East region constituted 50% of all arms transfer agreements made by all suppliers to that region during these years (chart 5).

SOVIET UNION

The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements with the Third World fell dramatically, from \$11.8 billion in 1990 to \$5 billion in 1991. The Soviet Union's share of all Third World arms transfer agreements declined as well, falling from 27.2% in 1990 to 20.3% in 1991 (in constant 1991 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

During the 1984-1991 period, Soviet arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a high of \$29.8 billion in 1986 to a low of \$5 billion in 1991. Each year after 1986 Soviet arms transfer agreement totals have

declined from those of the previous year. In the years after 1987, the Soviet Union has failed to register arms transfer agreements totals valued in excess of \$20 billion annually, a level achieved in each of the years 1984 through 1987. Like the United States, the total value of Soviet arms transfer agreements can be affected significantly by a decline or increase in a few large orders for major weapons systems.

The Soviet Union has had long-standing supplier relationships with many of the leading purchasers of weapons in the Third World. The Soviet Union has provided these purchasers with a wide range of armaments from the highly sophisticated to the most basic, including a large quantity of munitions. It has also actively sought to export weapons as one means of gaining needed hard currency.

Due to the domestic economic problems it has encountered recently, as well as the Cold War's end, the Soviet Union has effectively terminated its grant military assistance program to most of its former key arms clients. At the same time, the Soviet Union has sought arms deals with countries such as Iran that can pay for weapons in hard currency or its equivalent. When one considers these facts, plus the loss by the Soviet Union of Iraq as a major arms purchaser, it is evident why the overall value of Soviet arms transfer agreements have dropped significantly recently, while the value of arms agreements with Iran, in particular, have increased. Among the weapons systems sold to Iran by the Soviet Union recently are MiG-29 fighter aircraft, T-72 main battle tanks and Kilo class attack submarines. The Soviet Union has also begun an arms supplier relationship with China, making a sale in 1991 of 24 Su-27 fighter aircraft.

CHINA

In the 1980s, China emerged as an important supplier of arms to the Third World, in large measure due to agreements with Iran and Iraq. The value of China's agreements with the Third World peaked at nearly \$5.5 billion in 1987. China ranked fourth among all suppliers in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1988-1991. Yet in 1991 the value of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell to \$300 million compared to \$2.2 billion in agreements in 1990. As a consequence, in 1991 China ranked eighth among all suppliers to the Third World (in constant 1991 dollars) (tables 1A and 1F).

China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell sharply in 1991 because the Soviet Union displaced China as Iran's preferred arms supplier. Iraq, another important Chinese client, was barred from arms purchases by the U.N. embargo after August 1990. China also did not receive major new orders from other key clients such as Pakistan. Beyond the Near East region, China has not had many arms clients with large financial resources or major weapons purchasing programs, so any arms agreements with them would not greatly increase China's figures in 1991.

China may not be able to sustain its level of arms sales to the Near East region now that an embargo is in effect against Iraq, and Beijing faces stiff new competition from arms suppliers such as the former Soviet Union and European states that can provide more modern and sophisticated weaponry. Of continuing interest to certain Third World purchasers have been China's missiles and its willingness to sell them. In the latter half of the 1980s, China sold and delivered CSS-2 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to Saudi Arabia, Silkworm anti-shiping missiles to Iran, and anti-tank and other surface-to-surface missiles to various Third World purchasers. Recently, China has stated that it would abide by the guidelines on missile transfers set out in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Given China's need and desire to obtain hard currency, it seems prepared to pursue arms sales opportunities it deems appropriate wherever they present themselves. A key question continues to be whether China will agree to curtail all categories of its arms transfers to the Near East as part of an arms restraint regime led by major suppliers.

MAJOR WEST EUROPEANS

The four major West European suppliers (France, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) registered a decline in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991, falling to 11.4% from 12.9% in 1990. Of these suppliers, France suffered a notable decline in the value of its agreements from \$3.3 billion in 1990 to \$400 million in 1991. The value of the United Kingdom's agreements increased from \$1.8 billion in 1990 to \$2 billion in 1991. Germany registered a slight increase in the value of its agreements from \$315 million in 1990 to \$400 million in 1991. Italy's Third World agreements in 1991 were effectively nil, falling from \$210 million in 1990 (in constant 1991 dollars) (tables 1A, 1B) (charts 1, 2, and 3).

Throughout the period from 1984-1991, the major West European suppliers, as a group, averaged about 17% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Throughout the 1984-1991 period, individual suppliers within the major West European group have had exceptional years for arms agreements, such as France in 1984 (\$8.4 billion) and 1989 (\$4.1 billion), and the United Kingdom in 1985 (\$23.8 billion) (in constant 1991 dollars). Such totals have generally reflected conclusion of a few large arms transfer agreements with a major Third World purchaser. Since 1987, the United Kingdom has had a steady increase each year in the value of its Third World agreements, helped by contracts with Saudi Arabia and other traditional British arms clients in the Near East and Asia (tables 1A and 1B).

Because 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 often tie their arms sales decisions to foreign policy considerations but essentially to economic ones, they have provided a viable alternative source of arms for nations to whom the United

States will not sell for policy reasons. Generally strong government marketing support for foreign arms sales enhances the competitiveness of weapons produced by these major West European suppliers. But in the post-Cold War environment, individual West European suppliers may be hard pressed to secure large new Third World arms contracts and may choose to reduce or eliminate product areas in which they attempt to compete.

THE IRAN-IRAQ ARMS MARKET

The trade in arms with Iran and Iraq was a significant element of the entire Third World arms market during the period 1984-1991. The war between these two nations created an urgent demand by both belligerents, throughout most of the 1980s, for conventional weapons of all kinds, from the least sophisticated battlefield consumables to more advanced combat vehicles, missiles and aircraft. During their war, Iran and Iraq bought arms from both major and minor arms suppliers. Iran, in particular, was forced to try to circumvent a U.S. led embargo on arms transfers to the warring countries. In the aftermath of the war, some arms-supplying nations continued to maintain a supply relationship with the combatants that had been forged during the war itself. Other suppliers sought to establish a new relationship where possible. Salient details of supplier relationships with Iran and Iraq are summarized below.

In the 1984-1987 period, the total value of arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers constituted one-fifth (20.1%) (\$37.1 billion out of \$176.1 billion) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World. However, in the 1988-1991 period, the total value of arms transfer agreements with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers had fallen to only one-tenth (10.1%) (\$12.8 billion out of \$127.3 billion), showing the dramatic decline in this arms market most recently (in current dollars) (tables 1, 1H and 1D).

In the period from 1988-1991, which began with the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war and ended with the Persian Gulf war--during which a significant portion of Iraq's military capability was destroyed--major changes in arms supply relationships with Iran and Iraq occurred. Most notably, the Soviet Union became Iran's principal supplier, concluding \$4.8 billion in arms transfer agreements during this period. This figure contrasts markedly with the nil Soviet figure for arms agreements with Iran during the 1984-1987 period. China was Iran's second leading arms supplier during the 1988-1991 period, making \$1.9 billion in agreements, down from its total of \$2.6 billion in agreements during the 1984-1987 period (in current dollars) (table 1H).

Other suppliers registered notable declines in their arms transfer agreements with Iran from the 1984-1987 period (when the Iran-Iraq war was at its height) to the 1988-1991 period. Iran's arms agreements with the four major West European suppliers as a group declined from \$1.2 billion in 1984-1987 to \$200 million in 1988-1991. The agreements of all other European suppliers collectively with Iran declined from over \$4.1 billion in 1984-1987 to

about \$1.2 billion in 1988-1991. Arms agreements with Iran by all other suppliers as a group declined from \$2.2 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1.6 billion in 1988-1991 (in current dollars) (table 1H).

Iraq's \$3.1 billion arms agreements total for 1988-1991 with all suppliers contrasts dramatically with its arms agreements total for 1984-1987 of \$27 billion. It reflects the extent to which Iraq's arms purchasing program was curtailed by the embargo it suffered following to its invasion of Kuwait. Of the 1988-1991 agreements total, \$700 million were agreements with China (Iraq's leading supplier), while only \$400 million in agreements were made with the Soviet Union. These figures reflect quite dramatic changes. Soviet agreements with Iraq in the period 1984-1987 were valued at \$15.4 billion--57% of all of Iraq's arms agreements for those years. China, by contrast, made agreements with Iraq valued at \$1.6 billion during this earlier period (6% of Iraq's total). This sharp decline in the value of the Soviet Union's arms agreements with Iraq, its leading customer in the Third World through most of the 1980s, reflects both the slowing down of arms deals as the Iran-Iraq war ended and the impact of Soviet participation in the United Nations embargo against Iraq which began August 6, 1990 (table 1I).

LEADING THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS

Saudi Arabia has been, by a wide margin, the leading Third World arms purchaser from 1984-1991, making arms transfer agreements totaling \$67.7 billion during these years (in current dollars). In both the 1984-1987 and 1988-1991 periods, the value of its arms transfer agreements were consistently high (\$33.4 billion in 1984-1987 and \$34.3 billion in 1988-1991). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1984-1991 was \$303.4 billion (in current dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia alone was responsible for over one-fifth (22.3%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements during these eight years. In the most recent period--1988-1991--Saudi Arabia alone accounted for over one-fourth (26.9%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements (\$34.3 billion out of \$127.3 billion). Saudi Arabia ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1991, concluding \$7.8 billion in such agreements--31.6% of the total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 (in current dollars) (tables 1, 1J and 1K).

Eight of the ten leading Third World arms recipients--all principal customers of the Soviet Union--registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from the 1984-1987 period to the 1988-1991 period. Cuba declined 100% (its agreements for 1988-1991 were nil); Iraq 88.5%, Syria 84.4%, Angola 48.5%, India 45.5%, and Vietnam 43.7%. These figures reflect the diminished financial support for these countries by the Soviet Union in the post-Cold War era. The one exception to this trend was Afghanistan, a major Soviet client, that more than tripled its arms transfer agreements from the earlier period. This figure reflects the Soviet program to heavily arm the Afghans from the time of their withdrawal in 1989 until the arms cutoff deadline of January

10, 1992 agreed to by the Soviet Union and the United States as part of the arrangement concluding the Afghan war. Egypt, a major U.S. customer, had the second largest increase with 42.6% (table 1J).

Despite large decreases in the values of their arms transfer agreements from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991, the top ten Third World recipient nations in both time periods accounted for the major portion of the total Third World arms market. During 1984-1987 the top ten collectively accounted for 71.9% of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1988-1991 the top ten collectively accounted for 70.9% of all such agreements. Between 1984-1991 the top ten nations collectively made 71.5% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$217 billion out of \$303.4 billion)(in current dollars)(tables 1 and 1J).

The United States was the major supplier to six of the top ten recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1991. These leading recipients were Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Egypt, Thailand, United Arab Emirates and Kuwait (table 1K).

Eight of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered declines in the values of their arms deliveries from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. Most declines were substantial (table 2J).

Saudi Arabia was by far the leading recipient of arms in the Third World in 1991, receiving \$7.1 billion in deliveries. The Saudis alone received over 38.6% of the total value of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991 (table 2K).

RECENT WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD

Regional weapons delivery data reflect the diverse sources of supply of conventional weaponry available to Third World nations. Even though the Soviet Union, the United States and the four major West European suppliers dominate in the delivery of the fourteen classes of weapons examined, it is also evident that the other European suppliers, and non-European suppliers, including China, are fully capable of providing a wide-range of conventional armaments to nearly any country in the Third World should they chose to do so (tables 3-7).

Weapons deliveries to the Near East, the largest purchasing region in the Third World, reflect the substantial quantities and types delivered by both major and lesser suppliers. The following is a summary of weapons deliveries for this region from table 5 for the period 1988-1991:

Soviet Union

- 885 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 605 artillery pieces
- 605 APCs and armored cars
- 3 major surface combatants
- 1 submarine
- 340 supersonic combat aircraft
- 230 helicopters
- 1,480 surface-to-air missiles
- (SAMs) 125 surface-to-surface missiles
- 165 anti-shiping missiles

United States

- 415 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 598 APCs and armored cars
- 36 supersonic combat aircraft
- 1,061 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)

China

- 1,135 artillery pieces
- 20 supersonic combat aircraft
- 205 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)
- 240 surface-to-surface missiles
- 150 anti-shiping missiles

Major West European suppliers

- 1 major surface combatant
- 110 supersonic combat aircraft
- 105 anti-shiping missiles.

All other European suppliers

- 315 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 875 APCs and armored cars

All other suppliers

- 1 submarine
- 1,200 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)
- 265 surface-to-surface missiles

DEFINITION OF THE THIRD WORLD

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

UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL ARMS EXPORTS EXCLUDED

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

The rank of the United States in any calendar year from 1984-1991 has possibly been affected once—in 1991—by exclusion of the existing data on U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World. Since the total values of all U.S. deliveries are understated somewhat by exclusion of commercial arms deliveries figures, those commercial data are provided here to complete this portion of the available record. The values of U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World for fiscal years 1984-1991, according to the State Department, were as follows:

FY 1984	\$1,465,604
FY 1985	\$2,017,839
FY 1986	\$1,609,142
FY 1987	\$2,401,662
FY 1988	\$3,373,397
FY 1989	\$2,537,969
FY 1990	\$1,554,539
FY 1991	\$1,346,346

(In thousands of current U.S. dollars)

SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1984-1991

Tables 1 through 1K (pages 49-60) present data on arms transfer agreements with Third World nations by major suppliers from 1984-1991. These data show the most recent trends in arms contract activity by major suppliers. Delivery data, which reflect implementation of sales decisions taken earlier, are shown in Tables 2 through 2K, pages 61-72. To use these data regarding agreements for purposes other than assessing general trends in seller/buyer activity is to risk drawing conclusions that can be readily invalidated by future events--precise values and comparisons, for example, may change due to cancellations of major arms transfer agreements.

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

TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES

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

- The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 was \$24.7 billion. This was by far the lowest yearly total, in both nominal and real terms, for arms transfer agreements with the Third World for any of the years during the 1984-1991 period (tables 1 and 1A) (chart 1).
- In 1991, the total value, in real terms, of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from the previous year, falling from \$19.1 billion in 1990 to \$14.2 billion in 1991. Nonetheless, for the second year in a row, the United States ranked first by a substantial margin in arms transfer agreements with the Third World (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 4).
- Although the total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased from 1990 to 1991, the U.S. share of all such agreements increased from 44.3% in 1990, to 57.4% in 1991 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2).

