

# CRS Report for Congress

## Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1985-1992

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## **CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992**

### **SUMMARY**

The major political and economic transitions wrought by the end of the Cold War continued in 1992, resulting in a significant impact on the Third World arms marketplace. The formal dissolution of the Soviet Union contributed to a sharp fall in Russia's arms agreements, while the United States remained the undisputed leader in arms sales to the Third World. Continued reductions in domestic defense spending in many nations became a matter of acute concern to their weapons exporting industries, leading to intense competition among suppliers for new arms deals throughout the globe. Despite initial optimism about their prospects, talks aimed at controlling destabilizing conventional arms transfers to the Near East region, in the wake of the Persian Gulf war, did not produce a major new control regime.

The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992 was \$23.9 billion. This was by far the lowest yearly total, calculated in either nominal or real terms, for any of the years during the 1985-1992 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. This pattern of decline continued in 1992. At the same time, in 1992 the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$12.7 billion) was the lowest total, in nominal and real terms, by a substantial margin for any year during the 1985-1992 period. This is the fifth consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly.

The United States has become the predominant arms supplier to the Third World since the Cold War's end. During the 1990-1992 period, the United States accounted for 49.8% of the value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World.

In 1992, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell slightly from nearly \$14 billion in 1991 to \$13.6 billion in 1992. Yet for the third 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 56.8% in 1992, up from 48.9% in 1991. Some 86% of all 1992 U.S. arms sales agreements with the Third World resulted from costly new orders by Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait (\$6.4 billion, \$4.2 billion, and \$1.1 billion, respectively). The value of Taiwan's arms transfer agreements with the United States alone in 1992 exceeded the total value (\$3.8 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by France (the second leading supplier) with the entire Third World in the same year.

The total value of Russia's arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell dramatically from \$5.9 billion in 1991 to \$1.3 billion in 1992, ranking it fourth among all suppliers--with a 5.4% market share (in constant 1992 dollars).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
MAJOR FINDINGS .....	5
GENERAL TRENDS IN ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD .....	5
UNITED STATES .....	6
RUSSIA .....	7
CHINA .....	8
MAJOR WEST EUROPEANS .....	9
REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES .....	10
LEADING THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS .....	11
WEAPON TYPES RECENTLY DELIVERED TO THE THIRD WORLD .....	12
SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1985-1992 .....	17
TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES .....	17
REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1985-1992 .....	22
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED .....	28
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED .....	29
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH NEAR EAST, 1985- 1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS .....	30
ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS .....	34
ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS .....	35
TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES .....	35
REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1985-1992 .....	39
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED .....	41
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED .....	41
ARMS DELIVERIES TO NEAR EAST, 1985-1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS .....	42
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS .....	46
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS .....	46
THIRD WORLD ARMS TRANSFER DATA TABLES .....	49
SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992 .....	71

## TABLE OF CONTENTS -- CONTINUED

REGIONAL WEAPONS DELIVERIES SUMMARY, 1988-1992 . . .	71
THIRD WORLD WEAPONS DELIVERIES TABLES . . . . .	75
DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS COUNTED IN WEAPONS CATEGORIES, 1985-1992 . . . . .	81
REGIONS IDENTIFIED IN ARMS TRANSFER TABLES AND CHARTS . . . . .	83

## LIST OF CHARTS

CHART 1. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: United States, Major West European, Russia, All Others Compared (Billions of Constant 1992 Dollars and Percentage of Total Agreements) . . . . .	18
CHART 2. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1991 AND 1992: BY SUPPLIER (As Percentage of All Agreements) . . . . .	19
CHART 3. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: United States, Russia and Major West European Compared (In Billions of Constant 1992 Dollars) . . . . .	20
CHART 4. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: By Major Supplier (In Billions of Constant 1992 Dollars) . . . . .	21
CHART 5. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1989-1992, WITH NEAR EAST (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	23
CHART 6. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH ASIA, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	25
CHART 7. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	27
CHART 8. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	32
CHART 9. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH SAUDI ARABIA, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	33
CHART 10. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: United States, Major West European, Russia, All Others Compared (Billions of Constant 1992 Dollars and Percentage of Total Deliveries) . . . . .	37
CHART 11. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: By Major Supplier (In Billions of Constant 1992 Dollars) . . . . .	38
CHART 12. ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	44
CHART 13. ARMS DELIVERIES TO SAUDI ARABIA, 1985-1988 AND 1989-1992 (Supplier Percentage) . . . . .	45

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	49
TABLE 1A. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Constant 1992 U.S. Dollars) .....	50
TABLE 1B. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (Expressed as a Percent of Grand Total, By Year) .....	51
TABLE 1C. REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	52
TABLE 1D. PERCENTAGE OF EACH SUPPLIER'S AGREEMENTS VALUE BY REGION, 1985-1992 .....	53
TABLE 1E. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1985-1992 .....	54
TABLE 1F. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	55
TABLE 1G. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	56
TABLE 1H. ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH NEAR EAST, 1985-1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	57
TABLE 1I. ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	58
TABLE 1J. ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	59
TABLE 2. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) .....	60
TABLE 2A. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Constant 1992 Dollars) .....	61
TABLE 2B. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIERS, 1985-1992 (Expressed As a Percent of Grand Total, By Year) .....	62

## LIST OF TABLES -- CONTINUED

TABLE 2C. REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERIES, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992 (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	63
TABLE 2D. PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1985-1992 . . . . .	64
TABLE 2E. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1985-1992 . . . . .	65
TABLE 2F. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	66
TABLE 2G. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	67
TABLE 2H. ARMS DELIVERIES TO NEAR EAST, 1985-1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	68
TABLE 2I. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: DELIVERIES TO LEADING RECIPIENTS (In Millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	69
TABLE 2J. ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992 DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS (In millions of Current U.S. Dollars) . . . . .	70
TABLE 3. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO THE THIRD WORLD . . . . .	75
TABLE 4. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO ASIA . . . . .	76
TABLE 5. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO NEAR EAST . . . . .	77
TABLE 6. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO LATIN AMERICA . . . . .	78
TABLE 7. NUMBERS OF WEAPONS DELIVERED BY MAJOR SUPPLIERS TO AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN) . . . . .	79

# **CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The major political and economic transitions wrought by the end of the Cold War continued in 1992, resulting in a significant impact on the Third World arms marketplace. The formal dissolution of the Soviet Union contributed to a sharp fall in Russia's arms agreements, while the United States remained the undisputed leader in arms sales to the Third World. Continued reductions in domestic defense spending in many nations became a matter of acute concern to their weapons exporting industries, leading to intense competition among former suppliers for new arms deals throughout the globe. Despite initial optimism about their prospects, talks aimed at controlling destabilizing conventional arms transfers to the Near East region, in the wake of the Persian Gulf war, did not produce a major new control regime.

The new Russian leadership seems committed to strengthening its domestic non-military industrial base and developing a market economy. Efforts are underway to transform Russia's political system as well. The transition from a communist system to one based on democratic and market concepts has been very difficult. Arms exports have been one of the few vehicles that Russia has had to obtain hard currency and shore up its severe foreign exchange shortage and debt servicing problems, as Moscow undertakes efforts to reduce domestic defense spending and to promote conversion of its defense industry to civilian applications.

In an effort to increase income, the Soviet Union, and now Russia, terminated its grant military aid program with most of its Third World arms customers. At the same time, Russia has sought weapons contracts with countries such as Iran that could pay in hard currency. Russia has also sought to increase its arms sales in Asia with China, a former adversary that needs Russia's advanced weapons and will pay to obtain them, and with other traditional Western customers such as Malaysia. Russia has further sought to maintain an arms supply relationship with India, a key client in the past, even though to do so may require providing weapons on concessional terms. Nonetheless, a hallmark of Russian arms sales policy currently, and for the foreseeable future, seems likely to be the general absence of deep discounts and grants for most of its former Cold War era clients--such as Cuba, Vietnam, and Syria, and adherence to United Nations sanctions by refusing to sell to Iraq.

Despite its efforts to offer advanced weapons systems at competitive prices, Russia currently suffers from concerns by potential buyers that the industrial



and political turmoil it has gone through during the breakup of the Soviet Union, and still in prospect, may have made it an unreliable supplier of the spare parts and support services required to maintain its weaponry. Given the option of selecting a Russian or a Western produced weapon, many prospective Third World buyers may conclude that it is more risky to purchase from Russia.

The United States, at the same time, has become the principal arms supplier to most regions of the Third World for each of the last three years. The reputation of American weapons was enhanced by their overwhelming success on the Persian Gulf War battlefield. As a consequence, several Near Eastern countries have sought to purchase advanced U.S. weapons systems in the period since the war.

Further, 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 controlled and restricted transfers of U.S. weaponry to the Third World. But, as the sales record in the period since the Kuwait crisis of August 1990 demonstrates, the United States will make major sales of advanced arms to friendly Third World states whenever it believes that U.S. national interests will be advanced by doing so. And the Bush Administration did support an unsuccessful initiative to permit the Export-Import bank to guarantee some loans for U.S. foreign military sales.

Reductions in national defense spending have also occurred in both major and minor arms supplying countries in Europe and elsewhere since the Cold War's end. At the same time, these nations have attempted to maintain their traditional foreign arms sales programs. In most cases these supplier countries face difficulties in concluding large new arms deals even though they have historically placed greater emphasis on foreign arms sales than the United States--because of the importance of such exports to maintaining their respective defense industrial bases. Problems for these suppliers stem from significant reductions in demand for weapons by major clients and an overall increase in competition for available arms sales contracts.

The post-Cold War environment has increased the significance of financial considerations as a driving factor behind efforts of many traditional arms suppliers to sell conventional weapons. Countervailing forces against such sales are, nevertheless, significant. Many Third World countries, apart from Taiwan and oil rich states such as Saudi Arabia and to a lesser extent Iran and some ASEAN countries, 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, in particular Russia, may be willing to lower arms prices to secure a contract, but it seems clear that in most of those cases they will seek hard currency payment for such discounted sales. This suggests 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 be a continuing decline of the Third World arms trade.

Third World arms purchases may also be held back by growing pressure from international aid donors for developing countries to decrease defense spending and invest more in social and economic development programs. Some bilateral donors and international agencies have raised the prospect of linking new transfers of economic assistance from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and bilateral programs with recipient nations' cuts in military expenditures. Some aid donors also note that arms supplying nations 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 purchases.

In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war, many called for dramatic new approaches to controlling conventional arms transfers, especially in the Near East region to reduce the likelihood of another massive weapons buildup such as had occurred in Iraq. Proponents saw this period as a notable opportunity to garner international support, especially among the major arms suppliers. 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. In May 1991, the Bush Administration launched an initiative centered on curtailing the size and nature of arms sales to the Near East region. 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.

For more than a year meetings and discussions were held among the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the U.S., the United Kingdom, Russia, France and China), aimed at achieving agreement on a mechanism for the Permanent Five nations to notify one another in advance of their prospective arms sales to the Near East. An American goal was to establish an on-going consultation mechanism among the Permanent Five, following such advance notifications, which might result in curtailment of destabilizing arms sales to the Near East region. Subsequent meetings did not lead to such an agreement. By the Fall of 1992, the Permanent Five discussions had effectively collapsed when China ended its participation following the announcement by the United States of the sale of 150 F-16 fighter aircraft to Taiwan.

Despite the setback in the Permanent Five talks, some members of the U.S. Congress have continued to support additional efforts to advance a wide range of initiatives aimed at controlling the conventional arms trade and the United States role in it. Others in Congress and outside it are making renewed efforts to secure U.S. Government loan guarantees for American weapons exports to enhance their prospects and thereby aid American defense industries faced with declining domestic orders and increased foreign competition. These efforts occur as the Clinton Administration begins to formulate its approach to the broad issue of conventional arms sales policy. The conventional arms marketplace, meanwhile, is proceeding through a major period of transition. During this period policymakers confront great pressures as they seek to reconcile the economic interests of domestic defense industries with the objective of limiting destabilizing arms transfers to Third World states.

It should be noted that an increasing problem with conventional weapons transfers to the Third World is that they do not have to be especially expensive to be deadly and pose a significant security threat within a given region, even though sales of more costly systems tend to attract the attention of policymakers. Furthermore, given the growing spread of lower and middle levels of weapons production knowledge, it will become more difficult to monitor effectively some weapons transfer activities involving Third World countries than was the case in the past, since both the existence and the dollar value of weapons technology transfer agreements are harder to establish.

This report provides unclassified background data on transfers of conventional arms to the Third World by major suppliers for the period 1985 through 1992. It updates and revises the report entitled "Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1984-1991," published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) on July 20, 1992 (CRS Report 92-577F). 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 due to a comprehensive review and revision of the information utilized, only those data in the most recent edition should be used.

### CONSTANT 1992 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 1992 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 are composed of four-year aggregate dollar totals (1985-1988 and 1989-1992), 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 1992 was \$23.9 billion. This was by far the lowest yearly total for agreements with the Third World for any of the years during the 1985-1992 period, whether measured in nominal or real terms. The general decline in the value of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World during the late 1980s 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. This pattern of decline continued in 1992. (table 1A) (chart 1).

In 1992, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$12.7 billion) was the lowest total by far for any year during the 1985-1992 period. This is the fifth consecutive year since 1987 that the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World dropped significantly from the previous year. These declines have been relatively steady from year to year. Deliveries values in 1992 (in real terms) were roughly one-quarter of what they were in 1987. This pattern reflects the impact of the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the Cold War, and a winding down

of other regional conflicts in the Third World (table 2A) (charts 10, and 11). However, given the surge in 1990 of new arms transfer agreements with the Third World the total value of arms deliveries may increase in future years if most of these agreements are fully implemented.

The United States has come to dominate the Third World arms market in the most recent period. From 1989-1992, the United States made \$55.4 billion in arms transfer agreements with the Third World or 43.7% of all such agreements. In the earlier period before the Cold War had ended (1985-1988), the former Soviet Union was the single leading supplier, making \$88.9 billion arms transfer agreements with Third World or 44.5% (in constant 1992 dollars).

From 1990 onward, the Third World arms market has been comprised of three general tiers of suppliers. In the first tier is the United States whose position far surpasses that of any other arms supplier to the Third World. In the second tier are France, the United Kingdom and Russia whose positions are notably below those of the United States, but distinctly above the positions of the remaining arms suppliers to the Third World. The four nations in the first two tiers have historically had the means to supply the most advanced weapons systems to the Third World in quantity and on a continuing basis. But as competition for a declining Third World arms market increases, some of them may have difficulty sustaining the market shares they have held in past. In the third tier are China, other European suppliers, and other non-European suppliers--that have generally been marginal or 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 1A, 1F, 1G, 2A, 2F and 2G).

## **UNITED STATES**

In 1992, the total value, in real terms, of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased slightly from the previous year's total, falling from nearly \$14 billion in 1991 to \$13.6 billion in 1992. Nonetheless, for the third 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 56.8% in 1992, up from 48.9% in 1991 (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 1992 is directly attributable to costly new orders from Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Taiwan's agreed to purchase 150 F-16 fighter aircraft; the Saudis bought 12 PATRIOT missile fire units and associated missiles, expensive military support services, and bombs and missiles for Saudi fighter aircraft; and Kuwait purchased 6 PATRIOT missiles fire units and 6

HAWK missile batteries and associated missiles. In 1992, the total values of the arms transfer agreements of Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait with the United States were \$6.4 billion, \$4.2 billion and \$1.1 billion, respectively. These agreements collectively constituted 86% of all U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992. The value of Taiwan's arms transfer agreements with the United States alone in 1992 exceeded by far the total value (\$3.8 billion) of all arms transfer agreements made by France (the second leading supplier) 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 1992 illustrates this point. In part due to exceptional arms agreements totals in 1990, 1991 and 1992--many related to the circumstances related to the Persian Gulf war--United States arms transfer agreements totals for 1989-1992 to the Near East region constituted 56.9% of all arms transfer agreements made by all suppliers to that region during these years (table 1E)(chart 5).

#### **RUSSIA\***

The total value of Russia's agreements with the Third World fell significantly, from \$5.9 billion in 1991 to \$1.3 billion in 1992, ranking it fourth among all suppliers in 1992. Russia's share of all Third World arms transfer agreements declined as well, falling from 20.7% in 1991 to 5.4% in 1992 (in constant 1992 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

During the 1985-1992 period, Russian arms transfer agreements with the Third World ranged from a high of \$28.8 billion in 1986 to a low of \$1.3 billion in 1992 (in constant 1992 dollars). Each year after 1986, Russian arms transfer agreement totals have declined from those of the previous year. These data from 1986 forward document the progressive decline in arms transfer agreements by Russia as the internal economic difficulties of the former Soviet Union mounted, hastening the ultimate political decision to dissolve the Union into independent states at the end of 1991.

Russia has had long-standing supplier relationships with many of the leading purchasers of weapons in the Third World, relationships that were significantly motivated by Cold War considerations. Russia 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 an important means of gaining needed hard currency.

