

# **Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2004-2011**

-name redacted-Specialist in International Security

**-name redacted-**Analyst in Nonproliferation

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## **Summary**

This report is prepared annually to provide Congress with official, unclassified, quantitative data on conventional arms transfers to developing nations by the United States and foreign countries for the preceding eight calendar years for use in its policy oversight functions. All agreement and delivery data in this report for the United States are government-to-government Foreign Military Sales (FMS) transactions. Similar data are provided on worldwide conventional arms transfers by all suppliers, but the principal focus is the level of arms transfers by major weapons suppliers to nations in the developing world.

Developing nations continue to be the primary focus of foreign arms sales activity by weapons suppliers. During the years 2004-2011, the value of arms transfer agreements with developing nations comprised 68.6% of all such agreements worldwide. More recently, arms transfer agreements with developing nations constituted 79.2% of all such agreements globally from 2008 to 2011, and 83.9% of these agreements in 2011.

The value of all arms transfer *agreements* with developing nations in 2011 was over \$71.5 billion. This was a substantial increase from \$32.7 billion in 2010. In 2011, the value of all arms *deliveries* to developing nations was \$28 billion, the highest total in these deliveries values since 2004.

Recently, from 2008 to 2011, the United States and Russia have dominated the arms market in the *developing world*, with both nations either ranking first or second for each of these four years in the value of arms transfer *agreements*. From 2008 to 2011, the United States made nearly \$113 billion in such agreements, 54.5% of all these agreements (expressed in current dollars). Russia made \$31.1 billion, 15% of these agreements. During this same period, collectively, the United States and Russia made 69.5% of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations (\$207.3 billion in current dollars) during this four-year period.

In 2011, the United States ranked first in arms transfer *agreements* with *developing nations* with over \$56.3 billion or 78.7% of these agreements, an extraordinary increase in market share from 2010, when the United States held a 43.6% market share. In second place was Russia with \$4.1 billion or 5.7% of such agreements.

In 2011, the United States ranked first in the value of arms *deliveries* to *developing* nations at \$10.5 billion, or 37.6% of all such deliveries. Russia ranked second in these deliveries at \$7.5 billion or 26.8%.

In worldwide arms transfer agreements in 2011—to both developed and developing nations—the United States dominated, ranking first with \$66.3 billion in such agreements or 77.7% of all such agreements. This is the highest single year agreements total in the history of the U.S. arms export program. Russia ranked second in worldwide arms transfer agreements in 2011 with \$4.8 billion in such global agreements or 5.6%. The value of all arms transfer agreements worldwide in 2011 was \$85.3 billion, a substantial increase over the 2010 total of \$44.5 billion, and the highest worldwide arms agreements total since 2004.

In 2011, Saudi Arabia ranked first in the value of arms transfer *agreements* among all *developing* nations weapons *purchasers*, concluding \$33.7 billion in such agreements. The Saudis concluded \$33.4 billion of these agreements with the United States (99%). India ranked second with \$6.9 billion in such agreements. The United Arab Emirates (U.A.E) ranked third with \$4.5 billion.

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# Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2004-2011

#### Introduction and Overview

This report provides Congress with official, unclassified, background data from U.S. government sources on transfers of conventional arms to developing nations by major suppliers for the period 2004 through 2011. It also includes some data on worldwide supplier transactions. It updates and revises CRS Report R42017, *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2003-2010*, by (name redacted).

Data in this report provide a means for Congress to identify existing supplier-purchaser relationships in conventional weapons acquisitions. Use of these data can assist Congress in its oversight role of assessing how the current nature of the international weapons trade might affect U.S. national interests. For most of recent American history, maintaining regional stability and ensuring the security of U.S. allies and friendly nations throughout the world have been important elements of U.S. foreign policy. Knowing the extent to which individual arms suppliers are transferring arms to individual nations or regions provides Congress with a context for evaluating policy questions it may confront. Such policy questions may include, for example, whether to support specific U.S. arms sales to given countries or regions or to support or oppose arms transfers by other nations. The data in this report may also assist Congress in evaluating whether multilateral arms control arrangements or other U.S. foreign policy initiatives are being supported or undermined by the actions of arms suppliers.

The principal focus of this report is the level of arms transfers by major weapons suppliers to nations in the developing world—where most analysts agree that the potential for the outbreak of regional military conflicts currently is greatest, and where the greatest proportion of the conventional arms trade is conducted. For decades, during the height of the Cold War, providing conventional weapons to friendly states was an instrument of foreign policy utilized by the United States and its allies. This was equally true for the Soviet Union and its allies. The underlying rationale given for U.S. arms transfer policy then was to help ensure that friendly states were not placed at risk through a military disadvantage created by arms transfers by the Soviet Union or its allies. Following the Cold War's end, U.S. arms transfer policy has been based on maintaining or augmenting friendly and allied nations' ability to deal with regional security threats and concerns.

Data in this report illustrate global patterns of conventional arms transfers, which have changed in the post-Cold War and post-Persian Gulf War years. Relationships between arms suppliers and recipients continue to evolve in response to changing political, military, and economic circumstances. Whereas the principal motivation for arms sales by key foreign suppliers in earlier years might have been to support a foreign policy objective, today that motivation may be based as much, if not more, on economic considerations as those of foreign or national security policy.

Nations in the developing world continue to be the primary focus of foreign arms sales activity by conventional weapons suppliers. During the period of this report, 2004-2011, conventional arms transfer *agreements* (which represent orders for future delivery) to developing nations comprised 73.7% of the value of all international arms transfer *agreements*. The portion of agreements with developing countries constituted 79.2% of all agreements globally from 2008 to 2011. In 2011, arms transfer agreements with developing countries accounted for 83.9% of the value of all such

agreements globally. *Deliveries* of conventional arms to *developing* nations from 2008 to 2011 constituted 59.5% of all international arms deliveries. In 2011, arms *deliveries* to *developing* nations constituted 63.3% of the value of all such arms deliveries worldwide.

The data in this new report supersede all data published in previous editions. Because these new data for 2004-2011 reflect potentially significant updates to and revisions of the underlying databases utilized for this report, only the data in this most recent edition should be used for comparison of data found in previous reports. The data are expressed in U.S. dollars for the calendar years indicated, and adjusted for inflation (see box note on page 3). *U.S. commercially licensed arms export delivery values are excluded* (see box note on page 19). Also excluded are arms transfers by any supplier to subnational groups. The definition of developing nations, as used in this report, and the specific classes of items included in its values totals are found in box notes below on page 2. The report's table of contents provides a detailed listing and description of the various data tables to guide the reader to specific items of interest.

#### **CALENDAR YEAR DATA USED**

All arms transfer and arms delivery data in this report are for the calendar year or calendar year period given. This applies to U.S. and foreign data alike. United States government departments and agencies publish data on U.S. arms transfers and deliveries but generally use the United States fiscal year as the computational time period for these data. As a consequence, there are likely to be distinct differences noted in those published totals using a fiscal year basis and those provided in this report, which use a calendar year basis. Details on data used are outlined in notes at the bottom of **Tables 3, 14, 30** and **35**.

#### **ARMS TRANSFER VALUES**

The values of arms transfer agreements (or deliveries) in this report refer to the total values of conventional arms orders (or deliveries as the case may be), which include all categories of weapons and ammunition, military spare parts, military construction, military assistance and training programs, and all associated services.

#### **DEFINITION OF DEVELOPING NATIONS AND REGIONS**

As used in this report, the developing nations category includes all countries except the United States, Russia, European nations, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. A listing of countries located in the regions defined for the purpose of this analysis—Asia, Near East, Latin America, and Africa—is provided at the end of the report (see "Regions Identified in Arms Transfer Tables and Charts").

#### **CONSTANT 2011 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. This report, in places, converts these dollar amounts (current dollars) into *constant 2011* dollars. Although this helps to eliminate the distorting effects of U.S. inflation to permit a more accurate comparison of various dollar levels over time, the effects of fluctuating exchange rates are not neutralized. The deflators used for the constant dollar calculations in this report are those provided by the U.S. Department of Defense and are set out at the bottom of **Tables 4, 15, 31**, and **36**, where all data are expressed in *constant 2011* dollar terms. In places in the text and in figures where constant dollars are *not* used they are so labeled. For example, all regional data tables that are composed of four-year aggregate dollar totals (2004-2007 and 2008-2011) or when single years are used they are expressed in *current* dollar terms. Where tables rank leading arms suppliers to developing nations or leading developing nation recipients using four-year aggregate dollar totals, these values are expressed in *current* dollars. When *percentage comparisons* are used, they are calculated using *current* dollars.

## **Major Findings**

#### General Trends in Arms Transfers Worldwide

The value of all arms transfer agreements worldwide (to both developed and developing nations) in 2011 was \$85.3 billion. This was an extraordinary increase in arms agreements values (91.7%) over the 2010 total of \$44.5 billion. This total in 2011 is by far the highest worldwide arms agreements total since 2004 (**Figure 1**) (**Table 30**) (**Table 31**).

In 2011, the United States led in arms transfer agreements worldwide, making agreements valued at \$66.3 billion (77.7% of all such agreements), an extraordinary increase from \$21.4 billion in 2010. The United States' worldwide agreements total in 2011 is the largest for a single year in the history of the U.S. arms export program. Russia ranked second with \$4.8 billion in agreements (5.6% of these agreements globally), down significantly from \$8.9 billion in 2010. The United States and Russia collectively made agreements in 2011 valued at over \$71 billion, 83.3% of all international arms transfer agreements made by all suppliers (**Figure 1**) (**Table 30**) (**Table 31**, **Table 32**, and **Table 34**).

For the period 2008-2011, the total value of all international arms transfer agreements (\$261.8 billion in current dollars) was higher than the worldwide value during 2004-2007 (\$206.1 billion in current dollars). During the period 2004-2007, developing world nations accounted for 66.7% of the value of all arms transfer agreements made worldwide. During 2008-2011, developing world nations accounted for 79.2% of all arms transfer agreements made globally. In 2011, developing nations accounted for 83.9% of all arms transfer agreements made worldwide (**Figure 1**) (**Table 30**) (**Table 31**).

In 2011, the United States ranked first in the value of all arms *deliveries* worldwide, making nearly \$16.2 billion in such deliveries or 36.5%. This is the eighth year in a row that the United States has led in global arms deliveries. Russia ranked second in worldwide arms deliveries in 2011, making \$8.7 billion in such deliveries. The United Kingdom ranked third in 2011, making

\$3 billion in such deliveries. These top three suppliers of arms in 2011 collectively delivered nearly \$27.9 billion, 62.9% of all arms delivered worldwide by all suppliers in that year (**Table 2**) ( **Table 36**, **Table 37**, and **Table 39**).

The value of all international arms *deliveries* in 2011 was nearly \$44.3 billion. This is an increase in the total value of arms deliveries from the previous year from \$41.2 billion. The total value of such arms deliveries worldwide in 2008-2011 (about \$167 billion) was higher than the deliveries worldwide from 2004 to 2007 (\$155.8 billion [**Table 2**]) ( **Table 36** and **Table 37**) (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**).

Developing nations from 2008 to 2011 accounted for 59.5% of the value of all international arms deliveries. In the earlier period, 2004-2007, developing nations accounted for 64.1% of the value of all arms deliveries worldwide. In 2011, developing nations collectively accounted for 63.3% of the value of all international arms deliveries (**Table 2**) (**Table 15**, **Table 36**, and **Table 37**).

Worldwide weapons orders increased in 2011. The total of \$85.3 billion was a substantial increase from \$44.5 billion in 2010, or 91.7%. The United States' worldwide weapons agreements values increased greatly in value from \$21.4 billion in 2010 to \$66.3 billion in 2011. The U.S. market share increased greatly as well, from 48.1% in 2010 to 77.7% in 2011. The extraordinary total value of U.S. weapons orders in 2011 distorts the current picture of the global arms trade market. For while the United States retained its position as the leading arms supplying nation in the world, nearly all other major suppliers saw declines. The principal exception was France, whose worldwide agreements increased from \$1.8 billion in 2010 to \$4.4 billion in 2011. Meanwhile, Russia posted a significant decline in its global arms agreements values, falling from \$8.9 billion in 2010 to \$4.8 billion in 2011. Russia's market share of worldwide agreements fell from 20% in 2010 to 5.6% in 2011. The collective market share of worldwide arms agreements for the four major West European suppliers—France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy—also fell from 12.2% in 2010 to 7.2% in 2011.

Although the global total in weapons sales in 2011 was especially high—due primarily to the unusually large agreements value of the U.S. contracts with Saudi Arabia—the international arms market is not likely growing overall. The U.S. global total for arms agreements in 2011 seems a clear outlier figure. Moreover, there continue to be significant constraints on its growth, due, in particular, to the weakened state of the global economy. The Eurozone financial crisis and the slow international recovery from the recession of 2008 have generally limited defense purchases of prospective customers. Concerns over their domestic budget problems have led many purchasing nations to defer or limit the purchase of new major weapons systems. Some nations have chosen to limit their purchasing to upgrades of existing systems and to training and support services. Others have decided to emphasize the integration into their force structures of the major weapons systems they had previously purchased. That said, orders for weapons upgrades and support services can still be rather lucrative, and such sales can provide weapons suppliers with continued revenue, despite the reduction in demand for major weapons systems.

As new arms sales have become more difficult to conclude in the face of economic factors, competition among sellers has become increasingly intense. A number of weapons-exporting nations are focusing not only on the clients with whom they have held historic competitive advantages, due to well-established military-support relationships, but also on potential new clients in countries and regions where they have not been traditional arms suppliers. As the overall market for weapons has stagnated, arms suppliers have faced the challenge of providing weapons in type and price that can provide them with a competitive edge. To overcome the key

obstacle of limited defense budgets in several developing nations, arms suppliers have increasingly utilized flexible financing options and guarantees of counter-trade, co-production, licensed production, and co-assembly elements in their contracts to secure new orders.

Given important limitations on significant growth of arms sales to developing nations—especially those that are less affluent—competition between European nations or consortia on the one hand and the United States on the other is likely to be especially intense where all these suppliers have previously concluded arms agreements with the more affluent states. Recent examples of this competition have been the contests for combat aircraft sales to the oil-rich Persian Gulf states and a major competition for the sale of a substantial number of combat aircraft to India. The more affluent developing nations have been leveraging their attractiveness as clients by demanding greater cost offsets in their arms contracts, as well as transfer of more advanced technology and provisions for domestic production options. Weapons contracts with the more wealthy developing nations in the Near East and Asia appear to be especially significant to European weapons suppliers, who have used foreign arms sales contracts as a means to support their own domestic weapons development programs and need them to compensate, wherever possible, for declining arms orders from the rest of the developing world.