CHART 1.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991

UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED

(billions of constant 1991 dollars and % of total agreements)

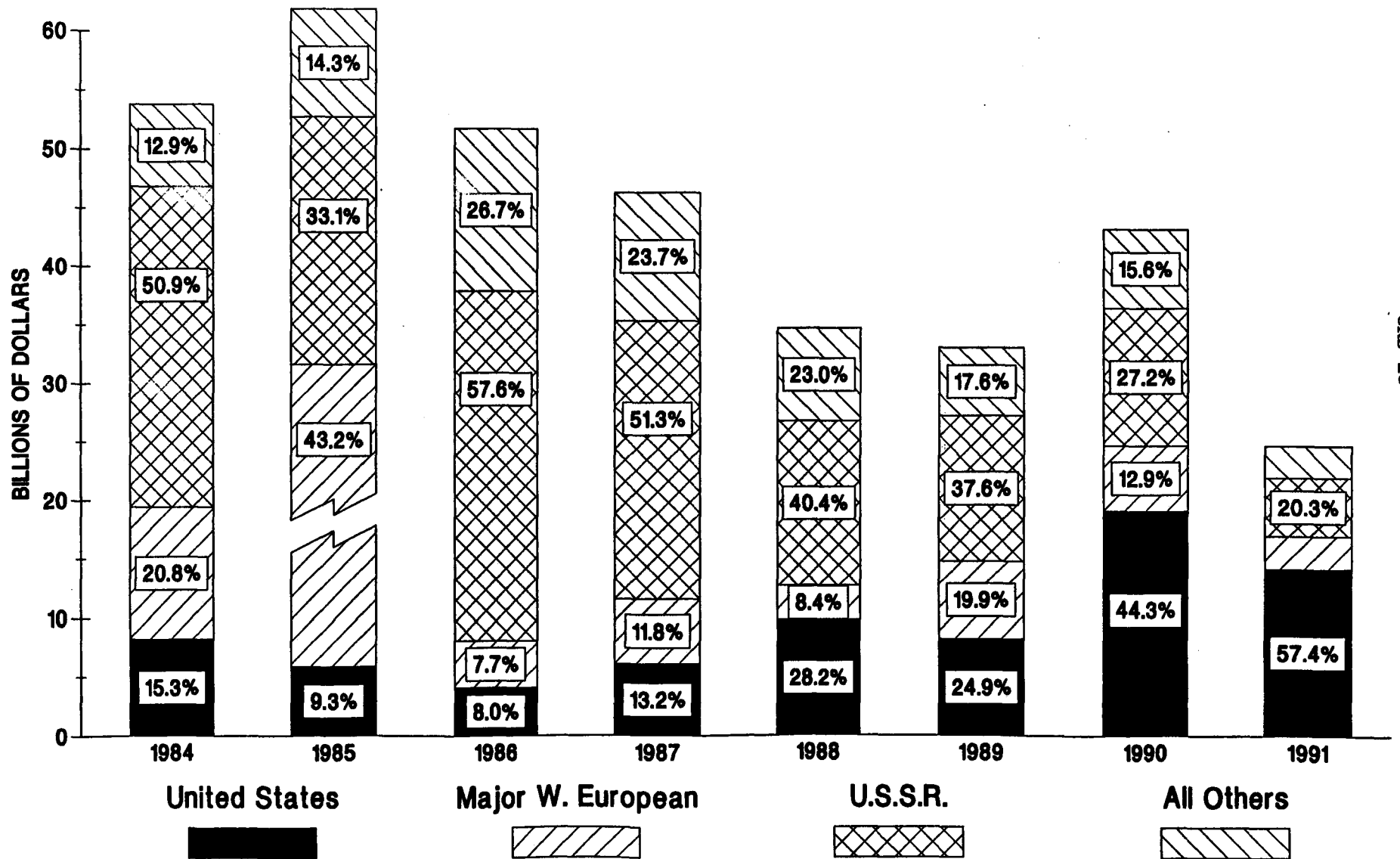
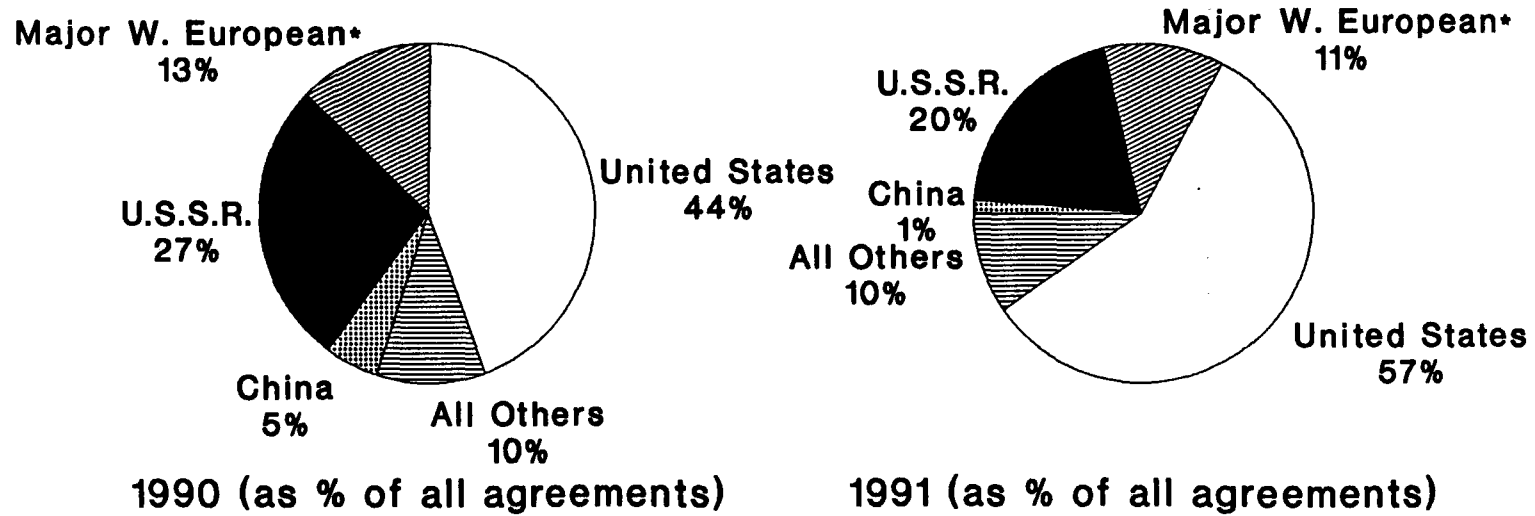


CHART 2.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD



CRS-19

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

CHART 3.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991 U.S., U.S.S.R., AND MAJOR W. EUROPEAN

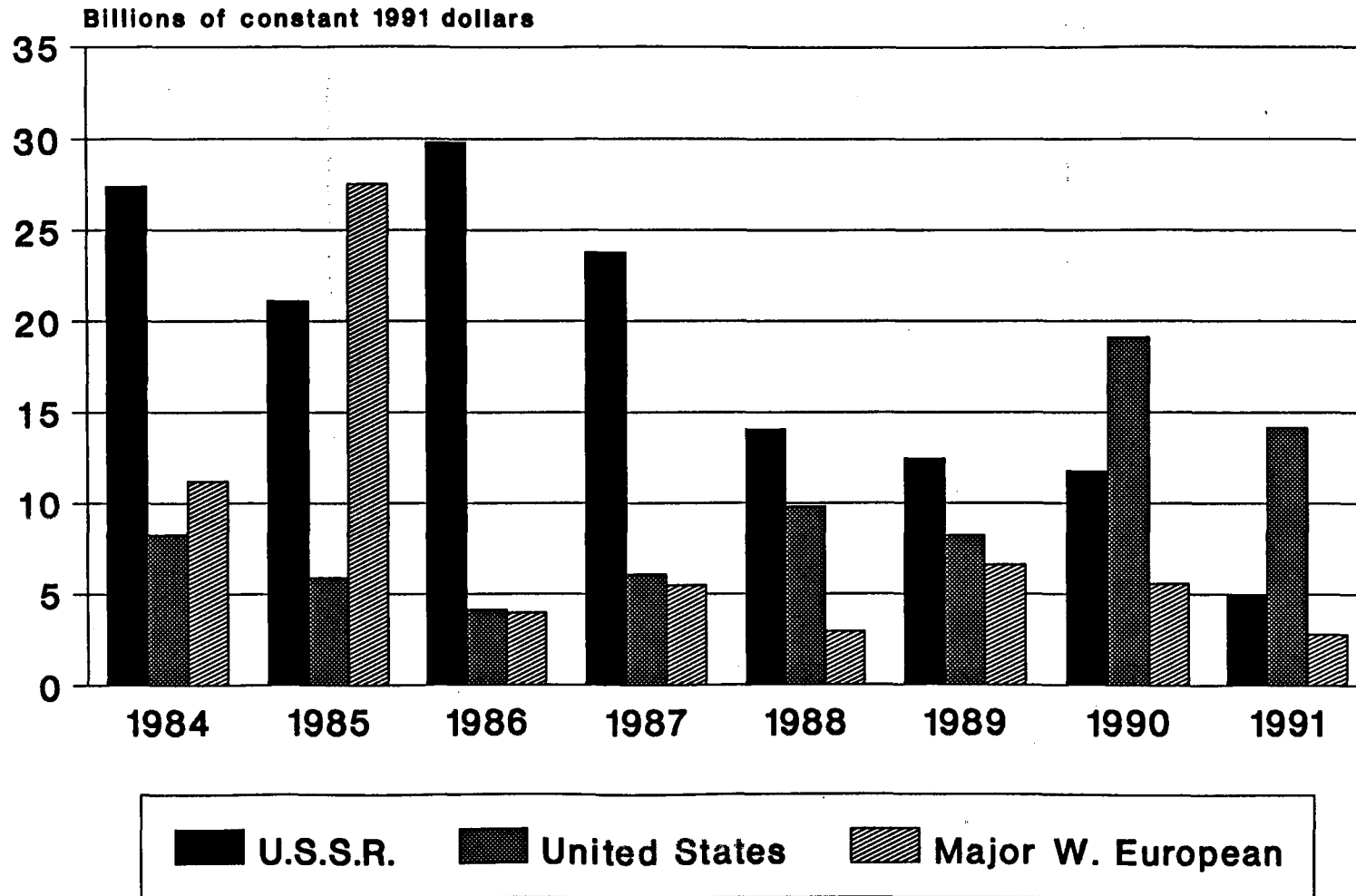
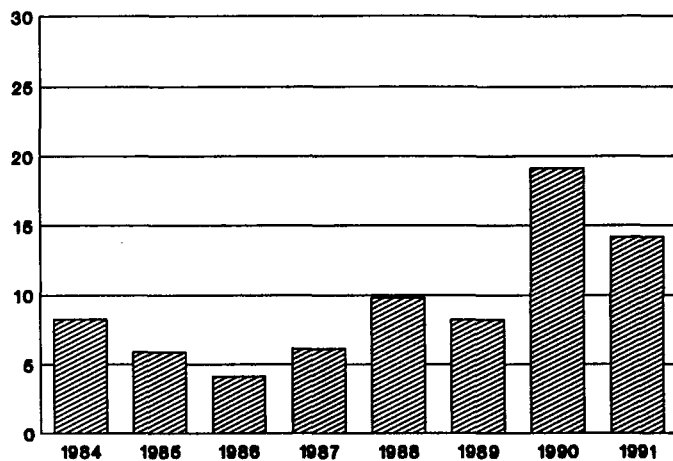


CHART 4.

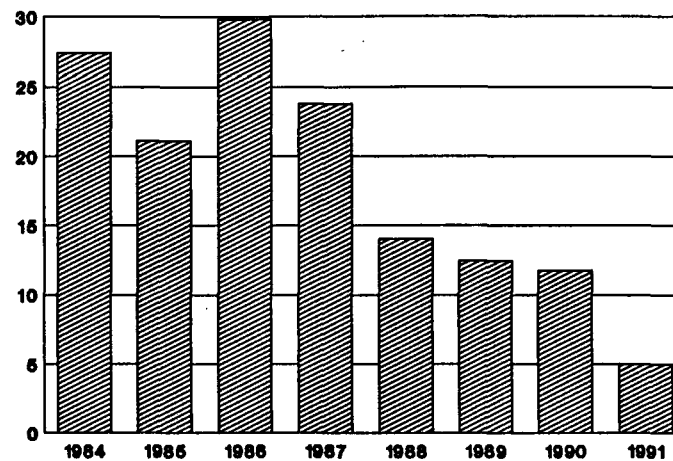
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(billions of constant 1991 dollars)

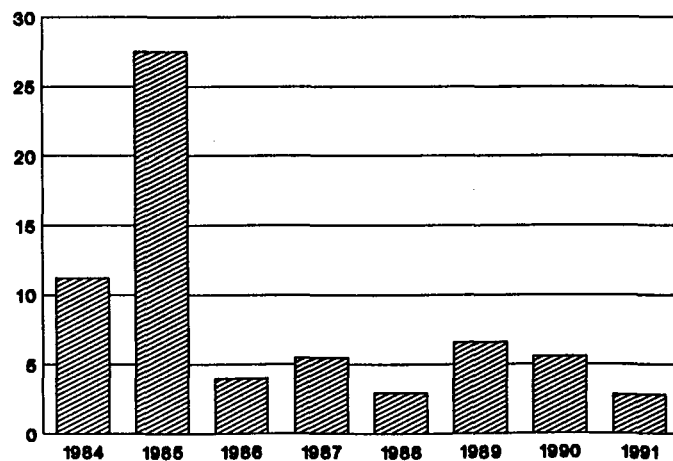
United States



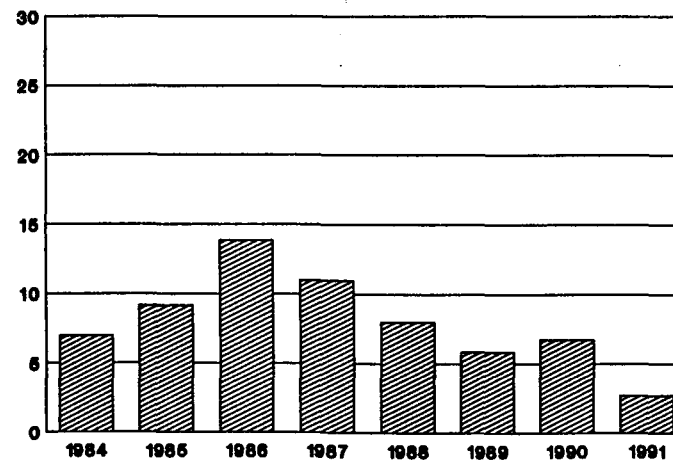
Soviet Union



Major Western European



All Others



- The total value of the Soviet Union's agreements with the Third World fell dramatically from \$11.8 billion in 1990, to \$5 billion in 1991. The Soviet Union's share of all Third World arms transfer agreements declined as well, falling from 27.2% in 1990, to 20.3% in 1991 (in constant 1991 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 2).
- The four major West European suppliers, as a group, (France, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) registered a decrease in their collective share of all Third World arms transfer agreements between 1990 and 1991. This group's share fell from 12.9% in 1990 to 11.4% in 1991. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1990 was \$5.6 billion compared with a total of \$2.8 billion in 1991 (in constant 1991 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2, 3 and 4).
- In 1991 the United States ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$14.2 billion. The Soviet Union ranked second at \$5 billion, while the United Kingdom ranked third at \$2 billion (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1984-1991