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\*Russia is used throughout the text, tables and charts, although data for all years prior to 1992 represent transactions of the former Soviet Union as a whole. Russia was by far the principal arms producer and exporter of all the former Soviet republics, and the political center for decision-making by the former Soviet Union. Data for 1992 are for Russia exclusively.

Due to the domestic economic problems it has encountered in recent years, as well as the Cold War's end, Russia has terminated its grant military assistance program with most of its arms clients in the Third World. At the same time, Russia has sought arms deals with countries such as Iran that can pay for weapons in hard currency. These developments, plus the loss by Russia of Iraq as a major arms purchaser, are major factors that explain why the overall value of Russian arms transfer agreements have dropped significantly most recently, while the value of arms agreements with Iran, by contrast, have increased. Among the weapons systems sold to Iran by Russia in recent years are MiG-29 fighter aircraft, T-72 main battle tanks and Kilo class attack submarines. Russia has also begun an important arms supplier relationship with China, selling Su-27 fighter aircraft in 1991, and continues to explore the prospects of new sales of other weapons. Other efforts by Russia to secure new clients for its arms have been less successful, reportedly due to an important degree to concerns by prospective buyers that Russia may not be a reliable supplier of the spare parts and support services needed to utilize its weapons systems. Nevertheless, Russia is continuing an aggressive marketing effort to sell its weapons in the Third World aimed at increasing its sales to both old clients and new ones (tables 1C and 1H).

## 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 during their war. The value of China's agreements with the Third World peaked at \$5.6 billion in 1987. China ranked fifth among all suppliers in the value of its arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1989-1992. Since the Persian Gulf war, the value of Chinese arms transfer agreements with the Third World have fallen dramatically, registering only \$100 million in 1992 compared to about \$2.3 billion in agreements in 1990. As a consequence, in 1992 China ranked a distant tenth among all suppliers to the Third World (in constant 1992 dollars) (tables 1A, 1G and 1H).

China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World fell sharply in 1991 and 1992 because Russia 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. Beyond the Near East region, China has not had many arms clients with large financial resources or major weapons purchasing programs, that could provide significant offsetting revenues. China seems ill-placed to sustain a high level of arms sales to the Near East region now that Beijing faces stiff new competition from arms suppliers such as Russia that can provide more modern and sophisticated weaponry.

Despite the decline in the volume of arms transfers, China's missiles and its willingness to sell them has been of continuing interest to certain Third World purchasers. 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. China's position on its willingness to abide by the

guidelines on missile transfers set out in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is ambiguous at best. 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. China appears very reluctant to commit itself to an arms control regime that would undermine its ability to market military items or technology that may be attractive to prospective buyers in the Third World. China's refusal to continue to meet with other major weapons suppliers regarding a detailed arms restraint regime for the Near East region that might include missiles supports this conclusion.

## **MAJOR WEST EUROPEANS**

The four major West European suppliers (France, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) registered a significant increase in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992, rising to 30.6% from 20.4% in 1991. Of these suppliers, France posted a notable increase in the value of its agreements from nearly \$2.8 billion in 1991 to \$3.8 billion in 1992. The value of the United Kingdom's agreements increased from over \$2.0 billion in 1990 to \$2.4 billion in 1992. Germany registered a decrease in the value of its agreements from over \$1 billion in 1991 to \$700 million in 1992. Italy's Third World agreements in 1991 were effectively nil, but rose to \$400 million in 1992 (in constant 1992 dollars) (tables 1A, 1B) (charts 1, 2, and 3).

Throughout the period from 1985-1992, the major West European suppliers, as a group, averaged 19.4% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. As the Cold War wound down, the major West European suppliers have shown a clear increase in their share of arms transfer agreements. For the 1989-1992 period, the major West European suppliers, collectively, averaged 20.8% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Throughout the 1985-1992 period, individual suppliers within the major West European group have had exceptional years for arms agreements, such as France in 1987 and 1992 (\$3.8 billion each year) and 1989 (\$4.4 billion); and the United Kingdom in 1985 (\$24.2 billion) (in constant 1992 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, 1B, 1C and 1H).

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 Russia, for arms sales contracts throughout the Third World. Because major West European suppliers, such as France and the United Kingdom, 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 some 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, and a shrinking global marketplace, individual West European suppliers may be hard pressed to secure large new Third World arms contracts on a routine basis. Therefore, they may choose to reduce or eliminate some weapons categories from those in which they attempt to compete, or may seek to engage in joint production ventures with other weapons suppliers.

## **REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES**

Two significant Near East conflicts, the Iran-Iraq war in the 1985-1988 period and the Persian Gulf crisis from August 1990-February 1991 played a major role in stimulating high levels of arms transfer agreements with nations in that region. The Iran-Iraq war created an urgent demand by both belligerents, 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. Other suppliers sought to establish a new relationship. The United Nations embargo against Iraq, beginning on August 6, 1990, effectively cut off that major arms market to key historic suppliers such as Russia, China and other minor suppliers that had come to depend upon it during the 1980s.

The Persian Gulf war stimulated new demand by key nations such as Saudi Arabia and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), for a variety of advanced weapons systems, not only in response to Iraq's failed aggression against Kuwait, but also to concerns about potential threats from a resurgent Iran. The end of the Iran-Iraq war, the Cold War and the Persian Gulf war have collectively led to a reorientation of efforts by arms producers to seek sales opportunities in the Third World. Major new weapons sales have occurred recently in both Asia and the Near East regions. Data on regional arms transfer agreements from 1985-1992 reflect the particular importance of two Third World regions as international arms markets:

### **Near East**

- The Near East is the largest Third World arms market. In 1985-1988 it accounted for 58.3% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1989-1992, the region accounted for 38.2% of all such agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The United States has dominated arms transfer agreements with the Near East during the 1989-1992 time period with nearly 57% of their total value; in contrast, Russia and the United Kingdom collectively accounted for 50.7% in 1985-1988 (table 1E)(chart 5).

## Asia

- Asia is the second largest Third World arms market and it is growing. In the earlier period (1985-1988), Asia accounted for 23.3% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1989-1992, the region accounted for 29.5% of all such agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- Russia ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Asia in 1985-1988 with 61.7%. This region includes some of Russia's traditionally largest arms clients such as India, Afghanistan and Vietnam. The United States ranked second with 17.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.2% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in Asian agreements with 37.2%, but with a much smaller share than in the 1985-1988 period, due to reductions in transfers to former key clients. The United States ranked a close second with 32.6%, on the strength of major aircraft sales to South Korea and Taiwan. France ranked third with 13.4%, primarily due to a major aircraft sale to Taiwan. The major West European suppliers, together, made 21.1% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992 (table 1E) (chart 6).

## LEADING THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS

Saudi Arabia has been, by a wide margin, the leading Third World arms purchaser from 1985-1992, making arms transfer agreements totaling \$63.6 billion during these years (in current dollars). In both the 1985-1988 and 1989-1992 periods, the value of its arms transfer agreements were consistently high (\$27.7 billion in 1985-1988 and \$35.9 billion in 1989-1992). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1985-1992 was \$283.9 billion (in current dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia alone was responsible for over one-fifth (22.4%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements during these eight years. In the most recent period--1989-1992--Saudi Arabia alone accounted for close to one-third (29.9%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements (\$35.9 billion out of \$119.9 billion). Saudi Arabia ranked second among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1992, concluding \$4.5 billion in such agreements with the Third World in 1992 (in current dollars), exceeded only by Taiwan primarily due to two huge aircraft purchases it made during that year (tables 1, 1H, 1I and 1J (chart 9).

Six of the ten leading Third World arms recipients--most traditional customers of Russia--registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period. Cuba, which purchased \$10.6 billion in 1985-1988, bought virtually nothing in the next four years; Iraq declined 91.8%, Syria 86.9%, Vietnam 64.3%, and India declined 61.2%. These figures reflect the diminished financial support for these countries by Russia in the post-Cold War era. The one exception to this trend was Afghanistan, a major Cold War client, that increased its arms transfer agreements from the earlier period by 71.7%. Moscow continued to heavily arm

the Soviet-supported Afghan government from the time of the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 until the arms cutoff deadline of January 10, 1992 agreed to by the former Soviet Union and the United States as part of the arrangement ending the Afghan war. Three major U.S. customers registered substantial increases in the values of their arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992--Taiwan (531.8%), Egypt (49%) and Saudi Arabia (29.6%) (table 1I).

Despite some large decreases in the values of the arms transfer agreements of specific nations from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, the top ten Third World recipient nations in both time periods still accounted for the major portion of the total Third World arms market. During 1985-1988 the top ten collectively accounted for 64.8% of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1989-1992 the top ten collectively accounted for 74.4% of all such agreements. Arms transfer agreements with the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, totaled \$21.1 billion in 1992 or 88.3% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in that year (tables 1, 1I and 1J). This reflects a growing concentration of total Third World arms purchases by relatively few countries. Between 1985-1992 the top ten nations collectively made 68.9% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$195.6 billion out of \$283.9 billion)(in current dollars)(tables 1 and 1I).

Taiwan ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1992, concluding \$10 billion in such agreements. The United States was its principal supplier, selling it 150 F-16A/B combat fighter aircraft. Taiwan also made a major purchase from France, contracting for 60 Mirage 2000-5 combat fighter aircraft (table 1J).

Saudi Arabia was by far the leading recipient of arms deliveries in the Third World in 1992, receiving \$4.5 billion in such deliveries. Saudi Arabia alone received 35.4% of the total value of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992 (tables 2 and 2J).

Arms deliveries to the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, constituted \$10.2 billion, or 80% of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992. Seven of the top ten recipients were in the Near East region (tables 2 and 2J).

## **WEAPON TYPES RECENTLY DELIVERED TO THE THIRD WORLD**

Regional weapons delivery data reflect the diverse sources of supply of conventional weaponry available to Third World nations. Even though Russia, 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 capable of being leading suppliers of selected types of conventional armaments to Third World nations (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 an illustrative summary of weapons deliveries to this region by supplier from table 5 for the period **1989-1992**:

**Russia:**

- 935 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 430 artillery pieces
- 415 APCs and armored cars
- 3 major surface combatants
- 100 supersonic combat aircraft
- 70 helicopters
- 925 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)
- 120 anti-shiping missiles

**United States:**

- 390 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 865 APCs and armored cars
- 135 supersonic combat aircraft
- 1,283 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)

**China:**

- 560 artillery pieces
- 35 supersonic combat aircraft
- 190 surface-to-surface missiles
- 110 anti-shiping missiles

**Major West European suppliers:**

- 3 major surface combatants
- 95 supersonic combat aircraft
- 855 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs)
- 120 anti-shiping missiles

**All other European suppliers:**

- 320 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 460 artillery pieces
- 360 APCs and armored cars

**All other suppliers:**

- 240 artillery pieces
- 195 surface-to-surface missiles

Clearly large quantities of major combat systems were introduced into the Near East region from 1989-1992, in particular, tanks and self-propelled guns,

armored vehicles, artillery pieces, supersonic combat aircraft, and air defense missiles. While some of the deliveries totals to the Near East in certain categories during 1989-1992 are lower than those made during the 1985-1988 period--at a time when the Iran-Iraq war and the Cold War were critical factors in precipitating them--they nonetheless represent significant levels of arms transfers. Russia, the United States and the major West European suppliers were the principal suppliers of supersonic combat aircraft. Russia, the United States and Europeans, other than the four major West European suppliers, were the principal suppliers of tanks and self-propelled guns. These two weapons categories--supersonic combat aircraft and tanks and self-propelled guns--are especially costly and are likely an important part of the dollar values of arms deliveries of Russia and the United States to the Near East region during the 1989-1992 period. The cost of major surface combatants is also significant and the delivery of three such vessels by Russia and three by the major West European suppliers during this period also contributed notably to the total value of their respective deliveries to the Near East for these years.

It is also important to note that some of the weapons systems delivered to the Near East, while not necessarily very expensive, can be very deadly and create a significant security threat within the region. In particular, from 1989-1992, China delivered 110 anti-shiping missiles, Russia delivered 120, and the major West Europeans, collectively, delivered 120. China also delivered 190 surface-to-surface missiles, while all other non-European suppliers collectively delivered 195.

These data further indicate that a number of suppliers, other than the dominant ones, delivered large quantities of weapons such as artillery pieces and armored vehicles to the Near East from 1989-1992. China delivered 560 artillery pieces, European suppliers--excluding the major West Europeans--delivered 460 artillery pieces and 360 APCs and armored cars. All other non-European suppliers collectively delivered 240 artillery pieces and 155 APCs and armored cars. European suppliers--other than the major West Europeans--also delivered 320 tanks and self-propelled guns.

### DEFINITION OF THE THIRD WORLD

The Third World category includes all countries except the United States, Russia, the former 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 annual rank of the United States in the period from 1985-1992 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 1985-1992, according to the State Department, were as follows:

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
FY 1992	\$643,547

(In thousands of current U.S. dollars)



## SUMMARY OF DATA TRENDS, 1985-1992

Tables 1 through 1J (pages 49-59) present data on arms transfer agreements with Third World nations by major suppliers from 1985-1992. 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 2J (pages 60-70). 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. Both data sets reflect the comparative order of magnitude of arms transactions by arms suppliers with Third World buyers expressed in dollar terms.

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 1992 was \$23.9 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 1985-1992 period (tables 1 and 1A) (chart 1).
- In 1992, the total value, in real terms, of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World decreased slightly from the previous year, falling from nearly \$14 billion in 1991 to about \$13.6 billion in 1992. Nonetheless, for the third 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 1991 to 1992, the U.S. share of all such agreements increased from 48.9% in 1991, to 56.8% in 1992 (table 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2).



CHART 1

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992

UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, RUSSIA, ALL OTHERS COMPARED

(billions of constant 1992 dollars and % of total agreements)

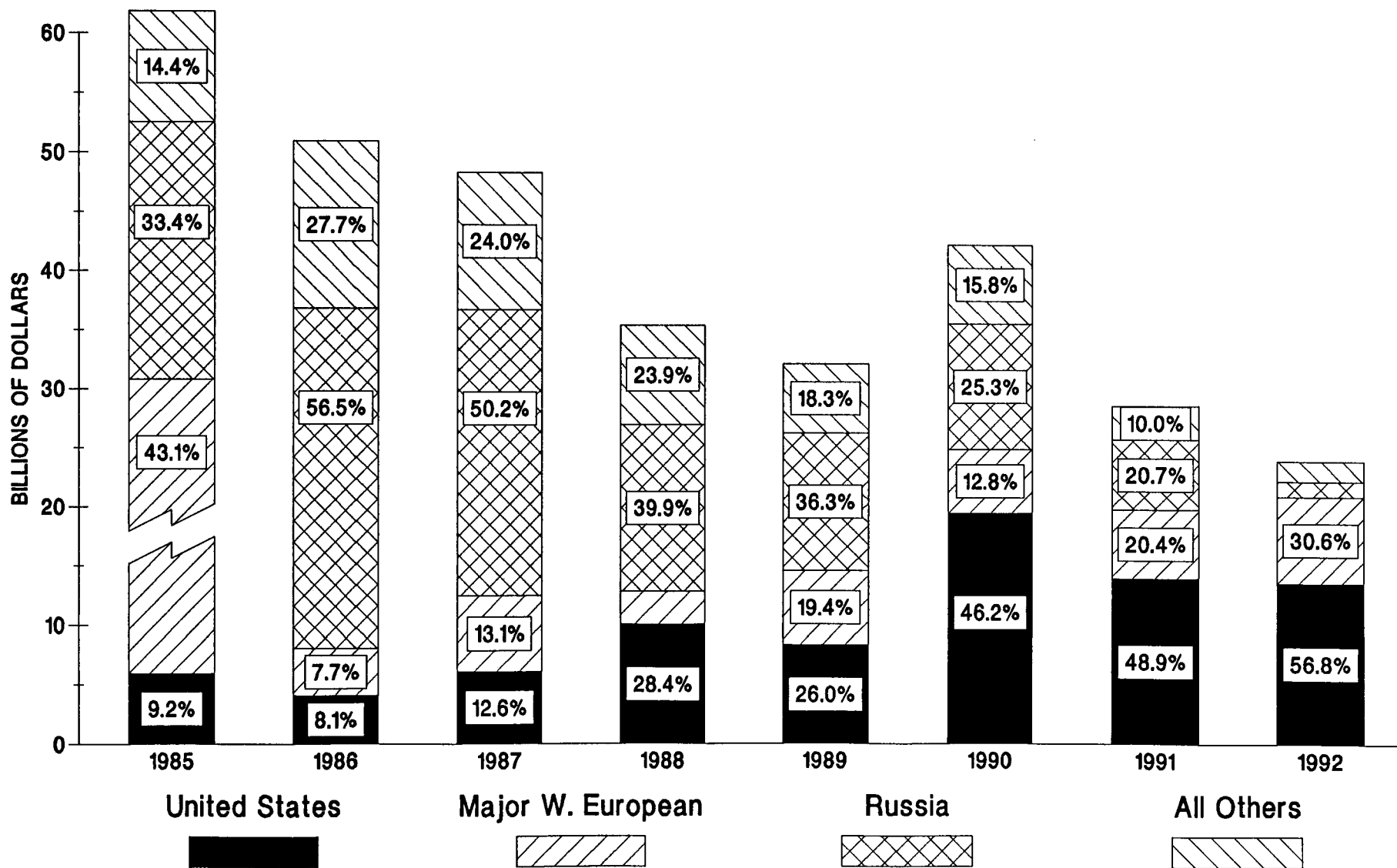
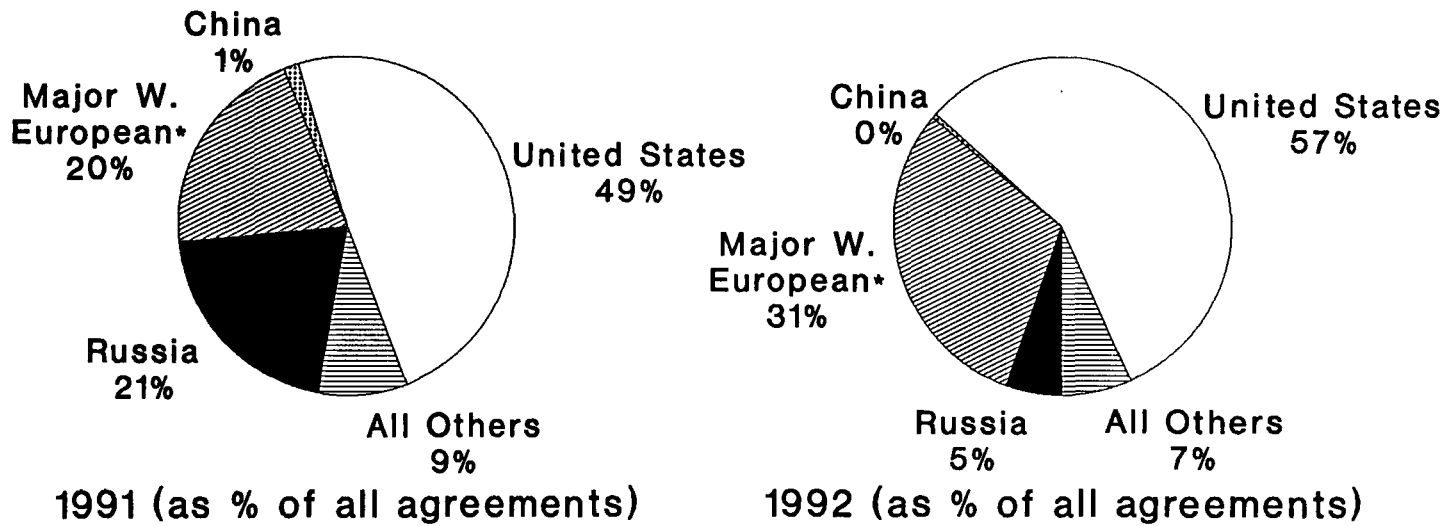