At the same time, nations in the developed world continue to pursue measures aimed at protecting important elements of their national military industrial bases by limiting arms purchases from other developed nations. This has resulted in several major arms suppliers emphasizing joint production of various weapons systems with other developed nations as an effective way to share the costs of developing new weapons, while preserving productive capacity. Some supplying nations have decided to manufacture items for niche weapons categories where their specialized production capabilities give them important advantages in the international arms marketplace. The strong competition for weapons contracts has also led to consolidation of certain sectors of the domestic defense industries of key weapons-producing nations to enhance their competiveness further.

Although less-affluent nations in the developing world may be compelled by financial considerations to limit their weapons purchases, others in the developing world with significant financial assets continue to launch new and costly weapons-procurement programs. The increases in the price of oil since 2008 have provided a major advantage for major oil-producing states in funding their arms purchases. But at the same time, such oil price increases have also caused economic difficulties for many oil-consuming states, and contributed to their decisions to curtail or defer new weapons acquisitions.

Despite the volatility of the international economy in recent years, some nations in the Near East and Asia regions have resumed or continued large weapons purchases. These purchases have been made by a limited number of developing nations in these two regions. Most recently they have been made by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in the Near East—both pivotal partners in the U.S. effort to contain Iran—and India in Asia. For certain developing nations in these regions, the strength of their individual economies appears to be a key factor in their decisions to proceed with major arms purchases.

A few developing nations in Latin America, and, to a much lesser extent, in Africa, have sought to modernize key sectors of their military forces. In recent years, some nations in these regions have placed large arms orders, by regional standards, to advance that goal. Many countries within these regions are significantly constrained by their financial resources and thus limited to the weapons they can purchase. Given the limited availability of seller-supplied credit and financing for

weapons purchases, and their smaller national budgets, most of these countries will be forced to be selective in their military purchases. As a consequence, few major weapons systems purchases are likely to be made in either region, but especially not in Africa.

### General Trends in Arms Transfers to Developing Nations

The value of all arms transfer *agreements* with developing nations in 2011 was \$71.5 billion, a substantial increase from the \$32.7 billion total in 2010 (**Figure 1**) (**Table 1**) (**Table 3**) (**Table 4**). In 2011, the value of all arms *deliveries* to developing nations (\$28 billion) was an increase over the value of 2010 deliveries (\$26.1 billion), and the highest delivery total since 2004 (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**) (**Table 2**) (**Table 15**).

Most recently, from 2008 to 2011, the United States and Russia have dominated the arms market in the developing world, with both nations either ranking first or second for all four years in terms of the value of arms transfer agreements. From 2008 to 2011, the United States made nearly \$113 billion of these agreements, or 54.5%. During this same period, Russia made \$31.1 billion, 15% of all such agreements, expressed in current dollars. Collectively, the United States and Russia made 69.5% of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations during this four-year period. France, the third-leading supplier, from 2008 to 2011 made nearly \$17.3 billion or 8.3% of all such agreements with developing nations during these years. In the earlier period (2004-2007) Russia ranked first with \$41.4 billion in arms transfer agreements with developing nations or 30.1%; the United States made \$32.2 billion in arms transfer agreements during this period or 23.4%. The United Kingdom made \$20.4 billion in agreements or 14.8% (**Table 4**) (**Table 5**).

From 2004 to 2011, in any given year, most arms transfers to developing nations were made by two or three major suppliers. The United States ranked first among these suppliers for five of the eight years of this period, notably the last five. Russia has been a strong competitor for the lead in arms transfer agreements with developing nations, ranking first every year from 2004 through 2006, and second every year since. Although Russia has lacked the larger traditional client base for armaments held by the United States and the major West European suppliers, it has been a major source of weaponry for a few key purchasers in the developing world. Russia's most significant high-value arms transfer agreements continue to be with India. Russia has also had some success in concluding arms agreements with clients in the Near East and in Southeast Asia.

Russia has increased its sales efforts in Latin America with a principal focus on Venezuela. With the strong support of its President Hugo Chavez, Venezuela has become Russia's major new arms client in this region. Russia has adopted more flexible payment arrangements, including loans, for its prospective customers in the developing world generally, including a willingness in specific cases to forgive outstanding debts owed to it by a prospective client in order to secure new arms purchases. At the same time Russia continues efforts to enhance the quality of its follow-on support services to make Russian weaponry more attractive and competitive, attempting to assure potential clients that it will provide timely and effective service and spare parts for the weapon systems it sells.

Among the four major West European arms suppliers, France and the United Kingdom have been most successful in concluding significant orders with developing countries from 2004 to 2011, based on either long-term supply relationships or their having specialized weapons systems available for sale. Germany, however, has shown particular success in selling naval systems customized for developing nations. The United Kingdom has had comparable successes with aircraft sales.

Despite the competition the United States faces from other major arms suppliers, it appears likely it will hold its position as the principal supplier to key developing world nations, especially with those able to afford major new weapons. From the onset of the Cold War period, the United States developed an especially large and diverse base of arms equipment clients globally with whom it is able to conclude a continuing series of arms agreements annually. It has also for decades provided upgrades, spare parts, ordnance, and support services for the wide variety of weapon systems it has previously sold to this large list of clients. This provides a steady stream of orders from year to year, even when the United States does not conclude major new arms agreements for major weapon systems. It also makes the United States a logical supplier for new-generation military equipment to these traditional purchasers.

Major arms-supplying nations continue to center their sales efforts on the wealthier developing countries, as arms transfers to the less-affluent developing nations remain constrained by the scarcity of funds in their defense budgets and the unsettled state of the international economy. From 2004 to 2008, the value of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations increased from year to year. These agreements reached a peak in 2011 at \$71.5 billion. The increase in agreements with developing nations from 2003 to 2008, and particularly in 2011, has been driven to an important degree by sales to the more affluent developing nations, especially key oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf, which actively sought new advanced weaponry during these years, as part of a U.S. effort to enhance the militaries of its key partners there.

More recently, the less-traditional European and non-European suppliers, including China, have been successful in securing some agreements with developing nations, although at lower levels and with uneven results, compared to the major weapons suppliers. Yet, these non-major arms suppliers have occasionally made arms deals of significance, such as missile sales and light combat systems. While their agreement values appear larger when they are aggregated as a group, most of their annual arms transfer agreement values during 2004-2011 have been comparatively low when they are listed as individual suppliers. In various cases, these suppliers have been successful in selling older generation or less-advanced equipment. This group of arms suppliers is more likely to be the source of small arms and light weapons and associated ordnance, rather than routine sellers of major weapons systems. Most of these arms suppliers do not rank very high in the value of their arms agreements and deliveries, although some will rank among the top 10 suppliers from year to year (Table 4, Table 9, Table 10, Table 15, Table 20, and Table 21).

#### **United States**

The total value—in real terms—of United States arms transfer agreements with developing nations registered an extraordinary increase from \$14.3 billion in 2010 to \$56.3 billion in 2011. The U.S. market share of the value of all such agreements was 78.7% in 2011, an extraordinary increase from a 43.6% share in 2010 (**Figure 1**, **Figure 7**, and **Figure 8**) (**Table 1**, **Table 3**, **Table 4**, and **Table 5**).

In 2011, the total value of U.S. arms transfer agreements with developing nations was comprised primarily of major new orders from clients in the Near East and Asia. The U.S. arms agreements with Saudi Arabia were extraordinary and represent, by far, the largest share of U.S. agreements with the world or the developing world in 2011. The United States also concluded high-value agreements with Persian Gulf states such as the U.A.E. and Oman. In Asia the United States reached key agreements with India and Taiwan. The United States also continued to secure orders for significant equipment and support services contracts with a broad number of U.S. clients globally. The \$56.3 billion arms agreement total for the United States in 2011, while dominated

by the orders from Saudi Arabia, also reflects the continuing U.S. advantage of having well-established defense support arrangements with many weapons purchasers worldwide, based upon the existing U.S. weapon systems that the militaries of these clients utilize. U.S. agreements with all of its customers in 2011 include not only sales of very costly major weapon systems, but also the upgrading and the support of systems previously provided. It is important to emphasize that U.S. arms agreements involve a wide variety of items, such as spare parts, ammunition, ordnance, training, and support services, that can have significant costs associated with them.

The larger valued arms transfer agreements the United States concluded in 2011 with developing nations included multiple agreements with Saudi Arabia to provide 84 new F-15SA fighter aircraft, the upgrading of 70 of the existing Saudi F-15S fleet, and a variety of associated weapons, ammunition, missiles, and long-term logistics support for more than \$29 billion. Also included among sales to Saudi Arabia were dozens of AH-64D Apache helicopters, including the Apache Longbow variant, and UH-60M Blackhawk helicopters; with the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.) for Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) System Fire Units, including radars, for \$3.49 billion, and with the U.A.E. for 16 CH-47F Chinook helicopters for \$939 million; with Oman for 18 F-16 block 50/52 fighter aircraft for \$1.4 billion; with Iraq for 18 F-16IQ fighter aircraft for \$1.4 billion; with Egypt for co-production of M1A1 main battle tanks and support for over \$1 billion; with India for 10 C-17 Globemaster III aircraft for \$4.1 billion; and with Taiwan for Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) Firing Units and missiles for \$2 billion. Other 2011 U.S. contracts included several score of missile, ordnance, and weapons systems support cases worth tens of millions of dollars each with U.S. customers in every region of the developing world.

#### Russia

The total value of Russia's arms transfer agreements with developing nations in 2011 was \$4.1 billion, a substantial decrease from \$7.7 billion in 2010, placing Russia second in such agreements with the developing world. Russia's share of all developing world arms transfer agreements also declined significantly from 23.5% in 2010 to 5.7% in 2011 (Figure 1, Figure 7, and Figure 8) (Table 1, Table 3, Table 4, Table 5, and Table 10).

Russia's arms transfer agreement totals with developing nations have been notable during the eight years covered in this report, reaching a peak in 2006 of \$15.3 billion (in current dollars). During the 2008-2011 period, Russia ranked second among all suppliers to developing countries, making nearly \$31.1 billion in agreements (in current dollars) (**Table 9**). Russia's status as a leading supplier of arms to developing nations reflects a successful effort to overcome the significant industrial production problems associated with the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. The major arms clients of the former Soviet Union were generally less wealthy developing countries. In the Soviet era, several client states received substantial military aid grants and significant discounts on their arms purchases. Confronted with a limited arms client base in the post-Cold War era and stiff competition from Western arms suppliers for new markets, Russia adapted its selling practices in the developing world in an effort to regain and sustain an important share among previous and prospective clients in that segment of the international arms market.

In recent years, Russia has made significant efforts to provide more creative financing and payment options for prospective arms purchasers. Russia has agreed to engage in counter-trade, offsets, debt-swapping, and, in key cases, to make significant licensed production agreements in order to sell its weapons. Russia's willingness to agree to licensed production has been a critical

element in several cases involving important arms clients, particularly India and China. Russia's efforts to expand its arms customer base elsewhere have met with mixed results. Some successful Russian arms sales efforts have occurred in Southeast Asia. Here Russia has signed arms agreements with Malaysia, Vietnam, Burma, and Indonesia. Russia has also concluded major arms deals with Venezuela and Algeria. Elsewhere in the developing world, Russian military equipment continues to be competitive because it ranges from the most basic to the highly advanced. Russia's less expensive armaments have proven attractive to less affluent developing nations.

Missiles and aircraft continue to provide a significant portion of Russia's arms exports, less so naval systems. Nevertheless, the absence of substantial funding for new research and development efforts in these and other military equipment areas has hampered Russia's longer-term foreign arms sales prospects. Weapons research and development (R&D) programs exist in Russia, yet other major arms suppliers have advanced much more rapidly in developing and producing weaponry than have existing Russian military R&D programs, a factor that may deter expansion of the Russian arms client base. This was illustrated by Russia's decision to acquire French technology through purchase of the Mistral amphibious assault ship, rather than relying on Russian shipbuilding specialists to create a comparable ship for the Russian Navy.

Nonetheless, Russia has had important arms development and sales programs, particularly involving India and, to a lesser extent, China, which should provide it with sustained business for a decade. During the mid-1990s, Russia sold major combat fighter aircraft and main battle tanks to India, and has provided other major weapons systems through lease or licensed production. It continues to provide support services and items for these various weapons systems. But more recently, Russia has lost major contracts to other key weapons suppliers, threatening its long-standing supplier relationship with India. Sales of advanced weaponry in South Asia by Russia have been a matter of ongoing concern to the United States because of long-standing tensions between Pakistan and India. The United States has been seeking to expand its military cooperation with and arms sales to India as part of the U.S. strategic shift to the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>1</sup>

A key Russian arms client in Asia has been China, which purchased advanced aircraft and naval systems. Since 1996, Russia has sold China Su-27 fighter aircraft and agreed to their licensed production. It has sold the Chinese quantities of Su-30 multi-role fighter aircraft, Sovremenny-class destroyers equipped with Sunburn anti-ship missiles, and Kilo-class Project 636 diesel submarines. Russia has also sold the Chinese a variety of other weapons systems and missiles. Chinese arms acquisitions seem aimed at enhancing its military projection capabilities in Asia, and its ability to influence events throughout the region. One U.S. policy concern is to ensure that it provides appropriate military equipment to U.S. allies and friendly states in Asia to help offset any prospective threat China may pose to such nations. There have been no especially large recent Russian arms agreements with China. The Chinese military is currently focused on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For detailed background see CRS Report RL33515, Combat Aircraft Sales to South Asia: Potential Implications, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted); CRS Report RS22757, U.S. Arms Sales to Pakistan, by (name redacted); CRS Report RL32115, Missile Proliferation and the Strategic Balance in South Asia, by (name redacted) and (name redacted); and CRS Report RL30427, Missile Survey: Ballistic and Cruise Missiles of Selected Foreign Countries, by (name redacted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For detailed background see CRS Report RL30700, *China's Foreign Conventional Arms Acquisitions: Background and Analysis*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted); and CRS Report RL33153, *China Nava. Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress*, by (name redacted).

absorbing and integrating into its force structure the significant weapon systems previously obtained from Russia, and there has also been tension between Russia and China over China's apparent practice of reverse engineering and copying major combat systems obtained from Russia, in violation of their licensed production agreements.