Table 1C gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1984-1987 and 1988-1991. These values are expressed in current 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 1984-1987 and 1988-1991. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

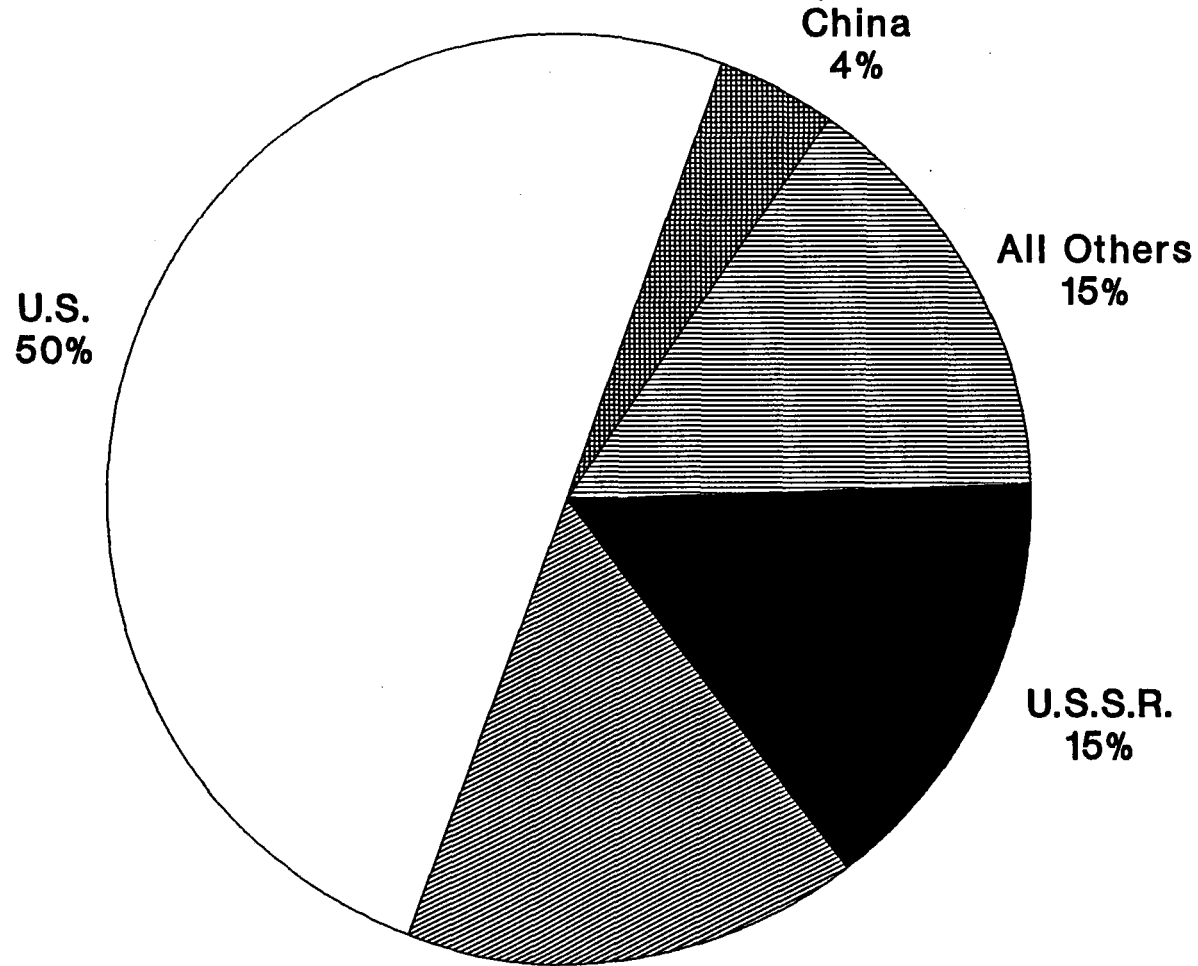
Near East

- The Near East region is the largest Third World arms market. In 1984-1987 it accounted for 61% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1988-1991, the region accounted for 57.5% of all such agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The Near East region ranked first in arms transfer agreements with most suppliers in both the 1984-1987 and 1988-1991 time periods (table 1D).

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

CHART 5.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1988-1991 WITH NEAR EAST (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

Major W. European*
16%

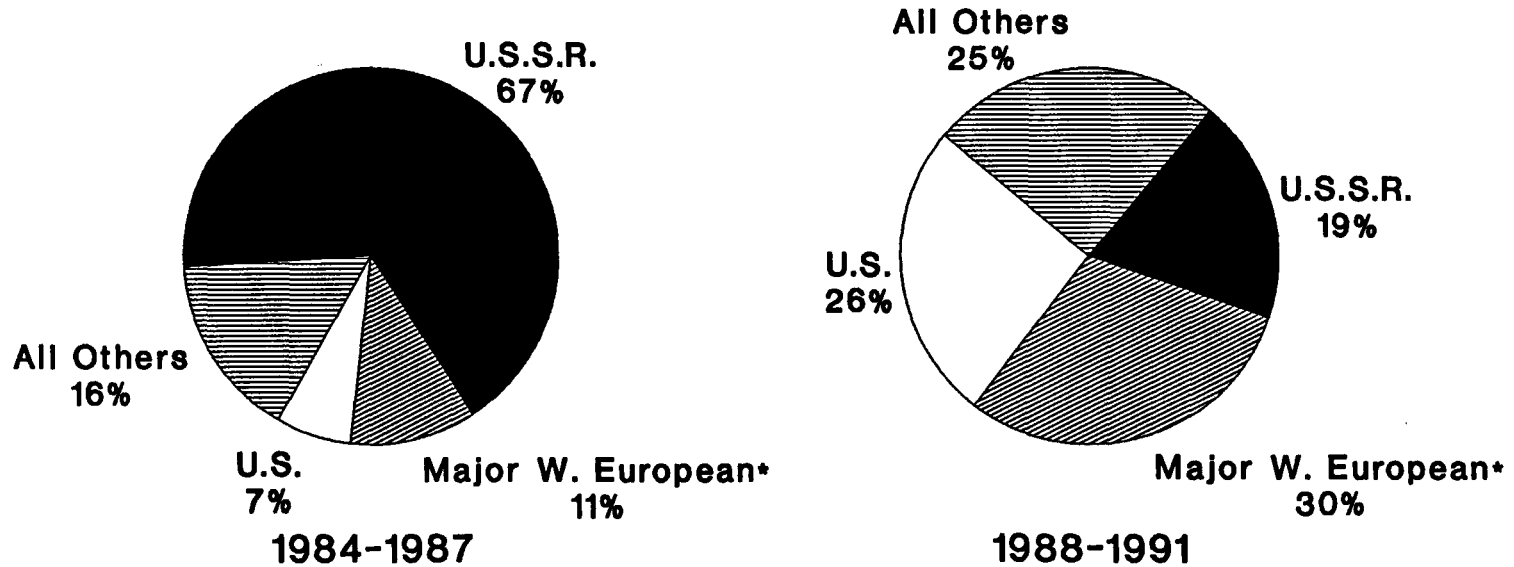
- For the period 1984-1987, the United States concluded 59.7% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. In 1988-1991, the U.S. concluded 74.9% of its arms agreements with this region (table 1D).
- For the period 1984-1987, the four major West European suppliers collectively made 83.2% of their arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. In 1988-1991, the major West Europeans made 70.5% of their arms agreements with the Near East (table 1D).
- For the period 1984-1987, China concluded 91.5% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East region. For the more recent period, 1988-1991, China concluded 50% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East region (table 1D).
- For the period 1984-1987, the Soviet Union concluded 45.8% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. For the period 1988-1991, the Soviet Union concluded 27.6% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region (table 1D).
- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Near East with 35.6%. The United Kingdom ranked second with 18.6%. The United States ranked third with 11%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 30.3% of this region's agreements in 1984-1987. In the later period (1988-1991), the United States ranked first in Near East agreements with 49.9%. The Soviet Union ranked second with 15.2%. France ranked third with 9.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 16% of this region's agreements in 1988-1991 (table 1E) (chart 5).

Asia

- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Asia with 61.6%. This region includes some of the Soviet Union's largest clients such as India, Afghanistan and Vietnam. The United States ranked second with 17.9%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.7% of this region's agreements in 1984-1987. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first in Asian agreements with 58.6%. The United States again ranked second with 25.6%. China ranked third with 6.3%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 6.1% of this region's agreements in 1988-1991 (table 1E).

CHART 6.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

Latin America

- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Latin America with 66.8%; the greatest portion of which were with Cuba. The United States ranked second with 6.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 10.9% of this region's agreements in 1984-1987. All other European suppliers collectively made 9.8% of this region's agreements during this period. In the later period (1988-1991), the United States ranked first in Latin American agreements with 25.7%. The Soviet Union ranked second with 19.5%, as new agreements with Cuba fell dramatically. France ranked third with 12.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 30.1% of this region's agreements in 1988-1991 (table 1E) (chart 6).

Africa (sub-Saharan)

- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in agreements with Africa (sub-Saharan) with 75.5%. France ranked a distant second with 4.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 8% of this region's agreements in 1984-1987. The United States made 3.3%. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first, although its share of sub-Saharan African agreements notably declined to 54.4%. China ranked second with 5.7%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 10% of this region's agreements in 1988-1991. The United States made 2.7%. Sub-saharan Africa was the largest regional market in the Third World for all other non-European suppliers more recently. This group of suppliers collectively made 21.5% of this region's agreements in 1988-1991 (table 1E).

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1F gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1984-1991 by the Third World's top eleven suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with the Third World for each of three periods--1984-1987, 1987-1991 and 1984-1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The rankings of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1991 show that there are three tiers of arms suppliers. The United States and the Soviet Union are in the first, and have clearly dominated the Third World arms market. The United Kingdom, France, and China are in the second tier. In the third tier are lesser suppliers whose names and rankings undergo significant change from time period to time period.

- The United States ranked first among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1988-1991, and second from 1984-1991.
- The Soviet Union ranked second among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1988-1991, and first from 1984-1991.
- The United Kingdom ranked fifth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1988-1991, and third from 1984-1991.
- China ranked fourth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1988-1991, and fifth from 1984-1991.
- Of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1991, only the United States and North Korea registered increases in the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1984-1987 to the period 1988-1991 (The United States increased 145.5%, and North Korea 20%).
- Nine of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1991 registered decreases in the value of their arms transfer agreements from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. Of the dominant arms suppliers, the United Kingdom registered the largest percentage decline from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 at 73.4%, and the Soviet Union at 51.9%. Of the lesser suppliers Poland registered an 88.5% percentage decline, Italy a 75% decline, and Czechoslovakia a 62.5% decline between the same two time periods.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN 1991: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1G ranks and gives the values of 1991 arms transfer agreements with the Third World by the top eleven suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, the top three arms suppliers to the Third World in 1991, ranked by the value of their arms transfer agreements, collectively made agreements in 1991 valued at \$21.2 billion, 85.8% of all arms transfer agreements made with the Third World by all suppliers.
- In 1991, the United States was by far the leader in arms transfer agreements with the Third World, making \$14.2 billion in such agreements, or 57.4% of all arms transfer agreements.

- The Soviet Union ranked a distant second in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991, making \$5 billion in such agreements.
- The United Kingdom ranked third in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991, making \$2 billion in such agreements.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1984-1991: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

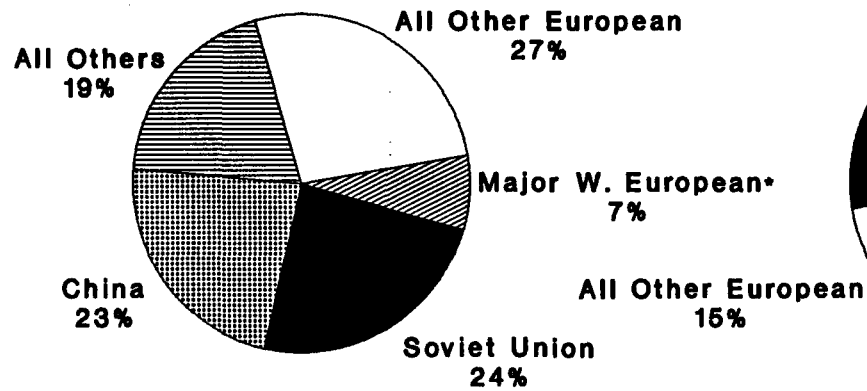
Table 1H gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1 and table 1C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1984-1987 period, China's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iran was 25.7%. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 11.9% of these agreements. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 40.6% of these agreements, while all other suppliers combined made 21.8% (chart 8).
- The Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1984-1987 were nil. However, in the period from 1988-1991, the Soviet Union concluded \$4.8 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iran. China made \$2.6 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1984-1987, but this total fell to \$1.9 billion during the period from 1988-1991 (in current dollars) (chart 8).
- European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, made substantial arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1984-1987 (\$4.1 billion) (in current dollars). However, more recently, this group of European suppliers suffered a dramatic decline in the value of its arms agreements with Iran. The total value of the group's agreements fell to \$1.2 billion in 1988-1991 (in current dollars)--a graphic reflection of the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on this group of suppliers.
- The four major West European suppliers suffered a significant decline in the total value of their arms transfer agreements with Iran from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991, falling from \$1.2 billion in the earlier period to \$200 million in 1988-1991.