CHART 2

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD



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

CHART 3  
ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS  
WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992  
U.S., RUSSIA, AND MAJOR W. EUROPEAN

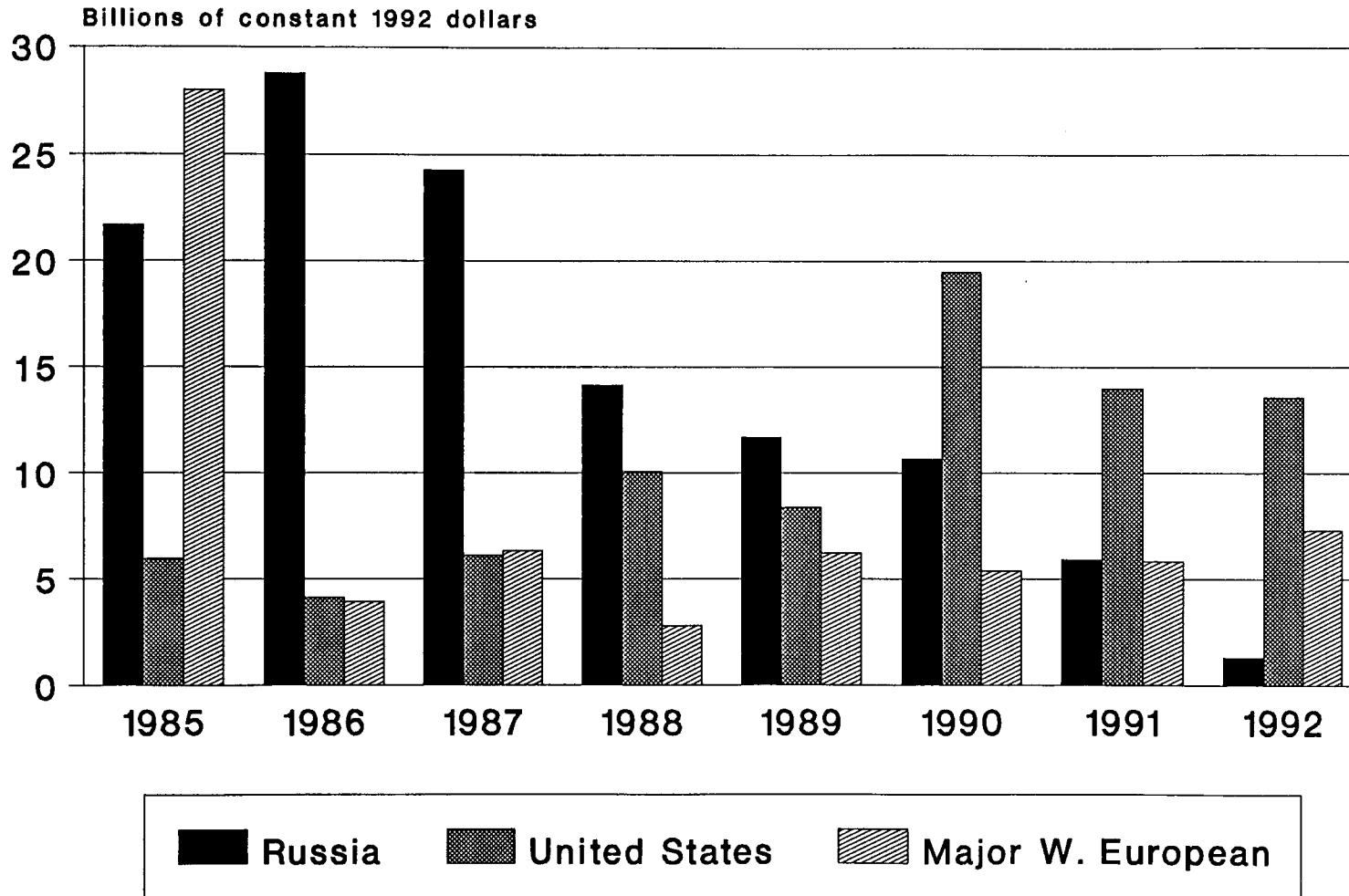
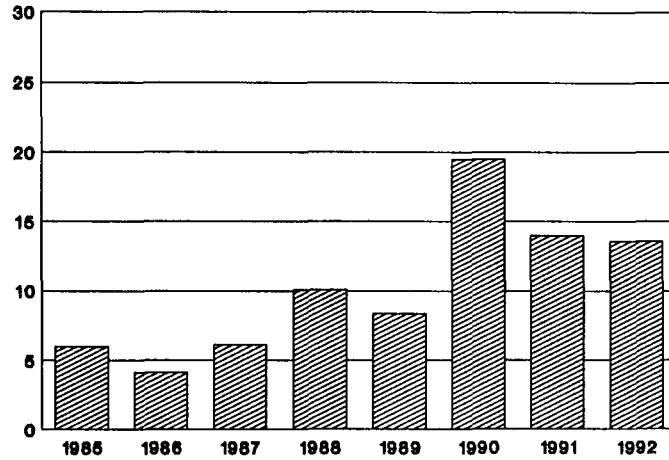


CHART 4

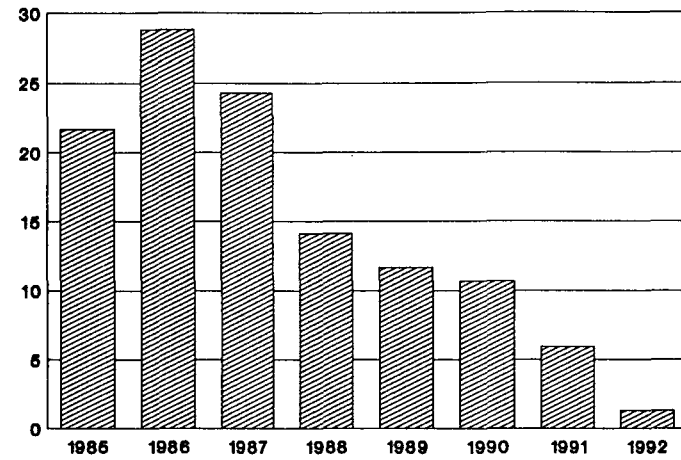
# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(billions of constant 1992 dollars)

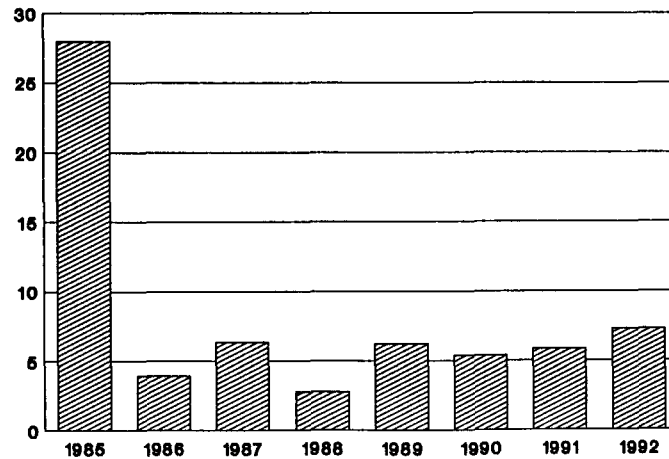
## United States



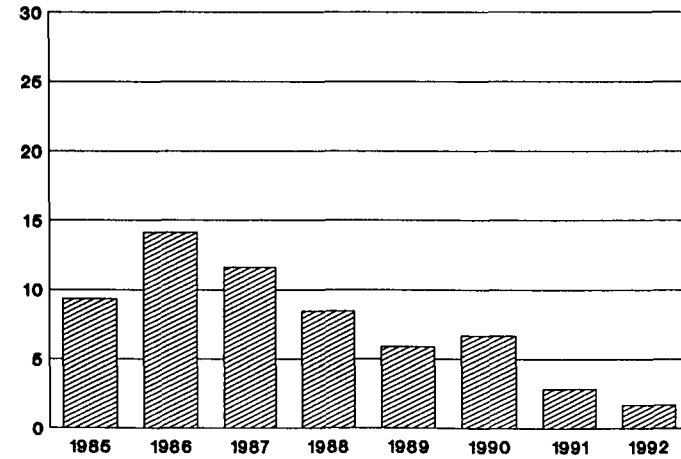
## Russia



## Major Western European



## All Others



- The total value of Russia's agreements with the Third World fell dramatically from \$5.9 billion in 1991, to \$1.3 billion in 1992. Russia's share of all Third World arms transfer agreements declined as well, falling from 20.7% in 1991, to 5.4% in 1992 (in constant 1992 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (chart 2).
- The four major West European suppliers, as a group, (France, United Kingdom, Germany and Italy) registered a notable increase in their collective share of all Third World arms transfer agreements between 1991 and 1992. This group's share rose from 20.4% in 1991 to 30.6% in 1992. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992 was \$7.3 billion compared with a total of \$5.8 billion in 1991 (in constant 1992 dollars) (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1, 2, 3 and 4).
- In 1992 the United States ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$13.6 billion. France ranked second at \$3.8 billion, while the United Kingdom ranked third at \$2.4 billion (tables 1A and 1B) (charts 1 and 2).

### **REGIONAL ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENT VALUES, 1985-1992**

Table 1C gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1985-1988 and 1989-1992. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars.\*\* 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 1985-1988 and 1989-1992. Among the facts reflected in these tables are the following:

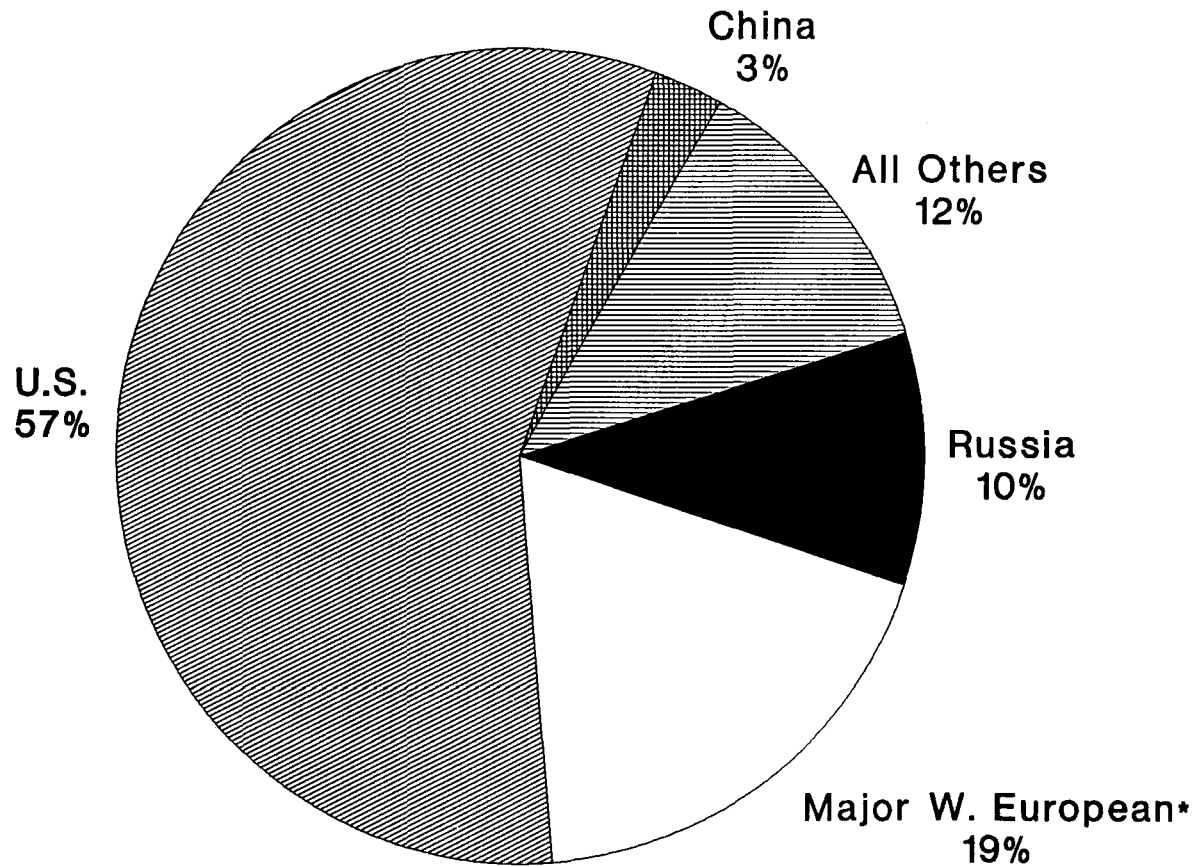
#### **Near East**

- The Near East is the largest Third World arms market. In 1985-1988 it accounted for 58.3% of the total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1989-1992, the region accounted for 38.2% of all such agreements (tables 1C and 1D).
- The United States has dominated arms transfer agreements with the Near East during the 1989-1992 time period with nearly 57% of their total value in contrast to 1985-1988, when Russia and the United Kingdom collectively accounted for 50.7% (table 1E).

