

Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Suppliers 1980 - 1987

By

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[The following represents extracts of the principal findings of an unclassified report of conventional arms transfers published by the Library of Congress on May 9, 1988, under the above title. The selections included herein begin with a discussion of major research findings regarding the value of both arms transfer agreements and of arms deliveries. These findings are each cross-referenced to comparative data tables which appear following the textual material. Special attention is given to arms transfer agreements and deliveries involving Iran and Iraq, as well as to the role of China and the Soviet Union as arms suppliers. The report concludes with a listing of the types and numbers of weapons delivered to the Third World by major arms suppliers in the 1980-1987 time period. Copies of the complete study (Report No. 88-352F) are available from the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, Washington DC 20540.]

MAJOR FINDINGS

General Trends

- The value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1987 (\$30 billion) was the lowest total for any year since 1980 (in constant 1987 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak years of 1980 and 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$60.5 billion and \$58.4 billion respectively (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 1A).
- The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased to \$5.6 billion in 1987, from \$4.1 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars). The U.S. share of all such agreements was 18.5% in 1987, up from 12.8% in 1986 (Tables 1A and 1B).
- The Soviet Union's share increased to 48.5% in 1987, from 45.8% in 1986. The value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell slightly to \$14.6 billion in 1987, from \$14.7 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars, Tables 1A and 1B).
- The four major West European suppliers [France, United Kingdom, West Germany and Italy] as a group, experienced a notable increase in their share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1986 and 1987. This group's share increased from 10.7% in 1986 to 18.6% in 1987. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1987 was slightly more than \$5.7 billion compared to a total of \$3.3 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars, Tables 1A and 1B).
- In the period from 1980-1987, certain emerging suppliers of armaments to the Third World have ranked ahead of some of the traditional, industrialized suppliers--both in terms of the value of arms transfer *agreements* and the value of arms *deliveries*. In particular, China ranked ahead of

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both West Germany and Italy in the value of arms transfer agreements with the Third World. China ranked fourth among all suppliers to the Third World in the value of arms transfer agreements from 1980-1983, fifth from 1984-1987, and fifth from 1980-1987 (Table 1F).

- China, in each year from 1985 through 1987, made arms transfer *agreements* with the Third World valued at \$1.5 billion or more (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 1A).
- China, in every year since 1982, except one (1985), made arms *deliveries* to the Third World valued at \$1.3 billion or more (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 2A).
- China ranked fifth in the value of arms *delivered* to the Third World from 1980-1987 and ranked fourth in the value of arms delivered from 1984-1987 (in current dollars, Table 2F).

Iran - Iraq

- For the 1980-1987 period, the total value of arms transfer *agreements* with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers (\$64.1 billion in current dollars) constituted over one-fifth (20.9%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World (\$306.8 billion in current dollars, Tables 1G and 1H).
- For the most recent period, 1984-1987, the total value of arms transfer *agreements* with Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers ((\$30.6 billion in current dollars) constituted over one-fifth (21.2%) of all arms transfer agreements by all suppliers with the Third World (\$144.2 billion in current dollars, Tables 1G and 1H).
- For the 1980-1987 period, the Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer *agreements* with Iran and Iraq collectively was 29%, while that of China was 13%. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 31% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 11% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 16% (Tables 1G and 1H).
- For the 1980-1987 period, China's share of the value of all arms transfer *agreements* with Iran was 21% compared to 2% for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, had 33% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, had 14% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 31% (Table 1G).
- For the 1980-1987 period, the Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms transfer *agreements* with Iraq was 37% compared to 10% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 30% of these agreements. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 10% of these agreements, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 12% (Table 1H).
- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms transfer *agreements* with Iran from 1984-1987 (nearly \$3.3 billion in current dollars, Table 1G).
- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms transfer *agreements* with Iraq from 1980-1987, nearly \$10.4 billion in agreements in 1980-1983 and over \$4.7 billion in agreements in 1984-1987 (in current dollars, Table 1H).

For the 1980-1987 period, the total value of arms *deliveries* to Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers (\$55.3 billion in current dollars) constituted nearly one-fifth (19.4%) of all arms

deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World (\$284.6 billion in current dollars, Tables 2G and 2H).