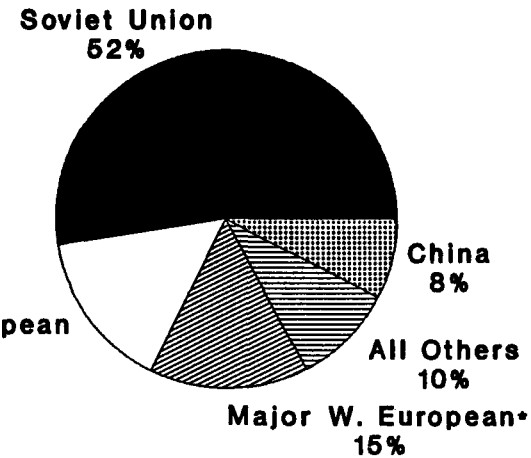
CHART 7.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS 1984-1991 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

WITH IRAN



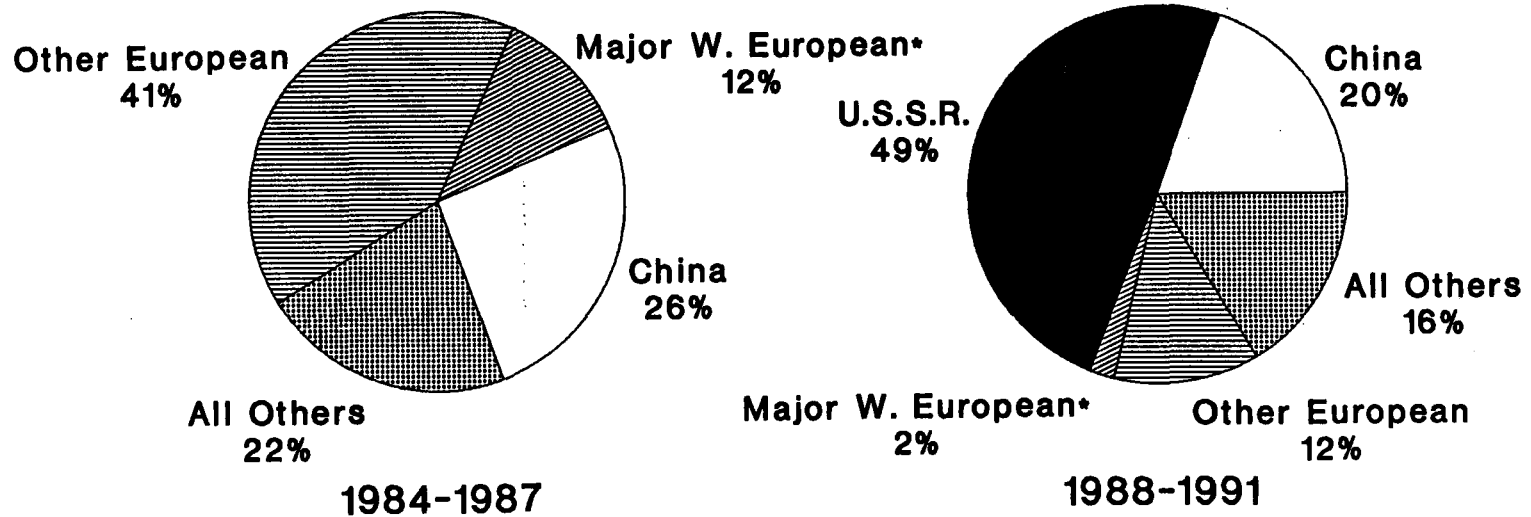
WITH IRAQ



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

CHART 8.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

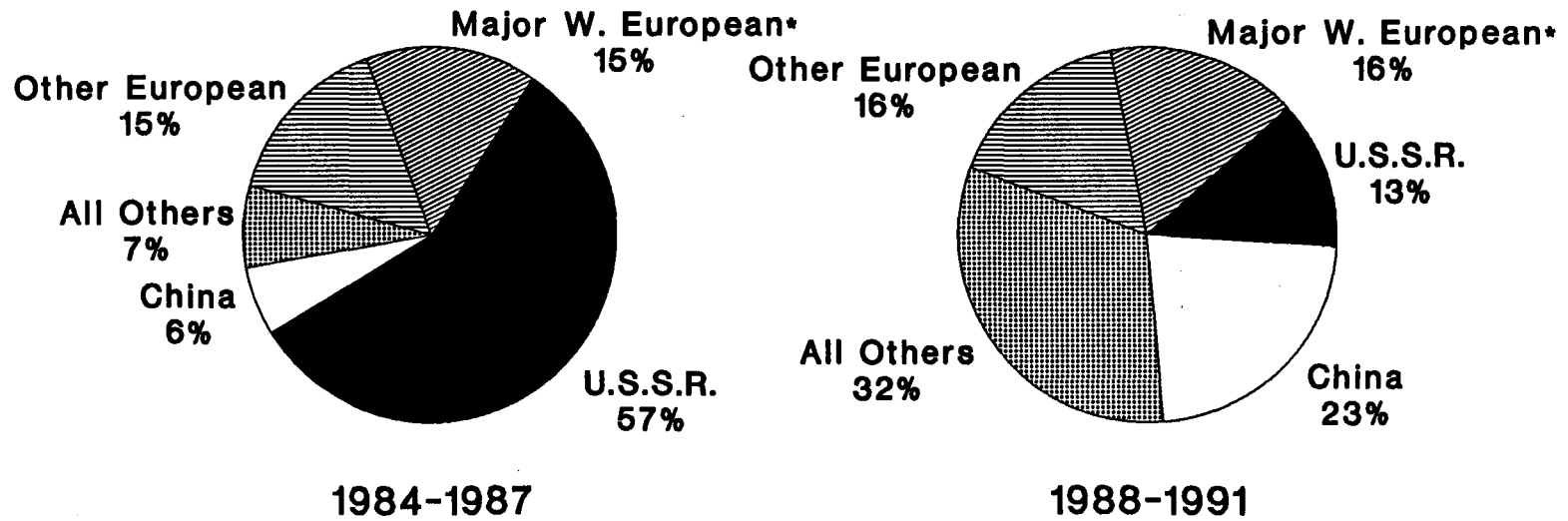


CRS-30

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

CHART 9.

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1984-1991: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 1I gives the values of arms transfer agreements with Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. These values are expressed in current dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 1 and table 1C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- The overall declines in arms transfer agreements with Iraq from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 were dramatic. Iraq made only \$3.1 billion in arms transfer agreements with all suppliers during the 1988-1991 period, compared to \$27 billion in agreements from 1984-1987.
- For the 1984-1991 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms transfer agreements with Iraq was 52.5% compared to 7.6% for China. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 15% of these agreements. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 15.3% of these agreements, while all other suppliers combined made 9.6% (chart 7).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1984-1991 the value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer agreements with Iraq totaled over \$15.8 billion (in current dollars). Most of these agreements were in the earlier period, totalling \$15.4 billion from 1984-1987. In the period from 1988-1991, however, Soviet agreements with Iraq fell sharply to \$400 million (in current dollars), reflecting the Soviet Union's reduction in arms deals with Iraq after the Iran-Iraq war and its cutoff of arms to Iraq after the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (charts 7 and 9).
- The four major West European suppliers collectively registered a substantial decrease in the value of their arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. In current dollar terms, the collective value of major West European agreements with Iraq declined from \$4 billion in 1984-1987 to \$500 million in 1988-1991.
- The group of all other European suppliers collectively registered a dramatic decline in the value of their arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. In current dollar terms, the collective value of the arms transfer agreements of this group of European suppliers with Iraq declined from \$4.1 billion in 1984-1987 to \$500 million in 1988-1991.
- The collective value (in current dollars) of all other non-European suppliers fell from \$1.9 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1 billion in 1988-1991—reflecting the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on these groups of suppliers, as well as the effect of the U.N. embargo against

Iraq after August 6, 1990. Although the value of the agreements of all other non-European suppliers declined from the earlier period to the later one, their share of Iraq's agreements in 1988-1991 period was the largest at 32.3%.

- China registered a significant decline in the value of its arms transfer agreements with Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 (in current dollars), dropping from \$1.6 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq in the earlier period to \$700 million in 1988-1991.

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991: 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 1984-1991 with all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers for each of three periods--1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Saudi Arabia has been, by a wide margin, the leading Third World arms purchaser from 1984-1991, making arms transfer agreements totaling \$67.7 billion during these years (in current dollars). In both the 1984-1987 and 1988-1991 periods, the value of its arms transfer agreements were consistently high (\$33.4 billion in 1984-1987 and \$34.3 billion in 1988-1991). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1984-1991 was \$303.4 billion (in current dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia alone was responsible for over one-fifth (22.3%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements during these eight years. In the most recent period--1988-1991--Saudi Arabia alone accounted for over one-fourth (26.9%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements (\$34.3 billion out of \$127.3 billion). Saudi Arabia ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1991, concluding \$7.8 billion in such agreements--31.6% of the total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991 (in current dollars) (tables 1 and 1K).
- Eight of the ten leading Third World arms recipients--all principal customers of the Soviet Union--registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from the 1984-1987 period to the 1988-1991 period. Cuba declined 100% (its agreements for 1988-1991 were nil); Iraq 88.5%, Syria 84.4%, Angola 48.5%, India 45.5%, and Vietnam 43.7%. These figures reflect the diminished financial support for these countries by the Soviet Union in the post-Cold War era. The one exception to this trend was Afghanistan, a major Soviet client, that more than tripled its arms transfer agreements from the earlier period. This figure reflects the Soviet program to heavily arm the

Afghans from the time of their withdrawal in 1989 until the arms cutoff deadline of January 10, 1992 agreed to by the Soviet Union and the United States as part of the arrangement concluding the Afghan war. Egypt, a major U.S. customer, had the second largest increase with 42.6%

- Despite large decreases in the values of their arms transfer agreements from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991, the top ten Third World recipient nations in both time periods accounted for the major portion of the total Third World arms market. During 1984-1987 the top ten collectively accounted for 71.9% of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1988-1991 the top ten collectively accounted for 70.9% of all such agreements. Between 1984-1991 the top ten nations collectively made 71.5% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$217 billion out of \$303.4 billion)(in current dollars)(tables 1 and 1J).

ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1991: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS

Table 1K gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1991. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers in 1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The United States was the major supplier to six of the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1991 (Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Egypt, Thailand, United Arab Emirates and Kuwait).
- Saudi Arabia ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1991, concluding \$7.8 billion in such agreements. The United States was its major supplier.
- Arms transfer agreements with the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, totaled \$20.3 billion or 82.3% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1991.
- Some Third World nations made significant arms transfer agreements in 1991. Saudi Arabia made \$7.8 billion in such agreements, South Korea, \$3.1 billion and Egypt, \$2.6 billion. The United States was the major supplier of all three. Afghanistan, a major Soviet customer, made \$1.5 billion in arms transfer agreements. Iraq, usually high on the top ten list of Third World arms purchasers, did not make it in 1991, reflecting the successful U.N. arms embargo against it.

TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES

Table 2 shows the annual current dollar values of arms deliveries (items actually transferred) to Third World nations by major suppliers from 1984-1991. 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 1991, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$18.4 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1984-1991. This is the fourth year in a row when arms deliveries to the Third World declined from the previous year's total. This pattern reflects the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the winding down of other regional conflicts (table 2A) (charts 10 and 11).
- The Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991 was 34.9%, down from 43.5% in 1990 (table 2B). The U.S. share of all deliveries in 1991 was 29.2%, up from 17.8% in 1990.
- The total value of all arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1988-1991 (\$128.1 billion) was substantially less than the value of arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1987 (\$192.8 billion) (in constant 1991 dollars) (table 2A).

CHART 10.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991

UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, U.S.S.R., ALL OTHERS COMPARED

(billions of constant 1991 dollars and % of total deliveries)

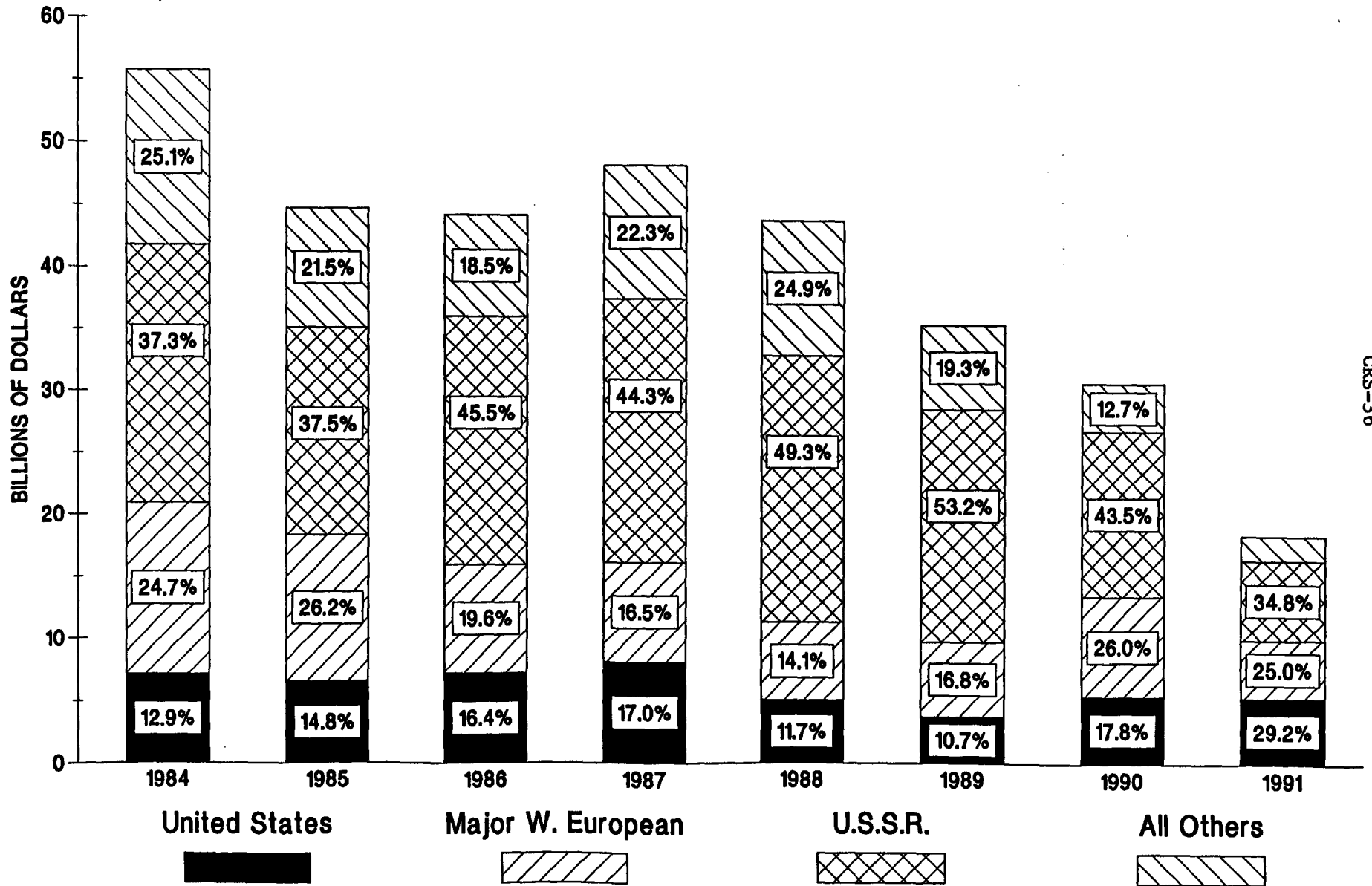
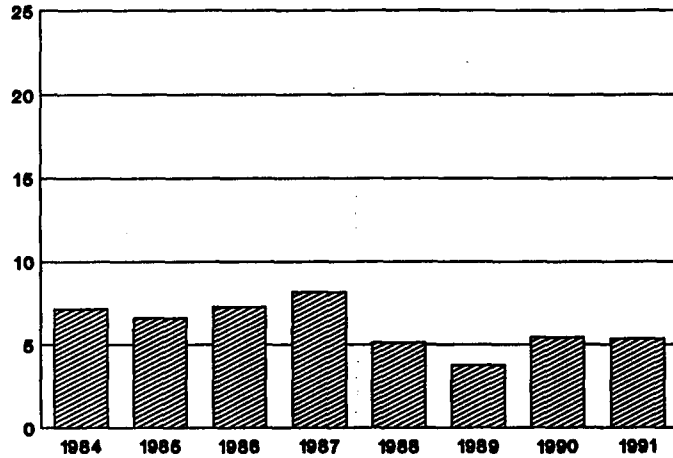


CHART 11.