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

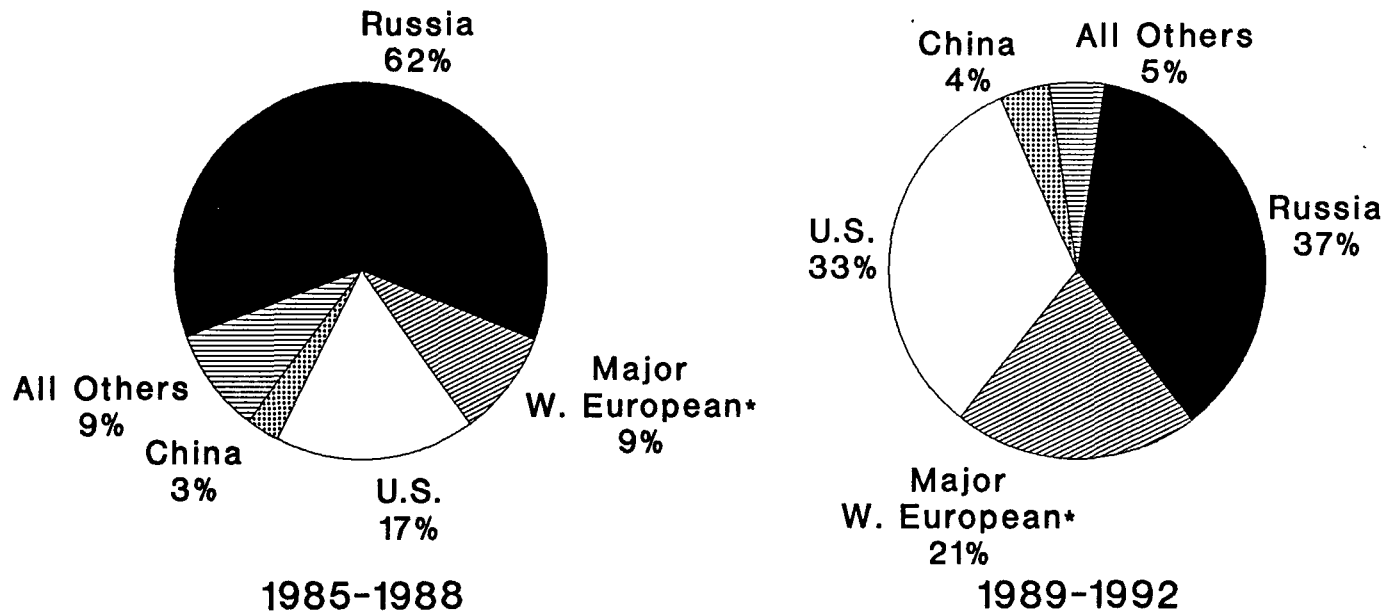
CHART 5  
**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS, 1989-1992  
WITH NEAR EAST  
(SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)**



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

- For the period 1985-1988, the United States concluded 61.9% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East. In 1989-1992, the U.S. concluded 67.3% of its arms agreements with this region (table 1D).
- For the period 1985-1988, the four major West European suppliers collectively made 81.9% of their arms transfer agreements with the Near East. In 1989-1992, the major West Europeans made 49.2% of their arms agreements with the Near East (table 1D).
- For the period 1985-1988, China concluded 88.4% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East. For the more recent period, 1989-1992, China concluded 40.5% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East (table 1D).
- For the period 1985-1988, Russia concluded 38.8% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region. For the period 1989-1992, the Soviet Union concluded 23% of its Third World arms transfer agreements with the Near East region (table 1D).
- In the earlier period (1985-1988), the Soviet Union ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Near East with 29.8%. The United Kingdom ranked second with 21%. The United States ranked third with 14.2%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 28.4% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), the United States ranked first in Near East agreements with 56.8%. Russia and France tied for second, each with 10.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 18.5% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992, in contrast with 28.4% in 1985-1988 (table 1E) (chart 5).

CHART 6  
**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS  
WITH ASIA**  
(SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

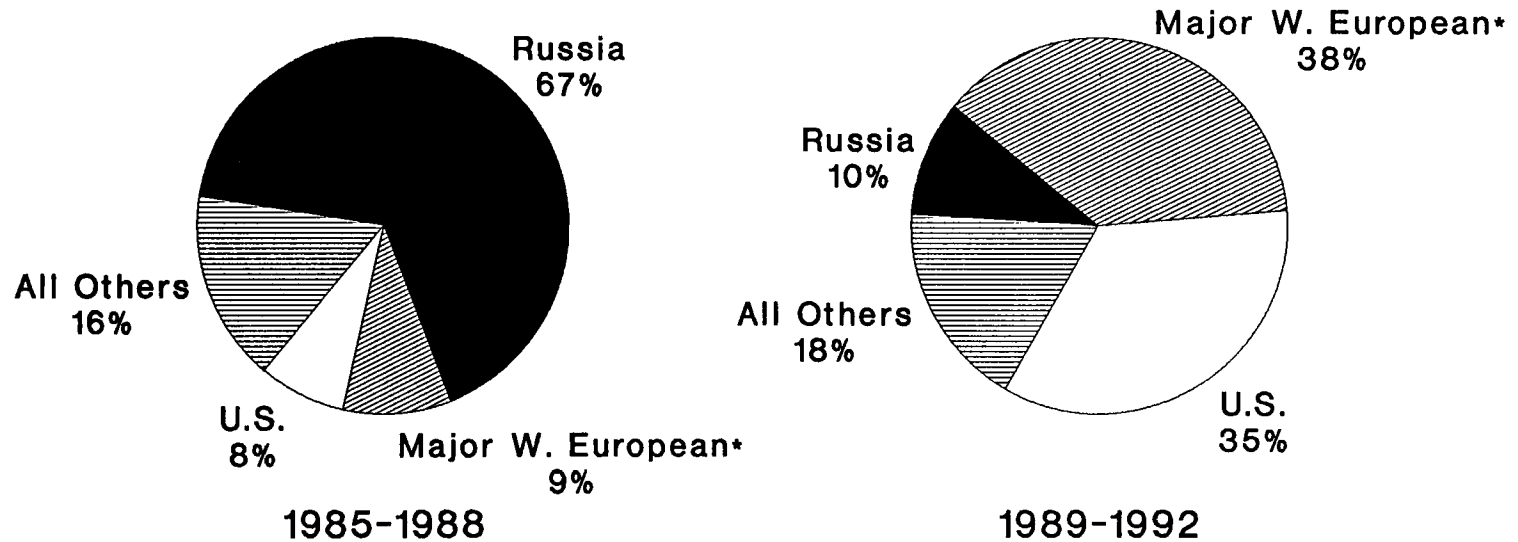


**Asia**

- Asia is the second largest Third World arms market. In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Asia with 61.7%. This region includes some of Russia's traditionally largest arms clients such as India, Afghanistan and Vietnam. The United States ranked second with 17.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.2% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in Asian agreements with 37.2%. The United States ranked a close second with 32.6%, on the strength of major aircraft sales to South Korea and Taiwan. France ranked third with 13.4%, primarily due to a major aircraft sale to Taiwan. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 21.1% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992 (table 1E).
- Asia was the only region that showed an increase in its share of arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992 (increasing to 29.5% from 23.3%) (table 1D).
- Asia was an arms market dominated by Russia in the 1985-1988 period with 61.7% of all arms transfer agreements. However, in the most recent period, 1989-1992, the United States and Russia collectively dominate, with the United States holding 32.6% of Asian agreements and Russia 37.2% (table 1E).

CHART 7

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH LATIN AMERICA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

### Latin America

- In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in arms transfer agreements with Latin America with 66.7%; the greatest portion of which were with Cuba. The United States ranked second with 7.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 9.4% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988. All other European suppliers collectively made 10.5% of this region's agreements during this period. In the later period (1989-1992), the United States ranked first in Latin American agreements with 34.7%. France ranked second with 15.1%. Russia ranked third with 10%, as new agreements with Cuba fell dramatically with the Cold War's end. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 37.7% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992. Latin America also registered a major decline in the total value of its arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, dropping from \$17.1 billion in the earlier period to about \$4 billion in the latter. This decline is attributable to Termination of the Soviet military aid program to Cuba, and the end of the Cold War related conflict in Nicaragua (tables 1C and 1E) (chart 6).

### Africa (sub-Saharan)

- In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in agreements with Africa (sub-Saharan) with 74.7%. France ranked a distant second with 4.6%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 6.9% of this region's agreements in 1985-1988. The United States made 3.2%. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first, although its share of sub-Saharan African agreements notably declined to about 57%. China ranked second with 8.4%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 6.3% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992. The United States made 2.9%. 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 19% of this region's agreements in 1989-1992. Africa (sub-Saharan) also registered a major decline in the total value of its arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, dropping from \$13.1 billion in the earlier period to \$4.7 billion in the latter. This decline reflects the ending of major Cold War related conflicts in this region (tables 1C and 1E).

### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1F gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1985-1992 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--1985-

1988, 1988-1992 and 1985-1992. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The United States ranked first among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1989-1992, and second for the entire period from 1985-1992.
- Russia ranked second among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1989-1992, and first from 1985-1992.
- The United Kingdom ranked fourth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1989-1992, and third from 1985-1992.
- China ranked fifth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1989-1992, and fifth from 1985-1992.
- Of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1985-1992, only the United States and France registered significant increases in the value of their arms transfer agreements with the Third World from the period 1985-1988 to the period 1989-1992 (The United States increased 145.4%, and France 84.9%. Germany and Spain registered nominal increases).
- Seven of the top eleven arms suppliers to the Third World from 1985-1992 registered significant decreases in the value of their arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992. Of the dominant arms suppliers, the United Kingdom registered the largest percentage decline from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992 at 67.4%, while Russia fell 62.4%. China declined 59.6%. Of the lesser suppliers, Poland registered a 96% decline, Czechoslovakia a 54.5% decline and Italy a 39.1% decline, between the same two time periods.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 1G ranks and gives the values of 1992 arms transfer agreements with the Third World by the top ten suppliers. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- The United States, France and the United Kingdom, the top three arms suppliers to the Third World in 1992--ranked by the value of their arms transfer agreements--collectively made agreements in 1992 valued at \$19.8 billion, 82.8% of all arms transfer agreements made with the Third World by all suppliers.

- In 1992, the United States was by far the leader in arms transfer agreements with the Third World, making \$13.6 billion in such agreements, or 56.8% of all arms transfer agreements.
- France ranked second and the United Kingdom third in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992, making \$3.8 billion and \$2.4 billion in such agreements, respectively.
- Russia ranked a distant fourth in arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1992, making only \$1.3 billion in such agreements, while China ranked a distant tenth at \$100 million.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH NEAR EAST 1985-1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS**

Table 1H gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Near East nations by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1985-1988, 1989-1992 and 1985-1992. 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:

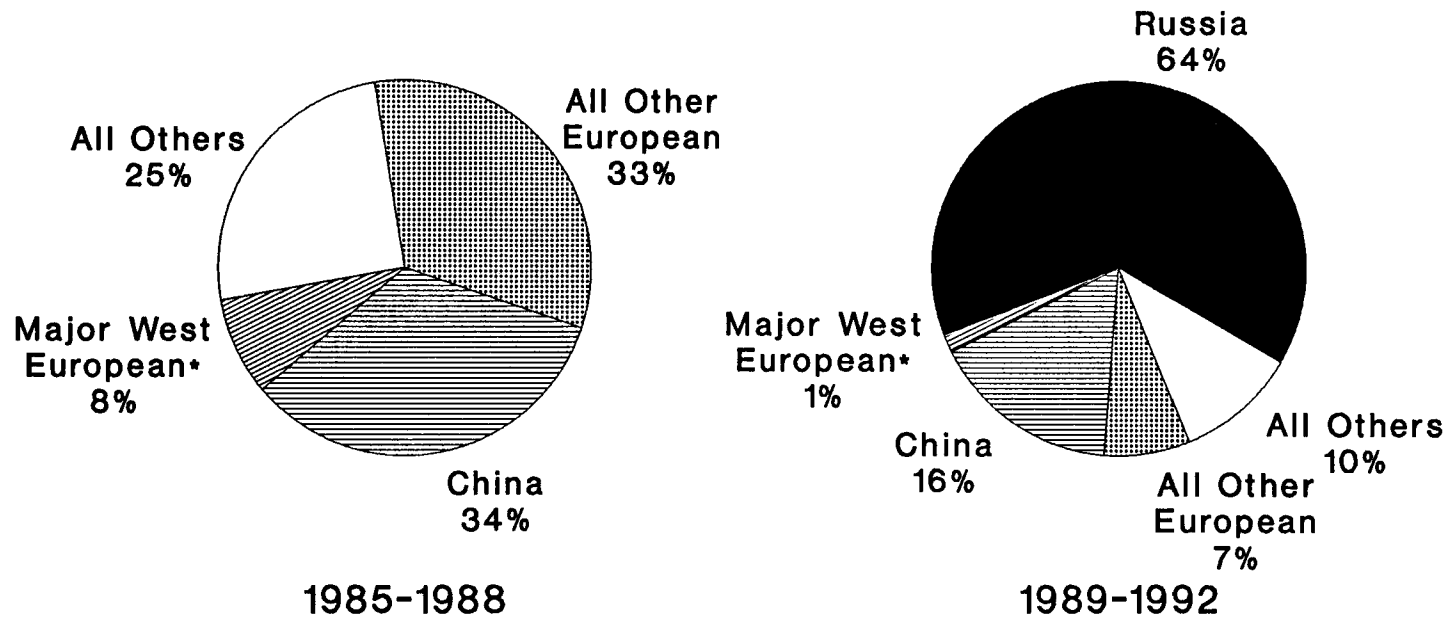
- For the most recent period, 1989-1992, the principal arms purchasers of the United States in the Near East region, based on the value of agreements, were: Saudi Arabia (\$24.8 billion), Egypt (\$7 billion), Kuwait (\$1.7 billion) and Israel (\$1 billion). The principal arms purchasers of Russia were: Iran (\$4.3 billion), Syria (\$500 million) and Algeria (\$500 million). The principal arms purchaser of China was Iran (\$1.1 billion). The principal arms purchasers of the four major West European suppliers, as a group, were: Saudi Arabia (\$8 billion) and Israel (\$1.2 billion). The principal arms purchasers of all other European suppliers collectively were: Saudi Arabia (\$2.4 billion), Iran (\$500 million), Morocco (\$500 million) and Kuwait (\$500 million). The principal purchasers of all other suppliers, as a group, were Iraq (\$900 million) and Iran (\$700 million) (in current dollars).
- For the period from 1989-1992, Saudi Arabia made \$35.9 billion in arms transfer agreements. Its principal suppliers were: the United States (\$24.8 billion) and the four major West European suppliers, as a group, (\$8 billion). Iran made \$6.7 billion in arms transfer agreements. Its principal suppliers were Russia (\$4.3 billion), and China (\$1.1 billion). Egypt made \$7.3 billion in arms transfer agreements. Its major supplier was the United States (\$7 billion). (in current dollars).
- The value of arms transfer agreements by Russia to major clients in the Near East fell dramatically from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period. The largest percentage declines involved arms

agreements with Libya, falling from \$5.5 billion to nil, Iraq, falling from \$7.8 billion to \$200 million (-97.4%) and Syria, falling from \$7.8 billion to \$500 million (-93.6%) (in current dollars).