- For the most recent period, 1984-1987, the total value of arms *deliveries* to Iran and Iraq collectively by all suppliers (\$31.1 billion in current dollars) constituted over one-fifth (22%) of the value of all arms deliveries by all suppliers to the Third World (\$141.9 billion in current dollars, Tables 2G and 2H).

- For the 1980-1987 period, the Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms *deliveries* to Iran and Iraq collectively was 38% while that of China was 11%. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 25% of these deliveries. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 9% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 17% (Tables 2G and 2H).

- For the 1980-1987 period, China's share of the value of all arms *deliveries* to Iran was 15% compared to 5% for the Soviet Union. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 30% of these deliveries. All other non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 16% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 33% (Table 2G).

- For the 1980-1987 period, the Soviet Union's share of the value of all arms *deliveries* to Iraq was 47% compared to 10% for China. All European non-Communist suppliers, as a group, made 7% of these deliveries, while all other Communist suppliers combined accounted for 13% (Table 2H).

- European non-Communist suppliers have made substantial arms *deliveries* to Iraq from 1980-1987, delivering over \$5.7 billion of arms from 1980-1983 and nearly \$4.6 billion from 1984-1987 (in current dollars, Table 2H).

China as a Supplier

- China's volume of arms sales to Iran and Iraq has been significant. From 1980-1983, China made \$5.9 billion in arms transfer *agreements* with the entire Third World (in current dollars). Of that total, 61% (\$3.6 billion) consisted of arms transfer agreements with Iraq. During these same years, China made \$505 million in arms transfer agreements with Iran which constituted 9% of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Thus, from 1980-1983, 69% of China's Third World arms transfer *agreements* were with two countries, Iran and Iraq (Tables 1F, 1G and 1H).

- In the most recent period, from 1984-1987, China made nearly \$5.2 billion in arms transfer *agreements* with the Third World (in current dollars). Of that total, 49% (over \$2.5 billion) consisted of arms transfer agreements with Iran. During these same years, China made over \$1.5 billion in arms transfer agreements with Iraq, which constituted 30% of China's arms transfer agreements with the Third World. Thus, from 1984-1987, 79% of China's Third World arms transfer *agreements* were with two countries, Iran and Iraq (Tables 1F, 1G and 1H).

- China's Third World arms transfer *agreements* for the period 1980-1987 total nearly \$11.1 billion (in current dollars). Of that amount, 74% (nearly \$8.2 billion) consists of arms transfer *agreements* with Iran and Iraq collectively (Tables 1F, 1G and 1H).

- China has made substantial shares of its total Third World arms *deliveries* to Iran and Iraq. In the most recent period, from 1984-1987, China delivered \$5.2 billion in arms to the Third World (in current dollars). Of that amount, 50% (nearly \$2.6 billion) was delivered to Iraq. During these same years, China delivered nearly \$1.6 billion in arms to Iran, which constituted 31% of all Chinese arms deliveries to the entire Third World. China's Third World deliveries for

the 1980-1987 period total over \$8.7 billion (in current dollars). Of that total, 69% (\$6 billion) consists of Chinese arms *deliveries* to Iran and Iraq collectively (Tables 2F, 2G and 2H).

The Soviet Union as a Supplier

- The Soviet Union has been Iraq's leading arms supplier. From 1980-1987, the value of the Soviet Union's arms transfer *agreements* with Iraq totaled nearly \$18.5 billion (in current dollars). In the most recent period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union concluded nearly \$10.3 billion in arms transfer *agreements* with Iraq (Table 1H).

- From 1980-1987, the Soviet Union *delivered* nearly \$20.3 billion in arms to Iraq (in current dollars). In the most recent period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union *delivered* nearly \$11.5 billion in arms to Iraq (Table 2H).

- In the most recent period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union has concluded no arms transfer *agreements* with Iran, and has made minimal arms *deliveries* to that country during the same time period (\$5 million in current dollars, Table 1G and 2G).

- The Soviet Union had the most dramatic increase in its share of the value of Latin American agreements. The Soviets' share rose from 48.2% in 1980-1983 to 59.8% in 1984-1987.

- Of the Soviet Union's nearly \$5.8 billion in arms transfer *agreements* with Latin America from 1980-1983 (in current dollars), 85% (over \$4.9 billion) went to Cuba alone. In the period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union made nearly \$8.2 billion in arms transfer *agreements* with Latin America (in current dollars). Of this total, 70% (over \$5.7 billion) were arms transfer *agreements* with Cuba.

- Of the Soviet Union's nearly \$5.8 billion in arms *deliveries* to Latin America from 1980-1983 (in current dollars), 84.5% (over \$4.9 billion) went to Cuba alone. In the period from 1984-1987, the Soviet Union made over \$7.6 billion in arms *deliveries* to Latin America (in current dollars). Of this total, 75.3% (over \$5.7 billion) were arms *deliveries* to Cuba.

Communist and Non-Communist Suppliers

- In 1987, the value of all arms *deliveries* to the Third World increased over the previous year's total for the first time since 1982 (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 2A).

- The total value of all Communist nations' arms transfer *agreements* with the Third World from 1980-1987 (\$176.3 billion) barely exceeded the total value of all such agreements by all non-Communist nations during this period \$176.1 billion (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 1A).

- The total value of all Communist nations' arms *deliveries* to the Third World from 1980-1987 (\$172.8 billion) exceeded the total value of all such deliveries by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$149.9 billion, in constant 1987 dollars, Table 2A).

Explanatory Notes

The Third World category includes all countries except NATO nations, Warsaw Pact nations, Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given, except for the U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training) program data in the *agreements* table, which are included for the particular fiscal year. U.S. commercial sales and deliveries are excluded. This is done because the U.S. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program accounts for the overwhelming amount of U.S. conventional arms transfer agreements and deliveries. Further, the data maintained on U.S. commercial sales

agreements and deliveries are much less precise than that for the FMS program. All Foreign Military Sales (FMS) construction sales and deliveries are included in the U.S. values totals.

Summary of Selected Data Trends, 1980-1987

To use these data [on arms transfer agreements] for purposes other than assessing general trends in seller/buyer activity is to risk drawing hasty conclusions that can be rapidly invalidated by events--precise values and comparisons, for example, may be changed by cancellations of major arms transfer agreements. . . .

Some of the more notable facts reflected by these data are summarized below.

- The value of all arms transfers agreements with the Third World in 1987 (\$30 billion) was the lowest total for any year since 1980 (in constant 1987 dollars). The total value of all arms transfer agreements with the Third World remains well below the peak years of 1980 and 1982, when such agreements exceeded \$60.5 billion and \$58.4 billion respectively (in constant 1987 dollars, Table 1A).
- In 1987, the total value of United States arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased over the previous year's total for the first time since 1982 (in constant 1987 dollars, Tables 1A and 1B).
- The total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with the Third World increased to \$5.6 billion in 1987, from \$4.1 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars). The U.S. share of all such agreements was 18.5% in 1987, up from 12.8% in 1986 (Tables 1A and 1B).
- The Soviet Union registered a slight increase in its share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1986 and 1987. The Soviet Union's share increased to 48.5% in 1987, from 45.8% in 1986. The value of the Soviet Union's agreements fell slightly to \$14.6 billion in 1987, from \$14.7 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars, Tables 1A and 1B).
- The four Major West European suppliers, as a group, experienced a notable increase in their share of Third World arms transfer agreements between 1986 and 1987. This group's share increased from 10.7% in 1986 to 18.6% in 1987. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with the Third World in 1987 was slightly more than \$5.7 billion compared to a total of \$3.3 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars, Tables 1A and 1B).
- In 1987, the Soviet Union ranked first in Third World arms transfer agreements at \$14.6 billion. The United States ranked second at \$5.6 billion, while France ranked third at \$3.9 billion. The value of U.S. Third World agreements rose from \$4.1 billion in 1986 (in constant 1987 dollars). The United States' share of all Third World agreements in 1987 was 18.5%, up from 12.8% in 1986 (Tables 1A and 1B).
- The total value of all Communist nations' arms transfer agreements with the Third World from 1980-1987 (\$176.3 billion) barely exceeded the total value of all such agreements by all non-Communist nations during this period (\$176.1 billion, in constant 1987 dollars, Table 1A).

Regional Weapons Deliveries Summary, 1984-1987

- The regional weapons delivery data collectively show that the Soviet Union was the leading arms supplier to the Third World of several major classes of conventional weaponry from 1984-1987. The United States also transferred substantial quantities of many of the same weapons classes, but did not match the Soviets in sheer numbers delivered during this period.
- The major West European suppliers were serious competitors of the two superpowers in weapons deliveries from 1984-1987, making notable deliveries of certain categories of armaments to every region of the Third World--most particularly to Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, but also to the Near East and South Asia region.

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

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

TABLE 1A

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER
1980-1987**
(in millions of constant 1987 U.S. dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Non-Communist								
of which								
United States	12,004	8,026	12,623	9,470	7,342	5,226	4,110	5,565
France	10,922	2,236	8,294	2,014	7,557	1,577	1,516	3,865
United Kingdom	3,003	1,917	1,620	563	715	9,679	858	985
West Germany	1,657	2,123	1,189	658	518	205	360	615
Italy	3,946	432	1,463	1,604	611	1,388	689	115
All others	4,376	7,497	4,039	7,242	3,235	4,359	4,842	1,255
Total Non-Communist	35,908	22,231	29,227	21,551	19,978	22,434	12,375	12,400
Communist								
of which								
U.S.S.R	21,879	17,099	24,717	7,652	23,303	15,505	14,731	14,565
China	631	3,777	1,877	928	426	1,477	1,881	1,530
All Other	2,129	6,050	2,640	3,095	1,861	3,828	3,146	1,555
Total Communist	24,639	26,926	29,234	11,676	25,589	20,810	19,757	17,650
GRAND TOTAL	60,548	49,157	58,461	33,226	45,567	43,244	32,132	30,050

TABLE 1B

**ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER
1980-1987**
(expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Non-Communist								
of which								
United States	19.83%	16.33%	21.59%	28.50%	16.11%	12.09%	12.79%	18.52%
France	18.04%	4.55%	14.19%	6.06%	16.58%	3.65%	4.72%	12.86%
United Kingdom	4.96%	3.90%	2.77%	1.69%	1.57%	22.38%	2.67%	3.28%
West Germany	2.74%	4.32%	2.03%	1.98%	1.14%	.47%	1.12%	2.05%
Italy	6.52%	.88%	2.50%	4.83%	1.34%	3.21%	2.14%	.38%
All others	7.23%	15.25%	6.91%	21.80%	7.10%	10.08%	15.07%	4.18%
Total Non-Communist	59.31%	45.22%	49.99%	64.86%	43.84%	51.88%	38.51%	41.26%
Major West European*	32.25%	13.65%	21.49%	14.56%	20.63%	29.71%	10.65%	18.57%
Communist								
of which								
U.S.S.R	36.14%	34.78%	42.28%	23.03%	51.14%	35.85%	45.84%	48.47%
China	1.04%	7.68%	3.21%	2.79%	.93%	3.42%	5.85%	5.09%
All Other	3.52%	12.31%	4.52%	9.31%	4.08%	8.85%	9.79%	5.17%
Total Communist	40.69%	54.78%	50.01%	35.14%	56.16%	48.12%	61.49%	58.74%
GRAND TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

*Major West European Category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy

TABLE 2A
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER
1980-1987
(in millions of constant 1987 U.S. dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Non-Communist								
of which								
United States	7,343	7,245	9,009	10,443	5,863	5,741	6,239	7,504
France	3,717	5,011	3,905	4,659	4,414	4,963	4,060	2,325
United Kingdom	2,358	3,138	1,859	1,519	1,293	741	828	1,495
West Germany	1,387	1,453	565	1,379	2,679	563	98	365
Italy	992	1,428	1,300	1,266	1,184	894	468	90
All others	2,372	3,846	5,321	3,100	5,593	3,186	2,308	1,925
Total Non-Communist	18,168	22,121	21,959	22,367	21,026	16,088	14,000	13,704
Communist								
of which								
U.S.S.R.	19,216	18,051	18,639	18,433	17,667	14,432	14,859	18,590
China	402	495	1,457	1,767	2,221	699	1,264	1,265
All Other	1,734	2,988	3,561	2,707	3,508	3,754	2,698	2,395
Total Communist	21,352	21,533	23,657	22,907	23,396	18,885	18,822	22,250
GRAND TOTAL	39,520	43,654	45,616	45,273	44,422	34,974	32,822	35,954

TABLE 2B
ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, BY SUPPLIER
1980-1987
(expressed as a percent of Grand Total, by year)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Non-Communist								
of which								
United States	18.58%	16.60%	19.75%	23.07%	13.20%	16.42%	19.01%	20.87%
France	9.41%	11.48%	8.56%	10.29%	9.94%	14.19%	12.37%	6.47%
United Kingdom	5.97%	7.19%	4.08%	3.36%	2.91%	2.12%	2.52%	4.16%
West Germany	3.51%	3.33%	1.24%	3.04%	6.03%	1.61%	30%	1.02%
Italy	2.51%	3.27%	2.85%	2.80%	2.67%	2.56%	1.43%	.25%
All others	6.00%	8.81%	11.67%	6.85%	12.59%	9.11%	7.03%	5.35%
Total Non-Communist	45.97%	50.67%	48.14%	49.40%	47.33%	46.00%	42.65%	38.12%
Major West European*	21.39%	25.27%	16.72%	19.49%	21.54%	20.48%	16.61%	11.89%
Communist								
of which								
U.S.S.R.	48.62%	41.35%	40.86%	40.72%	39.77%	41.27%	45.27%	51.70%
China	1.02%	1.13%	3.19%	3.90%	5.00%	2.00%	3.85%	3.52%
All Other	4.39%	6.84%	7.81%	5.98%	7.90%	10.73%	8.22%	6.66%
Total Communist	54.03%	49.33%	51.86%	50.60%	52.67%	54.00%	57.35%	61.88%
GRAND TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

*Major West European Category includes France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Italy

TABLE 1F

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, 1980-1987
LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. Dollars)

	1980-1983 Agreements		1984-1987 Agreements		1980-1987 Agreements		% of change from 1980-83 to 1984-87
	Values	Rank	Values	Rank	Values	Rank	
U.S.S.R.	57,430	(1)	64,995	(1)	122,425	(1)	13.17%
United States	34,306	(2)	21,261	(2)	55,567	(2)	-38.03%
France	18,565	(3)	13,765	(3)	32,330	(3)	-25.86%
United Kingdom	5,585	(6)	11,680	(4)	17,265	(4)	109.13%
China	5,905	(4)	5,155	(5)	11,060	(5)	-12.70%
Italy	5,870	(5)	2,665	(6)	8,535	(6)	-54.60%
West Germany	4,495	(7)	1,635	(10)	6,130	(7)	-63.63%
Czechoslovakia	1,750	(11)	2,440	(7)	4,190	(8)	39.43%
Spain	2,030	(9)	1,805	(8)	3,835	(9)	-11.08%
Brazil	1,890	(10)	1,655	(9)	3,545	(10)	-12.43%
South Korea	2,360	(8)	910	(11)	3,270	(11)	-61.44%

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 2F

ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE THIRD WORLD, 1980-1987
LEADING SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. Dollars)

	1980-1983 Deliveries		1984-1987 Deliveries		1980-1987 Deliveries		% of change from 1980-83 to 1984-87
	Values	Rank	Values	Rank	Values	Rank	
U.S.S.R.	60,635	(1)	62,960	(1)	123,595	(1)	3.83%
United States	28,087	(2)	24,406	(2)	52,493	(2)	-13.11%
France	14,170	(3)	15,040	(3)	29,210	(3)	6.14%
United Kingdom	7,150	(4)	4,190	(5)	11,340	(4)	-41.40%
China	3,505	(7)	5,200	(4)	8,705	(5)	48.36%
West Germany	3,870	(6)	3,450	(6)	7,320	(6)	-10.85%
Italy	4,095	(5)	2,480	(8)	6,575	(7)	-39.44%
Czechoslovakia	1,355	(9)	2,940	(7)	4,295	(8)	116.97%
Spain	1,070	(11)	1,785	(9)	2,855	(9)	66.82%
Brazil	1,080	(10)	1,765	(10)	2,845	(10)	63.43%
South Korea	1,870	(8)	690	(11)	2,560	(11)	-63.10%

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 1G

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN, 1980-1987
SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

SUPPLIER	IRAN 1980-1983	IRAN 1984-1987	IRAN 1980-1987
Soviet Union	240	0	240
China	505	2,535	3,040
All other Communist	1,675	2,780	4,455
Total Communist	2,420	5,315	7,735
European Non-Communist	1,520	3,290	4,810
United States	0	0*	0*
All other non-Communist	1,355	705	2,060
Total Non-Communist	2,875	3,995	6,870
Grand Total	5,295	9,310	14,605

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

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 2G

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAN, 1980-1987
SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

SUPPLIER	IRAN 1980-1983	IRAN 1984-1987	IRAN 1980-1987
Soviet Union	615	5	620
China	225	1,590	1,815
All other Communist	1,330	2,565	3,895
Total Communist	2,170	4,160	6,330
European Non-Communist	590	2,995	3,585
United States	0	0*	0*
All other non-Communist	1,120	775	1,895
Total Non-Communist	1,710	3,770	5,480
Grand Total	3,880	7,930	11,810

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

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 1H

ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH IRAQ, 1980-1987
SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAQ 1980-1983	IRAQ 1984-1987	IRAQ 1980-1987
SUPPLIER			
Soviet Union	8,235	10,240	18,475
China	3,590	1,525	5,115
All other Communist	3,760	2,125	5,885
Total Communist	15,585	13,890	29,475
European Non-Communist	10,350	4,705	15,055
United States	0	0	0
All other Non-Communist	2,345	2,650	4,995
Total Non-Communist	12,695	7,355	20,050
Grand Total	28,280	21,245	49,525

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 2H

ARMS DELIVERIES TO IRAQ, 1980-1987
SUPPLIERS COMPARED
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

	IRAQ 1980-1983	IRAQ 1984-1987	IRAQ 1980-1987
SUPPLIER			
Soviet Union	8,820	11,450	20,270
China	1,610	2,575	4,185
All other Communist	2,980	2,690	5,670
Total Communist	13,410	16,715	30,125
European Non-Communist	5,710	4,580	10,290
United States	0	0	0
All other Non-Communist	1,195	1,915	3,110
Total Non-Communist	6,905	6,495	13,400
Grand Total	20,315	23,210	43,525

Source: U.S. Government

TABLE 3
Number of Weapons Delivered by Major Suppliers
to the Third World*

<u>Weapons Category</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>U.S.S.R.</u>	<u>Major Western European**</u>
<u>1980-1983</u>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	2,759	4,545	585
Artillery	2,180	9,730	1,835
APCs and Armored Cars	5,636	7,385	2,850
Major Surface Combatants	19	24	40
Minor Surface Combatants	30	86	154
Submarines	0	6	7
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	398	1,580	280
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	193	90	130
Other Aircraft	139	295	460
Helicopters	130	780	390
Guided Missile Boats	0	33	26
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	3,676	14,740	3,095
<u>1984-1987</u>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	911	2,845	250
Artillery	992	5,550	1,160
APCs and Armored Cars	1,311	5,730	895
Major Surface Combatants	1	21	34
Minor Surface Combatants	9	91	49
Submarines	0	7	6
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	162	865	170
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	74	85	75
Other Aircraft	208	350	205
Helicopters	187	705	260
Guided Missile Boats	0	4	7
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	1,245	13,935	1,625
<u>1980-1987</u>			
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	3,670	7,390	835
Artillery	3,172	15,280	2,995
APCs and Armored Cars	6,947	13,115	3,745
Major Surface Combatants	20	45	74
Minor Surface Combatants	39	177	203
Submarines	0	13	13
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	560	2,445	450
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	267	175	205
Other Aircraft	347	645	665
Helicopters	317	1,485	650
Guided Missile Boats	0	37	33
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	4,921	28,675	4,720

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

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

Source: U.S. Government