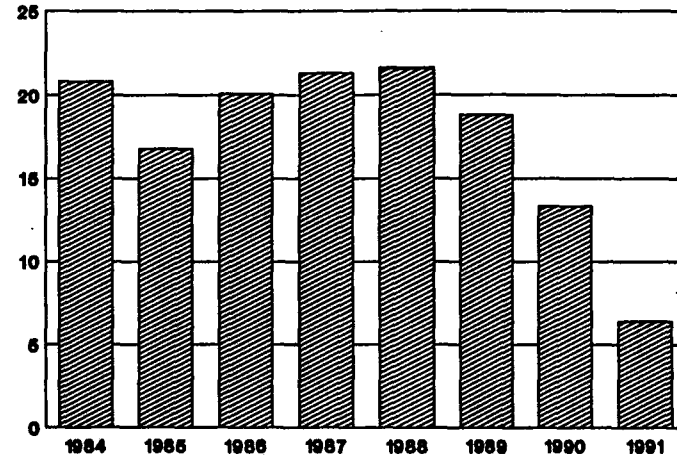
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(in Constant 1991 Dollars)

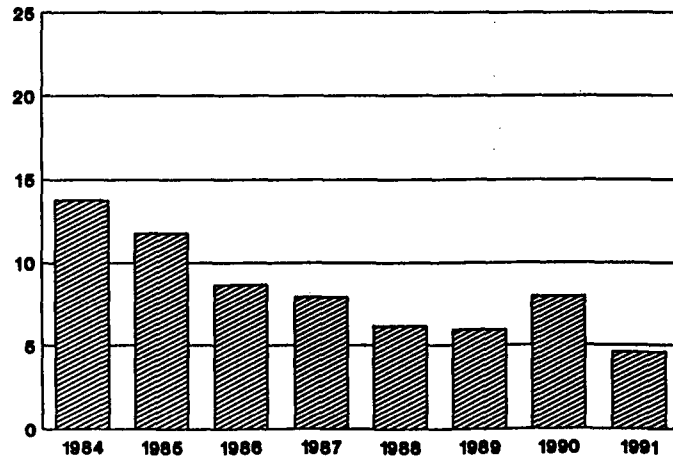
United States



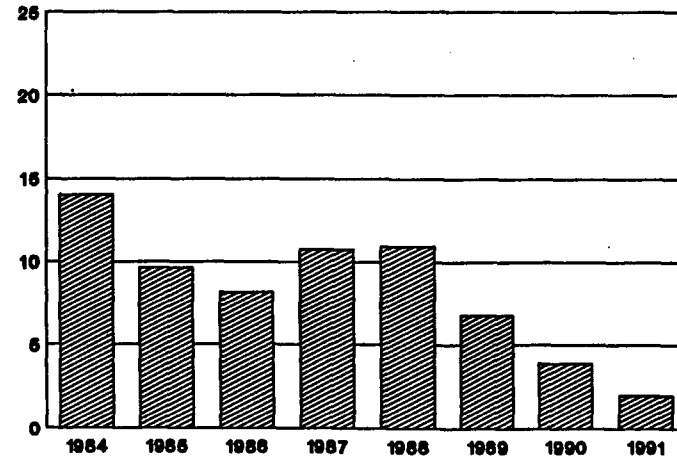
Soviet Union



Major Western European



All Others



REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1984-1991

Table 2C gives the values of arms deliveries between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1984-1987, and 1988-1991. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. Table 2D, derived from table 2C, gives the percentage distribution of each supplier's delivery values within the regions for the two time periods. Table 2E, also derived from table 2C, illustrates what percentage share of each Third World region's total arms delivery values was held by specific suppliers during the years 1984-1987 and 1988-1991. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

Near East

- The Near East region has historically been dominant in the value of arms deliveries received by the Third World. In 1984-1987, it accounted for 60.2% of the total value of all Third World arms deliveries. During 1988-1991, the Near East region accounted for 53.4% of all such deliveries (tables 2C and 2D).
- The Near East region ranked first in the value of arms deliveries from most suppliers in both time periods (table 2D).
- For the period 1984-1987, nearly 88.9% of China's arms deliveries to the Third World were to nations in the Near East region. In the more recent period, 1988-1991, 76% of China's Third World arms deliveries were to nations of this region (table 2D).
- For the period 1984-1987, the United States made 73.8% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1988-1991, the U.S. made 63% of such arms deliveries to the Near East region (table 2D).
- For the period 1984-1987, the Soviet Union made 42.2% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1988-1991, the Soviet Union made 30.1% of such arms deliveries to the Near East (table 2D).
- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Near East with 28.9%. The United States ranked second with 18.6%. France ranked third with 15.3%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 25.9% of this region's delivery values in 1984-1987. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first in Near East delivery values with 26.4%. The United Kingdom ranked second with 21.4%. The United States ranked third with 18.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 32.2% of this region's delivery values in 1988-1991 (table 2E).

Asia

- The Asia region ranked second in the value of arms deliveries from most suppliers in both time periods. For the period 1988-1991, the Soviet Union made 49.8% of its Third World deliveries to the Asia region, while the United States made 29.5% (table 2D).
- In the period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Asia with 58%. The United States ranked second with 13.7%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 14.5% of this region's delivery values in 1984-1987. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first in Asian delivery values with 71.9%. The United States ranked second with 14.2%. China ranked third with 3.9%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 2.8% of this region's delivery values in 1988-1991 (table 2E).

Latin America

- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Latin America with 51.7%. Germany ranked second with 10.9%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 19.7% of this region's delivery values in 1984-1987. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first in Latin American delivery values with 60.6%. The United States ranked second with 11.8%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 12.8% of this region's delivery values in 1988-1991 (table 2E).

Africa (sub-Saharan)

- In the earlier period (1984-1987), the Soviet Union ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Africa (sub-Saharan) with 72.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 12.4% of this region's delivery values in 1984-1987. The United States made 2.8% of Africa (sub-Saharan) deliveries. In the later period (1988-1991), the Soviet Union ranked first in sub-Saharan Africa delivery values with 73.5%. The other non-European suppliers as a group collectively held 13.4% of this region's delivery values in 1988-1991. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 4% of this region's delivery values in 1988-1991. China made 4%. The United States made 3.8% (table 2E).

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2F gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World from 1984-1991 by the Third World's top eleven suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries to the

Third World for each of three periods--1984-1987, 1988-1991, and 1984-1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Nine of the eleven leading suppliers of arms to the Third World registered moderate to substantial declines in the values of their deliveries from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 (in current dollars).
- The Soviet Union was the leading supplier of arms to the Third World from 1984-1991. The value of its deliveries to the Third World fell from \$64.8 billion in 1984-1987 to \$55.8 billion in 1988-1991, a 13.9% decrease (in current dollars). The United States ranked second during 1984-1991. The value of its arms deliveries to the Third World declined from about \$24 billion in 1984-1987 to \$18.6 billion in 1988-1991, a drop of 22.3% (in current dollars). France, the third leading supplier, suffered an even greater decline in the value of its deliveries to the Third World, falling from \$18.2 billion in 1984-1987 to \$6.8 billion in 1988-1991 (a 62.6% decline) (in current dollars).
- China ranked fifth in the value of arms delivered to the Third World during the period 1984-1991 (\$13.6 billion)--more than the combined deliveries values of Italy and Germany (in current dollars).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1991, only the United Kingdom and China registered increases in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1984-1987 to the period 1988-1991 (the United Kingdom increased 70.2%, and China 19.4%).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World from 1984-1991, Italy registered the greatest percentage decline (85.3%) in the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1984-1987 to the period 1988-1991. Spain and Czechoslovakia registered the second and third greatest percentage declines (68% and 65.4%, respectively) in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World between the two time periods.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1991: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED

Table 2G gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991 by the top eleven suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total dollar values of their respective deliveries to the Third World in 1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The top five suppliers of arms to the Third World in 1991 are also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Collectively these five nations delivered nearly \$16.7 billion in arms

to the Third World in 1991, 90.7% of all arms deliveries made to the Third World by all suppliers.

- In 1991, the Soviet Union ranked first in arms deliveries to the Third World, making \$6.4 billion in such deliveries.
- The United States ranked second in arms deliveries to the Third World in calendar year 1991, making \$5.4 billion in such deliveries. However, if the totals for U.S. commercial arms deliveries to the Third World for fiscal year 1991 (\$1.3 billion) are added to the U.S. government deliveries total, the result is a U.S. figure of \$6.7 billion in arms deliveries. This combined United States figure for 1991 would exceed that of the Soviet Union by \$300 million.
- The United Kingdom ranked third in arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991, making \$3 billion in such deliveries.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1984-1991: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

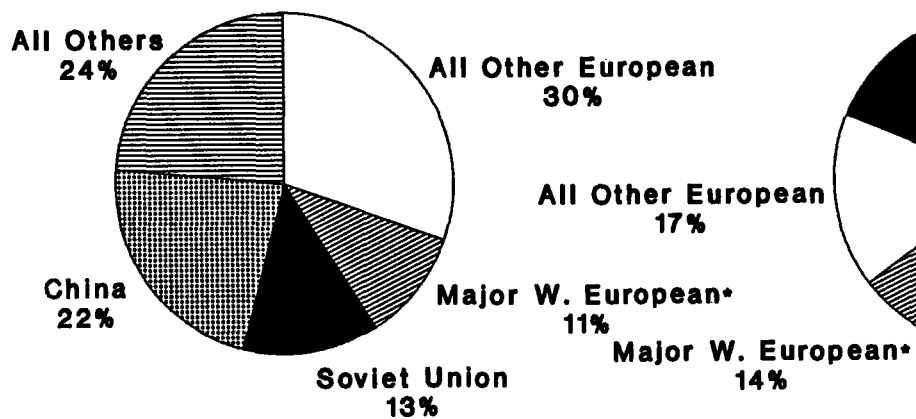
Table 2H gives the values of arms delivered to Iran by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2 and table 2C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1984-1991 period, China's share of all arms deliveries to Iran was 22.4% compared to 13% for the Soviet Union. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 10.6% of these deliveries. All other European suppliers, as a group, made 30.4% of these arms deliveries, while all other suppliers combined made 23.6% (chart 12).
- The value of China's arms deliveries to Iran increased from \$1.6 billion in 1984-1987 to \$2 billion in 1988-1991 (in current dollars).
- The Soviet Union's arms deliveries to Iran from 1984-1987 were nil. However, its deliveries to Iran increased dramatically to \$2.1 billion from 1988-1991, making it Iran's leading arms supplier during this period (in current dollars) (chart 13).
- European suppliers, excluding the four major West Europeans, made substantial deliveries of arms to Iran from 1984-1991 (\$4.9 billion) (in current dollars). However, this group of suppliers experienced a dramatic decline in the value of its arms deliveries to Iran more recently. The total value of this group's deliveries fell from \$3.9 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1 billion in 1988-1991 (in current dollars)--a 74.5% decline and a graphic reflection of the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war on this group of suppliers.

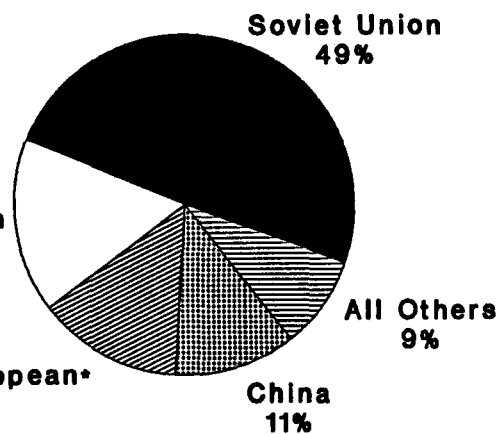
CHART 12.