- The value of arms transfer agreements between Russia and Iran increased dramatically during the period from 1985-1988 and the 1989-1992 period, rising from nil in the earlier period to \$4.3 billion in the later period (in current dollars). In the most recent period (1989-1992), Russia was Iran's leading arms supplier, a position held by China in the 1985-1988 period.
- The value of arms sales agreements by the United States with Saudi Arabia and with Egypt rose dramatically from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period. Agreements with Saudi Arabia rose from \$4.7 billion in the earlier period to \$24.8 billion in the later period, over a 500% increase. Saudi Arabia made 43.2% of its arms transfer agreements with the United States during 1989-1992. Agreements with Egypt more than doubled from \$3.2 billion in the earlier period to \$7 billion in the later period (a 119% increase)(in current dollars). These increases are generally attributable to the Persian Gulf crisis following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

CHART 8

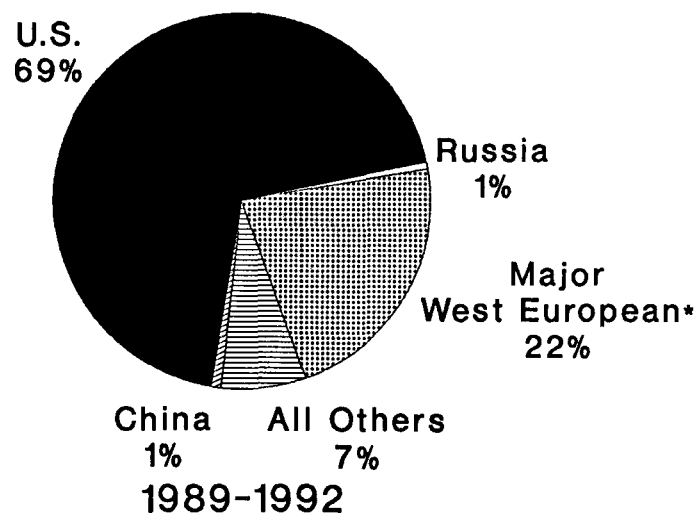
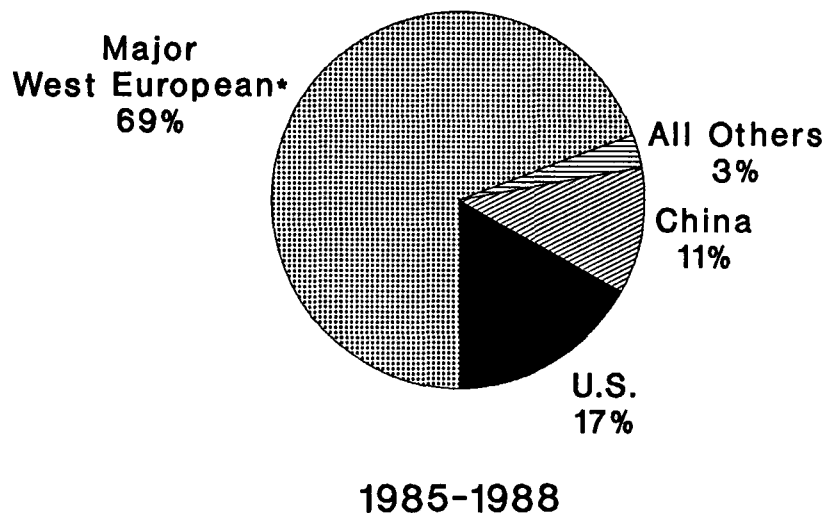
# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

CHART 9

# ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH SAUDI ARABIA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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



## **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table II gives the values of arms transfer agreements made by the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1985-1992 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--1985-1988, 1989-1992 and 1985-1992. 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 1985-1992, making arms transfer agreements totaling \$63.6 billion during these years (in current dollars). In both the 1985-1988 and 1989-1992 periods, the value of its arms transfer agreements was consistently high (\$27.7 billion in 1985-1988 and \$35.9 billion in 1989-1992). The total value of all Third World arms transfer agreements from 1985-1992 was \$283.9 billion (in current dollars). Thus, Saudi Arabia alone was responsible for over one-fifth (22.4%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements during these eight years. In the most recent period--1989-1992--Saudi Arabia alone accounted for close to one-third (29.9%) of all Third World arms transfer agreements (\$35.9 billion out of \$119.9 billion). Saudi Arabia ranked second among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1992, concluding \$4.5 billion in such agreements (in current dollars) (tables 1, II and 1J)(chart 9).
- Six of the ten leading Third World arms recipients--most traditional customers of Russia--registered declines in the value of their arms transfer agreements from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period. Cuba, which purchased \$10.6 billion in arms in the earlier period, bought virtually nothing in the more recent period; Iraq declined 91.8%, Syria 86.9%, Vietnam 64.3%, and India declined 61.2%. These figures reflect the diminished financial support for these countries by Russia in the post-Cold War era. The one exception to this trend was Afghanistan, a major Cold War client, that increased its arms transfer agreements from the earlier period by 71.7%. Moscow continued to heavily arm the Soviet-supplied Afghan government from the time of the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 until the arms cutoff deadline of January 10, 1992 agreed to by the former Soviet Union and the United States as part of the arrangement ending the Afghan war. Three major U.S. customers registered substantial increases in the values of their arms transfer agreements from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992--Taiwan (531.8%), Egypt (49%) and Saudi Arabia (29.6%).
- Despite some large decreases in the values of the arms transfer agreements of specific nations from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, and changes in the make-up of leading recipient nations, the top ten Third World recipients in both time periods still accounted for the

major portion of the total Third World arms market. During 1985-1988 the top ten collectively accounted for 64.8% of all Third World arms transfer agreements. During 1989-1992 the top ten collectively accounted for 74.4% of all such agreements. Between 1985-1992 the top ten nations collectively made 68.9% of all arms transfer agreements in the Third World (\$195.6 billion out of \$283.9 billion)(in current dollars)(tables 1 and 1I).

### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: AGREEMENTS WITH LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 1J names the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1992. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers in 1992. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Half of the top ten Third World recipients of arms transfer agreements in 1992 were in the Near East. The other half were in Asia.
- Taiwan ranked first among all Third World recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 1992, concluding \$10 billion in such agreements. The United States was its major supplier.
- Arms transfer agreements with the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, in 1992 totaled \$21.1 billion or 88.3% of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World.
- Some Third World nations made significant arms transfer agreements in 1992. Taiwan made \$10 billion in such agreements, due primarily to major aircraft purchases from the United States and from France. Saudi Arabia made \$4.5 billion in arms agreements. The United States was its principal supplier.

### **TOTAL THIRD WORLD ARMS DELIVERY VALUES**

Table 2 shows the annual current dollar values of arms deliveries (items actually transferred) to Third World nations by major suppliers from 1985-1992. 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 1992, the value of all arms deliveries to the Third World (\$12.7 billion) was the lowest of any year during the period from 1985-1992. This is the fifth 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 major regional conflicts in the Third World as well as the end of the Cold War (table 2A) (charts 10 and 11).

- The U.S. share of all deliveries in 1992 was 59.9%, up from 28.9% in 1991. Russia's share of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992 was 18.1%, down from 31.3% in 1991. In 1992, the United States, for the first time in the 1985-1992 period, ranked first, by a wide margin, in the value of arms deliveries to the Third World (table 2B).
- The total value of all arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1989-1992 (\$102.1 billion) was substantially less than the value of arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World from 1985-1988 (nearly \$188 billion)(in constant 1992 dollars) (table 2A).

# ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992

## UNITED STATES, MAJOR W. EUROPEAN, RUSSIA, ALL OTHERS COMPARED

(billions of constant 1992 dollars and % of total deliveries)

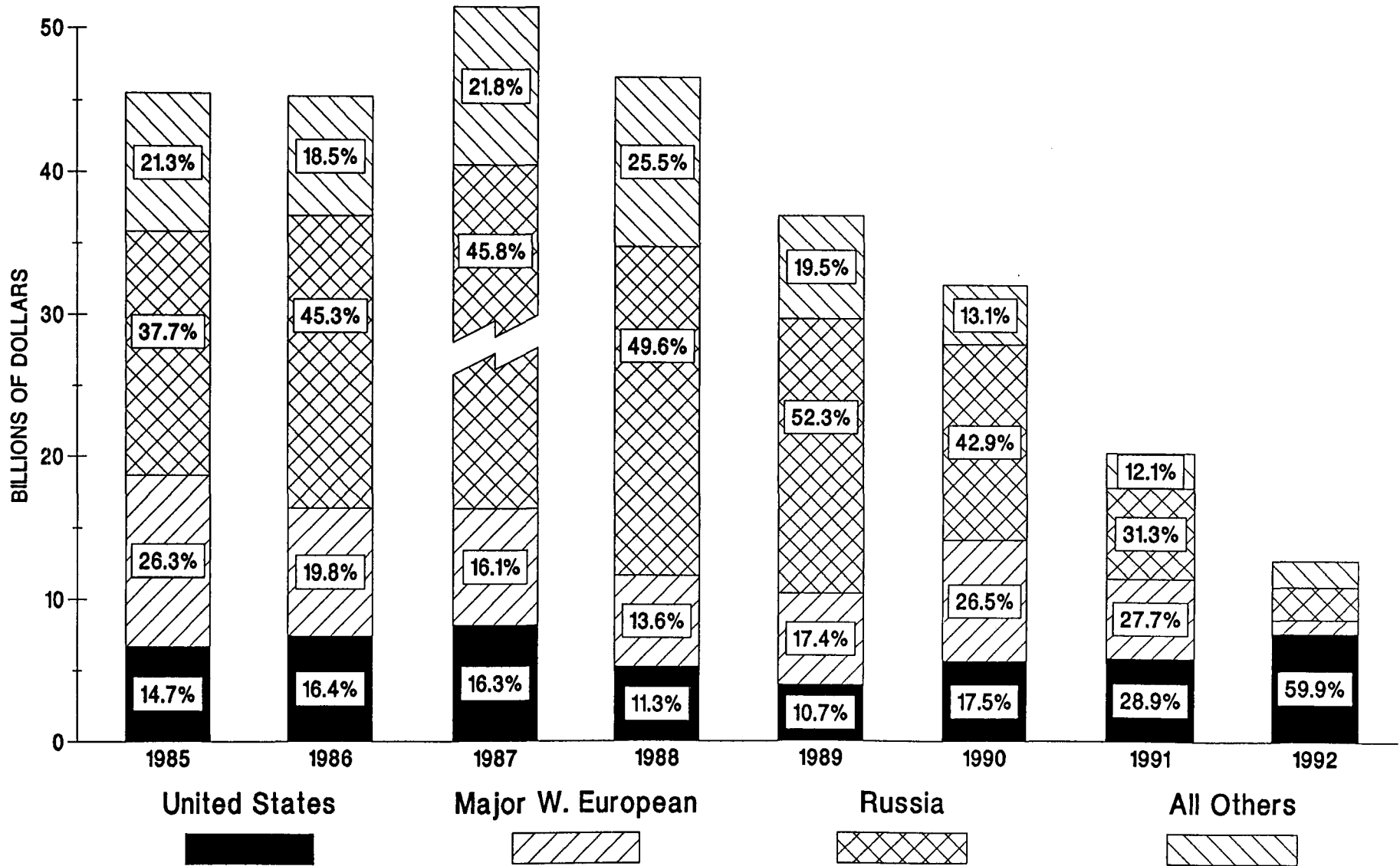
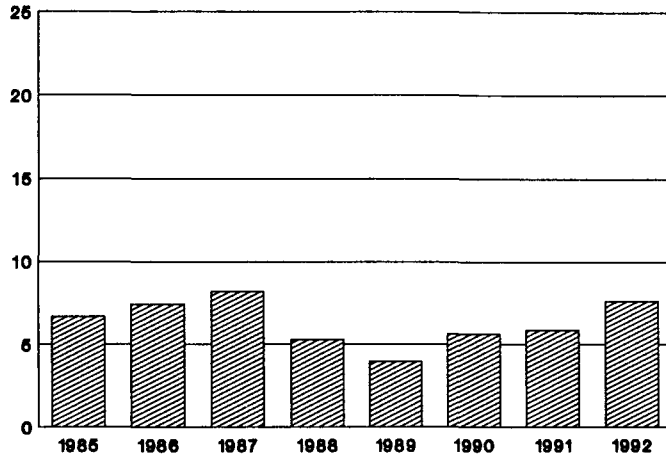


CHART 11

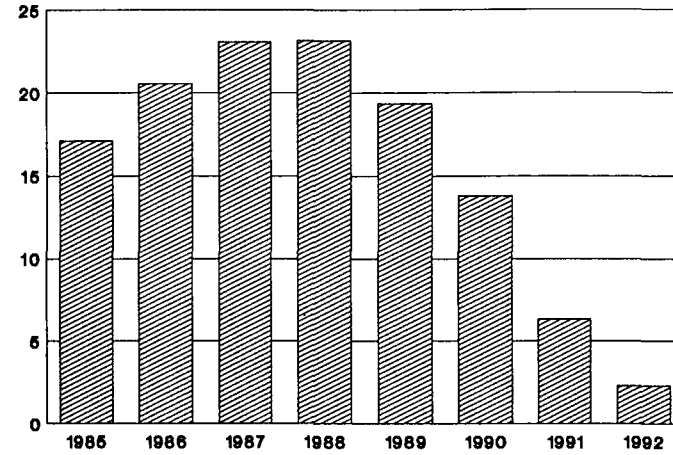
# ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: BY MAJOR SUPPLIER

(in Constant 1992 Dollars)

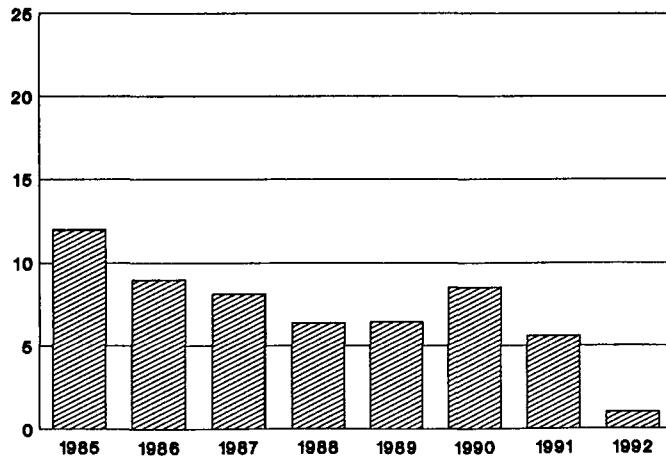
## United States



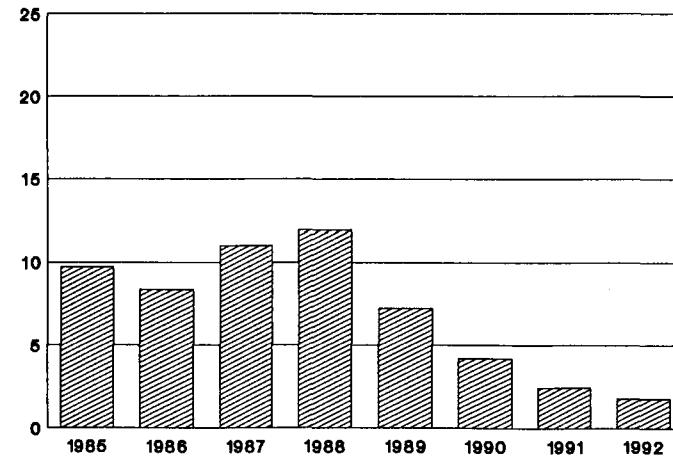
## Russia



## Major Western European



## All Others



**REGIONAL ARMS DELIVERY VALUES, 1985-1992**

Table 2C gives the values of arms deliveries between suppliers and individual regions of the Third World for the periods 1985-1988, and 1989-1992. 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 1985-1988 and 1989-1992. 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 1985-1988, it accounted for 55.9% of the total value of all Third World arms deliveries. During 1989-1992, the Near East region accounted for 55.3% 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 1985-1988, the United States made 71.5% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1989-1992, the U.S. made 67.6% of such arms deliveries to the Near East region (table 2D).
- For the period 1985-1988, the United Kingdom made 84.4% of its Third World deliveries to the Near East region. In 1989-1992, the United Kingdom made 96.5% of such deliveries to the Near East region (table 2D).
- For the period 1985-1988, 88.7% of China's arms deliveries to the Third World were to nations in the Near East region. In the more recent period, 1989-1992, 64.2% of China's Third World arms deliveries were to nations of this region (table 2D).
- For the period 1985-1988, Russia made 36.9% of its Third World arms deliveries to the Near East region. In 1989-1992, Russia made 28.9% of such arms deliveries to the Near East (table 2D).
- In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Near East with 29.5%. The United States ranked second with 18.7%. France ranked third with 11.5%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 24.2% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), the United States ranked first in Near East delivery values with 28.3%. Russia ranked second with 21.1%. The United Kingdom ranked third with 21%. The major West European

suppliers, as a group, held 33.4% of this region's delivery values in 1989-1992 (table 2E).

### **Asia**

- The Asia region ranked second in the value of arms deliveries from most suppliers in both time periods. For the period 1989-1992, Russia made 53.5% of its Third World deliveries to the Asia region, while the United States made 26.2%. It was also the only region to increase its share of the value of arms deliveries from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period (table 2D).
- In the period from 1985-1988, Russia ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Asia with 62.8%. The United States ranked second with 12.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 11.5% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in Asian delivery values with 66.5%. The United States ranked second with 18.7%. China ranked third with 5.1%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 4.5% of this region's delivery values in 1989-1992 (table 2E).

### **Latin America**

- In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Latin America with 57.3%. The United States ranked second with 9%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 14.3% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in Latin American delivery values with 52.6%. The United States ranked second with 16.2%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 15.6% of this region's delivery values in 1989-1992 (table 2E).

### **Africa (sub-Saharan)**

- In the earlier period (1985-1988), Russia ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Africa (sub-Saharan) with 73.2%. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 10.8% of this region's delivery values in 1985-1988. The United States made 2.6% of Africa (sub-Saharan) deliveries. In the later period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in sub-Saharan Africa delivery values with 65.7%. The other non-European suppliers as a group collectively held 12.7% of this region's delivery values in 1989-1992. The major West European suppliers, as a group, held 4.2% of this region's delivery values in 1989-1992. China made 6.4%. The United States made 4.7% (table 2E).

### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2F gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World from 1985-1992 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--1985-1988, 1989-1992, and 1985-1992. 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 1985-1988 to 1989-1992 (in current dollars). Only the United States and the United Kingdom remained at about the same level. The U.S. declined slightly, while the United Kingdom increased slightly. But if expressed in constant dollars, both of their totals declined.
- Russia was the leading supplier of arms to the Third World from 1985-1992. The value of its deliveries to the Third World fell from \$69.6 billion in 1985-1988 to \$38.7 billion in 1989-1992, a 44.4% decrease (in current dollars). The United States ranked second during 1985-1992. The value of its arms deliveries to the Third World declined nominally from \$22.8 billion in 1985-1988 to \$22.2 billion in 1989-1992, a negligible drop (in current dollars).
- The United Kingdom, the third leading supplier, registered the only increase in the value of its deliveries to the Third World, rising from \$10.8 billion in 1985-1988 to \$11.5 billion in 1989-1992 (in current dollars).
- Of the leading arms suppliers to the Third World from 1985-1992, Italy registered the greatest percentage decline (83.3%) in the value of its arms deliveries to the Third World from the period 1985-1988 to the period 1989-1992. Poland and Spain tied for second in greatest percentage declines (75% each) in the value of their arms deliveries to the Third World between the two time periods.

### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED**

Table 2G gives the values of arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992 by the top eight suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total dollar values of their respective deliveries to the Third World in 1992. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:



- The top five suppliers of arms to the Third World in 1992 collectively delivered nearly \$11.5 billion in arms to the Third World in 1992, 90.6% of all arms deliveries made to the Third World by all suppliers.
- In 1992, the United States ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to the Third World, making \$7.6 billion in such deliveries. This is the first time the United States has led in such deliveries during the 1985-1992 period (with the possible exception of 1991 if commercial arms deliveries during fiscal year 1991 are included in U.S. totals).
- Russia ranked second in arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992, making \$2.3 billion in such deliveries. This is the fourth year in a row that Russian arms deliveries have declined from the previous year.
- China ranked a distant third in arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992, making \$600 million in such deliveries.

#### **ARMS DELIVERIES TO NEAR EAST, 1985-1992: SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS**

Table 2H gives the values of arms delivered to Near East nations by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 1985-1988, 1989-1992 and 1985-1992. 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:

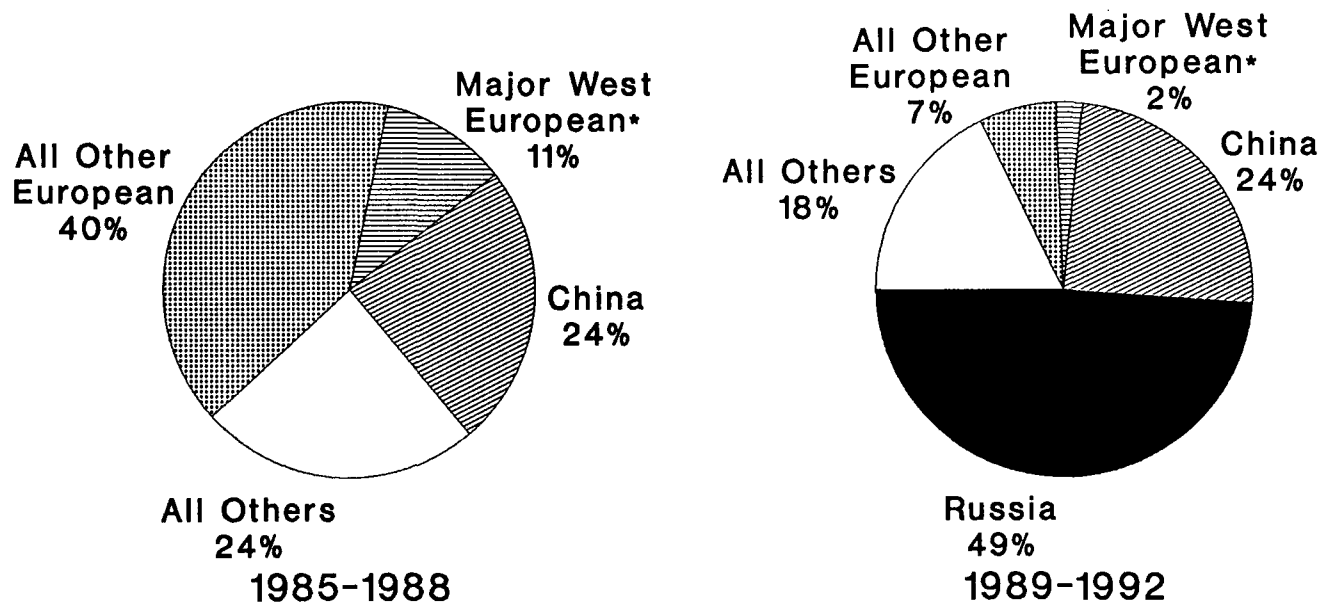
- For the most recent period, 1989-1992, the principal arms recipients of the United States in the Near East region, based on the value of their arms deliveries were: Saudi Arabia (\$8.8 billion), Egypt (\$2.5 billion) and Israel (\$1.4 billion). The principal arms recipients of Russia were Syria (\$2.8 billion), Iran (\$2.2 billion), Iraq (\$1.5 billion) and Libya (\$1.5 billion). The principal arms recipients of China were: Saudi Arabia (\$1.7 billion) and Iran (\$1.1 billion). The principal arms recipients of the four major West European suppliers, as a group, were: Saudi Arabia (\$13.3 billion), Iraq (\$2.1 billion) and U.A.E. (\$1.5 billion). The principal arms recipients of all other European suppliers collectively were: Saudi Arabia (\$1.3 billion) and Iraq (\$600 million). The principal arms recipients of all other suppliers, as a group, were: Iran (\$800 million) and Iraq (\$400 million)(in current dollars).
- For the period from 1989-1992, Saudi Arabia received \$25.5 billion in arms deliveries. Its principal suppliers were the four major West Europeans, as a group, (\$13.3 billion) and the United States (\$8.8 billion). Iraq received \$5 billion in arms deliveries. Its principal suppliers were Russia (\$1.5 billion), and the four major West Europeans, as a group, (\$2.1 billion); Iran received \$4.5 billion in arms deliveries. Its principal suppliers were: Russia (\$2.2 billion) and

China (\$1.1 billion) Syria received \$3.2 billion in arms deliveries. Its principal supplier was Russia (\$2.8 billion). Egypt received \$3.1 billion in arms deliveries. Its principal supplier was the United States (\$2.5 billion)(in current dollars).

- The value of arms deliveries by most suppliers to most of their clients in the Near East region fell notably from the 1985-1988 period to the 1989-1992 period. An especially dramatic decline in the value of arms deliveries by Russia to Iraq occurred, falling from \$12.1 billion to \$1.5 billion (-87.6%)(in current dollars).
- The value of arms deliveries by Russia to Iran increased dramatically during the period from 1985-1988 and the 1989-1992 period, rising from nil in the earlier period to \$2.2 billion in the later period. In the most recent period (1989-1992), Russia ranked first in the value of arms deliveries to Iran. China ranked second with \$1.1 billion in deliveries (in current dollars).

CHART 12

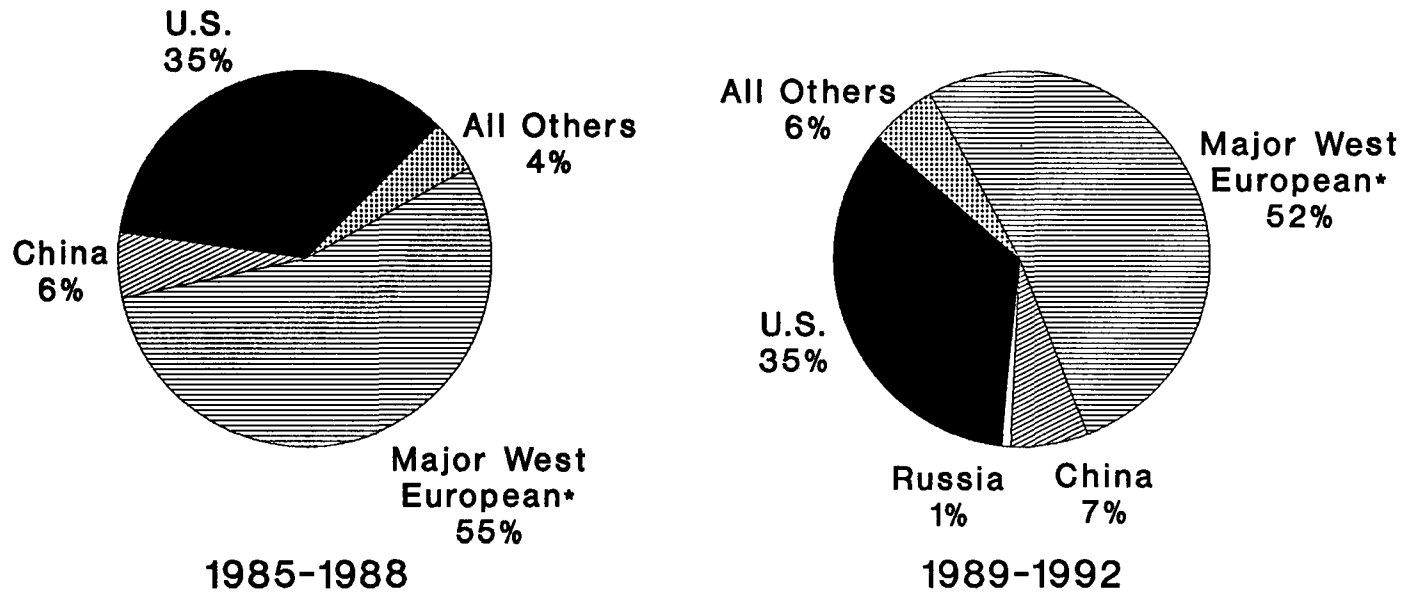
# ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



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

CHART 13

# ARMS DELIVERIES TO SAUDI ARABIA (SUPPLIER PERCENTAGE)



CRS-45

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

- The group of all other non-European suppliers registered a massive decline in the total value of its arms deliveries to Iran from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, falling from \$2.7 billion in the earlier period to \$700 million in 1989-1992.

### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 2I gives the values of arms deliveries made to the top ten recipients of arms in the Third World from 1985-1992 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--1985-1988, 1989-1992 and 1985-1992. Among the facts reflected in this table are the following:

- Saudi Arabia and Iraq, were, by a wide margin, the top two Third World arms recipients from 1985-1992, receiving deliveries valued at \$52.4 billion and \$27.2 billion, respectively, during these years (in current dollars). The total value of all Third World arms deliveries from 1985-1992 was \$251.1 billion (in current dollars) (see table 2). Thus, Saudi Arabia and Iraq were responsible for 20.9% and 10.8%, respectively, of all Third World arms deliveries during the 1985-1992 time period--nearly one-third of the total.
- Nine of the top ten Third World arms recipients registered declines in the values of their arms deliveries from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992. Nearly all of these declines were substantial and some were enormous. Angola fell 80.6%, from \$7.2 billion to \$1.4 billion; Iraq fell 77.5%, from \$22.2 billion to \$5 billion; Vietnam fell 64.3%, from \$7 billion to \$2.5 billion; Cuba fell 58.1% from \$7.4 billion to \$3.1 billion; Iran fell 50% from \$9 billion to \$4.5 billion; Syria fell 45.3% from \$5.9 billion to \$3.2 billion; India fell 45.2% from \$12.4 billion to \$6.8 billion (in current dollars).
- The one major increase in the value of arms delivered was to Afghanistan (55.9%) from 1985-1988 to 1989-1992, a jump from \$5.9 billion to \$9.2 billion (in current dollars).

### **ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE THIRD WORLD IN 1992: DELIVERIES TO THE LEADING RECIPIENTS**

Table 2J gives the names of the top ten Third World recipients of arms delivered in 1992. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers in 1992. 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 1992, receiving \$4.5 billion in such deliveries. Saudi Arabia alone received 35.4% of the total value of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992 (table 2 and 2J).
- Arms deliveries to the top ten Third World recipients, as a group, constituted \$10.2 billion, or 80.3% of all arms deliveries to the Third World in 1992. Seven of the top ten recipients were in the Near East region (tables 2 and 2J)
- Some Third World nations, other than Saudi Arabia, received significant arms deliveries in 1992. Egypt and China each received \$1.1 billion in arms deliveries.



Table 1

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992\***  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
United States	4,735	3,347	5,109	8,684	7,519	18,088	13,682	13,565
Russia**	17,200	23,400	20,300	12,200	10,500	9,900	5,800	1,300
France	1,500	1,300	3,200	1,300	4,000	3,000	2,700	3,800
United Kingdom	19,200	800	500	700	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,400
China	1,400	1,800	4,700	2,500	1,600	2,100	400	100
Germany	200	500	1,400	200	400	300	1,000	700
Italy	1,300	600	200	200	200	200	0	400
All Other European	4,300	7,400	2,500	1,900	2,000	2,300	1,500	800
All Others	1,700	2,300	2,500	2,900	1,700	1,800	900	800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>51,535</b>	<b>41,447</b>	<b>40,409</b>	<b>30,584</b>	<b>28,919</b>	<b>39,188</b>	<b>27,982</b>	<b>23,865</b>
Dollar inflation index (1992=1.00)***	0.7936	0.813	0.8362	0.8634	0.8993	0.9283	0.9797	1

\*Third World category excludes the U.S., Russia, former 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.

\*\*Prior to 1992 reflects data for the former Soviet Union.

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

Source: U.S. Government



**Table 1A**

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992**  
(in millions of constant 1992 U.S. dollars)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	TOTAL 1985-1992
United States	5,966	4,117	6,110	10,058	8,361	19,485	13,965	13,565	81,628
Russia	21,673	28,782	24,276	14,130	11,676	10,665	5,920	1,300	118,423
France	1,890	1,599	3,827	1,506	4,448	3,232	2,756	3,800	23,057
United Kingdom	24,194	984	598	811	1,112	1,616	2,041	2,400	33,756
China	1,764	2,214	5,621	2,896	1,779	2,262	408	100	17,044
Germany	252	615	1,674	232	445	323	1,021	700	5,262
Italy	1,638	738	239	232	222	215	0	400	3,685
All Other European	5,418	9,102	2,990	2,201	2,224	2,478	1,531	800	26,743
All Others	2,142	2,829	2,990	3,359	1,890	1,939	919	800	16,868
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64,938</b>	<b>50,980</b>	<b>48,325</b>	<b>35,423</b>	<b>32,157</b>	<b>42,215</b>	<b>28,562</b>	<b>23,865</b>	<b>326,465</b>

Table 1B

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992**  
(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
United States	9.19%	8.08%	12.64%	28.39%	26.00%	46.16%	48.90%	56.84%
Russia	33.38%	56.46%	50.24%	39.89%	36.31%	25.26%	20.73%	5.45%
France	2.91%	3.14%	7.92%	4.25%	13.83%	7.66%	9.65%	15.92%
United Kingdom	37.26%	1.93%	1.24%	2.29%	3.46%	3.83%	7.15%	10.06%
China	2.72%	4.34%	11.63%	8.17%	5.53%	5.36%	1.43%	0.42%
Germany	0.39%	1.21%	3.46%	0.65%	1.38%	0.77%	3.57%	2.93%
Italy	2.52%	1.45%	0.49%	0.65%	0.69%	0.51%	0.00%	1.68%
All Other European	8.34%	17.85%	6.19%	6.21%	6.92%	5.87%	5.36%	3.35%
All Others	3.30%	5.55%	6.19%	9.48%	5.88%	4.59%	3.22%	3.35%
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	<i>43.08%</i>	<i>7.72%</i>	<i>13.12%</i>	<i>7.85%</i>	<i>19.36%</i>	<i>12.76%</i>	<i>20.37%</i>	<i>30.59% ]</i>
<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, 1985-1992\***  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	6,613	15,764	13,547	35,571	1,295	1,380	421	139
Russia**	23,500	18,000	28,400	6,300	11,400	400	9,800	2,700
France	700	6,500	5,100	6,300	1,000	600	600	100
United Kingdom	1,100	3,500	20,000	3,000	200	300	0	100
China	1,100	2,100	9,100	1,700	0	0	100	400
Germany	1,500	100	500	1,900	100	300	100	0
Italy	200	100	1,500	400	300	300	200	100
All Other European	2,600	1,300	10,900	4,700	1,800	200	700	300
All Others	800	1,000	6,400	2,700	1,000	500	1,200	900
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European**</i>	<i>3,500</i>	<i>10,200</i>	<i>27,100</i>	<i>11,600</i>	<i>1,600</i>	<i>1,500</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>300 ]</i>
<hr/>								
TOTAL	38,113	48,364	95,447	62,571	17,095	3,980	13,121	4,739

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

\*\*Prior to 1992 reflects data for the former Soviet Union.

\*\*\* (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, 1985-1992

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	30.23%	29.83%	61.93%	67.30%	5.92%	2.61%	1.92%	0.26%	100.00%	100.00%
Russia	32.15%	65.69%	38.85%	22.99%	15.60%	1.46%	13.41%	9.85%	100.00%	100.00%
France	9.46%	48.15%	68.92%	46.67%	13.51%	4.44%	8.11%	0.74%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	5.16%	50.72%	93.90%	43.48%	0.94%	4.35%	0.00%	1.45%	100.00%	100.00%
China	10.68%	50.00%	88.35%	40.48%	0.00%	0.00%	0.97%	9.52%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	68.18%	4.35%	22.73%	82.61%	4.55%	13.04%	4.55%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	9.09%	11.11%	68.18%	44.44%	13.64%	33.33%	9.09%	11.11%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	16.25%	20.00%	68.13%	72.31%	11.25%	3.08%	4.38%	4.62%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	8.51%	19.61%	68.09%	52.94%	10.64%	9.80%	12.77%	17.65%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	<i>10.57%</i>	<i>43.22%</i>	<i>81.87%</i>	<i>49.15%</i>	<i>4.83%</i>	<i>6.36%</i>	<i>2.72%</i>	<i>1.27%</i>	<i>100.00%</i>	<i>100.00%</i>
<hr/>										
TOTAL	23.27%	29.53%	58.28%	38.21%	10.44%	2.43%	8.01%	2.89%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 1E

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AGREEMENTS VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1985-1992

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1985-88	1989-93	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	17.35%	32.59%	14.19%	56.85%	7.58%	34.67%	3.21%	2.93%
Russia	61.66%	37.22%	29.75%	10.07%	66.69%	10.05%	74.69%	56.97%
France	1.84%	13.44%	5.34%	10.07%	5.85%	15.08%	4.57%	2.11%
United Kingdom	2.89%	7.24%	20.95%	4.79%	1.17%	7.54%	0.00%	2.11%
China	2.89%	4.34%	9.53%	2.72%	0.00%	0.00%	0.76%	8.44%
Germany	3.94%	0.21%	0.52%	3.04%	0.58%	7.54%	0.76%	0.00%
Italy	0.52%	0.21%	1.57%	0.64%	1.75%	7.54%	1.52%	2.11%
All Other European	6.82%	2.69%	11.42%	7.51%	10.53%	5.03%	5.33%	6.33%
All Others	2.10%	2.07%	6.71%	4.32%	5.85%	12.56%	9.15%	18.99%
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	<i>9.18%</i>	<i>21.09%</i>	<i>28.39%</i>	<i>18.54%</i>	<i>9.36%</i>	<i>37.69%</i>	<i>6.86%</i>	<i>6.33% ]</i>
<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, 1985-1992:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1985-1988</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	73,100
2	U.S.	21,875
3	U.K.	21,200
4	China	10,400
5	France	7,300
6	Poland	2,500
7	Germany (FRG)	2,300
8	Italy	2,300
9	North Korea	2,200
10	Czechoslovakia	2,200
11	Brazil	1,500

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1989-1992</b>
1	U.S.	53,688
2	Russia/U.S.S.R.	27,500
3	France	13,500
4	U.K.	6,900
5	China	4,200
6	Germany (FRG & Unified)	2,400
7	Spain	1,500
8	Switzerland	1,400
9	Czechoslovakia	1,000
10	Yugoslavia	1,000
11	Italy	900

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1985-1992</b>
1	Russia/U.S.S.R.	100,600
2	U.S.	75,563
3	U.K.	28,100
4	France	20,800
5	China	14,600
6	Germany	4,700
7	Italy	3,200
8	Czechoslovakia	3,200
9	North Korea	3,000
10	Spain	2,900
11	Poland	2,600

**TABLE 1G. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1992:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1992</b>
1	U.S.	13,563
2	France.	3,800
3	U.K.	2,400
4	Russia	1,300
5	Germany	700
6	Spain	500
7	Italy	400
8	Israel	300
9	Iran	200
10	China	100

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 1H**  
**Arms Transfer Agreements with Near East by Supplier 1/**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others	Total
<b>1985-1988</b>							
Algeria	0	2,200	0	0	500	0	2,700
Bahrain	700	0	0	100	0	0	800
Egypt	3,200	700	300	100	400	100	4,800
Iran	0	0	3,600	900	3,500	2,700	10,700
Iraq	0	7,800	2,200	4,000	4,100	1,500	19,600
Israel	1,900	0	0	0	0	0	1,900
Jordan	100	500	0	600	100	100	1,400
Kuwait	2,200	200	0	0	0	700	3,100
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	5,500	0	700	700	400	7,300
Morocco	200	0	0	0	500	0	700
Oman	0	0	0	400	0	0	400
Qatar	0	0	0	400	0	0	400
Saudi Arabia	4,700	0	3,000	19,200	200	600	27,700
Syria	0	7,800	0	0	600	0	8,400
Tunisia	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
U.A.E.	300	0	0	400	0	100	800
Yemen	0	3,500	0	0	0	0	3,500
<b>1989-1992</b>							
Algeria	0	500	0	0	0	0	500
Bahrain	300	0	0	0	0	0	300
Egypt	7,000	100	0	0	200	0	7,300
Iran	0	4,300	1,100	100	500	700	6,700
Iraq	0	200	0	500	100	900	1,700
Israel	1,000	0	0	1,200	100	0	2,300
Jordan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kuwait	1,700	0	0	700	500	0	2,900
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	0	100	0	0	200	300
Morocco	100	0	0	100	500	0	700
Oman	100	0	0	600	0	0	700
Qatar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	24,800	200	300	8,000	2,400	200	35,900
Syria	0	500	0	0	400	200	1,100
Tunisia	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
U.A.E.	600	300	0	200	0	400	1,500
Yemen	0	100	0	0	0	0	100
<b>1985-1992</b>							
Algeria	0	2,700	0	0	500	0	3,200
Bahrain	1,000	0	0	100	0	0	1,100
Egypt	10,200	800	300	100	600	100	12,100
Iran	0	4,300	4,700	1,000	4,000	3,400	17,400
Iraq	0	8,000	2,200	4,500	4,200	2,400	21,300
Israel	2,900	0	0	1,200	100	0	4,200
Jordan	100	500	0	600	100	100	1,400
Kuwait	3,900	200	0	700	500	700	6,000
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	5,500	100	700	700	600	7,600
Morocco	300	0	0	100	1,000	0	1,400
Oman	100	0	0	1,000	0	0	1,100
Qatar	0	0	0	400	0	0	400
Saudi Arabia	29,500	200	3,300	27,200	2,600	800	63,600
Syria	0	8,300	0	0	1,000	200	9,500
Tunisia	200	0	0	0	0	0	200
U.A.E.	900	300	0	600	0	500	2,300
Yemen	0	3,600	0	0	0	0	3,600

0=data less than \$50 million or nil.

1/ All data are rounded to nearest \$100 million.

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



**TABLE 11 . Arms Transfers to the Third World, 1985-1992:  
Agreements with the Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1985-1988</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	27,700
2	Iraq	19,600
3	Iran	10,700
4	Cuba	10,600
5	India	9,300
6	Syria	8,400
7	Libya	7,300
8	Vietnam	7,000
9	Angola	5,400
10	Afghanistan	5,300

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1989-1992</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	35,900
2	Taiwan	13,900
3	Afghanistan	9,100
4	Egypt	7,300
5	Iran	6,700
6	South Korea	4,400
7	India	3,600
8	Pakistan	3,000
9	Kuwait	2,900
10	Vietnam	2,500

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Agreements Value 1985-1992</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	63,600
2	Iraq	21,200
3	Iran	17,500
4	Taiwan	16,100
5	Afghanistan	14,400
6	India	12,900
7	Egypt	12,200
8	Cuba	10,600
9	Syria	9,500
10	Vietnam	9,500

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 1J. Arms Transfer Agreements with the Third World in 1992:  
Agreements with Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

1	Taiwan	10,000
2	Saudi Arabia	4,500
3	Indonesia	1,400
4	Kuwait	1,100
5	Malaysia	1,000
6	Egypt	800
7	Israel	700
8	Singapore	600
9	Thailand	500
10	United Arab Emirates	500

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992\***

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	TOTAL 1985-1992
United States	5,317	6,025	6,856	4,558	3,574	5,227	5,733	7,620	44,910
Russia**	13,600	16,700	19,300	20,000	17,400	12,800	6,200	2,300	108,300
France	6,600	3,800	2,200	1,000	1,200	3,800	1,200	400	20,200
United Kingdom	1,100	2,500	3,600	3,600	4,000	3,700	3,300	500	22,300
China	700	1,300	2,100	2,900	2,200	1,400	1,100	600	12,300
Germany	700	400	600	600	400	300	900	100	4,000
Italy	1,100	600	400	300	200	100	100	0	2,800
All Other European	5,000	3,800	4,700	4,200	2,200	1,600	700	700	22,900
All Others	2,000	1,700	2,400	3,200	2,100	900	600	500	13,400
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36,117</b>	<b>36,825</b>	<b>42,156</b>	<b>40,358</b>	<b>33,274</b>	<b>29,827</b>	<b>19,833</b>	<b>12,720</b>	<b>251,110</b>
Dollar inflation index (1992=1.00)***	0.7936	0.813	0.8362	0.8634	0.8993	0.9283	0.9797	1	

\*Third World category excludes the U.S., Russia, former 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.

\*\*Prior to 1992 reflects data for the former Soviet Union.

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

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2A**

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992**

(in millions of constant 1992 dollars)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	TOTAL 1985-1992
United States	6,700	7,411	8,199	5,279	3,974	5,631	5,852	7,620	50,666
Russia	17,137	20,541	23,081	23,164	19,348	13,789	6,328	2,300	125,689
France	8,317	4,674	2,631	1,158	1,334	4,094	1,225	400	23,832
United Kingdom	1,386	3,075	4,305	4,170	4,448	3,986	3,368	500	25,238
China	882	1,599	2,511	3,359	2,446	1,508	1,123	600	14,029
Germany	882	492	718	695	445	323	919	100	4,573
Italy	1,386	738	478	347	222	108	102	0	3,382
All Other European	6,300	4,674	5,621	4,864	2,446	1,724	715	700	27,044
All Others	2,520	2,091	2,870	3,706	2,335	970	612	500	15,605
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45,510</b>	<b>45,295</b>	<b>50,414</b>	<b>46,743</b>	<b>37,000</b>	<b>32,131</b>	<b>20,244</b>	<b>12,720</b>	<b>290,057</b>

Table 2B

**ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER, 1985-1992**

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
United States	14.72%	16.36%	16.26%	11.29%	10.74%	17.52%	28.91%	59.91%
Russia	37.66%	45.35%	45.78%	49.56%	52.29%	42.91%	31.26%	18.08%
France	18.27%	10.32%	5.22%	2.48%	3.61%	12.74%	6.05%	3.14%
United Kingdom	3.05%	6.79%	8.54%	8.92%	12.02%	12.40%	16.64%	3.93%
China	1.94%	3.53%	4.98%	7.19%	6.61%	4.69%	5.55%	4.72%
Germany	1.94%	1.09%	1.42%	1.49%	1.20%	1.01%	4.54%	0.79%
Italy	3.05%	1.63%	0.95%	0.74%	0.60%	0.34%	0.50%	0.00%
All Other European	13.84%	10.32%	11.15%	10.41%	6.61%	5.36%	3.53%	5.50%
All Others	5.54%	4.62%	5.69%	7.93%	6.31%	3.02%	3.03%	3.93%
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	26.30%	19.82%	16.13%	13.63%	17.43%	26.49%	27.73%	7.86% ]
<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, 1985-1992\***

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	4,841	5,810	16,271	14,983	1,264	1,139	380	221
Russia**	25,100	20,700	25,700	11,200	8,000	3,700	10,900	3,100
France	2,300	400	10,000	5,600	800	600	600	100
United Kingdom	1,100	300	9,200	11,100	200	100	400	0
China	600	1,600	6,300	3,400	0	0	200	300
Germany	700	600	700	900	800	300	200	0
Italy	500	100	1,200	100	200	100	400	100
All Other European	3,200	1,100	12,100	3,400	1,800	300	600	300
All Others	1,600	500	5,700	2,300	900	800	1,200	600
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European***</i>	<i>4,600</i>	<i>1,400</i>	<i>21,100</i>	<i>17,700</i>	<i>2,000</i>	<i>1,100</i>	<i>1,600</i>	<i>200 ]</i>
<hr/>								
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39,941</b>	<b>31,110</b>	<b>87,171</b>	<b>52,983</b>	<b>13,964</b>	<b>7,039</b>	<b>14,880</b>	<b>4,721</b>

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

\*\*Prior to 1992 reflects data for the former Soviet Union.

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

Source: U.S. Government

Table 2D

## PERCENTAGE OF SUPPLIER DELIVERIES VALUE BY REGION, 1985-1992

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)		TOTAL	TOTAL
	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	21.27%	26.23%	71.50%	67.63%	5.55%	5.14%	1.67%	1.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Russia	36.01%	53.49%	36.87%	28.94%	11.48%	9.56%	15.64%	8.01%	100.00%	100.00%
France	16.79%	5.97%	72.99%	83.58%	5.84%	8.96%	4.38%	1.49%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	10.09%	2.61%	84.40%	96.52%	1.83%	0.87%	3.67%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
China	8.45%	30.19%	88.73%	64.15%	0.00%	0.00%	2.82%	5.66%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	29.17%	33.33%	29.17%	50.00%	33.33%	16.67%	8.33%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	21.74%	25.00%	52.17%	25.00%	8.70%	25.00%	17.39%	25.00%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	18.08%	21.57%	68.36%	66.67%	10.17%	5.88%	3.39%	5.88%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	17.02%	11.90%	60.64%	54.76%	9.57%	19.05%	12.77%	14.29%	100.00%	100.00%
<hr/>										
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	<i>15.70%</i>	<i>6.86%</i>	<i>72.01%</i>	<i>86.76%</i>	<i>6.83%</i>	<i>5.39%</i>	<i>5.46%</i>	<i>0.98%</i>	<i>100.00%</i>	<i>100.00%</i> ]
<hr/>										
TOTAL	25.61%	32.46%	55.89%	55.28%	8.95%	7.34%	9.54%	4.93%	100.00%	100.00%

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

Table 2E

## PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DELIVERIES VALUE BY SUPPLIER TO REGIONS, 1985-1992

	Asia		Near East		Latin America		Africa (Sub-Saharan)	
	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92	1985-88	1989-92
United States	12.12%	18.68%	18.67%	28.28%	9.05%	16.18%	2.55%	4.68%
Russia	62.84%	66.54%	29.48%	21.14%	57.29%	52.56%	73.25%	65.66%
France	5.76%	1.29%	11.47%	10.57%	5.73%	8.52%	4.03%	2.12%
United Kingdom	2.75%	0.96%	10.55%	20.95%	1.43%	1.42%	2.69%	0.00%
China	1.50%	5.14%	7.23%	6.42%	0.00%	0.00%	1.34%	6.35%
Germany	1.75%	1.93%	0.80%	1.70%	5.73%	4.26%	1.34%	0.00%
Italy	1.25%	0.32%	1.38%	0.19%	1.43%	1.42%	2.69%	2.12%
All Other European	8.01%	3.54%	13.88%	6.42%	12.89%	4.26%	4.03%	6.35%
All Others	4.01%	1.61%	6.54%	4.34%	6.45%	11.37%	8.06%	12.71%
<hr/>								
<i>[ Major West European*</i>	<i>11.52%</i>	<i>4.50%</i>	<i>24.21%</i>	<i>33.41%</i>	<i>14.32%</i>	<i>15.63%</i>	<i>10.75%</i>	<i>4.24% ]</i>
<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 2F. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1985-1992:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1985-1988</b>
1	U.S.S.R.	69,600
2	U.S.	22,756
3	France	13,600
4	U.K.	10,800
5	China	7,000
6	Czechoslovakia	2,400
7	Italy	2,400
8	Germany (FRG)	2,300
9	Poland	2,000
10	Spain	2,000
11	Brazil	1,900

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1989-1992</b>
1	Russia/U.S.S.R.	38,700
2	U.S.	22,154
3	U.K.	11,500
4	France	6,600
5	China	5,300
6	Germany (Unified & FRG)	1,700
7	North Korea	900
8	Israel	900
9	Czechoslovakia	800
10	Belgium	600
11	Yugoslavia	600

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1985-1992</b>
1	Russia/U.S.S.R.	108,300
2	U.S.	44,910
3	U.K.	22,300
4	France	20,200
5	China	12,300
6	Germany	4,000
7	Czechoslovakia	3,200
8	Italy	2,800
9	North Korea	2,500
10	Poland	2,500
11	Spain	2,500

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2G. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1992:  
Leading Suppliers Compared**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Supplier</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1992</b>
1	U.S.	7,620
2	Russia	2,300
3	China	600
4	United Kingdom	500
5	France	400
6	Belgium	400
7	Brazil	200
8	Germany	100

Source: U.S. Government

**Table 2H**  
**Arms Deliveries to Near East by Supplier 1/**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others	Total
<b>1985-1988</b>							
Algeria	0	2100	0	100	400	0	2,600
Bahrain	300	0	0	200	0	0	500
Egypt	2700	400	200	1200	600	300	5,400
Iran	0	0	2200	1000	3600	2200	9,000
Iraq	0	12100	2300	2000	4100	1700	22,200
Israel	2700	0	0	0	0	0	2,700
Jordan	300	1000	0	200	100	100	1,700
Kuwait	200	100	0	600	0	100	1,000
Lebanon	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
Libya	0	2400	0	300	1300	300	4,300
Morocco	200	0	0	100	500	0	800
Oman	0	0	0	300	0	0	300
Qatar	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
Saudi Arabia	9500	0	1500	14700	400	800	26,900
Syria	0	5100	0	0	800	0	5,900
Tunisia	200	0	0	200	0	0	400
U.A.E.	100	0	0	200	200	0	500
Yemen	0	2400	0	0	0	100	2,500
<b>1989-1992</b>							
Algeria	0	900	0	0	0	0	900
Bahrain	500	0	0	100	0	0	600
Egypt	2500	400	0	0	100	100	3,100
Iran	0	2200	1100	100	300	800	4,500
Iraq	0	1500	400	2100	600	400	5,000
Israel	1400	0	0	0	0	0	1,400
Jordan	100	100	0	0	0	0	200
Kuwait	500	100	0	200	200	300	1,300
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	1500	100	0	300	100	2,000
Morocco	100	0	0	0	300	0	400
Oman	100	0	0	100	0	0	200
Qatar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	8800	200	1700	13300	1300	200	25,500
Syria	0	2800	0	0	300	100	3,200
Tunisia	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
U.A.E.	700	0	0	1500	0	200	2,400
Yemen	0	1400	0	0	0	0	1,400
<b>1985-1992</b>							
Algeria	0	3000	0	100	400	0	3,500
Bahrain	800	0	0	300	0	0	1,100
Egypt	5200	800	200	1200	700	400	8,500
Iran	0	2200	3300	1100	3900	3000	13,500
Iraq	0	13600	2700	4100	4700	2100	27,200
Israel	4100	0	0	0	0	0	4,100
Jordan	400	1100	0	200	100	100	1,900
Kuwait	700	200	0	800	200	400	2,300
Lebanon	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
Libya	0	3900	100	300	1600	400	6,300
Morocco	300	0	0	100	800	0	1,200
Oman	100	0	0	400	0	0	500
Qatar	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
Saudi Arabia	18300	200	3200	28000	1700	1000	52,400
Syria	0	7900	0	0	1100	100	9,100
Tunisia	300	0	0	200	0	0	500
U.A.E.	800	0	0	1700	200	200	2,900
Yemen	0	3800	0	0	0	100	3,900

0=data less than \$50 million or nil.

1/ All data are rounded to nearest \$100 million.

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

**TABLE 2I. Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1985-1992:**  
**Deliveries to the Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1985-1988</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	26,900
2	Iraq	22,200
3	India	12,400
4	Iran	9,000
5	Cuba	7,400
6	Angola	7,200
7	Vietnam	7,000
8	Afghanistan	5,900
9	Syria	5,900
10	Egypt	5,400

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1989-1992</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	25,500
2	Afghanistan	9,200
3	India	6,800
4	Iraq	5,000
5	Iran	4,500
6	Syria	3,200
7	Cuba	3,100
8	Egypt	3,100
9	Vietnam	2,500
10	U.A.E.	2,400

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1985-1992</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	52,400
2	Iraq	27,200
3	India	19,300
4	Afghanistan	15,100
5	Iran	13,500
6	Cuba	10,500
7	Vietnam	9,500
8	Syria	9,100
9	Angola	8,600
10	Egypt	8,500

Source: U.S. Government

**TABLE 2J. Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1992:  
Deliveries to the Leading Recipients**  
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Deliveries Value 1992</b>
1	Saudi Arabia	4,500
2	Egypt	1,100
3	China	1,100
4	Israel	800
5	Taiwan	700
6	Syria	500
7	India	500
8	United Arab Emirates	400
9	Kuwait	300
10	Iran	300

Source: U.S. Government

## **SELECTED WEAPONS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1985-1992**

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 1985-1992 by the United States, Russia, China, the four major West European suppliers as a group, all other European suppliers as a group, and all other suppliers as a group.

A cautionary note is warranted regarding the quantitative data within these specific tables. Aggregate data on weapons categories delivered by suppliers do not provide precise indices of the quality and/or level of sophistication of the weaponry delivered. 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, has not delivered the largest numbers of weapons in a category 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 Russia, 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, 1989-1992**

- The regional weapons delivery data collectively show that Russia was the leading arms supplier to the Third World of several major classes of conventional weaponry from 1989-1992. The United States also transferred substantial quantities of many of the same weapons classes, but did not match Russia in sheer numbers delivered during this period.
- The major West European suppliers were serious competitors of the two superpowers in weapons deliveries from 1989-1992, 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 sub-Saharan Africa, the major Western European suppliers were the principal competition for Russia in arms deliveries.

- Regional weapons delivery data reflect the diverse sources of supply of conventional weaponry available to Third World nations. Even though Russia, 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 specific classes of conventional armaments, such as missiles, tanks, armored vehicles, aircraft and artillery pieces, to nations 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 1989-1992. Among such notable deliveries, by region, are the following:

#### Asia

**Russia** delivered 1,685 tanks and self-propelled guns; 1,535 artillery pieces; 3,385 APCs and armored cars; five major surface combatants; four submarines; 170 supersonic combat aircraft; 165 helicopters; 3,180 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); 1,655 surface-to-surface missiles and 165 anti-shiping missiles. The **United States** delivered 213 tanks and self-propelled guns; 81 supersonic combat aircraft; 115 helicopters; and 973 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). **China** delivered 415 tanks and self-propelled guns; five major surface combatants; 100 supersonic combat aircraft; and 40 surface-to-surface missiles. The four **major West European suppliers** collectively delivered two major surface combatants and 310 surface-to-air missiles. **All other European suppliers** as a group delivered 360 artillery pieces; two major surface combatants and 300 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). **All other non-European suppliers** collectively delivered six major surface combatants and 120 supersonic aircraft.

#### Near East

**Russia** delivered 935 tanks and self-propelled guns; 430 artillery pieces; 415 APCs and armored cars; three major surface combatants; 100 supersonic combat aircraft; 70 helicopters; 925 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); and 120 anti-shiping missiles. The **United States** delivered 390 tanks and self-propelled guns; 865 APCs and armored cars; 135 supersonic combat aircraft and 1,283 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). **China** delivered 560 artillery pieces; 35 supersonic combat aircraft; 190 surface-to-surface missiles and 110 anti-shiping missiles. The four **major West European suppliers** collectively delivered, three major surface combatants; 95 supersonic combat aircraft; 855 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and 120 anti-shiping missiles. **All other European suppliers** as a group delivered 320 tanks and self-propelled guns, 460 artillery pieces and 360 APCs and armored cars. **All other suppliers** collectively delivered 240 artillery pieces; and 195 surface-to-surface missiles.

**Latin America**

**Russia** delivered 200 tanks and self-propelled guns; 175 artillery pieces; 75 APCs and armored cars; one major surface combatant; 20 supersonic combat aircraft; 35 helicopters; and 30 anti-shiping missiles. The **United States** delivered 24 supersonic combat aircraft and 60 helicopters. The four **major West European suppliers** collectively delivered 85 APCs and armored cars; four major surface combatants; 105 helicopters and 40 anti-shiping missiles. **All other non-European suppliers** as a group delivered 15 supersonic combat aircraft.

**Africa (sub-Saharan)**

**Russia** delivered 240 tanks and self-propelled guns; 260 artillery pieces; 75 APCs and armored cars; one major surface combatant; 20 supersonic combat aircraft; 15 helicopters; and 20 anti-shiping missiles. **China** delivered 1,320 artillery pieces and 20 supersonic combat aircraft. The four **major West European suppliers** collectively delivered 70 APCs and armored cars. **All other European suppliers** collectively delivered 90 tanks and self-propelled guns and 100 APCs and armored cars. **All other non-European suppliers** as a group delivered 150 tanks and self-propelled guns; 280 artillery pieces; 175 APCs and armored cars; 10 supersonic combat aircraft and 45 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).





Table 3

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
<b>1985-1988</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	931	3045	535	120	760	260
Artillery	1014	3640	1945	555	1115	1200
APCs and Armored Cars	762	6180	1000	530	1705	555
Major Surface Combatants	0	18	1	19	7	4
Minor Surface Combatants	6	71	16	75	91	122
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	4	1	0	0
Submarines	0	10	0	8	2	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	193	465	40	135	0	45
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	13	100	30	50	0	0
Other Aircraft	201	300	45	235	300	215
Helicopters	130	725	0	310	15	70
Surface-to-Air Missiles	886	14725	705	1895	685	1450
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	710	55	0	0	205
Anti-Shipping Missiles	80	490	220	510	0	5
<b>1989-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	603	3060	415	80	450	190
Artillery	202	2400	2345	45	845	565
APCs and Armored Cars	1037	3950	145	180	460	340
Major Surface Combatants	0	9	5	9	8	6
Minor Surface Combatants	10	29	20	48	22	35
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	2	1	0	2
Submarines	0	4	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	240	310	155	100	5	170
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	103	35	15	40	0	10
Other Aircraft	129	140	55	55	180	95
Helicopters	175	285	5	185	95	35
Surface-to-Air Missiles	2256	4115	30	1190	310	70
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1655	230	0	0	195
Anti-Shipping Missiles	18	335	110	160	0	0
<b>1985-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1534	6105	950	200	1210	450
Artillery	1216	6040	4290	600	1960	1765
APCs and Armored Cars	1799	10130	1145	710	2165	895
Major Surface Combatants	0	27	6	28	15	10
Minor Surface Combatants	16	100	36	123	113	157
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	6	2	0	2
Submarines	0	14	0	8	2	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	433	775	195	235	5	215
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	116	135	45	90	0	10
Other Aircraft	330	440	100	290	480	310
Helicopters	305	1010	5	495	110	105
Surface-to-Air Missiles	3142	18840	735	3085	995	1520
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	2365	285	0	0	400
Anti-Shipping Missiles	98	825	330	670	0	5

1/ Third World category excludes the U.S., Russia, former U.S.S.R., Europe, Canada, 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 4

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
<b>1985-1988</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	95	1580	170	0	0	0
Artillery	490	1605	95	25	275	200
APCs and Armored Cars	436	3350	345	0	85	40
Major Surface Combatants	0	8	0	5	7	2
Minor Surface Combatants	0	21	10	18	2	47
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	4	0	0	0
Submarines	0	5	0	6	2	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	128	200	20	50	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	2	45	15	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	25	180	25	55	25	5
Helicopters	58	230	0	55	0	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	392	3150	200	1045	580	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	70	210	0	70	0	0
<b>1989-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	213	1685	415	0	40	5
Artillery	69	1535	465	15	360	30
APCs and Armored Cars	163	3385	100	25	0	0
Major Surface Combatants	0	5	5	2	2	6
Minor Surface Combatants	0	10	13	3	9	12
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	2	0	0	0
Submarines	0	4	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	81	170	100	0	0	120
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	24	20	5	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	74	90	30	20	55	0
Helicopters	115	165	5	30	40	20
Surface-to-Air Missiles	973	3180	10	310	300	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1655	40	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	18	165	0	0	0	0
<b>1985-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	308	3265	585	0	40	5
Artillery	559	3140	560	40	635	230
APCs and Armored Cars	599	6735	445	25	85	40
Major Surface Combatants	0	13	5	7	9	8
Minor Surface Combatants	0	31	23	21	11	59
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	6	0	0	0
Submarines	0	9	0	6	2	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	209	370	120	50	0	145
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	26	65	20	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	99	270	55	75	80	5
Helicopters	173	395	5	85	40	25
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1365	6330	210	1355	880	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	1655	40	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	88	375	0	70	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

Table 5

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
<b>1985-1988</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	813	680	365	20	760	150
Artillery	300	775	1820	335	690	575
APCs and Armored Cars	238	1760	655	210	1550	350
Major Surface Combatants	0	8	1	9	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	13	0	31	67	43
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	1	0	0
Submarines	0	5	0	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	33	165	10	65	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	40	5	25	0	0
Other Aircraft	35	50	10	90	140	80
Helicopters	23	250	0	110	5	35
Surface-to-Air Missiles	229	6925	505	660	105	1200
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	710	55	0	0	205
Anti-Shipping Missiles	10	170	220	415	0	5
<b>1989-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	390	935	0	40	320	35
Artillery	90	430	560	10	460	240
APCs and Armored Cars	865	415	0	0	360	155
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	3	6	0
Minor Surface Combatants	3	4	7	39	3	7
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	1	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	135	100	35	95	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	15	0	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	15	20	10	25	55	45
Helicopters	0	70	0	40	30	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1283	925	20	855	10	25
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	190	0	0	195
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	120	110	120	0	0
<b>1985-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	1203	1615	365	60	1080	185
Artillery	390	1205	2380	345	1150	815
APCs and Armored Cars	1103	2175	655	210	1910	505
Major Surface Combatants	0	11	1	12	6	0
Minor Surface Combatants	3	17	7	70	70	50
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	2	0	0
Submarines	0	5	0	0	0	1
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	168	265	45	160	0	25
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	55	5	45	0	0
Other Aircraft	50	70	20	115	195	125
Helicopters	23	320	0	150	35	40
Surface-to-Air Missiles	1512	7850	525	1515	115	1225
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	710	245	0	0	400
Anti-Shipping Missiles	10	290	330	535	0	5

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 6

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

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
<b>1985-1988</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	295	0	0	0	35
Artillery	111	295	0	100	95	90
APCs and Armored Cars	16	390	0	90	10	20
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	5	0	2
Minor Surface Combatants	5	24	0	3	2	7
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	2	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	32	10	0	15	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	11	0	0	5	0	0
Other Aircraft	138	55	0	40	65	110
Helicopters	49	80	0	75	5	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	1500	0	60	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	35	0	25	0	0
<b>1989-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	200	0	40	0	0
Artillery	43	175	0	20	0	15
APCs and Armored Cars	0	75	0	85	0	10
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	4	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	7	3	0	4	0	11
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	24	20	0	5	5	15
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	79	0	0	0	0	10
Other Aircraft	29	15	5	5	45	30
Helicopters	60	35	0	105	20	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	0	0	25	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	30	0	40	0	0
<b>1985-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	23	495	0	40	0	35
Artillery	154	470	0	120	95	105
APCs and Armored Cars	16	465	0	175	10	30
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	9	0	2
Minor Surface Combatants	12	27	0	7	2	18
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	2	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	56	30	0	20	5	15
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	90	0	0	5	0	10
Other Aircraft	167	70	5	45	110	140
Helicopters	109	115	0	180	25	15
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	1500	0	85	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	65	0	65	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.	Russia	China	Major West European 2/	All Other European	All Others
<b>1985-1988</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	490	0	100	0	75
Artillery	113	965	30	95	55	335
APCs and Armored Cars	72	680	0	230	60	145
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	13	6	23	20	25
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	90	10	5	0	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	15	10	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	3	15	10	50	70	20
Helicopters	0	165	0	70	5	20
Surface-to-Air Missiles	265	3150	0	130	0	250
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	75	0	0	0	0
<b>1989-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	240	0	0	90	150
Artillery	0	260	1320	0	25	280
APCs and Armored Cars	9	75	45	70	100	175
Major Surface Combatants	0	1	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	12	0	2	10	5
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	20	20	0	0	10
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	10	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	11	15	10	5	25	20
Helicopters	0	15	0	10	5	5
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	10	0	0	0	45
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	20	0	0	0	0
<b>1985-1992</b>						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	730	0	100	90	225
Artillery	113	1225	1350	95	80	615
APCs and Armored Cars	81	755	45	300	160	320
Major Surface Combatants	0	2	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	1	25	6	25	30	30
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	110	30	5	0	30
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	15	20	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	14	30	20	55	95	40
Helicopters	0	180	0	80	10	25
Surface-to-Air Missiles	265	3160	0	130	0	295
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Shipping Missiles	0	95	0	0	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, 1985-1992**

**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	Armenia
Bangladesh	Egypt	Austria
Brunei	Iran	Azerbaijan
Burma (Myanmar)	Iraq	Belarus
China	Israel	Bulgaria
Fiji	Jordan	Belgium
French Polynesia	Kuwait	Canada
Gilbert Islands	Lebanon	Czechoslovakia
Hong Kong	Libya	Cyprus
India	Morocco	Denmark
Indonesia	Oman	Estonia
Japan	Qatar	Finland
Kampuchea (Cambodia)	Saudi Arabia	France
Kazakhstan	Syria	Georgia
Kyrgyzstan	Tunisia	Germany
Laos	United Arab Emirates	Greece
Macao	Yemen	Hungary
Malaysia		Iceland
Mongolia		Ireland
Nauru		Italy
Nepal		Latvia
New Caledonia		Liechtenstein
New Hebrides		Lithuania
New Zealand		Luxembourg
Norfolk Islands		Malta
North Korea		Moldova
Pakistan		Netherlands
Papua New Guinea		Norway
Philippines		Poland
Pitcairn		Portugal
Singapore		Romania
Solomon Islands		Russia
South Korea		Spain
Sri Lanka		Sweden
Taiwan		Switzerland
Tajikistan		Turkey
Thailand		Ukraine
Turkmenistan		United Kingdom
Uzbekistan		Yugoslavia
Vietnam		
Western Samoa		

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

## AFRICA (SUB-SAHARAN)

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

Togo  
Uganda  
Zaire  
Zambia  
Zimbabwe

## LATIN AMERICA

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

Turks & Caicos  
Venezuela