The largest arms transfer agreements Russia made in 2011 were with Syria for 36 Yak-130 fighter/trainer aircraft for \$550 million and with China for 123 AL-31FN jet aircraft engines for \$500 million. Russia made other arms contracts of varying sizes and values for a range of Russian equipment with a number of traditional Russian clients in the developing world.

#### China

It was not until the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s that China became an important arms supplier, one willing and able to provide weaponry when other major suppliers withheld sales to both belligerents. During that conflict, China demonstrated that it was willing to provide arms to both combatants in quantity and without conditions. Subsequently, China's arms sales have been more regional and targeted in the developing world. From 2008 to 2011, the value of China's arms transfer agreements with developing nations has averaged over \$2 billion annually. During the period of this report, the value of China's arms transfer agreements with developing nations was highest in 2005 and 2007 at \$2.7 billion and \$2.5 billion, respectively (in current dollars). China's arms agreements total in 2011 was \$2.1 billion. China's totals can be attributed, in part, to continuing contracts with Pakistan, a key historic client. More broadly, China's sales figures reflect several smaller-valued weapons deals in Asia, Africa, and the Near East, rather than to especially large agreements for major weapons systems (**Table 4**, **Table 10**, and **Table 11**) (**Figure 7**).

Comparatively, few developing nations with significant financial resources have purchased Chinese military equipment during the eight-year period of this report. Most Chinese weapons for export are less advanced and sophisticated than weaponry available from Western suppliers or Russia. China, consequently, does not appear likely to be a key supplier of major conventional weapons in the developing world arms market in the immediate future. That said, China has indicated that increasingly it views foreign arms sales as an important market in which it wishes to compete, and has increased the promotion of its more advanced aircraft in an effort to secure contracts from developing countries. China's weapons systems for export seem based upon designs obtained from Russia through previous licensed production programs. Nonetheless, China's likely client base will be states in Asia and Africa seeking quantities of small arms and light weapons, rather than major combat systems.

China has also been an important source of missiles to some developing countries. For example, China has supplied battlefield and cruise missiles to Iran and surface-to-surface missiles to Pakistan. According to U.S. officials, the Chinese government no longer supplies other countries with complete missile systems. However, Chinese entities are suppliers of missile-related technology. Such activity raises questions about China's willingness to fulfill the government's stated commitment to act in accordance with the restrictions on missile transfers set out in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Because China has military products—particularly

its missiles—that some developing countries would like to acquire, it can present an obstacle to efforts to stem proliferation of advanced missile systems to some areas of the developing world.<sup>3</sup>

China continues to be a source of a variety of small arms and light weapons transferred to African states. The prospects for significant revenue earnings from these arms sales are limited. China likely views such sales as one means of enhancing its status as an international political power, and increasing its ability to obtain access to significant natural resources, especially oil. The control of sales of small arms and light weapons to regions of conflict, especially to some African nations, has been a matter of concern to the United States and others. The United Nations also has undertaken an examination of this issue in an effort to achieve consensus on a path to curtail this weapons trade comprehensively. During July 2012, the U.N. attempted to reach agreement on the text of an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), aimed at setting agreed standards for member states regarding what types of conventional arms sales should be made internationally, and what criteria should be applied in making arms transfer decisions. At the end of the month-long period set aside for negotiations, this effort failed to achieve the necessary consensus on a treaty draft, and the future success of this effort is in doubt. China, while not a member of the group of U.N. states negotiating the final draft, made it publicly clear that it did not support any treaty that would prevent any state from making its own, independent, national decision to make an arms sale.<sup>4</sup>

#### Major West European Suppliers

France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy—the four major West European arms suppliers—have supplied a wide variety of sophisticated weapons to a number of purchasers. They are potential sources of armaments for nations that the United States chooses not to supply for policy reasons. The United Kingdom, for example, sold major combat fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia in the mid-1980s, when the United States chose not to sell a comparable aircraft. More recently, India made European aircraft suppliers finalists in its competition for a major sale of combat aircraft—a competition ultimately won by France. The contending U.S. and Russian aircraft were rejected. Moreover, Saudi Arabia recently purchased 72 Eurofighter Typhoon fighter aircraft from the United Kingdom, an aircraft built by four European nations—the U.K, Germany, Italy and Spain. During the Cold War, NATO allies of the United States generally supported the U.S. position in restricting arms sales to certain nations. In the post-Cold War period, however, their national defense export policies have not been fully coordinated with the United States as was the case previously.

Key European arms supplying states, especially France, view arms sales foremost as a matter for national decision. Economic considerations appear to be a greater driver in French arms sales decision-making than matters of foreign policy. France has also frequently used foreign military sales as an important means for underwriting development and procurement of new weapons systems for its own military forces. The potential for policy differences between the United States

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For detailed background on the MTCR and proliferation control regimes and related policy issues see CRS Report RL31559, *Proliferation Control Regimes: Background and Status*, coordinated by Mary Beth Nikitin; and CRS Report RL31848, *Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and International Code of Conduct Against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (ICOC): Background and Issues for Congress*, by (name redacted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For background on China's actions and motivations for increased activities in Africa see CRS Report RL33055, *China and Sub-Saharan Africa*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and Michelle Weijing Lau. For background on U.S. Policy concerns regarding small arms and light weapons transfers see CRS Report RS20958, *International Small Arms and Light Weapons Transfers: U.S. Policy*, by (name redacted). China's position on an Arms Trade Treaty is here: http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/statements/docs/20120709/20120706 China E.pdf

and major West European supplying states over conventional weapons transfers to specific countries has increased in recent years because of a divergence of views over what is an appropriate arms sale. Such a conflict resulted from an effort led by France and Germany in 2004-2005 to lift the arms embargo on arms sales to China adhered to by members of the European Union. The United States viewed this as a misguided effort, and vigorously opposed it. Ultimately, the proposal to lift the embargo was not adopted. However, this episode proved to be a source of significant tension between the United States and some members of the European Union. The arms sales activities of major European suppliers, consequently, will continue to be of interest to U.S. policymakers, given their capability to make sales of advanced military equipment to countries of concern in U.S. national security policy.<sup>5</sup>

The four major West European suppliers (France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy), as a group, registered a decrease in their collective share of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations between 2010 and 2011. This group's share fell from 14.9% in 2010 to 5.7% in 2011. The collective value of this group's arms transfer agreements with developing nations in 2011 was \$4.1 billion compared to a total of nearly \$4.8 billion in 2010 (in current dollars). Of these four nations, France was the leading supplier with \$2.7 billion in agreements in 2011. Italy, meanwhile, registered \$1.1 billion in arms agreements in 2011, down from \$1.8 billion in 2010 (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**) (**Table 4** and **Table 5**).

In the period from 2004 to 2011, the four major West European suppliers were important participants in the developing world arms market. Individual suppliers within the major West European group have had notable years for arms agreements during this period: France in 2009 (\$9.2 billion) and in 2005 (\$5.4 billion); the United Kingdom in 2007 (\$9.5 billion) and 2004 (\$4.1 billion); Germany (\$4.7 billion) in 2008 and in 2006 (\$2.4 billion); and Italy in 2010 (\$1.8 billion). In the cases of all of these West European nations, large agreement totals in one year have usually resulted from the conclusion of large arms contracts with one or a small number of major purchasers in that particular year (**Table 4** and **Table 5**).

The major West European suppliers, individually, have enhanced their competitive positions in weapons exports through strong government marketing support for their foreign arms sales. All of them can produce both advanced and basic air, ground, and naval weapons systems. The four major West European suppliers have sometimes competed successfully for arms sales contracts with developing nations against the United States, which has tended to sell to several of the same major clients, especially to the Persian Gulf states that see the United States as the ultimate guarantor of Gulf security. The continuing demand for U.S. weapons in the global arms marketplace, from a large established client base, has created a more difficult environment for individual West European suppliers to secure large new contracts with developing nations on a sustained basis. Yet, as the data indicate, the major West European suppliers continue to make significant arms transfer contracts each year.

An effort to enhance their market share of the arms trade in the face of the strong demand for U.S. defense equipment, among other considerations, was a key factor in inducing European Union

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For detailed background see CRS Report RL32870, *European Union's Arms Embargo on China: Implications and Options for U.S. Policy*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted). It should be noted that members of the European Union, and others, have agreed to a common effort to attempt some degree of control on the transfer of certain weapons systems, but the principal vehicle for this cooperation—the Wassenaar Arrangement—lacks a mechanism to enforce its rules. For detailed background see CRS Report RS20517, *Military Technology and Conventional Weapons Export Controls: The Wassenaar Arrangement*, by (name redacted).

(EU) member states to adopt a new code of conduct for defense procurement practices. This code was agreed on November 21, 2005, at the European Defense Agency's (EDA's) steering board meeting. Currently voluntary, the EU hopes it will become mandatory, and through its mechanisms foster greater cooperation within the European defense equipment sector in the awarding of contracts for defense items. By successfully securing greater intra-European cooperation in defense program planning and collaboration in defense contracting, the EU hopes that the defense industrial bases of individual EU states will be preserved, thereby enhancing the capability of European defense firms to compete for arms sales throughout the world. Some European arms companies have begun, and others completed the phasing out of production of certain types of weapons systems. These suppliers have increasingly sought to engage in joint production ventures with other key European weapons suppliers or even client countries in an effort to sustain major sectors of their individual defense industrial bases—even if a substantial portion of the weapons produced are for their own armed forces. Examples are the Eurofighter and Eurocopter projects. A few European suppliers have also adopted the strategy of cooperating in defense production ventures with the United States, such as the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF), rather than attempting to compete directly, thus meeting their own requirements for advanced combat aircraft while positioning themselves to share in profits resulting from future sales of this new fighter aircraft.<sup>6</sup>

## **Regional Arms Transfer Agreements**

The leading markets for arms in regions of the developing world have been predominately in the Near East and Asia. Latin American and African nations, by contrast, have not been major purchasers of weapons, with rare exceptions. The regional arms agreement data tables in this report demonstrate this. United States policymakers have placed emphasis on helping to maintain stability throughout the regions of the developing world. Consequently, the United States has made and supported arms sales and transfers it has argued would advance that goal, while discouraging significant sales by other suppliers to states and regions where military threats to nations in the area are minimal. Other arms suppliers do not necessarily share the U.S. perspective on what constitutes an appropriate arms sale, and in some instances the financial benefit of the sale to the supplier overrides other considerations. The regional and country specific arms-transfer data in this report provide an indication of where various arms suppliers are focusing their attention and who their principal clients are. By reviewing these data, policymakers can identify potential developments that may be of concern, and use this information to assist a review of options they may choose to consider, given the circumstances. What follows below is a review of data on arms-transfer agreement activities in the two regions that lead in arms acquisitions, the Near East and Asia. This is followed, in turn, by a review of data regarding the leading arms purchasers in the developing world more broadly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For detailed background on issues relating to the Joint Strike Fighter program see CRS Report RL30563, *F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program: Background and Issues for Congress*, by (name redacted).

#### Near East<sup>7</sup>

The Persian Gulf crisis of August 1990-February 1991 was the principal catalyst for major new weapons purchases in the Near East made during the last 20 years. This crisis, culminating in a U.S.-led war to expel Iraq from Kuwait, firmly established the United States as the guarantor of Gulf security and created new demands by key purchasers such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) for a variety of advanced weapons systems. Subsequently, concerns over the growing strategic threat from Iran, which have continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, have become the principal basis of GCC states' advanced arms purchases. Because GCC states do not share a land border with Iran, their weapons purchases have focused primarily on air, naval, and missile defense systems. Egypt and Israel have also continued their military modernization programs by increasing their purchases of advanced weaponry, primarily from the United States.

Most recently, Saudi Arabia has been the principal arms purchaser in the Persian Gulf region. In the period from 2008 to 2011, Saudi Arabia's total arms agreements were valued at \$52.1 billion (in current dollars). Also placing substantial orders during this same period was the U.A.E., making \$17.2 billion in agreements (in current dollars) (**Table 11** and **Table 12**).

The Near East has generally been the largest arms market in the developing world. In the earlier period (2004-2007), it ranked first with 47.9% of the total value of all developing nations' arms transfer agreements (\$60.3 billion in current dollars). The Asia region ranked second in 2004-2007 with 41.6% of these agreements (\$57.2 billion in current dollars). During 2008-2011, the Near East region again placed first with 56.2% of all developing nations' agreements (\$116.6 billion in current dollars). The Asia region ranked second in 2008-2011 with \$60.3 billion of these agreements or 29.1% (**Table 6** and **Table 7**).

The United States ranked first in arms transfer agreements with the Near East during the 2004-2007 period with 30.3% of their total value (\$16.1 billion in current dollars). The United Kingdom was second during these years with 26.5% (\$17.5 billion in current dollars). Recently, from 2008 to 2011, the United States dominated in arms agreements with this region with almost \$92 billion (in current dollars), a 78.9% share. Russia accounted for 5.2% of the region's agreements in the most recent period (\$6 billion in current dollars) (**Figure 5**) (**Table 6** and **Table 8**).

#### Asia

The data on regional arms-transfer agreements from 2004 to 2011 reflect that Asia, after the Near East, is the second-largest region of the developing world for orders of conventional weaponry. Throughout Asia, several developing nations have been engaged in upgrading and modernizing defense forces, and this has led to new conventional weapons sales in that region. Beginning in the mid-1990s, Russia became the principal supplier of advanced conventional weaponry to China for about a decade—selling it fighters, submarines, destroyers, and missiles—while establishing itself as the principal arms supplier to India. Russian arms sales to these two countries have been primarily responsible for much of the increase in Asia's overall share of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In this report the Near East region includes the following nations: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The countries included in the other geographic regions are listed at the end of the report.

arms market in the developing world during much of the period of this report. Russia has also expanded its client base in Asia, securing aircraft orders from Malaysia, Vietnam, Burma, and Indonesia. It is notable that India, while the principal Russian arms customer, during recent years has sought to diversify its weapons supplier base, purchasing the Phalcon early warning defense system aircraft in 2004 from Israel and numerous items from France in 2005, in particular six Scorpene diesel attack submarines. In 2008 India purchased six C130J cargo aircraft from the United States. In 2010, the United Kingdom sold India 57 Hawk jet trainers for \$1 billion. In 2010 Italy also sold India 12 AW101 helicopters. In 2011, France secured a \$2.4 billion contract with India to upgrade 51 of its Mirage-2000 combat fighters, and the United States agreed to sell India 10 C-17 Globemaster III aircraft for \$4.1 billion. This pattern of Indian arms purchases indicates that Russia will likely face strong new competition from other major weapons suppliers for the India arms market, and it can no longer be assured that India will consistently purchase its major combat systems. Indeed, India in 2011 had eliminated Russia from the international competition to supply a new-generation combat fighter aircraft, a competition won by France.

Other major arms agreements with Asia in recent years have included sales to Pakistan by the United States of a multi-billion dollar order of new F-16 fighter aircraft, weapons, and aircraft upgrades and a sale by Sweden of a SAAB-2000 based AWACS airborne radar system. In 2007, Pakistan contracted with China for production of J-17 fighter aircraft; in 2008 it purchased an AWACS aircraft from China. In 2009, Pakistan also purchased J-10 fighters from China. Meanwhile, in 2010 the United States sold 60 UH-60M Blackhawk helicopters to Taiwan, and in 2011 sold it the Patriot (PAC-3) air defense system for \$2 billion. Asia has traditionally been the second-largest developing-world arms market. In 2008-2011, Asia ranked second, accounting for 29.1% of the total value of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations (\$60.3 billion in current dollars). Yet in the earlier period, 2004-2007, the Asia region ranked second, accounting for 41.6% of all such agreements (\$57.2 billion in current dollars) (**Table 6** and **Table 7**).

In the earlier period (2004-2007), Russia ranked first in the value of arms transfer agreements with Asia with 36.5% (\$20.9 billion in current dollars)—primarily due to major combat aircraft and naval system sales to India and China. The United States ranked second with 18.4% (\$10.5 billion in current dollars). The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 19.6% of this region's agreements in 2004-2007. In the later period (2008-2011), the United States ranked first in Asian agreements with 30.1% (\$18.1 billion in current dollars), and Russia ranked second with 27% (\$16.3 billion in current dollars). The major West European suppliers, as a group, made 15.6% of this region's agreements in 2008-2011 (**Figure 6**) (**Table 8**).

## **Leading Developing Nations Arms Purchasers**

Saudi Arabia was the leading developing world arms purchaser from 2004 to 2011, making arms transfer agreements totaling \$75.7 billion during these years (in current dollars). In the 2004-2007 period, India ranked first in arms transfer agreements at \$25.3 billion (in current dollars). In 2008-2011 Saudi Arabia ranked first in arms transfer agreements, with a substantial increase to \$52.1 billion from \$23.6 billion in the earlier 2004-2007 period (in current dollars). These increases reflect the military modernization efforts by both Saudi Arabia and India, underway since the 1990s. The total value of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations from 2004 to 2011 was \$344.7 billion (in current dollars). Thus Saudi Arabia alone accounted for almost 22% of all developing-world arms transfer agreements during these eight years. In the most recent period, 2008-2011, Saudi Arabia made \$52.1 billion in arms transfer agreements (in current dollars). This total constituted 25.1% of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations during these four

years (\$207.3 billion in current dollars). India ranked second in arms transfer agreements during 2008-2011 with \$21.3 billion (in current dollars), or 10.3% of the value of all developing-world arms-transfer agreements (**Table 3**, **Table 6**, **Table 12**, and **Table 13**).

During 2004-2007, the top 10 recipients collectively accounted for 69.3% of all developing world arms transfer agreements. During 2008-2011, the top 10 recipients collectively accounted for 68.2% of all such agreements. Arms transfer agreements with the top 10 developing world recipients, as a group, totaled \$58.9 billion in 2011 or 82.4% of all arms transfer agreements with developing nations that year. These percentages reflect the continued concentration of major arms purchases by developing nations among a few countries (**Table 3**, **Table 12**, and **Table 13**).

Saudi Arabia ranked first among all developing world recipients in the value of arms transfer agreements in 2011, concluding \$33.7 billion in such agreements. India ranked second in agreements with \$6.9 billion. The United Arab Emirates ranked third with \$4.5 billion in agreements. Six of the top 10 recipients were in the Near East region; four were in the Asian region (**Table 13**).

Saudi Arabia was the leading recipient of arms *deliveries* among developing world recipients in 2011, receiving \$2.8 billion in such deliveries. India ranked second in arms deliveries in 2011 with \$2.7 billion. Pakistan ranked third with \$1.8 billion (**Table 24**).

Arms *deliveries* to the top 10 developing nation recipients, as a group, were valued at \$17.1 billion, or 61.1% of all arms deliveries to developing nations in 2010. Seven of these top 10 recipients were in the Near East; two were in Asia, one was from Latin America (**Table 14** and **Table 24**).

## Weapons Types Recently Delivered to Near East Nations

Regional weapons delivery data reflect the diverse sources of supply and type of conventional weaponry actually transferred to developing nations. Even though the United States, Russia, and the four major West European suppliers dominate in the delivery of the 14 classes of weapons examined, it is also evident that the other European suppliers and some non-European suppliers, including China, can be leading suppliers of selected types of conventional armaments to developing nations (**Tables 25-29**).

Weapons deliveries to the Near East, historically the largest purchasing region in the developing world, reflect the quantities and types delivered by both major and lesser suppliers. The following is a summary of weapons deliveries to this region for the period 2008-2011 from **Table 27**:

#### **United States**

- 348 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 170 APCs and armored cars
- 35 supersonic combat aircraft
- 36 helicopters
- 647 surface-to-air missiles

#### Russia

- 50 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 130 APCs and armored cars
- 40 supersonic combat aircraft
- 2 submarines
- 30 helicopters
- 3,480 surface-to-air missiles
- 50 surface-to-surface missiles
- 110 anti-ship missiles

#### China

- 60 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 160 APCs and armored cars

#### **Major West European Suppliers**

- 130 APCs and armored cars
- 31 minor surface combatants
- 20 supersonic combat aircraft
- 50 helicopters
- 50 anti-ship missiles

#### All Other European Suppliers

- 70 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 300 APCs and armored cars
- 1 major surface combatant
- 19 minor surface combatants
- 80 supersonic combat aircraft

#### All Other Suppliers

- 10 tanks and self-propelled guns
- 250 APCs and armored cars
- 14 minor surface combatants
- 10 helicopters
- 40 anti-ship missiles

These data indicate that substantial quantities of major combat systems were delivered to the Near East region from 2008 to 2011, in particular tanks and self-propelled guns, armored vehicles,

supersonic combat aircraft, helicopters, air defense, and anti-ship missiles. While the United States, Russia, and the European suppliers were the ones who delivered the greater number of these significant combat systems, other suppliers provided important naval systems and ground equipment as well. Both aircraft platforms and naval craft are particularly expensive, and constitute a large portion of the dollar values of arms deliveries of all suppliers to this region during the 2008-2011 period. While not necessarily as expensive as aircraft or naval vessels, other weapon systems possess deadly capabilities and create important security threats in the Near East region. Such systems include anti-ship and surface-to-surface missiles. In these categories Russia delivered 110 anti-ship and 50 surface-to-surface missiles to the Near East from 2008-2011. The four major West European suppliers collectively delivered 50 anti-ship missiles. A supplier or suppliers in the other, non-major, and non-European, supplying group delivered 40 anti-ship missiles during this four-year period.

#### UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL ARMS EXPORTS

United States commercially licensed arms deliveries data are not included in this report. The United States is the only major arms supplier that has two distinct systems for the export of weapons: the government-to-government Foreign Military Sales (FMS) system, and the licensed commercial export system. It should be noted that data maintained on U.S. commercial sales agreements and deliveries are incomplete, and are not collected or revised on an ongoing basis, making them significantly less precise than those for the U.S. FMS program—which accounts for the overwhelming portion of U.S. conventional arms transfer agreements and deliveries involving weapons systems. There are no official compilations of commercial agreement data comparable to that for the FMS program maintained on an annual basis. Once an exporter receives from the State Department a commercial license authorization to sell—valid for four years—there is no current requirement that the exporter provide to the State Department, on a systematic and ongoing basis, comprehensive details regarding any sales contract that results from the license authorization, including if any such contract is reduced in scope or cancelled. Nor is the exporter required to report that no contract with the prospective buyer resulted.

Annual commercially licensed arms deliveries data are obtained from shippers' export documents and completed licenses from ports of exit by the U.S. Customs and Border Protection Agency, which are then provided to the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau takes these arms export data and, following a minimal review of them, submits them to the Directorate of Defense Trade Controls in the Political-Military Bureau (PM/DDTC) of the State Department, which makes the final compilation of such data—details of which are not publicly available. Once compiled by the Directorate of Defense Trade Controls at the State Department, these commercially licensed arms deliveries data are not revised. By contrast, the U.S. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program data, for both agreements and deliveries, maintained by the Defense Department, are systematically collected, reviewed for accuracy on an on-going basis, and are revised from year to year as needed to reflect any changes or to correct any errors in the information. This report includes all FMS deliveries data. By excluding U.S. commercial licensed arms deliveries data, the U.S. arms delivery totals will be understated.

Some have suggested that a systematic data collection and reporting system for commercial licensed exports, comparable to the one which exists now in the Department of Defense, should be established by the Department of State. Having current and comprehensive agreement and delivery data on commercially licensed exports would provide a more complete picture of the U.S. arms export trade, in this view, and thus facilitate congressional oversight of this sector of U.S. exports.

## Arms Values Data Tables and Charts for 2004-2011

**Tables 3** through **13** present data on arms transfer *agreements* with developing nations by major suppliers from 2004 to 2011. These data show the most recent trends in arms contract activity by major suppliers. *Delivery* data, which reflect implementation of sales previously concluded, are provided in **Tables 14** through **24**. **Table 30**, **Table 31**, **Table 32**, **Table 33**, and **Table 34** provide data on *worldwide* arms transfer *agreements* from 2004 to 2011, while **Table 35**, **Table 36**, **Table 37**, **Table 38**, and **Table 39** provide data on *worldwide* arms *deliveries* during this period. 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 or modifications of major arms transfer agreements previously concluded.

These data sets reflect the comparative magnitude of arms transactions by arms suppliers with recipient nations expressed in *constant* dollar terms, unless otherwise noted. Illustrative pie and bar charts are provided in this section to give the relative market share of individual arms suppliers globally, to the developing world, and to specific regions. **Table 1** provides the value of *worldwide* arms transfer *agreements* for 2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2011, and the *suppliers'* share of such agreements with the developing world. **Table 2** provides the value of worldwide arms deliveries for 2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2011, and the *suppliers' share of such deliveries* with the developing world. Specific content of other individual data tables is described below.

**Table 3** shows the annual current dollar values of arms transfer agreements to developing nations by major suppliers from 2004 to 2011. This table provides the data from which **Table 4** (constant dollars) and **Table 5** (supplier percentages) are derived.

#### • Regional Arms Transfer Agreements, 2004-2011

**Table 6** gives the values of arms transfer agreements between suppliers and individual regions of the developing world for the periods 2004-2006 and 2008-2011. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. **Table 7**, derived from **Table 6**, gives the percentage distribution of each supplier's agreement values within the regions for the two time periods. **Table 8**, also derived from **Table 6**, illustrates what percentage share of each developing world region's total arms transfer agreements was held by specific suppliers during the years 2004-2007 and 2008-2011.

# • Arms Transfer Agreements With Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

**Table 9** gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the developing nations from 2004 to 2011 by the top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with the developing world for each of three periods—2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2004-2011.

#### Arms Transfer Agreements With Developing Nations in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

**Table 10** ranks and gives for 2011 the values of arms transfer agreements with developing nations of the top 11 suppliers in current U.S. dollars.

#### Arms Transfer Agreements With Near East 2004-2011: Suppliers and Recipients

**Table 11** gives the values of arms transfer agreements with the Near East nations by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 2004-2007 and 2008-2011. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in **Table 3** and **Table 6**.

# • Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Agreements With Leading Recipients

**Table 12** gives the values of arms transfer agreements made by the top 10 recipients of arms in the developing world from 2004 to 2011 with all suppliers collectively. The table ranks recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers for each of three periods—2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2004-2011.

# • Arms Transfers to Developing Nations in 2011: Agreements With Leading Recipients

**Table 13** names the top 10 developing world recipients of arms transfer agreements in 2011. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers in 2011.

#### • Developing Nations Arms Delivery Values

**Table 14** shows the annual current dollar values of arms deliveries (items actually transferred) to developing nations by major suppliers from 2004 to 2011. The utility of these particular data is that they reflect transfers that have occurred. They provide the data from which **Table 15** (constant dollars) and **Table 16** (supplier percentages) are derived.

#### • Regional Arms Delivery Values, 2004-2011

**Table 17** gives the values of arms deliveries by suppliers to individual regions of the developing world for the periods 2004-2007 and 2008-2011. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. **Table 18**, derived from **Table 17**, gives the percentage distribution of each supplier's deliveries values within the regions for the two time periods. **Table 19**, also derived from **Table 17**, illustrates what percentage share of each developing world region's total arms delivery values was held by specific suppliers during the years 2004-2007 and 2008-2011.

#### Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

**Table 20** gives the values of arms deliveries to developing nations from 2004 to 2011 by the top 11 suppliers. The table ranks these suppliers on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries to the developing world for each of three periods—2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2004-2011.

#### Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

**Table 21** ranks and gives for 2011 the values of arms deliveries to developing nations of the top 10 suppliers in current U.S. dollars.

Arms Deliveries to Near East, 2004-2011: Suppliers and Recipients

**Table 22** gives the values of arms delivered to Near East nations by suppliers or categories of suppliers for the periods 2004-2007 and 2008-2011. These values are expressed in current U.S. dollars. They are a subset of the data contained in **Table 14** and **Table 17**.

• Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011: The Leading Recipients

**Table 23** gives the values of arms deliveries made to the top 10 recipients of arms in the developing world from 2004 to 2011 by all suppliers collectively. The table ranks recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective deliveries from all suppliers for each of three periods—2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2004-2011.

• Arms Transfers to Developing Nations in 2011: Agreements With Leading Recipients

**Table 24** names the top 10 developing world recipients of arms transfer agreements in 2011. The table ranks these recipients on the basis of the total current dollar values of their respective agreements with all suppliers in 2011.

Figure 1.Arms Transfer Agreements Worldwide, 2004-2011 Developed and Developing Worlds Compared

In billions of constant 2011 dollars

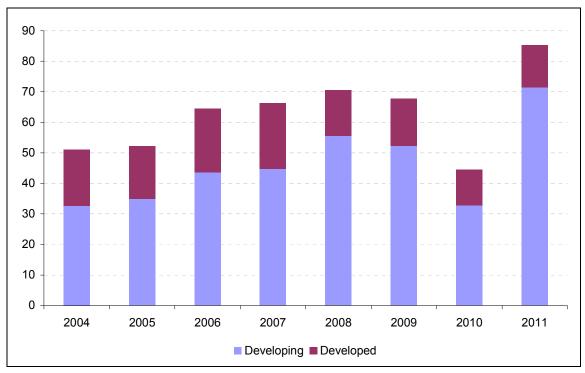
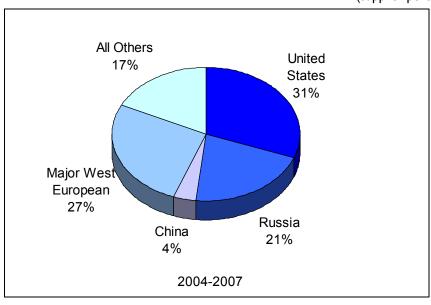


Figure 2. Arms Transfer Agreements Worldwide

(supplier percentage of value)



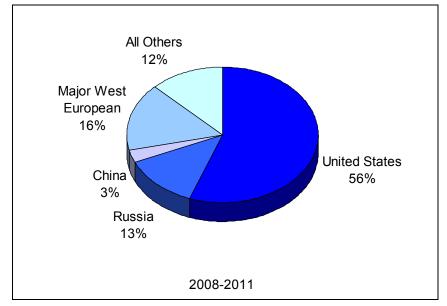
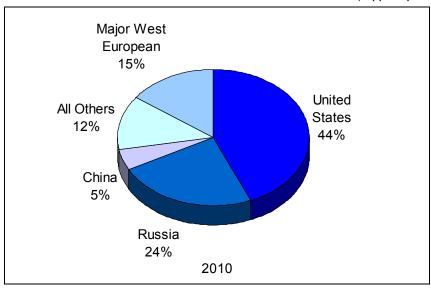


Figure 3. Arms Transfer Agreements With Developing Nations

(supplier percentage of value)



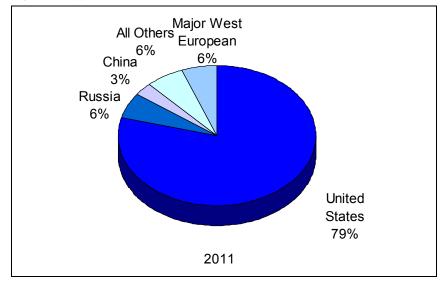
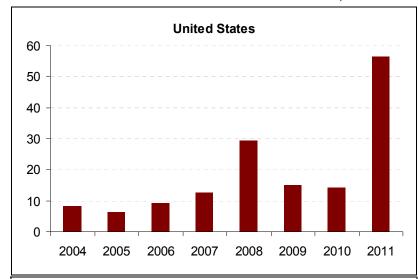
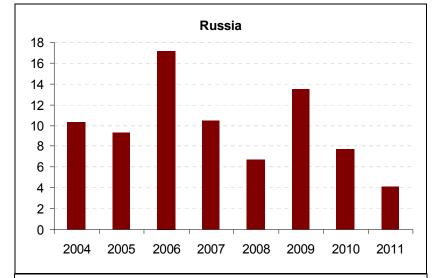
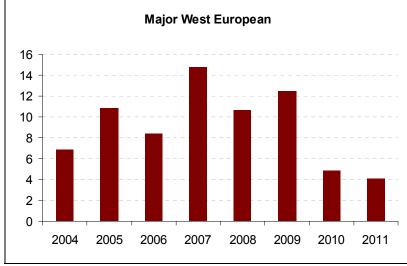


Figure 4. Arms Transfer Agreements With Developing Nations by Major Supplier, 2004-2011

(billions of constant 2011 dollars)







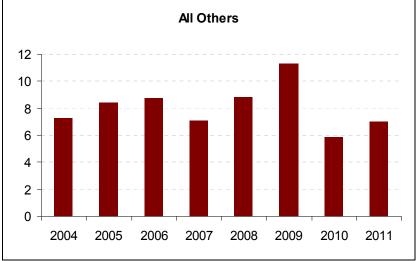


Table 1. Worldwide Arms Transfer Agreements, 2004-2011 and Suppliers' Share with Developing World

(in millions of current 2011 U.S. dollars)

Supplier	Worldwide Agreements Value 2004-2007	Percentage of Total with Developing World
United States	63,593	50.70%
Russia	43,000	96.30%
France	19,100	44.00%
United Kingdom	20,700	98.60%
China	8,200	100.00%
Germany	10,700	46.70%
Italy	4,500	53.30%
All Other European	24,900	43.40%
All Others	11,400	75.40%
TOTAL	206,093	66.70%

Supplier	Worldwide Agreements Value 2008-2011	Percentage of Total with Developing World
United States	145,702	77.50%
Russia	33,500	92.80%
France	19,600	88.30%
United Kingdom	3,600	77.80%
China	8,300	97.60%
Germany	9,300	55.90%
Italy	8,800	65.90%
All Other European	19,300	73.60%
All Others	13,700	71.50%
TOTAL	261,802	79.20%

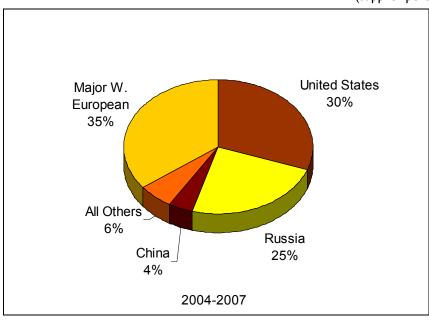
# Worldwide Arms Transfer Agreements, 2004-2011 and Suppliers' Share with Developing World (Continued)

(in millions of current 2011 U.S. dollars)

Supplier	Worldwide Agreements Value 2011	Percentage of Total with Developing World
United States	66,274	85.00%
Russia	4,800	85.40%
France	4,400	61.40%
United Kingdom	400	75.00%
China	2,100	100.00%
Germany	100	0.0%
Italy	1,200	91.70%
All Other European	3,300	72.70%
All Others	2,700	92.60%
TOTAL	85,274	83.90%

Figure 5. Arms Transfer Agreements With Near East

(supplier percentage of value)



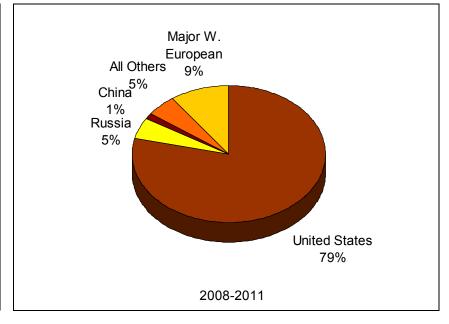
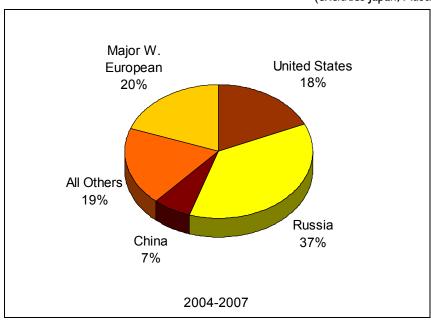


Figure 6. Arms Transfer Agreements With Developing Nations in Asia

(supplier percentage of value)

(excludes Japan, Australia, and New Zealand)



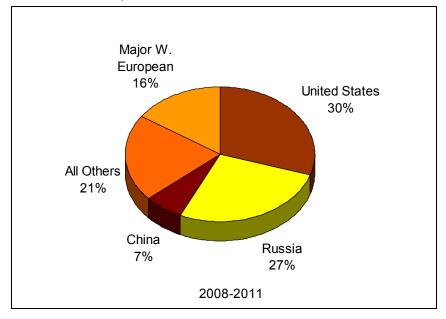


Figure 7.Arms Deliveries Worldwide 2004-2011 Developed and Developing Worlds Compared

(in billions of constant 2011 dollars)

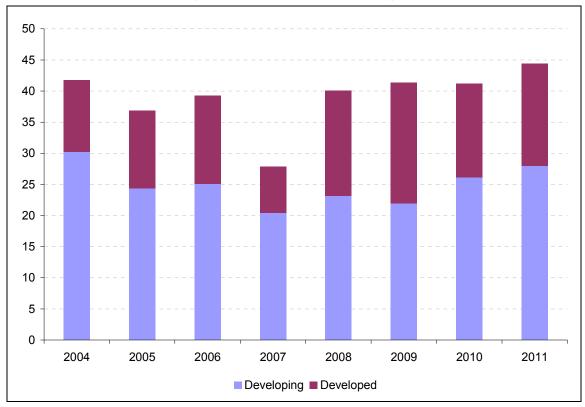
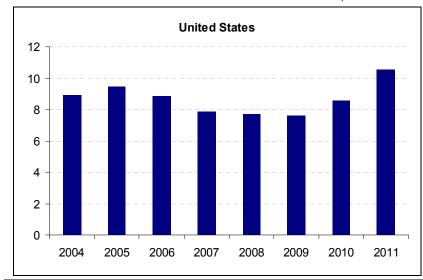
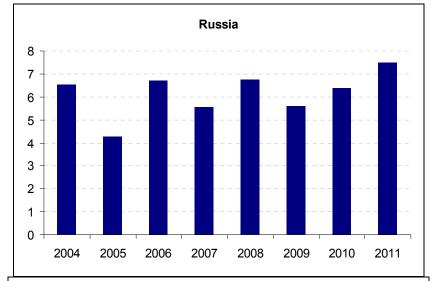
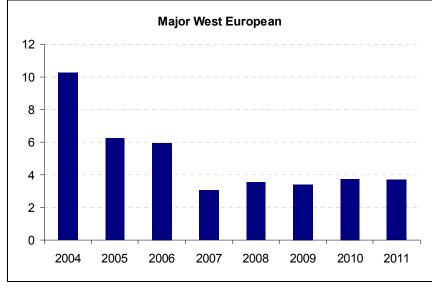


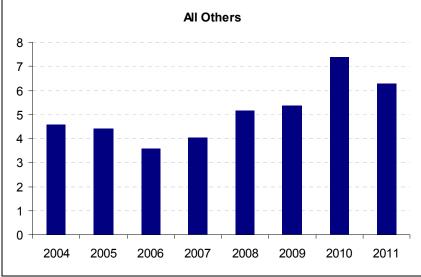
Figure 8.Arms Deliveries to Developing Countries by Major Supplier, 2004-2011

(in billions of constant 2011 dollars)









Source: U.S. government.

Table 2. Worldwide Arms Deliveries, 2004-2011 and Suppliers' Share with Developing World

Supplier	Worldwide Deliveries Value 2004-2007	Percentage of Total to Developing World
United States	47,974	64.00%
Russia	21,000	96.20%
France	12,600	68.30%
United Kingdom	14,000	72.10%
China	5,100	94.10%
Germany	9,300	28.00%
Italy	2,300	30.40%
All Other European	12,800	38.30%
All Others	11,300	42.50%
TOTAL	136,374	64.10%

Supplier	Worldwide Deliveries Value 2008-2011	Percentage of Total to Developing World
United States	54,270	62.00%
Russia	27,800	92.10%
France	6,500	46.10%
United Kingdom	10,600	50.00%
China	8,100	98.80%
Germany	10,800	30.60%
Italy	4,500	55.60%
All Other European	23,600	41.90%
All Others	16,900	34.30%
TOTAL	163,070	59.50%

**Source:** U.S. government.

### Worldwide Arms Deliveries, 2004-2011 and Suppliers' Share with Developing World (Continued)

(in millions of current 2011 U.S. dollars)

Supplier	Worldwide Deliveries Value 2011	Percentage of Total to Developing World
United States	16,160	65.10%
Russia	8,700	86.20%
France	1,700	41.20%
United Kingdom	3,000	50.00%
China	1,300	100.00%
Germany	1,600	25.00%
Italy	1,700	64.70%
All Other European	6,200	53.20%
All Others	3,900	43.60%
TOTAL	44,260	63.30%

Source: U.S. government.

Table 3. Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2004-2011
United States	6,783	5,493	8,435	11,518	28,023	14,582	14,079	56,303	145,216
Russia	8,500	8,000	15,300	9,600	6,400	13,000	7,600	4,100	72,500
France	1,100	5,400	500	1,400	3,600	9,200	1,800	2,700	25,700
United Kingdom	4,100	2,800	4,000	9,500	200	1,100	1,200	300	23,200
China	1,000	2,700	2,000	2,500	2,100	2,300	1,600	2,100	16,300
Germany	200	700	2,400	1,700	4,700	500	0	0	10,200
Italy	300	500	600	1,000	1,600	1,300	1,800	1,100	8,200
All Other European	2,400	3,600	2,700	2,100	4,400	4,700	2,700	2,400	25,000
All Others	2,600	1,000	3,100	1,900	1,900	3,900	1,500	2,500	18,400
TOTAL	26,983	30,193	39,035	41,218	52,923	50,582	32,279	71,503	344,716

Source: U.S. government.

Notes: Developing nations category excludes the United States, Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program), IMET (International Military Education, and Training), and Excess Defense Article data, which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of all categories of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance, excess defense articles, and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Table 4. Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(in millions of constant 2011 U.S. dollars)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL 2004-2011
United States	8,193	6,361	9,440	12,528	29,461	15,086	14,273	56,303	151,644
Russia	10,267	9,264	17,124	10,442	6,728	13,449	7,705	4,100	79,078
France	1,329	6,253	560	1,523	3,785	9,518	1,825	2,700	27,491
United Kingdom	4,952	3,242	4,477	10,333	210	1,138	1,217	300	25,869
China	1,208	3,126	2,238	2,719	2,208	2,379	1,622	2,100	17,601
Germany	242	811	2,686	1,849	4,941	517	0	0	11,046
Italy	362	579	672	1,088	1,682	1,345	1,825	1,100	8,652
All Other European	2,899	4,169	3,022	2,284	4,626	4,862	2,737	2,400	26,999
All Others	3,140	1,158	3,470	2,067	1,997	4,035	1,521	2,500	19,887
TOTAL	32,592	34,962	43,688	44,831	55,638	52,330	32,724	71,503	368,268
Dollar inflation Index:(2011=1)a	0.8279	0.8636	0.8935	0.9194	0.9512	0.9666	0.9864	1	

**Source:** U.S. government.

a. Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator

Table 5. Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(expressed as a **percent of total**, by year)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United States	25.14%	18.19%	21.61%	27.94%	52.95%	28.83%	43.62%	78.74%
Russia	31.50%	26.50%	39.20%	23.29%	12.09%	25.70%	23.54%	5.73%
France	4.08%	17.88%	1.28%	3.40%	6.80%	18.19%	5.58%	3.78%
United Kingdom	15.19%	9.27%	10.25%	23.05%	0.38%	2.17%	3.72%	0.42%
China	3.71%	8.94%	5.12%	6.07%	3.97%	4.55%	4.96%	2.94%
Germany	0.74%	2.32%	6.15%	4.12%	8.88%	0.99%	0.00%	0.00%
Italy	1.11%	1.66%	1.54%	2.43%	3.02%	2.57%	5.58%	1.54%
All Other European	8.89%	11.92%	6.92%	5.09%	8.31%	9.29%	8.36%	3.36%
All Others	9.64%	3.31%	7.94%	4.61%	3.59%	7.71%	4.65%	3.50%
Major West Europeana	[21.12%	31.13%	19.21%	33.00%	19.08%	23.92%	14.87%	5.73%]
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 6. Regional Arms Transfer Agreements, by Supplier, 2004-2011

	А	sia	Near	East	Latin A	merica	Africa	
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011
United States	10,520	18,127	19,962	91,974	1,591	2,590	156	296
Russia	20,900	16,300	16,300	6,000	4,100	7,800	400	1,400
France	5,100	4,100	2,700	4,000	500	8,600	100	600
United Kingdom	2,400	1,300	17,500	1,100	400	300	0	0
China	3,800	4,000	2,600	1,500	400	800	1,300	1,500
Germany	2,500	1,900	2,000	3,200	400	200	0	100
Italy	1,200	2,100	900	2,700	100	900	200	100
All Other European	4,200	5,800	2,800	5,600	3,000	2,200	600	1,000
All Others	6,600	6,700	1,200	500	900	1,400	400	900
Major West Europeana	[11,200	9,400	23,100	11,000	1,400	10,000	300	800]
TOTAL	57,220	60,327	65,962	116,574	11,391	24,790	3,156	5,896

**Source:** U.S. government.

Notes: All foreign data rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Table 7. Percentage of Each Supplier's Agreements Value by Region, 2004-2011

	А	sia	Near	East	Latin A	America	Afı	·ica	то	TAL
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011
United States	32.64%	16.04%	61.94%	81.40%	4.94%	2.29%	0.48%	0.26%	100%	100%
Russia	50.12%	51.75%	39.09%	19.05%	9.83%	24.76%	0.96%	4.44%	100%	100%
France	60.71%	23.70%	32.14%	23.12%	5.95%	49.71%	1.19%	3.47%	100%	100%
United Kingdom	11.82%	48.15%	86.21%	40.74%	1.97%	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%	100%	100%
China	46.91%	51.28%	32.10%	19.23%	4.94%	10.26%	16.05%	19.23%	100%	100%
Germany	51.02%	35.19%	40.82%	59.26%	8.16%	3.70%	0.00%	1.85%	100%	100%
Italy	50.00%	36.21%	37.50%	46.55%	4.17%	15.52%	8.33%	1.72%	100%	100%
All Other European	39.62%	39.73%	26.42%	38.36%	28.30%	15.07%	5.66%	6.85%	100%	100%
All Others	72.53%	70.53%	13.19%	5.26%	9.89%	14.74%	4.40%	9.47%	100%	100%
Major West European <sup>a</sup>	[31.11%	30.13%	64.17%	35.26%	3.89%	32.05%	0.83%	2.56%]	100%	100%
TOTAL	41.55%	29.06%	47.89%	56.16%	8.27%	11.94%	2.29%	2.84%	100%	100%

Table 8. Percentage of Total Agreements Value by Supplier to Regions, 2004-2011

	A	sia	Near	East	Latin A	merica	Africa	
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011
United States	18.39%	30.05%	30.26%	78.90%	13.97%	10.45%	4.94%	5.02%
Russia	36.53%	27.02%	24.71%	5.15%	35.99%	31.46%	12.67%	23.74%
France	8.91%	6.80%	4.09%	3.43%	4.39%	34.69%	3.17%	10.18%
United Kingdom	4.19%	2.15%	26.53%	0.94%	3.51%	1.21%	0.00%	0.00%
China	6.64%	6.63%	3.94%	1.29%	3.51%	3.23%	41.19%	25.44%
Germany	4.37%	3.15%	3.03%	2.75%	3.51%	0.81%	0.00%	1.70%
Italy	2.10%	3.48%	1.36%	2.32%	0.88%	3.63%	6.34%	1.70%
All Other European	7.34%	9.61%	4.24%	4.80%	26.34%	8.87%	19.01%	16.96%
All Others	11.53%	11.11%	1.82%	0.43%	7.90%	5.65%	12.67%	15.26%
Major West Europeana	[19.57%	15.58%	35.02%	9.44%	12.29%	40.34%	9.51%	13.57%]
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 9. Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2004-2007
l	Russia	41,400
2	United States	21,862
3	United Kingdom	20,400
4	France	8,400
5	China	8,200
6	Germany	5,000
7	Israel	4,700
8	Italy	2,400
9	Spain	2,300
10	Ukraine	1,600
П	Netherlands	1,500
Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2008-2011
I	United States	112,987
2	Russia	31,100
3	France	17,300
4	China	8,100
4 5	China Italy	8,100 5,800
5	Italy	5,800
5 6	Italy Germany	5,800 5,200
5 6 7	Italy Germany Israel	5,800 5,200 4,000
5 6 7 8	Italy Germany Israel Ukraine	5,800 5,200 4,000 4,000

**Source:** U.S. government.

### Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2004-2011
1	United States	145,216
2	Russia	72,500
3	France	25,700
4	United Kingdom	23,200
5	China	16,300
6	Germany	10,200
7	Israel	8,700
8	ltaly	8,200
9	Ukraine	5,600
10	Spain	4,400
П	Sweden	3,400

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 10.Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2011
I	United States	56,303
2	Russia	4,100
3	France	2,700
4	China	2,100
5	South Korea	1,500
6	Italy	1,100
7	Ukraine	1,100
8	Turkey	700
9	Brazil	300
10	United Kingdom	300
П	Israel	200

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 11. Arms Transfer Agreements with Near East, by Supplier

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European <sup>a</sup>	All Other European	All Others	Total
2004-2007						•	
Algeria	0	6,500	400	200	0	0	7,100
Bahrain	400	0	0	100	0	0	500
Egypt	4,400	400	300	0	300	0	5,400
Iran	0	1,600	300	0	100	100	2,100
Iraq	1,100	100	100	200	600	200	2,300
Israel	1,800	300	0	1,500	0	0	3,600
Jordan	700	200	100	0	300	0	1,300
Kuwait	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	1,000
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	200	0	600	200	0	1,000
Morocco	0	200	0	400	100	0	700
Oman	100	0	0	2,100	0	0	2,200
Qatar	0	0	0	0	0	100	100
Saudi Arabia	5,000	0	800	16,900	800	100	23,600
Syria	0	5,700	500	0	100	600	6,900
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.A.E.	1,400	300	100	1,100	200	0	3,100
Yemen	0	200	0	0	100	100	400

**Source:** U.S. government.

Notes: 0=data less than \$50 million or nil. All data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

#### Arms Transfer Agreements with Near East, by Supplier (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European <sup>a</sup>	All Other European	All Others	Total
2008-2011							
Algeria	0	2,100	200	800	100	0	3,200
Bahrain	400	0	0	0	0	0	400
Egypt	7,400	500	600	100	300	0	8,900
Iran	0	100	0	0	100	100	300
Iraq	4,800	300	0	500	900	200	6,700
Israel	5,900	0	0	0	0	0	5,900
Jordan	1,500	0	0	0	100	0	1,600
Kuwait	2,500	700	0	0	0	0	3,200
Lebanon	300	0	0	0	0	200	500
Libya	0	100	0	700	200	0	1,000
Morocco	2,700	0	500	1,000	900	0	5,100
Oman	1,500	0	0	200	0	0	1,700
Qatar	200	0	0	800	0	0	1,000
Saudi Arabia	45,600	0	0	5,300	1,100	100	52,100
Syria	0	1,700	200	0	0	100	2,000
Tunisia	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
U.A.E.	14,300	100	0	1,600	1,100	100	17,200
Yemen	0	100	0	0	300	100	500

**Source:** U.S. government.

Notes: 0=data less than \$50 million or nil. All data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Table 12.Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, 2004-2011:

Agreements by the Leading Recipients

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 2004-2007
I	India	25,300
2	Saudi Arabia	23,600
3	Pakistan	9,900
4	Algeria	7,100
5	Syria	6,900
6	Egypt	5,400
7	Venezuela	5,200
8	China	4,500
9	South Korea	3,800
10	Israel	3,600

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 2008-2011
1	Saudi Arabia	52,100
2	India	21,300
3	U.A.E.	17,200
4	Brazil	9,400
5	Egypt	8,900
6	Venezuela	7,900
7	Iraq	6,700
8	Taiwan	6,500
9	Israel	5,900
10	South Korea	5,400

**Source:** U.S. government.

# Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations, 2004-2011: Agreements by the Leading Recipients (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 2004-2011
I	Saudi Arabia	75,700
2	India	46,600
3	U.A.E.	20,300
4	Egypt	14,300
5	Pakistan	13,200
6	Venezuela	13,100
7	Brazil	10,900
8	Algeria	10,300
9	Israel	9,500
10	South Korea	9,200

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 13.Arms Transfer Agreements with Developing Nations in 2011:Agreements by Leading Recipients

Rank	Recipient	Agreements Value 2011
1	Saudi Arabia	33,700
2	India	6,900
3	U.A.E.	4,500
4	Israel	4,100
5	Indonesia	2,100
6	China	1,900
7	Taiwan	1,600
8	Egypt	1,500
9	Oman	1,500
10	Algeria	1,100

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 14. Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2004-2011
United States	7,385	8,161	7,928	7,198	7,304	7,345	8,458	10,522	64,301
Russia	5,400	3,700	6,000	5,100	6,400	5,400	6,300	7,500	45,800
France	5,200	2,000	500	900	700	600	1,000	700	11,600
United Kingdom	2,400	3,000	3,600	1,100	1,200	1,100	1,500	1,500	15,400
China	900	900	1,400	1,600	2,100	1,700	2,900	1,300	12,800
Germany	800	300	900	600	1,300	1,100	500	400	5,900
Italy	100	100	300	200	200	500	700	1,100	3,200
All Other European	1,100	1,300	1,200	1,300	2,000	1,900	2,700	3,300	14,800
All Others	1,800	1,600	600	800	800	1,600	1,700	1,700	10,600
TOTAL	25,085	21,061	22,428	18,798	22,004	21,245	25,758	28,022	184,401

Source: U.S. government.

**Note:** Developing nations category excludes the United States, Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All data are for the calendar year given except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program), IMET (International Military Education, and Training), and Excess Defense Article data, which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of all categories of weapons, spare parts, construction, all associated services, military assistance, excess defense articles, and training programs. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Table 15. Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(in millions of constant 2011 U.S. dollars)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2004-2011
United States	8,920	9,450	8,873	7,829	7,679	7,599	8,575	10,522	69,446
Russia	6,523	4,284	6,715	5,547	6,728	5,587	6,387	7,500	49,271
France	6,281	2,316	560	979	736	621	1,014	700	13,206
United Kingdom	2,899	3,474	4,029	1,196	1,262	1,138	1,521	1,500	17,019
China	1,087	1,042	1,567	1,740	2,208	1,759	2,940	1,300	13,643
Germany	966	347	1,007	653	1,367	1,138	507	400	6,385
Italy	121	116	336	218	210	517	710	1,100	3,327
All Other European	1,329	1,505	1,343	1,414	2,103	1,966	2,737	3,300	15,696
All Others	2,174	1,853	672	870	841	1,655	1,723	1,700	11,488
TOTAL	30,300	24,387	25,101	20,446	23,133	21,979	26,113	28,022	199,481
Dollar Inflation index: (2011=1) <sup>a</sup>	0.8279	0.8636	0.8935	0.9194	0.9512	0.9666	0.9864	I	

**Source:** U.S. government.

a. Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator.

Table 16. Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United States	29.44%	38.75%	35.35%	38.29%	33.19%	34.57%	32.84%	37.55%
Russia	21.53%	17.57%	26.75%	27.13%	29.09%	25.42%	24.46%	26.76%
France	20.73%	9.50%	2.23%	4.79%	3.18%	2.82%	3.88%	2.50%
United Kingdom	9.57%	14.24%	16.05%	5.85%	5.45%	5.18%	5.82%	5.35%
China	3.59%	4.27%	6.24%	8.51%	9.54%	8.00%	11.26%	4.64%
Germany	3.19%	1.42%	4.01%	3.19%	5.91%	5.18%	1.94%	1.43%
Italy	0.40%	0.47%	1.34%	1.06%	0.91%	2.35%	2.72%	3.93%
All Other European	4.39%	6.17%	5.35%	6.92%	9.09%	8.94%	10.48%	11.78%
All Others	7.18%	7.60%	2.68%	4.26%	3.64%	7.53%	6.60%	6.07%
Major West Europeana	<b>[</b> 33.88%	25.64%	23.63%	14.90%	15.45%	15.53%	14.36%	13.20% <b>]</b>
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 17. Regional Arms Deliveries by Supplier, 2004-2011

	Asia		Near	East	Latin Ar	nerica	Africa		
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	
United States	9,877	9,477	19,537	22,642	1,165	1,405	93	105	
Russia	14,300	13,200	3,400	8,400	1,900	3,100	600	900	
France	2,000	1,200	6,000	1,100	500	400	100	200	
United Kingdom	1,100	1,700	7,900	3,300	300	200	900	0	
China	2,500	4,000	1,300	2,600	100	600	900	900	
Germany	1,700	2,500	400	400	100	200	1,100	300	
Italy	200	1,000	100	900	100	400	200	300	
All Other European	1,900	3,600	1,500	1,900	1,200	2,400	500	1,700	
All Others	2,800	3,500	900	500	900	1,300	300	400	
Major West European <sup>a</sup>	5,000	6,400	14,400	5,700	1,000	1,200	2,300	800	
TOTAL	36,377	40,177	41,037	41,742	6,265	10,005	4,693	4,805	

**Source:** U.S. government.

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

Table 18. Percentage of Supplier Deliveries Value by Region, 2004-2011

	As	ia	Near	East	Latin .	America	Afı	rica	TOTAL	
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011
United States	32.20%	28.18%	63.70%	67.33%	3.80%	4.18%	0.30%	0.31%	100.00%	100.00%
Russia	70.79%	51.56%	16.83%	32.81%	9.41%	12.11%	2.97%	3.52%	100.00%	100.00%
France	23.26%	41.38%	69.77%	37.93%	5.81%	13.79%	1.16%	6.90%	100.00%	100.00%
United Kingdom	10.78%	32.69%	77.45%	63.46%	2.94%	3.85%	8.82%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
China	52.08%	49.38%	27.08%	32.10%	2.08%	7.41%	18.75%	11.11%	100.00%	100.00%
Germany	51.52%	73.53%	12.12%	11.76%	3.03%	5.88%	33.33%	8.82%	100.00%	100.00%
Italy	33.33%	38.46%	16.67%	34.62%	16.67%	15.38%	33.33%	11.54%	100.00%	100.00%
All Other European	37.25%	37.50%	29.41%	19.79%	23.53%	25.00%	9.80%	17.71%	100.00%	100.00%
All Others	57.14%	61.40%	18.37%	8.77%	18.37%	22.81%	6.12%	7.02%	100.00%	100.00%
Major West Europeana	[22.03%	45.39%	63.44%	40.43%	4.41%	8.51%	10.13%	5.67%	100.00%	100.00%]
TOTAL	41.16%	41.54%	46.44%	43.15%	7.09%	10.34%	5.31%	4.97%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 19. Percentage of Total Deliveries Value by Supplier to Regions, 2004-2011

	Asia		Near	East	Latin	America	Africa	
	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011	2004-2007	2008-2011
United States	27.15%	23.59%	47.61%	54.24%	18.60%	14.04%	1.98%	2.19%
Russia	39.31%	32.85%	8.29%	20.12%	30.33%	30.98%	12.78%	18.73%
France	5.50%	2.99%	14.62%	2.64%	7.98%	4.00%	2.13%	4.16%
United Kingdom	3.02%	4.23%	19.25%	7.91%	4.79%	2.00%	19.18%	0.00%
China	6.87%	9.96%	3.17%	6.23%	1.60%	6.00%	19.18%	18.73%
Germany	4.67%	6.22%	0.97%	0.96%	1.60%	2.00%	23.44%	6.24%
Italy	0.55%	2.49%	0.24%	2.16%	1.60%	4.00%	4.26%	6.24%
All Other European	5.22%	8.96%	3.66%	4.55%	19.15%	23.99%	10.65%	35.38%
All Others	7.70%	8.71%	2.19%	1.20%	14.37%	12.99%	6.39%	8.32%
Major West Europeana	[13.74%	15.93%	35.09%	13.66%	15.96%	11.99%	49.01%	16.65%]
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 20.Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011 Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2004-2007
I	United States	30,672
2	Russia	20,200
3	United Kingdom	10,100
4	France	8,600
5	China	4,800
6	Germany	2,600
7	Israel	1,600
8	Netherlands	900
9	Ukraine	900
10	ltaly	700
П	Brazil	600
Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2008-2011
1	United States	33,629
2	Russia	25,600
3		
3	China	8,000
4	China United Kingdom	8,000 5,300
4	United Kingdom	5,300
4 5	United Kingdom Germany	5,300 3,300
4 5 6	United Kingdom Germany Israel	5,300 3,300 3,100
4 5 6 7	United Kingdom Germany Israel France	5,300 3,300 3,100 3,000
4 5 6 7 8	United Kingdom Germany Israel France Sweden	5,300 3,300 3,100 3,000 2,800

**Source:** U.S. government.

# Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011 Leading Suppliers Compared (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2004-2011
ı	United States	64,301
2	Russia	45,800
3	United Kingdom	15,400
4	China	12,800
5	France	11,600
6	Germany	5,900
7	Israel	4,700
8	Italy	3,200
9	Sweden	2,900
10	Spain	2,700
П	Netherlands	2,000

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 21. Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 2011
I	United States	8,458
2	Russia	7,500
3	United Kingdom	1,500
4	China	1,300
5	Israel	1,300
6	Spain	1,200
7	Italy	1,100
8	Sweden	800
9	France	700
10	Netherlands	400
П	Ukraine	400

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 22. Arms Deliveries to Near East, by Supplier

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European <sup>a</sup>	All Other European	All Others	Total
2004-2007				•			
Algeria	0	900	200	0	0	0	1,100
Bahrain	200	0	0	100	0	0	300
Egypt	5,700	300	400	0	400	0	6,800
Iran	0	500	200	0	0	200	900
Iraq	200	100	0	100	300	100	800
Israel	5,700	100	0	0	0	0	5,800
Jordan	600	100	0	0	0	0	700
Kuwait	1,500	0	0	0	0	0	1,500
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya	0	200	0	0	200	0	400
Morocco	100	100	0	0	0	100	300
Oman	700	0	0	300	0	0	1,000
Qatar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	4,300	0	200	9,900	100	100	14,600
Syria	0	500	300	0	0	300	1,100
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.A.E.	600	200	0	4,000	400	0	5,200
Yemen	0	400	0	0	100	100	600

Source: U.S. government.

Notes: 0=data less than \$50 million or nil. All data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

#### **Arms Deliveries to Near East, by Supplier (Continued)**

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Recipient Country	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European <sup>a</sup>	All Other European	All Others	Total
2008-2011				•			
Algeria	0	4,700	400	300	0	0	5,400
Bahrain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	3,900	300	400	0	200	0	4,800
Iran	0	200	0	0	0	0	200
Iraq	2,600	300	0	300	100	100	3,400
Israel	3,800	200	0	0	0	0	4,000
Jordan	900	100	100	0	300	0	1,400
Kuwait	1,300	100	100	0	0	0	1,500
Lebanon	200	0	0	0	0	100	300
Libya	0	100	0	300	0	0	400
Morocco	1,000	0	500	200	400	0	2,100
Oman	200	0	0	500	0	0	700
Qatar	0	0	0	200	0	0	200
Saudi Arabia	5,900	0	700	3,300	300	0	10,200
Syria	0	2,000	400	0	100	200	2,700
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.A.E.	2,000	300	100	600	300	0	3,300
Yemen	0	100	0	0	200	100	400

Source: U.S. government.

Notes: 0=data less than \$50 million or nil. All data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

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

Table 23.Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011:The Leading Recipients (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 2004-2007		
I	Saudi Arabia	14,600		
2	China	9,000		
3	India	8,100		
4	Egypt	6,300		
5	Israel	5,800		
6	U.A.E.	5,200		
7	Taiwan	4,300		
8	Pakistan	3,200		
9	South Korea	3,000		
10	South Africa	2,100		
Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 2008-2011		
I	Saudi Arabia	10,200		
2	India	10,100		
3	Pakistan	6,600		
4	Algeria	5,400		
5	Egypt	4,800		
6	South Korea	4,300		
7	Israel	4,000		
8	Venezuela	4,000		
		3,700		
9	China	3,700		

# Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011: The Leading Recipients (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 2004-2011
I	Saudi Arabia	24,800
2	India	18,200
3	China	12,700
4	Egypt	11,100
5	Pakistan	9,800
6	Israel	9,800
7	U.A.E.	8,500
8	South Korea	7,300
9	Taiwan	7,200
10	Algeria	6,500

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 24.Arms Deliveries to Developing Nations in 2011:The Leading Recipients (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Recipient	Deliveries Value 2011
I	Saudi Arabia	2,800
2	India	2,700
3	Pakistan	1,800
4	U.A.E.	1,700
5	Venezuela	1,700
6	Algeria	1,500
7	Egypt	1,300
8	Iraq	1,300
9	Morocco	1,300
10	Syria	1,000

# Selected Weapons Deliveries to Developing Nations, 2004-2011

Other useful data for assessing arms transfers are those that indicate who has actually delivered specific numbers of specific classes of military items to a region. These data are relatively "hard" in that they reflect actual transfers 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 show relative trends in the delivery of important classes of military equipment and indicate who the leading suppliers are from region to region over time. Data in the following tables set out actual deliveries of 14 categories of weaponry to developing nations from 2004 to 2011 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. The tables show these deliveries data for all of the developing nations collectively, for Asia, for the Near East, for Latin America, and for Africa.

Care should be taken in using 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 quantity of the weaponry delivered. The history of recent conventional conflicts suggests that quality and/or sophistication of weapons can offset quantitative advantage. Further, these data do not provide an indication of the relative capabilities of the recipient nations to use effectively the weapons delivered to them. Superior training—coupled with good equipment, tactical and operational proficiency, and sound logistics—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 25. Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Suppliers to Developing Nations

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European*	All Other European	All Others
2004-2007						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	672	300	160	160	420	10
Artillery	240	20	450	10	380	1,020
APCs and Armored Cars	726	480	460	260	2,600	800
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	17	6	3
Minor Surface Combatants	0	5	56	57	41	116
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	7	9	3
Submarines	0	8	0	5	4	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	104	180	20	70	40	40
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	2	0	10	20	0	10
Other Aircraft	50	40	130	20	90	130
Helicopters	73	200	0	80	20	40
Surface-to-Air Missiles	910	6,340	530	650	710	150
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	30
Anti-Ship Missiles	262	360	120	150	120	50
2008-2011					•	
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	348	570	510	360	550	40
Artillery	150	90	770	30	410	700
APCs and Armored Cars	234	490	590	470	1,200	440
Major Surface Combatants	5	4	3	3	4	4
Minor Surface Combatants	0	6	108	57	40	100
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0	0	0	4
Submarines	0	2	0	4	I	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	53	180	30	50	130	50
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	20	50	20	40
Other Aircraft	52	20	130	60	130	60
Helicopters	57	270	10	110	70	30
Surface-to-Air Missiles	944	7,750	780	290	470	290
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	50	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	176	220	60	60	0	40

Table 26. Number of Weapons Delivered by Suppliers to Asia and the Pacific

				Major West		
Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	European*	All Other European	All Others
2004-2007						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	115	40	160	0	10	0
Artillery	108	20	210	10	120	30
APCs and Armored Cars	54	220	50	120	470	60
Major Surface Combatants	0	3	0	4	1	2
Minor Surface Combatants	6	3	22	9	8	16
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	8	0	I	2	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	110	10	40	10	40
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	2	0	10	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	12	30	20	10	20	30
Helicopters	22	90	0	20	10	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles	474	1,180	530	240	190	150
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	175	360	40	50	40	0
2008-2011						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	360	260	100	40	0
Artillery	0	40	130	10	60	20
APCs and Armored Cars	25	250	100	0	590	100
Major Surface Combatants	5	4	3	2	3	2
Minor Surface Combatants	0	6	2	10	1	32
Guided Missile Boats	0	2	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	3	1	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	18	140	10	10	10	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	10	50	0	20
Other Aircraft	14	0	60	40	40	10
Helicopters	2	110	10	20	20	0
Surface-to-Air Missiles	297	1,080	760	290	0	290
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	176	110	60	10	0	0

Table 27. Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Suppliers to Near East

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European*	All Other European	All Others
2004-2007						
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	557	260	0	20	130	0
Artillery	31	0	0	0	40	40
APCs and Armored Cars	672	260	0	90	1,950	560
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	3	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	6	0	0	35	10	89
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	6	9	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	94	30	0	20	10	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	20	0	60	10	30	40
Helicopters	35	30	0	10	0	20
Surface-to-Air Missiles	436	5,160	0	400	520	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	30
Anti-Ship Missiles	77	0	80	90	70	50
2008-2011	·I		l		1	
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	348	50	60	0	70	10
Artillery	149	0	230	0	160	50
APCs and Armored Cars	170	130	160	130	300	250
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	0	1	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	0	0	31	19	14
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	2	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	35	30	0	20	80	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Aircraft	7	20	20	10	30	0
Helicopters	36	30	0	50	0	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	647	3,480	0	0	150	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	50	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	0	110	0	50	0	40

Table 28. Numbers of Weapons Delivered by Suppliers to Latin America

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European*	All Other European	All Others
2004-2007				L	L	
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	0	0	140	0	0
Artillery	101	0	10	0	10	0
APCs and Armored Cars	0	0	30	0	10	40
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	7	5	0
Minor Surface Combatants	9	2	0	4	2	2
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	2	2	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	10	20	0	10	20	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	0	0	0	10
Other Aircraft	18	10	0	0	20	50
Helicopters	16	40	0	10	0	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	10	0	0	0	10	0
2008-2011	1					l
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	110	0	260	0	0
Artillery	I	50	0	20	60	0
APCs and Armored Cars	39	50	20	160	220	20
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	I	0	2
Minor Surface Combatants	0	0	2	12	5	12
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	10	0	10	20	30
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	0	0	0	20
Other Aircraft	31	0	30	0	40	40
Helicopters	19	60	0	10	10	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	3,070	20	0	30	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 29. Number of Weapons Delivered by Suppliers to Africa

Weapons Category	U.S.	Russia	China	Major West European*	All Other European	All Others
2004-2007				•	-	
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	0	0	0	280	10
Artillery	0	0	230	0	210	950
APCs and Armored Cars	0	0	380	50	170	140
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	3	0	I
Minor Surface Combatants	0	0	34	9	21	9
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	1	0	3
Submarines	0	0	0	2	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	20	10	0	0	0
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	0	20	0	0
Other Aircraft	0	0	50	0	20	10
Helicopters	0	40	0	40	10	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	0	0	10	0	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	0	0	0	10	0	0
2008-2011	I .			L	1	
Tanks and Self-Propelled Guns	0	50	190	0	440	30
Artillery	0	0	410	0	130	630
APCs and Armored Cars	0	60	310	180	90	70
Major Surface Combatants	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minor Surface Combatants	0	0	104	4	15	42
Guided Missile Boats	0	0	0	0	0	2
Submarines	0	0	0	I	0	0
Supersonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	20	10	20	20
Subsonic Combat Aircraft	0	0	10	0	20	0
Other Aircraft	0	0	20	10	20	10
Helicopters	0	70	0	30	40	10
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	120	0	0	290	0
Surface-to-Surface Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-Ship Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: U.S. government.

**Note:** Developing nations category excludes the United States, Russia, Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All data are for calendar years given. \* Major West European includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy totals as an aggregate figure. Data relating to surface-to-surface and anti-ship missiles by foreign suppliers are estimates based on a variety of sources having a wide range of accuracy. As such, individual data entries in these two weapons delivery categories are not necessarily definitive.

## Worldwide Arms Transfer Agreements and Deliveries Values, 2004-2011

Ten tables follow. **Table 30**, **Table 31**, **Table 32**, **Table 35**, **Table 36**, and **Table 37** provide the total dollar values for arms transfer agreements and arms deliveries *worldwide* for the years 2004-2011. These tables use the same format and detail as **Table 3**, **Table 4**, **Table 5**, **Table 14**, **Table 15**, and **Table 16**, which provide the total dollar values for arms transfer *agreements* with and arms deliveries to *developing nations*. **Table 33**, **Table 34**, **Table 38**, and **Table 39** provide a list of the top 11 arms suppliers to the world based on the total values (in **current** dollars) of their arms transfer agreements and arms deliveries worldwide during calendar years 2004-2007, 2008-2011, and 2011. These tables are set out in the same format and detail as **Table 9** and **Table 10** for arms transfer agreements with, and **Table 21** for arms deliveries to developing nations, respectively.

#### Total Worldwide Arms Transfer Agreements Values, 2004-2011

**Table 30** shows the annual **current** dollar values of arms transfer *agreements* worldwide. 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 **Table 31** (**constant** dollars) and **Table 32** (supplier percentages) are derived from data in **Table 31**.

#### **Total Worldwide Delivery Values 2004-2011**

**Table 35** shows the annual **current** dollar values of arms *deliveries* (items actually transferred) worldwide by major suppliers from 2004-2011. The utility of these data is that they reflect transfers that have occurred. They provide the data from which **Table 36** (**constant** dollars) and **Table 37** (supplier percentages) are derived from data in **Table 36**.

Table 30. Arms Transfer Agreements with the World, by Supplier, 2004-2011

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL 2004-2011
United States	12,368	12,099	15,435	23,691	36,323	22,002	21,103	66,274	209,295
Russia	8,800	8,400	15,400	10,400	6,600	13,300	8,800	4,800	76,500
France	2,900	6,300	7,700	2,200	3,800	9,600	1,800	4,400	38,700
United Kingdom	4,200	2,900	4,100	9,500	300	1,400	1,500	400	24,300
China	1,000	2,700	2,000	2,500	2,100	2,500	1,600	2,100	16,500
Germany	4,100	2,000	2,800	1,800	5,500	3,600	100	100	20,000
Italy	400	1,500	1,200	1,400	4,100	1,600	1,900	1,200	13,300
All Other European	5,200	7,400	5,600	6,700	5,300	6,500	4,200	3,300	44,200
All Others	3,300	1,900	3,400	2,800	3,100	5,000	2,900	2,700	25,100
TOTAL	42,268	45,199	57,635	60,991	67,123	65,502	43,903	85,274	467,895

Source: U.S. government.

**Note:** All data are for the calendar year given, except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training), excess defense articles, which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of all categories of weapons and ammunition, military spare parts, military construction, excess defense articles, military assistance and training programs, and all associated services. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

Table 31. Arms Transfer Agreements with the World, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(in millions of constant 2011 U.S. dollars)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL 2004-2011
United States	14,939	14,010	17,275	25,768	38,187	22,762	21,394	66,274	220,608
Russia	10,629	9,727	17,236	11,312	6,939	13,760	8,921	4,800	83,323
France	3,503	7,295	8,618	2,393	3,995	9,932	1,825	4,400	41,960
United Kingdom	5,073	3,358	4,589	10,333	315	1,448	1,521	400	27,037
China	1,208	3,126	2,238	2,719	2,208	2,586	1,622	2,100	17,808
Germany	4,952	2,316	3,134	1,958	5,782	3,724	101	100	22,068
Italy	483	1,737	1,343	1,523	4,310	1,655	1,926	1,200	14,178
All Other European	6,281	8,569	6,267	7,287	5,572	6,725	4,258	3,300	48,259
All Others	3,986	2,200	3,805	3,045	3,259	5,173	2,940	2,700	27,109
TOTAL	51,054	52,338	64,505	66,338	70,567	67,765	44,508	85,274	502,349
Dollar inflation index:(2011=1)a	0.8279	0.8636	0.8935	0.9194	0.9512	0.9666	0.9864	I	

**Source:** U.S. government.

a. Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator.

Table 32. Arms Transfer Agreements with the World, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United States	29.26%	26.77%	26.78%	38.84%	54.11%	33.59%	48.07%	77.72%
Russia	20.82%	18.58%	26.72%	17.05%	9.83%	20.30%	20.04%	5.63%
France	6.86%	13.94%	13.36%	3.61%	5.66%	14.66%	4.10%	5.16%
United Kingdom	9.94%	6.42%	7.11%	15.58%	0.45%	2.14%	3.42%	0.47%
China	2.37%	5.97%	3.47%	4.10%	3.13%	3.82%	3.64%	2.46%
Germany	9.70%	4.42%	4.86%	2.95%	8.19%	5.50%	0.23%	0.12%
Italy	0.95%	3.32%	2.08%	2.30%	6.11%	2.44%	4.33%	1.41%
All Other European	12.30%	16.37%	9.72%	10.99%	7.90%	9.92%	9.57%	3.87%
All Others	7.81%	4.20%	5.90%	4.59%	4.62%	7.63%	6.61%	3.17%
Major West Europeana	[27.44%	28.10%	27.41%	24.43%	20.41%	24.73%	12.07%	7.15%]
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**Source:** U.S. government.

Note: Columns may not total due to rounding.

a. Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy.

Table 33. Arms Transfer Agreements with the World, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2004-2007
I	United States	63,593
2	Russia	43,000
3	United Kingdom	20,700
4	France	19,100
5	Germany	10,700
6	China	8,200
7	Israel	6,000
8	Spain	5,700
9	Italy	4,500
10	Sweden	4,300
П	Austria	2,800
Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2008-2011
I	United States	145,702
2	Russia	33,500
3	France	19,600
4	Germany	9,300
5	Italy	8,800
6	China	8,300
7	Israel	6,900
8	Ukraine	4,100
0		
9	United Kingdom	3,600
	United Kingdom Spain	3,600 2,900

Source: U.S. government.

## Arms Transfer Agreements with the World, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2004-2011
ı	United States	209,295
2	Russia	76,500
3	France	38,700
4	United Kingdom	24,300
5	Germany	20,000
6	China	16,500
7	Italy	13,300
8	Israel	12,900
9	Spain	8,600
10	Sweden	7,000
П	Ukraine	6,100

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 34. Arms Transfer Agreements with the World in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared

Rank	Supplier	Agreements Value 2011
1	United States	66,274
2	Russia	4,800
3	France	4,400
4	China	2,100
5	South Korea	1,500
6	Italy	1,200
7	Ukraine	1,100
8	Turkey	800
9	Spain	500
10	United Kingdom	400
П	Israel	400

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 35. Arms Deliveries to the World, by Supplier, 2004-2011

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL 2004-2011
United States	11,610	11,765	12,302	12,297	11,917	14,220	11,973	16,160	102,244
Russia	5,600	3,900	6,300	5,200	6,600	5,600	6,900	8,700	48,800
France	5,600	2,700	1,800	2,500	1,800	1,300	1,700	1,700	19,100
United Kingdom	3,200	3,700	4,900	2,200	2,300	2,500	2,800	3,000	24,600
China	900	1,000	1,500	1,700	2,200	1,700	2,900	1,300	13,200
Germany	2,000	1,900	2,400	3,000	3,700	3,000	2,500	1,600	20,100
Italy	200	1,000	400	700	800	800	1,200	1,700	6,800
All Other European	2,400	3,100	3,300	4,000	5,600	6,100	5,700	6,200	36,400
All Others	3,100	2,800	2,200	3,200	3,200	4,800	5,000	3,900	28,200
TOTAL	34,610	31,865	35,102	34,797	38,117	40,020	40,673	44,260	299,444

Source: U.S. government.

**Note:** All data are for the calendar year given, except for U.S. MAP (Military Assistance Program) and IMET (International Military Education and Training), excess defense articles, which are included for the particular fiscal year. All amounts given include the values of all categories of weapons and ammunition, military spare parts, military construction, excess defense articles, military assistance and training programs, and all associated services. Statistics for foreign countries are based upon estimated selling prices. All foreign data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.

#### Table 36.Arms Deliveries to the World, by Supplier, 2004-2011

(in millions of constant 2011 U.S. dollars)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL 2004-2011
United States	14,023	13,623	13,768	13,375	12,528	14,711	12,138	16,160	110,328
Russia	6,764	4,516	7,051	5,656	6,939	5,794	6,995	8,700	52,414
France	6,764	3,126	2,015	2,719	1,892	1,345	1,723	1,700	21,285
United Kingdom	3,865	4,284	5,484	2,393	2,418	2,586	2,839	3,000	26,869
China	1,087	1,158	1,679	1,849	2,313	1,759	2,940	1,300	14,084
Germany	2,416	2,200	2,686	3,263	3,890	3,104	2,534	1,600	21,693
Italy	242	1,158	448	761	841	828	1,217	1,700	7,194
All Other European	2,899	3,590	3,693	4,351	5,887	6,311	5,779	6,200	38,709
All Others	3,744	3,242	2,462	3,481	3,364	4,966	5,069	3,900	30,228
TOTAL	41,805	36,898	39,286	37,848	40,073	41,403	41,234	44,260	322,805
Dollar inflation index:(2011=1)a	0.8279	0.8636	0.8935	0.9194	0.9512	0.9666	0.9864	I	

**Source:** U.S. government.

a. Based on Department of Defense Price Deflator.

Table 37. Arms Deliveries to the World, by Supplier 2004-2011

(expressed as a percent of total, by year)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
United States	33.55%	36.92%	35.05%	35.34%	31.26%	35.53%	29.44%	36.51%
Russia	16.18%	12.24%	17.95%	14.94%	17.32%	13.99%	16.96%	19.66%
France	16.18%	8.47%	5.13%	7.18%	4.72%	3.25%	4.18%	3.84%
United Kingdom	9.25%	11.61%	13.96%	6.32%	6.03%	6.25%	6.88%	6.78%
China	2.60%	3.14%	4.27%	4.89%	5.77%	4.25%	7.13%	2.94%
Germany	5.78%	5.96%	6.84%	8.62%	9.71%	7.50%	6.15%	3.62%
Italy	0.58%	3.14%	1.14%	2.01%	2.10%	2.00%	2.95%	3.84%
All Other European	6.93%	9.73%	9.40%	11.50%	14.69%	15.24%	14.01%	14.01%
All Others	8.96%	8.79%	6.27%	9.20%	8.40%	11.99%	12.29%	8.81%
Major West Europeana	[31.78%	29.19%	27.06%	24.14%	22.56%	18.99%	20.16%	18.08%]
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

**Source:** U.S. government.

a. Major West European category includes France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy.

Table 38. Arms Deliveries to the World, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2004-2007		
1	United States	47,974		
2	Russia	21,000		
3	United Kingdom	14,000		
4	France	12,600		
5	Germany	9,300		
6	China	5,100		
7	Israel	3,500		
8	Canada	2,600		
9	Italy	2,300		
10	Sweden	2,100		
11	Netherlands	1,600		
Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2008-2011		
I	United States	54,270		
2	Russia	27,500		
3	Germany	10,800		
4	United Kingdom	10,600		
5	China	8,100		
6	Israel	7,100		
7	France	6,500		
8	Sweden	5,700		
9	ltaly	4,500		
10	Canada	4,100		

**Source:** U.S. government.

### Arms Deliveries to the World, 2004-2011: Leading Suppliers Compared (Continued)

(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2004-2011
ı	United States	102,244
2	Russia	48,500
3	United Kingdom	24,600
4	Germany	20,100
5	China	13,200
6	Israel	10,600
7	France	7,700
8	Italy	6,800
9	Canada	6,700
10	Ukraine	5,600
П	Spain	4,400

**Source:** U.S. government.

Table 39.Arms Deliveries to the World in 2011: Leading Suppliers Compared (in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Rank	Supplier	Deliveries Value 2011
1	United States	16,160
2	Russia	8,700
3	United Kingdom	3,000
4	Israel	1,800
5	France	1,700
6	Italy	1,700
7	Germany	1,600
8	Spain	1,500
9	China	1,300
10	Sweden	1,200
П	Canada	1,000

**Source:** U.S. government.

# Description of Items Counted in Weapons Categories, 2004-2011

**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—100mm 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 fighter and bomber aircraft designed to function operationally at speeds above Mach 1.

**Subsonic Combat Aircraft:** This category includes all fighter and bomber aircraft 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: This category includes all ground-based air defense missiles.

**Surface-to-surface Missiles:** This category includes all surface-surface missiles without regard to range, such as Scuds and CSS-2s. It excludes all anti-tank missiles. It also excludes all anti-ship missiles, which are counted in a separate listing.

**Anti-ship 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

AustraliaBahrainArmeniaBangladeshEgyptAustriaBruneiIranAzerbaijanBurma (Myanmar)IraqBelarus

China Israel Bosnia/Herzegovina

Fiji Jordan Bulgaria
India Kuwait Belgium
Indonesia Lebanon Croatia

JapanLibyaCzechoslovakia/CambodiaMoroccoCzech RepublicKazakhstanOmanCyprusKyrgyzatanOatorDanmark

KyrgyzstanQatarDenmarkLaosSaudi ArabiaEstoniaMalaysiaSyriaFinlandNepalTunisiaFrance

New Zealand United Arab Emirates FYR/Macedonia

North Korea Yemen Georgia

Pakistan Germany
Papua New Guinea Greece

Philippines Hungary Pitcairn Iceland Singapore Ireland South Korea Italy Sri Lanka Latvia Liechtenstein Taiwan Tajikistan Lithuania Thailand Luxembourg

Turkmenistan Malta
Uzbekistan Moldova
Vietnam Netherlands
Norway

Russia

Poland Portugal Romania

Slovak Republic Slovenia Spain Sweden Switzerland Turkey

Ukraine United Kingdom

Yugoslavia/Serbia/Montenegro

**AFRICA** 

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

Reunion Rwanda Senegal

Seychelles Sierra Leone

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

Netherlands Antilles

Nicaragua Panama Paraguay Peru

Montserrat

St. Kitts & Nevis

St. Lucia

St. Pierre & Miguelon

St. Vincent Suriname Trinidad Turks & Caicos Venezuela

### **Author Contact Information**

(name redacted)
Specialist in International Security
[redacted]@crs.loc.gov, 7-....

(name redacted) Analyst in Nonproliferation [redacted]@crs.loc.gov, 7-....

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