ARMS DELIVERIES 1984-1991 (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)

TO IRAN



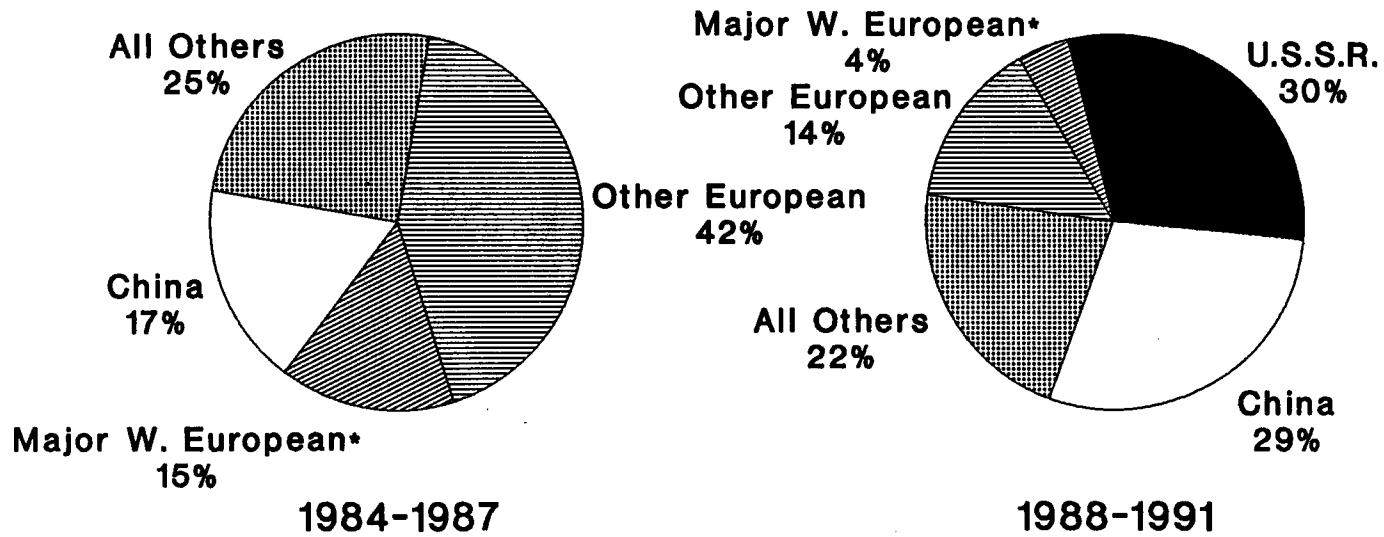
TO IRAQ



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

CHART 13.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

- The group of all other non-European suppliers registered a 34.8% decline in the total value of its arms deliveries to Iran from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991, falling from \$2.3 billion in the earlier period to \$1.5 billion in 1988-1991.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1984-1991: SUPPLIERS COMPARED

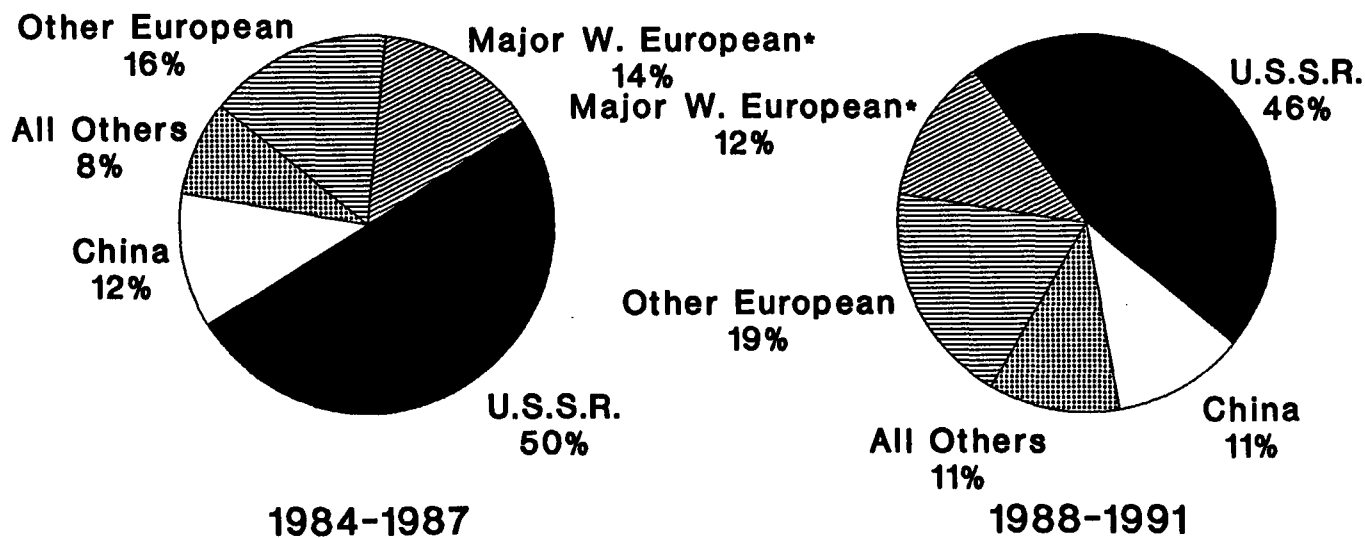
Table 2I gives the values of arms delivered to Iraq by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in table 2 and 2C. Among the facts reflected by this table are the following:

- For the 1984-1991 period, the Soviet Union's share of all arms deliveries to Iraq was 49.3% compared to 11.5% for China. The four major West European suppliers, as a group, made 13.8% of these deliveries, while all other European suppliers combined made 16.6%. All other non-European suppliers collectively made 8.9% of deliveries to Iraq (chart 12).
- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1984-1991 the value of the Soviet Union's arms deliveries to Iraq totaled \$17.2 billion (in current dollars). In the period from 1988-1991, the Soviet Union made \$4.1 billion in arms deliveries to Iraq. This latter total is a massive decline from the value (and share) of Soviet arms deliveries to Iraq from the 1984-1987 period (\$13.1 billion) (in current dollars), and reflects both the Soviet Union's reduction in arms deals with Iraq after the Iran-Iraq war, and the impact of its cutoff of arms to Iraq after the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (chart 14).
- China registered a significant decline in the value of its arms deliveries with Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 (in current dollars), dropping from \$3 billion in the earlier period to \$1 billion in 1988-1991.
- The four major West European suppliers collectively registered a dramatic decrease in the value of their arms deliveries to Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. In current dollar terms, the collective value of major West European arms deliveries to Iraq decreased from \$3.7 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1.1 billion in 1988-1991.
- The group of all other European suppliers collectively registered a substantial decline in the value of their arms deliveries to Iraq from the period 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. In current dollar terms, the collective value of arms deliveries of this group of European suppliers with Iraq declined from \$4.1 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1.7 billion in 1988-1991. The collective value (in current dollars) of arms deliveries

by all other non-European suppliers to Iraq fell from \$2.1 billion in 1984-1987 to \$1 billion in 1988-1991. All of these individual and group declines reflect the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war, and the U.N. embargo against Iraq after August 6, 1990.

CHART 14.

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

**ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991:
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 1984-1991 by all suppliers collectively. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers for each of three periods--1984-1987, 1988-1991 and 1984-1991. 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 1984-1991, receiving deliveries valued at \$54.3 billion and \$34.9 billion, respectively, during these years (in current dollars). The total value of all Third World arms deliveries from 1984-1991 was \$276.9 billion (in current dollars) (see table 2). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 19.6% and 12.6%, respectively, of all Third World arms deliveries during the 1984-1991 time period--nearly one-third of the total.
- Eight of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered declines in the values of their arms deliveries from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. Most of these declines were substantial. Iraq fell 65.8%, from \$26 billion to \$8.9 billion; Egypt fell 55.7%, from \$6.1 billion to \$2.7 billion; Syria fell 41.2% from \$6.8 billion to \$4 billion; Angola fell 45.3% from \$5.3 billion to \$2.9 billion (in current dollars).
- The increase in the value of arms delivered to Afghanistan from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991 was enormous (195%), a jump from \$4 billion to \$11.8 billion (in current dollars).
- Vietnam and Cuba registered substantial declines in the value of their individual arms deliveries from 1984-1987 to 1988-1991. Vietnam declined 43.7% from \$7.1 billion to \$4 billion. Cuba declined 34.7% from \$7.2 billion to \$4.7 billion (in current dollars).

**ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1991:
DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 2K gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms delivered in 1991. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers in 1991. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Saudi Arabia was by far the leading recipient of arms deliveries in the Third World in 1991, receiving \$7.1 billion in such deliveries. Saudi Arabia alone received 38.6% of the total value of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991.
- Arms deliveries to the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, constituted \$14.2 billion, or 77.3% of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1991.
- Some Third World nations, other than Saudi Arabia, received significant arms deliveries in 1991. Afghanistan received \$1.9 billion in arms deliveries, Iran received \$1.5 billion. Notably, Iraq, usually a leading recipient of arms deliveries, did not make the top ten list in 1991, reflecting the impact of the United Nations embargo against it which began on August 6, 1990.

Table 1

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991*

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	TOTAL 1984-1991
United States	6,407	4,785	3,421	5,231	8,733	7,610	18,209	14,161	68,557
Soviet Union	21,300	17,100	24,800	20,400	12,500	11,500	11,200	5,000	123,800
France	6,500	1,500	1,300	3,200	1,300	3,800	3,100	400	21,100
United Kingdom	700	19,300	900	500	900	1,100	1,700	2,000	27,100
China	300	1,400	1,800	4,700	2,100	1,600	2,100	300	14,300
Germany	800	200	500	800	200	900	300	400	4,100
Italy	700	1,300	600	200	200	300	200	0	3,500
All Other European	3,300	4,100	7,200	2,300	1,900	2,000	2,400	1,500	24,700
All Others	1,800	1,900	2,500	2,400	3,100	1,800	1,900	900	16,300
TOTAL	41,807	51,585	43,021	39,731	30,933	30,610	41,109	24,661	303,457

**Dollar inflation
index (1991=1.00)

0.7774	0.8106	0.8317	0.8582	0.8898	0.9252	0.9529	1
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*Third World category excludes the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training) data which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. U.S. commercial sales contract values are excluded. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

**Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1A

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991

(in millions of constant 1991 U.S. dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	TOTAL 1984-1991
United States	8,242	5,903	4,113	6,095	9,815	8,225	19,109	14,161	75,663
Soviet Union	27,399	21,095	29,818	23,771	14,048	12,430	11,754	5,000	145,315
France	8,361	1,850	1,563	3,729	1,461	4,107	3,253	400	24,724
United Kingdom	900	23,810	1,082	583	1,011	1,189	1,784	2,000	32,359
China	386	1,727	2,164	5,477	2,360	1,729	2,204	300	16,347
Germany	1,029	247	601	932	225	973	315	400	4,722
Italy	900	1,604	721	233	225	324	210	0	4,217
All Other European	4,245	5,058	8,657	2,680	2,135	2,162	2,519	1,500	28,956
All Others	2,315	2,344	3,006	2,797	3,484	1,946	1,994	900	18,786
TOTAL	53,778	63,638	51,727	46,296	34,764	33,085	43,141	24,661	351,090

Table 1B

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
United States	15.33%	9.28%	7.95%	13.17%	28.23%	24.86%	44.29%	57.42%
Soviet Union	50.95%	33.15%	57.65%	51.35%	40.41%	37.57%	27.24%	20.27%
France	15.55%	2.91%	3.02%	8.05%	4.20%	12.41%	7.54%	1.62%
United Kingdom	1.67%	37.41%	2.09%	1.26%	2.91%	3.59%	4.14%	8.11%
China	0.72%	2.71%	4.18%	11.83%	6.79%	5.23%	5.11%	1.22%
Germany	1.91%	0.39%	1.16%	2.01%	0.65%	2.94%	0.73%	1.62%
Italy	1.67%	2.52%	1.39%	0.50%	0.65%	0.98%	0.49%	0.00%
All Other European	7.89%	7.95%	16.74%	5.79%	6.14%	6.53%	5.84%	6.08%
All Others	4.31%	3.68%	5.81%	6.04%	10.02%	5.88%	4.62%	3.65%
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	20.81%	43.23%	7.67%	11.83%	8.41%	19.93%	12.89%	11.35%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 1C

REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991*

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	6,296	10,587	11,851	36,490	1,205	1,452	491	185
Soviet Union	21,600	24,200	38,200	11,100	12,300	1,100	11,400	3,800
France	900	600	9,900	7,000	1,100	700	700	300
United Kingdom	1,100	1,700	20,000	3,300	100	400	200	300
China	500	2,600	7,500	3,000	0	0	200	400
Germany	1,200	100	700	1,300	400	300	100	0
Italy	200	100	2,000	100	400	300	200	100
All Other European	2,200	700	11,900	6,200	1,800	500	1,000	400
All Others	1,100	700	5,400	4,600	1,100	900	800	1,500
<hr/>								
(Major West European)**	3,400	2,500	32,600	11,700	2,000	1,700	1,200	700
<hr/>								
TOTAL	35,096	41,287	107,451	73,090	18,405	5,652	15,091	6,985

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 1D

PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTS VALUE BY REGION, 1984-1991

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	31.73%	21.73%	59.72%	74.91%	6.07%	2.98%	2.47%	0.38%	100.00%	100.00%
Soviet Union	25.87%	60.20%	45.75%	27.61%	14.73%	2.74%	13.65%	9.45%	100.00%	100.00%
France	7.14%	6.98%	78.57%	81.40%	8.73%	8.14%	5.56%	3.49%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	5.14%	29.82%	93.46%	57.89%	0.47%	7.02%	0.93%	5.26%	100.00%	100.00%
China	6.10%	43.33%	91.46%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.44%	6.67%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	50.00%	5.88%	29.17%	76.47%	16.67%	17.65%	4.17%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	7.14%	16.67%	71.43%	16.67%	14.29%	50.00%	7.14%	16.67%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	13.02%	8.97%	70.41%	79.49%	10.65%	6.41%	5.92%	5.13%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	13.10%	9.09%	64.29%	59.74%	13.10%	11.69%	9.52%	19.48%	100.00%	100.00%
(Major West European)*	8.67%	15.06%	83.16%	70.48%	5.10%	10.24%	3.06%	4.22%	100.00%	100.00%
TOTAL	19.94%	32.51%	61.04%	57.54%	10.45%	4.45%	8.57%	5.50%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 1E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1984-1991

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	17.94%	25.64%	11.03%	49.92%	6.55%	25.69%	3.25%	2.65%
Soviet Union	61.55%	58.61%	35.55%	15.19%	66.83%	19.46%	75.54%	54.40%
France	2.56%	1.45%	9.21%	9.58%	5.98%	12.38%	4.64%	4.29%
United Kingdom	3.13%	4.12%	18.61%	4.51%	0.54%	7.08%	1.33%	4.29%
China	1.42%	6.30%	6.98%	4.10%	0.00%	0.00%	1.33%	5.73%
Germany	3.42%	0.24%	0.65%	1.78%	2.17%	5.31%	0.66%	0.00%
Italy	0.57%	0.24%	1.86%	0.14%	2.17%	5.31%	1.33%	1.43%
All Other European	6.27%	1.70%	11.07%	8.48%	9.78%	8.85%	6.63%	5.73%
All Others	3.13%	1.70%	5.03%	6.29%	5.98%	15.92%	5.30%	21.47%
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	9.69%	6.06%	30.34%	16.01%	10.87%	30.08%	7.95%	10.02%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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

**TABLE 1F. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World, 1984-1991:
Leading Suppliers Compared ***
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 1984-1987
1	U.S.S.R.	83,500
2	U.K.	21,400
3	U.S.	19,844
4	France	12,500
5	China	8,200
6	Italy	2,800
7	Poland	2,600
8	Czechoslovakia	2,400
9	Germany (FRG)	2,300
10	Spain	2,100
11	Brazil	1,800

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 1988-1991
1	U.S.	48,714
2	U.S.S.R.	40,200
3	France	8,600
4	China	6,100
5	U.K.	5,700
6	North Korea	1,800
7	Germany (Unified & FRG)	1,800
8	Switzerland	1,500
9	Spain	1,200
10	Yugoslavia	1,100
11	Czechoslovakia	900

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 1984-1991
1	U.S.S.R.	123,700
2	U.S.	68,558
3	U.K.	27,100
4	France	21,100
5	China	14,300
6	Germany	4,100
7	Italy	3,500
8	Czechoslovakia	3,400
9	North Korea	3,300
10	Spain	3,300
11	Poland	2,900

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1G. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1991:
Leading Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 1991
1	U.S.	14,161
2	U.S.S.R.	5,000
3	U.K.	2,000
4	Czechoslovakia	600
5	Germany	400
6	France	400
7	Belgium	300
8	China	300
9	Spain	300
10	North Korea	200
11	Australia	200

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1H. Arms Transfer Agreements with Iran, 1984-1991:
Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)*

	<u>Iran 1984-1987</u>	<u>Iran 1988-1991</u>	<u>Iran 1984-1991</u>
Supplier			
Soviet Union	0	4,800	4,800
China	2,600	1,900	4,500
United States	0**	0	0**
Major West European	1,200	200	1,400
All Other European	4,100	1,200	5,300
All Others	2,200	1,600	3,800
TOTAL	10,100	9,700	19,800

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 11. Arms Transfer Agreements with Iraq, 1984-1991:
Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

	Iraq 1984-1987	Iraq 1988-1991	Iraq 1984-1991
Supplier			
Soviet Union	15,400	400	15,800
China	1,600	700	2,300
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	4,000	500	4,500
All Other European	4,100	500	4,600
All Others	1,900	1,000	2,900
TOTAL	27,000	3,100	30,100

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1J. Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1984-1991:
Agreements with the Leading Recipients**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 1984-1987
1	Saudi Arabia	33,400
2	Iraq	27,000
3	Cuba	11,900
4	Syria	10,900
5	India	10,100
6	Iran	10,100
7	Vietnam	7,100
8	Angola	6,600
9	Egypt	5,400
10	Libya	4,200

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 1988-1991
1	Saudi Arabia	34,300
2	Afghanistan	11,500
3	Iran	9,700
4	Egypt	7,700
5	India	5,500
6	South Korea	5,300
7	Kuwait	4,800
8	Vietnam	4,000
9	Pakistan	3,900
10	Libya	3,600

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 1984-1991
1	Saudi Arabia	67,700
2	Iraq	30,100
3	Iran	19,800
4	India	15,600
5	Afghanistan	14,700
6	Egypt	13,100
7	Syria	12,600
8	Cuba	11,900
9	Vietnam	11,100
10	Angola	10,000

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1K. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1991:
Agreements with Leading Recipients
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) ***

1	Saudi Arabia	7,800
2	South Korea	3,100
3	Egypt	2,600
4	Iran	1,900
5	Afghanistan	1,500
6	China	1,000
7	Syria	600
8	Thailand	600
9	United Arab Emirates	600
10	Kuwait	600

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991*

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	TOTAL 1984-1991
United States	5,574	5,347	6,038	7,010	4,570	3,501	5,182	5,365	42,587
Soviet Union	16,200	13,600	16,700	18,300	19,200	17,400	12,700	6,400	120,500
France	5,600	6,600	3,800	2,200	1,000	1,100	3,700	1,000	25,000
United Kingdom	1,300	1,100	2,400	3,600	3,600	4,000	3,700	3,000	22,700
China	2,100	700	1,300	2,100	2,900	2,200	1,400	900	13,600
Germany	2,500	700	400	600	600	300	100	600	5,800
Italy	1,300	1,100	600	400	300	100	100	0	3,900
All Other European	5,300	5,000	3,800	4,000	3,300	1,900	1,200	500	25,000
All Others	3,500	2,100	1,700	3,100	3,500	2,200	1,100	600	17,800
TOTAL	43,374	36,247	36,738	41,310	38,970	32,701	29,182	18,365	276,887
**Dollar inflation index (1991=1.00)	0.7774	0.8106	0.8317	0.8582	0.8898	0.9252	0.9529	1	

*Third World category excludes the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given. All amounts given include the values of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. U.S. commercial sales delivery values are excluded. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

**Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2A

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991

(in millions of constant 1991 dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	TOTAL 1984-1991
United States	7,170	6,596	7,260	8,168	5,136	3,784	5,438	5,365	48,917
Soviet Union	20,839	16,778	20,079	21,324	21,578	18,807	13,328	6,400	139,133
France	7,203	8,142	4,569	2,564	1,124	1,189	3,883	1,000	29,674
United Kingdom	1,672	1,357	2,886	4,195	4,046	4,323	3,883	3,000	25,362
China	2,701	864	1,563	2,447	3,259	2,378	1,469	900	15,581
Germany	3,216	864	481	699	674	324	105	600	6,963
Italy	1,672	1,357	721	466	337	108	105	0	4,766
All Other European	6,818	6,168	4,569	4,661	3,709	2,054	1,259	500	29,738
All Others	4,502	2,591	2,044	3,612	3,933	2,378	1,154	600	20,814
TOTAL	55,794	44,716	44,172	48,136	43,796	35,345	30,624	18,365	320,948

Table 2B

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
United States	12.85%	14.75%	16.44%	16.97%	11.73%	10.71%	17.76%	29.21%
Soviet Union	37.35%	37.52%	45.46%	44.30%	49.27%	53.21%	43.52%	34.85%
France	12.91%	18.21%	10.34%	5.33%	2.57%	3.36%	12.68%	5.45%
United Kingdom	3.00%	3.03%	6.53%	8.71%	9.24%	12.23%	12.68%	16.34%
China	4.84%	1.93%	3.54%	5.08%	7.44%	6.73%	4.80%	4.90%
Germany	5.76%	1.93%	1.09%	1.45%	1.54%	0.92%	0.34%	3.27%
Italy	3.00%	3.03%	1.63%	0.97%	0.77%	0.31%	0.34%	0.00%
All Other European	12.22%	13.79%	10.34%	9.68%	8.47%	5.81%	4.11%	2.72%
All Others	8.07%	5.79%	4.63%	7.50%	8.98%	6.73%	3.77%	3.27%
<hr/>								
(Major West European)*	24.67%	26.21%	19.60%	16.46%	14.11%	16.82%	26.04%	25.05%
<hr/>								
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 2C

REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1984-1991*

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	4,713	5,493	17,679	11,735	1,194	1,107	383	282
Soviet Union	20,000	27,800	27,400	16,800	7,600	5,700	9,900	5,500
France	2,300	200	14,500	6,000	700	400	700	100
United Kingdom	1,300	400	6,600	13,600	100	200	400	100
China	500	1,500	5,600	5,700	0	0	200	300
Germany	900	300	1,600	800	1,600	500	200	0
Italy	500	200	1,900	100	500	100	400	100
All Other Europea	1,800	1,300	13,800	5,100	1,800	400	700	100
All Others	2,500	1,500	5,900	3,900	1,200	1,000	800	1,000
(Major West Europ	5,000	1,100	24,600	20,500	2,900	1,200	1,700	300
TOTAL	34,513	38,693	94,979	63,735	14,694	9,407	13,683	7,482

*All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2D

PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1984-1991

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	19.66%	29.51%	73.76%	63.03%	4.98%	5.95%	1.60%	1.51%	100.00%	100.00%
Soviet Union	30.82%	49.82%	42.22%	30.11%	11.71%	10.22%	15.25%	9.86%	100.00%	100.00%
France	12.64%	2.99%	79.67%	89.55%	3.85%	5.97%	3.85%	1.49%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	15.48%	2.80%	78.57%	95.10%	1.19%	1.40%	4.76%	0.70%	100.00%	100.00%
China	7.94%	20.00%	88.89%	76.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.17%	4.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	20.93%	18.75%	37.21%	50.00%	37.21%	31.25%	4.65%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	15.15%	40.00%	57.58%	20.00%	15.15%	20.00%	12.12%	20.00%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	9.94%	18.84%	76.24%	73.91%	9.94%	5.80%	3.87%	1.45%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	24.04%	20.27%	56.73%	52.70%	11.54%	13.51%	7.69%	13.51%	100.00%	100.00%
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(Major West European)	14.62%	4.76%	71.93%	88.74%	8.48%	5.19%	4.97%	1.30%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
TOTAL	21.86%	32.43%	60.16%	53.42%	9.31%	7.88%	8.67%	6.27%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 2E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1984-1991

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91	1984-87	1988-91
United States	13.66%	14.20%	18.61%	18.41%	8.13%	11.77%	2.80%	3.77%
Soviet Union	57.95%	71.85%	28.85%	26.36%	51.72%	60.59%	72.35%	73.51%
France	6.66%	0.52%	15.27%	9.41%	4.76%	4.25%	5.12%	1.34%
United Kingdom	3.77%	1.03%	6.95%	21.34%	0.68%	2.13%	2.92%	1.34%
China	1.45%	3.88%	5.90%	8.94%	0.00%	0.00%	1.46%	4.01%
Germany	2.61%	0.78%	1.68%	1.26%	10.89%	5.32%	1.46%	0.00%
Italy	1.45%	0.52%	2.00%	0.16%	3.40%	1.06%	2.92%	1.34%
All Other European	5.22%	3.36%	14.53%	8.00%	12.25%	4.25%	5.12%	1.34%
All Others	7.24%	3.88%	6.21%	6.12%	8.17%	10.63%	5.85%	13.37%
(Major West European)*	14.49%	2.84%	25.90%	32.16%	19.74%	12.76%	12.42%	4.01%
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

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

**TABLE 2F. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1984-1991:
Leading Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 1984-1987
1	U.S.S.R.	64,800
2	U.S.	23,970
3	France	18,200
4	U.K.	8,400
5	China	6,200
6	Germany (FRG)	4,200
7	Italy	3,400
8	Czechoslovakia	2,600
9	Spain	2,500
10	Brazil	1,900
11	Israel	1,900

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 1988-1991
1	U.S.S.R.	55,800
2	U.S.	18,618
3	U.K.	14,300
4	China	7,400
5	France	6,800
6	Germany (Unified & FRG)	1,600
7	North Korea	1,400
8	Israel	1,200
9	Poland	1,100
10	Sweden	1,000
11	Czechoslovakia	900

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 1984-1991
1	U.S.S.R.	120,500
2	U.S.	42,588
3	France	25,000
4	U.K.	22,700
5	China	13,600
6	Germany	5,800
7	Italy	3,900
8	Czechoslovakia	3,500
9	Spain	3,300
10	Israel	3,100
11	North Korea	3,000

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2G. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1991:
Leading Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 1991
1	U.S.S.R.	6,400
2	U.S.	5,365
3	U.K.	3,000
4	France	1,000
5	China	900
6	Germany	600
7	Czechoslovakia	300
8	Israel	200
9	North Korea	200
10	Poland	100
11	Bulgaria	100

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2H. Arms Deliveries to Iran, 1984-1991:
Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

	<u>Iran 1984-1987</u>	<u>Iran 1988-1991</u>	<u>Iran 1984-1991</u>
Supplier			
Soviet Union	0	2,100	2,100
China	1,600	2,000	3,600
United States	0 **	0	0 **
Major West European	1,400	300	1,700
All Other European	3,900	1,000	4,900
All Others	<u>2,300</u>	<u>1,500</u>	<u>3,800</u>
TOTAL	9,200	6,900	16,100

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2I. Arms Deliveries to Iraq, 1984-1991:
Suppliers Compared**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

	<u>Iraq 1984-1987</u>	<u>Iraq 1988-1991</u>	<u>Iraq 1984-1991</u>
Supplier			
Soviet Union	13,100	4,100	17,200
China	3,000	1,000	4,000
United States	0	0	0
Major West European	3,700	1,100	4,800
All Other European	4,100	1,700	5,800
All Others	2,100	1,000	3,100
TOTAL	26,000	8,900	34,900

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 2J. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1984-1991:
Deliveries to the Leading Recipients
 (in millions of current U.S. dollars) *

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 1984-1987
1	Saudi Arabia	27,500
2	Iraq	26,000
3	India	10,000
4	Iran	9,200
5	Cuba	7,200
6	Vietnam	7,100
7	Syria	6,800
8	Egypt	6,100
9	Libya	5,600
10	Angola	5,300

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 1988-1991
1	Saudi Arabia	26,800
2	Afghanistan	11,800
3	India	10,000
4	Iraq	8,900
5	Iran	6,900
6	Cuba	4,700
7	Syria	4,000
8	Vietnam	4,000
9	Angola	2,900
10	Egypt	2,700

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 1984-1991
1	Saudi Arabia	54,300
2	Iraq	34,900
3	India	20,000
4	Iran	16,100
5	Afghanistan	15,800
6	Cuba	11,900
7	Vietnam	11,100
8	Syria	10,800
9	Egypt	8,800
10	Angola	8,200

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2K. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1991:
Deliveries to the Leading Recipients**
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 1991
1	Saudi Arabia	7,100
2	Afghanistan	1,900
3	Iran	1,500
4	India	800
5	Egypt	700
6	Syria	600
7	Cuba	500
8	Taiwan	500
9	Burma	300
10	Libya	300

* All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million. Where foreign data totals are the same, the actual rank order is maintained.

Source: U.S. Government

SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1984-1991

Other useful data for assessing arms transfers to the Third World by suppliers are those that indicate who has actually delivered numbers of specific classes of military items to a region. These data are relatively "hard" in that they reflect actual transfers of specific items of military equipment. They have the limitation of not giving detailed information regarding either the sophistication or the specific name of the equipment delivered. However, these data will show relative trends in the delivery of important classes of military equipment and will also indicate who the leading suppliers are from region to region over time. Data in the following tables set out actual deliveries of fourteen categories of weaponry to the Third World from 1984-1991 by the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the four major West European suppliers as a group, all other European suppliers as a group, and all other suppliers as a group.

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

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

REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1988-1991

- 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 1988-1991. 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 1988-1991, making notable deliveries of certain categories of armaments to every region of the Third World--most particularly to the Near East and to Latin America. In the sub-Saharan Africa region, the major Western

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

- The regional weapons delivery data reflect the diverse sources of supply of conventional weaponry available to Third World nations. Even though the Soviet Union, the United States and the four major West European suppliers dominate in the delivery of the fourteen classes of weapons examined, it is also evident that the other European suppliers, and non-European suppliers, including China, are fully capable of providing a wide-range of conventional armaments to nearly any country in the Third World should they choose to do so.
- It is noteworthy that there have been substantial quantities of specific categories of weapons delivered to individual regions of the Third World by specific suppliers from 1988-1991. Among such notable deliveries, by region, are the following:

Asia

The Soviet Union delivered 2,090 tanks and self-propelled guns; 4,530 APCs and armored cars; eight major surface combatants; seven submarines; 180 supersonic combat aircraft; 250 helicopters; 4,200 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); 1,655 surface-to-surface missiles and 260 anti-shipping missiles. The United States delivered 200 tanks and self-propelled guns; 132 supersonic combat aircraft and 919 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). China delivered 100 tanks and self-propelled guns; 3 major surface combatants; 110 supersonic combat aircraft; 300 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 30 surface-to-surface missiles. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered three major surface combatants; two submarines; 600 surface-to-air missiles and 20 anti-shipping missiles. All other European suppliers as a group delivered 390 artillery pieces. All other non-European suppliers collectively delivered nine major surface combatants and 100 supersonic aircraft.

Near East

The Soviet Union delivered 885 tanks and self-propelled guns; 605 artillery pieces; 605 APCs and armored cars; three major surface combatants; one submarine; 340 supersonic combat aircraft; 230 helicopters; 1,480 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); 125 surface-to-surface missiles and 165 anti-shipping missiles. The United States delivered 415 tanks and self-propelled guns; 598 APCs and armored cars; 36 supersonic combat aircraft and 1,061 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). China delivered 1,135 artillery pieces; 20 supersonic combat aircraft; 205 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); 240 surface-to-surface missiles and 150 anti-shipping missiles. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered, one major surface combatant; 110 supersonic combat aircraft and 105 anti-shipping missiles. All other European suppliers as a group delivered 315 tanks and self-propelled guns and 875 APCs and armored

cars. All other suppliers collectively delivered one submarine; 1,200 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 265 surface-to-surface missiles.

Latin America

The **Soviet Union** delivered 255 tanks and self-propelled guns; 240 artillery pieces; 150 APCs and armored cars; one major surface combatant; 25 supersonic combat aircraft; 55 helicopters; 520 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 30 anti-shipping missiles. The **United States** delivered 38 supersonic combat aircraft and 38 helicopters. The four major **West European suppliers** collectively delivered four major surface combatants; one submarine; 75 helicopters and 60 anti-shipping missiles. **All other non-European suppliers** as a group delivered 20 supersonic combat aircraft.

Africa (sub-Saharan)

The **Soviet Union** delivered 430 tanks and self-propelled guns; 300 artillery pieces; 210 APCs and armored cars; one major surface combatant; 50 supersonic combat aircraft; 40 helicopters; 150 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 20 anti-shipping missiles. The **United States** delivered 112 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). **China** delivered 195 artillery pieces and 20 supersonic combat aircraft. The four major **West European suppliers** collectively delivered 85 APCs and armored cars. **All other European suppliers** collectively delivered 90 tanks and self-propelled guns. **All other non-European suppliers** as a group delivered 185 tanks and self-propelled guns; 395 artillery pieces; 175 APCs and armored cars; 30 supersonic combat aircraft and 255 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).



Table 3

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
1984-1987						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	892	2850	1200	250	880	185
Artillery	992	3820	1540	3360	3510	1390
APCs and Armored Cars	1202	6020	1170	890	1935	985
Major Surface Combatants	1	21	2	37	6	8
Minor Surface Combatants	11	95	12	65	81	140
Guided Missile Boats	0	5	10	11	0	0
Submarines	0	7	2	9	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	162	890	50	175	0	26
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	74	95	45	75	0	6
Other Aircraft	207	360	30	235	355	240
Helicopters	187	745	0	390	43	75
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1765	14110	530	2385	5800	40
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	710	10	0	0	85
Anti-Shipping Missiles	58	445	325	880	0	0
1988-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	615	3660	100	0	445	295
Artillery	316	1405	1580	100	594	905
APCs and Armored Cars	777	5495	395	100	905	395
Major Surface Combatants	0	13	3	8	0	9
Minor Surface Combatants	7	45	22	84	23	90
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	5	5	0	2
Submarines	0	8	0	3	0	2
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	206	595	150	110	1	160
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	82	85	35	60	0	10
Other Aircraft	126	170	42	45	165	116
Helicopters	92	575	0	145	90	40
Surface-to-Air Missiles	2092	6350	505	705	150	1455
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1780	270	0	0	265
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	475	150	185	0	5
1984-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1507	6510	1300	250	1325	480
Artillery	1308	5225	3120	3460	4104	2295
APCs and Armored Cars	1979	11515	1565	990	2840	1380
Major Surface Combatants	1	34	5	45	6	17
Minor Surface Combatants	18	140	34	149	104	230
Guided Missile Boats	0	5	15	16	0	2
Submarines	0	15	2	12	0	3
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	368	1485	200	285	1	186
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	156	180	80	135	0	16
Other Aircraft	333	530	72	280	520	356
Helicopters	279	1320	0	535	133	115
Surface-to-Air Missiles	3857	20460	1035	3090	5950	1495
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	2490	280	0	0	350
Anti-Shipping Missiles	58	920	475	1065	0	5

1/ Third World category excludes the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 4

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
1984-1987						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	243	1250	170	0	110	0
Artillery	388	1080	50	250	80	140
APCs and Armored Cars	490	2970	100	30	260	40
Major Surface Combatants	1	7	0	6	4	4
Minor Surface Combatants	0	30	3	15	0	25
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	5	1	0	0
Submarines	0	2	0	5	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	105	310	0	50	0	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	44	20	30	10	0	0
Other Aircraft	49	200	20	60	50	30
Helicopters	92	240	0	40	20	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	744	1830	230	950	800	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	58	120	50	100	0	0
1988-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	200	2090	100	0	40	5
Artillery	208	260	250	10	390	180
APCs and Armored Cars	145	4530	350	0	0	0
Major Surface Combatants	0	8	3	3	0	9
Minor Surface Combatants	0	15	15	4	3	40
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	5	0	0	0
Submarines	0	7	0	2	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	132	180	110	0	0	100
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	15	50	30	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	54	120	30	5	40	1
Helicopters	54	250	0	30	30	20
Surface-to-Air Missiles	919	4200	300	600	40	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1655	30	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	260	0	20	0	0
1984-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	443	3340	270	0	150	5
Artillery	596	1340	300	260	470	320
APCs and Armored Cars	635	7500	450	30	260	40
Major Surface Combatants	1	15	3	9	4	13
Minor Surface Combatants	0	45	18	19	3	65
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	10	1	0	0
Submarines	0	9	0	7	0	2
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	237	490	110	50	0	120
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	59	70	60	30	0	0
Other Aircraft	103	320	50	65	90	31
Helicopters	146	490	0	70	50	30
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1663	6030	530	1550	840	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1655	30	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	58	380	50	120	0	0

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

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

Source: U.S. Government

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Table 5

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
1984-1987						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	626	795	995	130	770	155
Artillery	330	1100	1440	2980	3260	765
APCs and Armored Cars	619	1935	1070	540	1530	535
Major Surface Combatants	0	12	2	15	2	0
Minor Surface Combatants	2	15	5	25	80	90
Guided Missile Boats	0	5	5	10	0	0
Submarines	0	4	2	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	37	315	40	90	0	1
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	70	5	40	0	5
Other Aircraft	36	70	0	55	160	70
Helicopters	23	230	0	110	10	40
Surface-to-Air Missiles	868	7825	300	985	5000	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	710	10	0	0	85
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	220	275	665	0	0
1988-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	415	885	0	0	315	105
Artillery	64	605	1135	25	175	300
APCs and Armored Cars	598	605	0	15	875	210
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	1	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	5	5	75	5	25
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	5	0	0
Submarines	0	1	0	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	36	340	20	110	1	10
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	15	0	25	0	0
Other Aircraft	18	20	10	20	85	55
Helicopters	0	230	0	35	35	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1061	1480	205	105	110	1200
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	125	240	0	0	265
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	165	150	105	0	5
1984-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1041	1680	995	130	1085	260
Artillery	394	1705	2575	3005	3435	1065
APCs and Armored Cars	1217	2540	1070	555	2405	745
Major Surface Combatants	0	15	2	16	2	0
Minor Surface Combatants	2	20	10	100	85	115
Guided Missile Boats	0	5	5	15	0	0
Submarines	0	5	2	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	73	655	60	200	1	11
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	85	5	65	0	5
Other Aircraft	54	90	10	75	245	125
Helicopters	23	460	0	145	45	45
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1929	9305	505	1090	5110	1200
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	835	250	0	0	350
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	385	425	770	0	5

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

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 6

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
1984-1987						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	405	0	0	0	0
Artillery	137	320	0	35	90	120
APCs and Armored Cars	16	455	0	90	85	160
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	15	0	4
Minor Surface Combatants	8	35	0	5	0	10
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	1	0	4	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	18	20	0	15	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	30	0	0	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	118	45	0	40	65	110
Helicopters	72	80	0	175	5	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	1200	0	120	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	30	0	90	0	0
1988-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	255	0	0	0	0
Artillery	44	240	0	65	5	30
APCs and Armored Cars	0	150	0	0	0	10
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	4	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	7	10	0	0	0	15
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	1	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	38	25	0	0	0	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	67	0	0	5	0	10
Other Aircraft	52	20	0	15	20	40
Helicopters	38	55	0	75	20	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	520	0	0	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	30	0	60	0	0
1984-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	660	0	0	0	0
Artillery	181	560	0	100	95	150
APCs and Armored Cars	16	605	0	90	85	170
Major Surface Combatants	0	2	0	19	0	4
Minor Surface Combatants	15	45	0	5	0	25
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	1	0	5	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	56	45	0	15	0	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	97	0	0	5	0	10
Other Aircraft	170	65	0	55	85	150
Helicopters	110	135	0	250	25	15
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	1720	0	120	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	60	0	150	0	0

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 7

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
1984-1987						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	400	35	120	0	30
Artillery	137	1320	50	95	80	365
APCs and Armored Cars	77	660	0	230	60	250
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	1	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	15	4	20	1	15
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	2	245	10	20	0	5
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	5	10	25	0	1
Other Aircraft	4	45	10	80	80	30
Helicopters	0	195	0	65	8	15
Surface-to-Air Missiles	153	3255	0	330	0	40
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	75	0	25	0	0
1988-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	430	0	0	90	185
Artillery	0	300	195	0	24	395
APCs and Armored Cars	34	210	45	85	30	175
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	15	2	5	15	10
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	50	20	0	0	30
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	20	5	10	0	0
Other Aircraft	2	10	2	5	20	20
Helicopters	0	40	0	5	5	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	112	150	0	0	0	255
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	20	0	0	0	0
1984-1991						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	830	35	120	90	215
Artillery	137	1620	245	95	104	760
APCs and Armored Cars	111	870	45	315	90	425
Major Surface Combatants	0	2	0	1	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	30	6	25	16	25
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	2	295	30	20	0	35
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	25	15	35	0	1
Other Aircraft	6	55	12	85	100	50
Helicopters	0	235	0	70	13	25
Surface-to-Air Missiles	265	3405	0	330	0	295
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	95	0	25	0	0

1/ All data are for calendar years given.

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

Source: U.S. Government

**DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN
WEAPONS CATEGORIES, 1984-1991**

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

ARTILLERY: This category includes field and air defense artillery, mortars, rocket launchers and recoilless rifles--100 mm and over; FROG launchers--100 mm and over.

ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS (APCs) AND ARMORED CARS: This category includes personnel carriers, armored and amphibious; armored infantry fighting vehicles; Armored reconnaissance and command vehicles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS

ASIA	NEAR EAST	EUROPE
Afghanistan	Algeria	Albania
Australia	Bahrain	Austria
Bangladesh	Egypt	Bulgaria
Brunei	Iran	Belgium
Burma (Myanmar)	Iraq	Canada
China	Israel	Czechoslovakia
Fiji	Jordan	Cyprus
French Polynesia	Kuwait	Denmark
Gilbert Islands	Lebanon	Finland
Hong Kong	Libya	France
India	Morocco	Germany
Indonesia	Oman	Greece
Japan	Qatar	Hungary
Kampuchea (Cambodia)	Saudi Arabia	Iceland
Laos	Syria	Ireland
Macao	Tunisia	Italy
Malaysia	United Arab Emirates	Liechtenstein
Mongolia	Yemen	Luxembourg
Nauru		Malta
Nepal		Netherlands
New Caledonia		Norway
New Hebrides		Poland
New Zealand		Portugal
Norfolk Islands		Romania
North Korea		Spain
Pakistan		Sweden
Papua New Guinea		Switzerland
Philippines		Turkey
Pitcairn		United Kingdom
Singapore		U.S.S.R.
Solomon Islands		Yugoslavia
South Korea		
Sri Lanka		
Taiwan		
Thailand		
Vietnam		
Western Samoa		

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

AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN)

Angola	Togo
Benin	Uganda
Botswana	Zaire
Burkina Faso	Zambia
Burundi	Zimbabwe
Cameroon	
Cape Verde	
Central African Republic	
Chad	
Congo	
Côte d'Ivoire	
Djibouti	
Equatorial Guinea	
Ethiopia	
Gabon	
Gambia	
Ghana	
Guinea	
Guinea-Bissau	
Kenya	
Lesotho	
Liberia	
Madagascar	
Malawi	
Mali	
Mauritania	
Mauritius	
Mozambique	
Namibia	
Niger	
Nigeria	
Réunion	
Rwanda	
Senegal	
Seychelles	
Sierra Leone	
Somalia	
South Africa	
Sudan	
Swaziland	
Tanzania	

LATIN AMERICA

Antigua
Argentina
Bahamas
Barbados
Belize
Bermuda
Bolivia
Brazil
British Virgin Islands
Cayman Islands
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica