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SECRET/NF - THE MIDDLE EAST: AN ARMS RACE

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Intelligence Memorandum

The Middle East: An Arms Race

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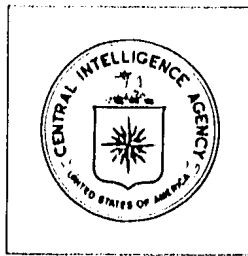
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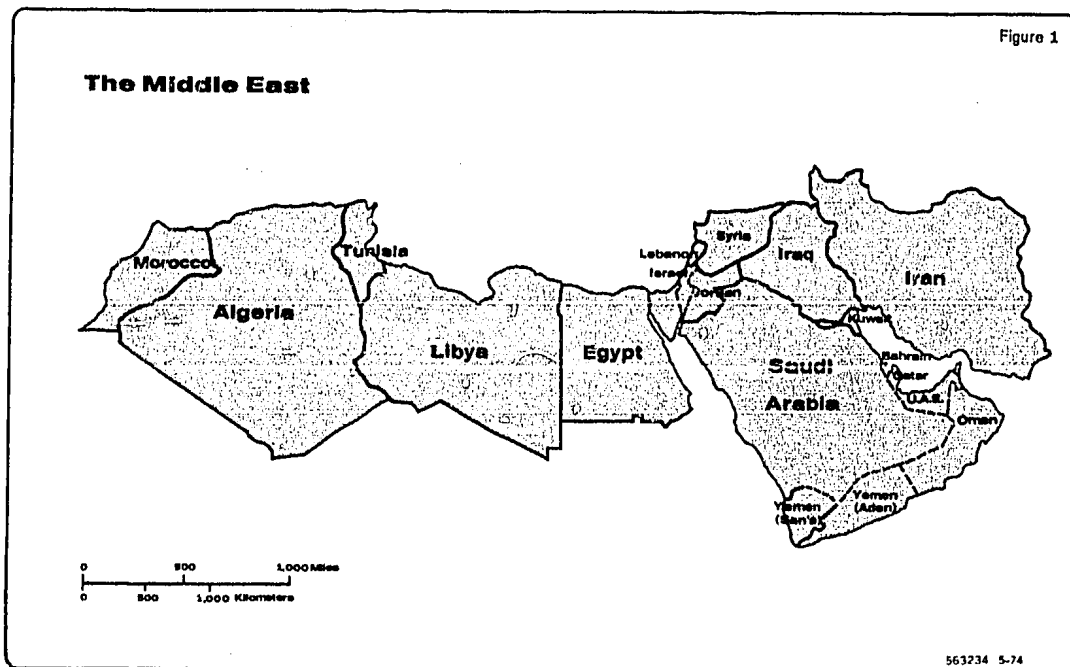
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The Middle East: An Arms Race

The Middle East¹ represents the most lucrative arms market in the less developed world. Arms purchases by countries in the region jumped from an annual average of US \$1.1 billion during 1967-69 to almost \$5 billion in 1973 and appear to be headed higher during the next few years.

- Israel and the Arab countries bordering it account for about 40% of the arms sold.
- The Persian Gulf states purchased nearly 55%, with Iran alone ordering almost \$5.7 billion in military equipment during 1967-73.



1. Throughout this memorandum the term *Middle Eastern countries* comprises Israel, the Arab belligerents, the Persian Gulf countries (including Iran), and the North African countries (see Figure 1).

Note: Comments and queries regarding this memorandum are welcomed. They may be directed to of the Office of Economic Research, Code 143,

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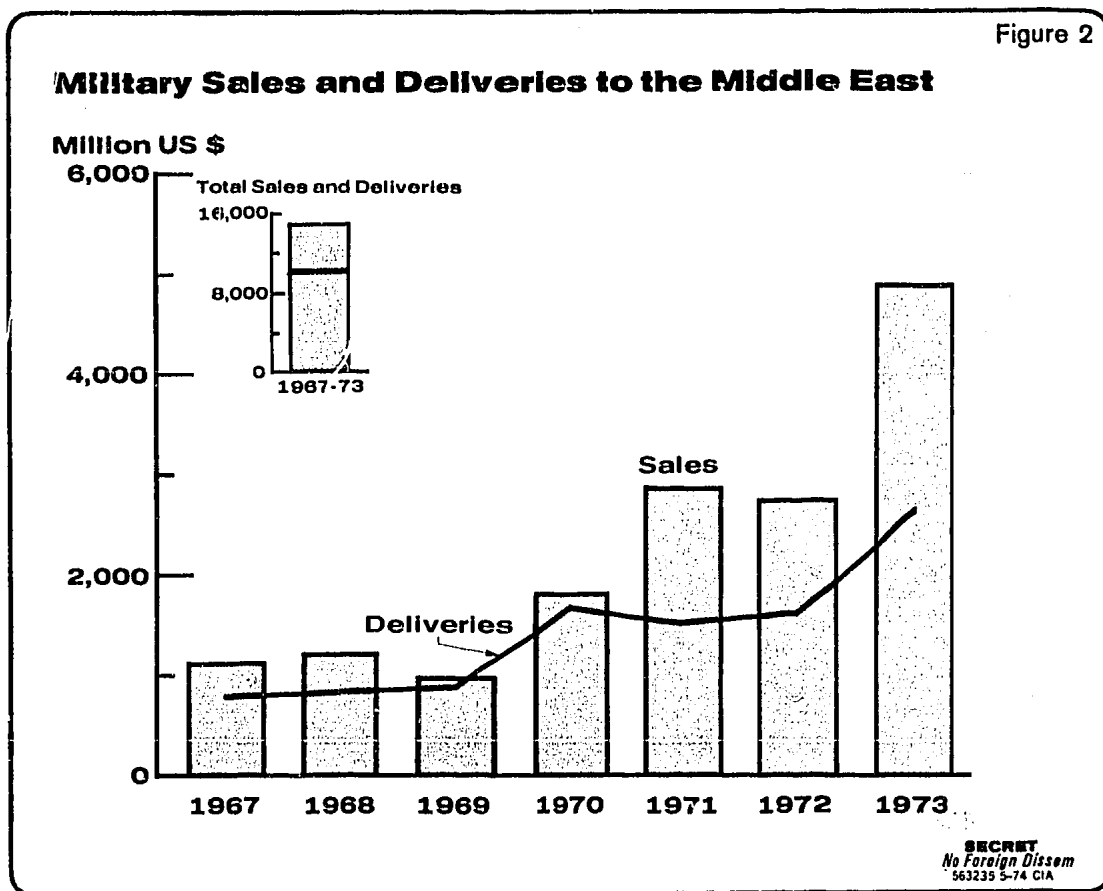
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Although the arms purchases of some non-belligerent states appear to be far in excess of their needs, the countries in the region believe that modern military forces are vital to their survival. In addition, some states like Saudi Arabia and Libya have sought major weapons systems as an adjunct to those in the hands of the belligerent Arabs. In sum, Middle Eastern demand for arms has been generated by

- the longstanding Arab-Israeli animosity,
- Iranian-Arab competition to dominate the Persian Gulf,
- inter-Arab rivalries and conflicts, and
- normal arms modernization cycles.

About two-thirds of the arms sales to the area during 1967-73 (see Figure 2) have moved from Western suppliers. The United States accounts for more than



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40% of the total sales, and West European countries – largely the United Kingdom and France – another 25%. Communist countries, primarily the USSR, are the source of the remainder.

The major arms suppliers are pushing the sale of military equipment in the Middle East in an effort to further their own political and economic objectives. In the past six months, two factors have emerged that virtually guarantee increasing availability of military hardware:

- the large and growing amount of money available to the oil-rich Arab states which can be used to finance arms purchases and
- Western Europe's need for oil supplies and its desire to offset a large balance-of-payments deficit, caused by the increase in oil prices.

The countries of the Middle East have received some of the most modern and complex weapons systems available, including supersonic jet aircraft, surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missile systems, sophisticated electronic and communications equipment, and advanced land armaments. They are now negotiating the purchase of even more sophisticated systems.

- The oil-producing countries, with burgeoning revenues, will continue to be the major recipients in the area, with Iran being the largest purchaser.
- The belligerent Arab states also will continue their arms buildup with Syria continuing to receive the bulk of its arms from the Soviet Union. Egypt, however, will accelerate its efforts to acquire more of its arms from Western sources, presumably financed by their oil-rich allies.
- Israel's desire to maintain military superiority over its Arab neighbors will lead to growing arms procurement abroad and increased expenditures on its domestic arms industry.
- With the exception of Libya, North African arms purchases will continue to be minor.

This memorandum analyzes and assesses arms sales to the Middle East since 1967 and makes some judgments about sales to the area in the coming several years.

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DISCUSSION

The Belligerents

1. The longstanding Arab-Israeli animosity has provided and will provide for years to come a central impetus for the arms buildup in the area.

- The lessons of the Arab-Israeli wars have reinforced the feelings on both sides of the need to modernize and expand their armed forces.
- Israel views improvement of its military capability as vital to its survival and its negotiating posture. Indeed, the Israelis have attempted to manufacture the items that are deemed essential but are not available from foreign suppliers.
- For their part, the Arab combatants have tried to recover their lost territory by overcoming Israel's qualitative military superiority.
- To some degree, the Arab-Israeli dispute also has motivated Middle East states further from the firing line to build up their armaments.

2. Israel and the Arab countries bordering it account for almost 40% of the arms sold to the Middle East.² Egypt and Syria alone account for more than 55% of the arms purchased by the belligerents, and Israel more than one-third, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Israel

Arms Sales to the Belligerents
in the Middle East
1967-73

	Million US \$
Total¹	6,111
Israel	2,141
Egypt	2,212
Syria	1,257
Jordan	429
Lebanon	72

3. Almost 85% of the Israeli arms purchases during 1967-73 were from the United States.³ The rest were obtained from Western Europe, primarily France and the United Kingdom.

- Aircraft and aircraft-associated equipment have represented about 60% of Israel's purchases from the United States and include 210 F-4 Phantoms and 325 A-4 Skyhawks (see Figure 3).⁴
- Tel Aviv also purchased a variety of US missile systems, including the

1. Excluding the \$1 billion in US arms sales during 1 July - 31 December 1973, because all US data are for fiscal years.

2. For a discussion of the magnitude and direction of the arms flow to the area, see Appendix A.

3. For a discussion of the arms suppliers to the Middle East, see Appendix B.

4. For a list of arms accords signed during 1967-73, see Appendix C.

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Sidewinder and Sparrow air-to-air missiles, the Bullpup and Shrike air-to-surface missiles, Walleye and Rockeye "smart" bombs, and the Hawk surface-to-surface missile system.

Figure 3



A-4 Skyhawk

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4. Despite fresh prospects for progress toward peace through negotiations, Israel more than ever sees improvement of its military capability as vital to its survival and its negotiating posture.

- The October War pointed out several deficiencies that Tel Aviv is trying to correct and which will lead to arms purchases above the pre-war level.
- Israel is particularly interested in obtaining additional armored personnel carriers (APCs), medium tanks, artillery, antitank weapons, and a large supply of ammunition.
- The introduction of new weapons systems into Egypt or Syria, like the MIG-23 Flogger, would spark even more intensive efforts to obtain advanced fighter and air defense equipment.

Egypt

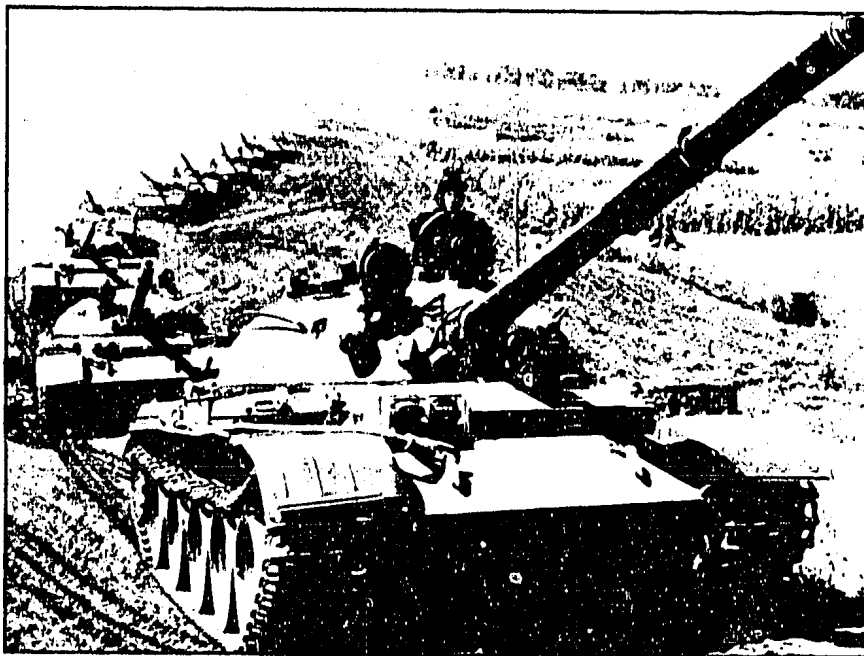
5. Moscow has been the source of the great bulk of Cairo's arms purchases. Since the 1967 War, Egyptian arms procurement has centered around one primary objective – regaining the Sinai. Soviet refusal to supply advanced weapons systems that might challenge Israel's technological superiority and its hold over the Sinai,

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however, led to Sadat's expulsion in 1972 of most Soviet military advisers and technicians and all Soviet combat units stationed in Egypt. Although Sadat's actions reduced the Soviet presence, it did not end the flow of Soviet arms.

- The T-62 medium tank (see Figure 4) was provided in increasing numbers, and the BMP combat infantry vehicle and SU-17 and SU-20 fighter bombers were introduced after the Soviet expulsion.

Figure 4



T-62 Medium Tank

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- Contracts covering the supply of the Scud surface-to-surface missile system and the MIG-23 Flogger swing-wing interceptor apparently also were concluded.
 - The Soviet resupply effort of October 1973 accelerated Egyptian arms modernization as Egypt re-equipped, with armored equipment and antitank weapons, those units hardest hit in the fighting.
6. Since the disengagement agreement on the Egyptian front, Sadat has felt less of a need for dependence on the Soviets and has moved closer to the West. In mid-April, following a deterioration in relations between Moscow and Cairo, the Soviets stopped arms deliveries and Sadat publicly announced a program to diversify Egypt's sources of arms.

- Despite the mutual antagonism, neither Sadat nor the Soviets want a total break in relations.
- Sadat needs Soviet arms and spare parts to maintain a credible military posture to bring about a final peace treaty.
- Moscow would like to protect its use of the port of Alexandria and needs a viable relationship with Egypt during the Geneva peace negotiations to check the ebb of its position in the Middle East.
- By June, Soviet-Egyptian relations, at least on the surface, were beginning to improve, high-level Soviet-Egyptian meetings appeared to be in the wind, and the resumption of Soviet arms deliveries seems a possibility.

7. Sadat, however, will attempt to diversify his arms inventory by the introduction of sophisticated Western weapons systems. This will require a long-range program during which time he will of necessity be primarily dependent on Soviet weapons support.

- Cairo has sent arms purchasing missions to Western Europe and expressed interest in obtaining Mirage and Jaguar aircraft, the Rapier surface-to-air missile system, and a wide range of support equipment.
- Payments for Western weaponry will probably be guaranteed by the oil rich Arab states as was done with previous Western arms purchases.
- Saudi Arabia, for example, purchased 30 Westland helicopters from the United Kingdom last year for delivery to Egypt.
- Riyadh also ordered 38 Mirage III-E aircraft for possible transfer to Egypt when needed.
- Libya appears to have arranged for a French sale of SS-11 anti-tank missile equipment for Egypt.

Syria

8. Almost two-thirds of the \$1.3 billion worth of arms Damascus contracted for during 1967-73 were ordered after the spring of 1972, with most of the agreements being concluded with the USSR and East European countries.

- In May 1972, Syria concluded an estimated \$300 million arms accord with Moscow which introduced a wide range of sophisticated equipment, including SA-6 surface-to-air missiles (see Figure 5) and FROG-7 rocket launchers into the Syrian inventory.
- Deliveries under the May accord were accelerated in the latter half of the year after the Soviet expulsion from Egypt.

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9. Following the outbreak of the October War, Moscow replaced Syria's war losses and further expanded and upgraded its armed forces.

- The SU-20 fighter bomber, additional surface-to-air missile equipment, and possibly the Scud surface-to-surface missile system were delivered, and the MIG-23 reportedly is on order.
- Damascus will continue to depend on Moscow and its East European allies for virtually all of its military equipment.



Jordan

10. Jordan's arms purchases since the beginning of 1967 have been small, and it has relied on the United States for most of its equipment.

- In 1971 the United States agreed to assist Jordan in a three-year \$125 million modernization program financed with Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits and in addition provided \$100 million as grant aid.
- The subject of a follow-on program was scheduled for discussion during King Husayn's March visit to Washington.

Lebanon

11. Beirut's arms purchases of some \$72 million during 1967-73 were the smallest of any of the countries bordering Israel.

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- Lebanon obtained more than 90% of its arms from the West.
- Purchases from the Communist countries have been limited to \$3 million for artillery and some \$3 million worth of ammunition and explosives.

The Persian Gulf States

12. Local rivalries in the Gulf area have impelled various states to increase their military forces. Most important of these has been Iran's military expansion as the Shah has attempted to assume the role, until recently played by the British, of keeping order in the Gulf. The Iranian buildup far overshadows that of other states in the area and has been a source of uneasiness among the traditional regimes of the region.

- Saudi Arabia, which has its own pretensions to leadership of the smaller Gulf states, does not want to see Iran greatly increase its military preponderance.
- The smaller states have shown healthy respect for Iranian power, and this may in part account for Abu Dhabi's desire to acquire sophisticated modern arms.

13. Other local conflicts have had less impact on the general level of armaments in the area.

- Iraq has wanted arms to use against the Kurds who have demanded autonomy, as well as for possible action against Israel.
- Kuwait wants to increase its military capability to discourage Iraqi intrusions.
- Yemen (Aden) has provided low-level support to rebels in the neighboring Dhofar province of Muscat, and its conflict with the San'a regime also sputters along at a slow pace.

14. The Gulf states account for more than one-half of Middle East arms purchases, with Iran by far the largest purchaser, as shown in Table 2.

Iran

15. Iran has become the largest purchaser of military equipment in the Middle East and is using its large oil revenues to acquire the most modern arms. The United States accounts for about two-thirds of the Shah's total arms purchases.

- The recently concluded \$600 million sale of 30 F-14 fighters (see Figure 6) armed with the Phoenix air-to-air missile system is designed to meet Iran's requirements for an air superiority fighter in the late 1970s.

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Table 2

Arms Sales to the Persian Gulf
1967-73

	Million US \$
Total¹	8,460
Iran	5,671
Saudi Arabia	1,654
Iraq	826
United Arab Emirates	121
Yemen (Aden)	56
Kuwait	53
Oman	42
Yemen (San'a)	29
Qatar	7
Bahrain	1

1. Excluding the \$1 billion in US arms sales to Iraq and the \$29 million to Saudi Arabia during 1 July - 31 December 1973, because all US data are for fiscal years.

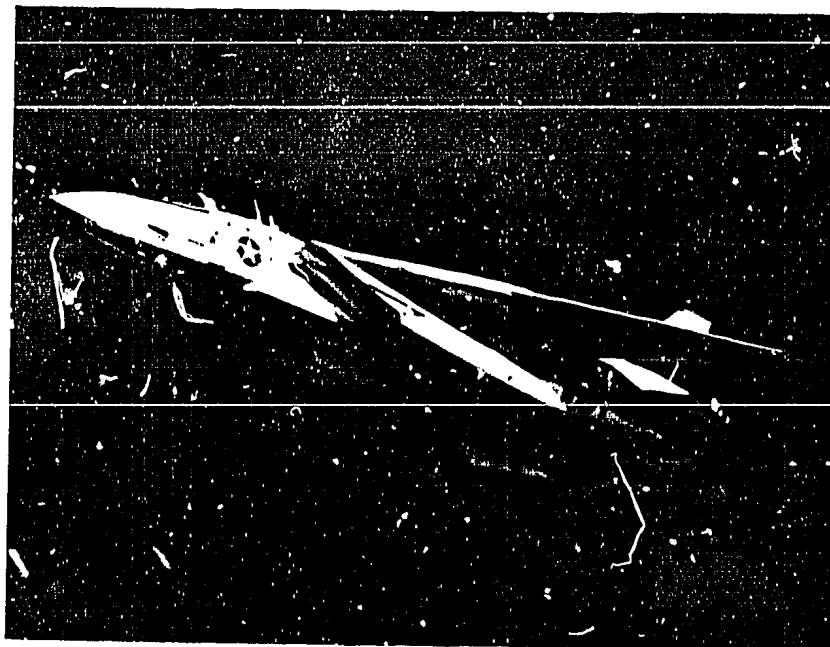
- Other recent purchases include 140 F-4 and F-5 jet fighters, 240 helicopters, and initial orders for the Hawk surface-to-air missile system and the Maverick air-to-ground missile system.

Iran also has purchased some \$1.3 billion worth of military hardware from other Western suppliers.

- The bulk of these purchases has come from the United Kingdom, including the Rapier air defense missile system, almost 800 Chief-tain tanks (see Figure 7) and 300 Scorpion tanks, a fleet of hovercraft, and a destroyer.

- Negotiations also are under way with London for a cruiser configured with a flight deck area capable of landing helicopters and vertical take-off and landing aircraft.

Figure 6



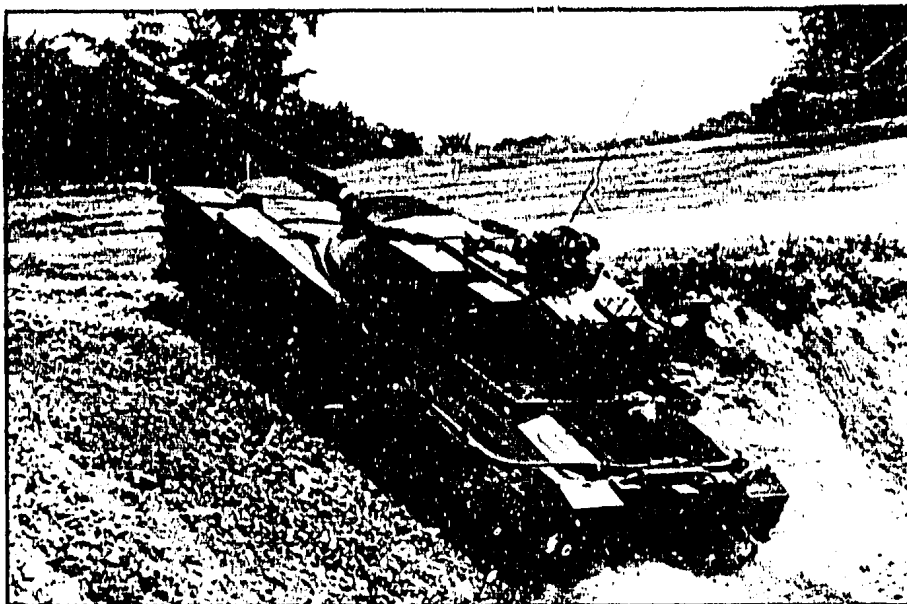
F-14 Fighter Aircraft

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Figure 7

**Chieftain Tank**

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- Purchases from other West European countries include French missile patrol boats, Swiss anti-aircraft guns, Italian helicopters, Dutch transport aircraft, and West German naval craft.

16. The USSR is Iran's third largest arms supplier and has sold Tehran almost \$600 million in military equipment. The Shah, although satisfied with Soviet arms, has restricted purchases to such ground forces equipment as APCs, artillery and anti-aircraft guns, vehicles, and engineering equipment.

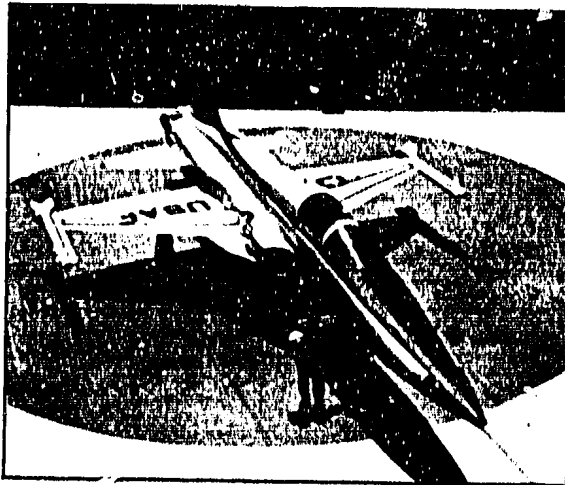
Saudi Arabia

17. During 1967-73, Saudi Arabia purchased almost \$1.7 billion in military equipment largely from the United States and the United Kingdom, with about 70% of it acquired during 1972-73 alone. The Saudi air force has been the recipient of most recent purchases, although there also has been a move to modernize the ground and naval forces.

- Riyadh ordered 50 US F-5 jet fighters (see Figure 8), 10 British BAC-167 Strikemasters, and 10 Italian AB-212 helicopters.

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Figure 8



◀ F-5 Fighter

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- In May 1973 a \$625 million contract was concluded with a consortium of British aircraft companies covering technical support for the Saudi air force over the next five years.
- French tanks were purchased to replace the aging US tanks now in their inventory.
- Negotiations are under way for the French HOT and MILAN antitank missile systems.
- The Navy's expansion program for 1974-80 includes the acquisition of 19 US ships, ranging from patrol frigates and minesweepers to landing craft.

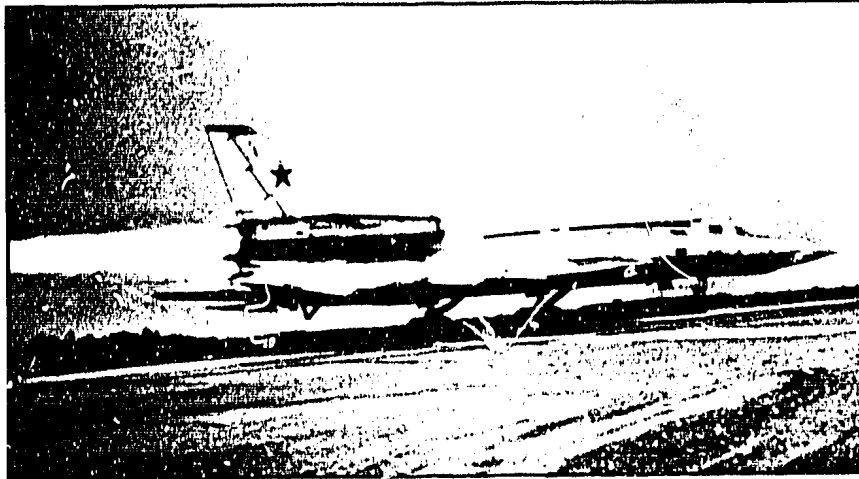
Iraq

18. Baghdad, the catalyst of much of the instability in the Gulf area, depends on Communist suppliers, primarily Moscow, for most of its weaponry.
 - In late 1971 the USSR agreed to a comprehensive upgrading of Iraqi military forces with the air force, the principal beneficiary, receiving its first SU-20 fighter bombers, MI-6 and MI-8 helicopters, and TU-22 supersonic medium jet bombers, the first exported outside the USSR (see Figure 9).

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Figure 9



TU-22 Supersonic Medium Jet Bomber

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- Moscow also introduced the SA-3 surface-to-air missile system and Osa-class guided missile patrol boats, along with a wide range of ground forces equipment.
- Moscow may be preparing to supply the SA-6 surface-to-air missile system and the MIG-23 Flogger to Iraq.
- Czechoslovak trainer aircraft and APCs have constituted the bulk of East European purchases.

Kuwait

19. After London announced its plans to withdraw from the Persian Gulf in 1968, Kuwait moved to build up its forces, including the purchase of small quantities of equipment from the British, French, and other West European countries. Kuwait's search for arms was spurred by an Iraqi attack on a border post in March 1973.

- In May 1973, negotiations were initiated in Washington on a \$560 million arms package covering 32 jet fighters, 12 helicopters, 160 M-60 tanks, 50 TOW antitank missiles, 4 batteries of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, and radar. These negotiations have been stalemated since the October War.

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- Kuwait purchased French helicopters and the MIRAGE F-1 jet fighter earlier this year and is negotiating for British Jaguar aircraft.
- Negotiations were initiated with Moscow in late 1973 for a limited amount of equipment for its forces along the battle front with Israel.

The Yemens

20. The People's Republic of Southern Yemen (Aden) came into existence on 30 November 1967, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front. The revolutionary bent of the new regime facilitated close ties with Communist countries. The USSR rapidly established diplomatic relations and provided \$50 million of the \$56 million worth of arms Aden has obtained since its independence.

- Soviet deliveries included MIG-21 jet fighters, IL-28 light bombers, helicopters, armored equipment, and a few naval craft.
- Hungary and East Germany each have delivered about \$2 million worth of ground forces equipment.

21. Yemen (San'a) consummated the bulk of its limited -- \$29 million -- arms purchased prior to the formation of the March 1970 coalition government, which ended the Yemeni Civil War. The USSR provided nearly two-thirds of the equipment. Because of the Soviet role as Aden's chief arms supplier, San'a began in 1972 to look for non-Communist arms, and Abu Dhabi, Libya, and Saudi Arabia responded by supplying small quantities.

- In addition, Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi agreed to finance San'a purchases from the United States and Egypt.
- The United Kingdom also sold some \$7.5 million of transport aircraft and communications equipment to San'a earlier this year.

The Other Gulf States

22. Reliance on the United Kingdom for protection kept down arms purchases by Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates prior to 1968. British withdrawal compelled Muscat to invest heavily in arms to suppress a rebellion in eastern Oman. Most of the expenditure went for British hardware, including some BAC-167 jets, transport aircraft, and several patrol boats. Abu Dhabi is the only member of the UAE to have purchased any significant quantity of arms.

- France has replaced the United Kingdom as major arms supplier to Abu Dhabi, having furnished \$100 million in weaponry, including 32 Mirage jet fighters and 11 helicopters.

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- Abu Dhabi concluded an initial deal with Yugoslavia late last year for antiaircraft guns, and negotiations are under way on a new accord, which may cover some \$75 million worth of Yugoslav ground forces equipment.

The Maghreb Countries

23. Libya, and to a lesser degree Algeria and Morocco, have sought arms as a reserve for those in the hands of the belligerents. Other motives for arms purchases include

- Border conflicts between Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia
- Moroccan fear of Libyan intrigues to overthrow the monarchy, and
- The military modernization necessary to keep the armed forces content and assure the survival of those in power.

24. Arms purchases by the Maghreb countries amounted to only \$1 billion during 1967-73, with Libya accounting for two-thirds, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Arms Sales to the Maghreb Countries 1967-73

	Million US \$
Total	1,015
Libya	685
Algeria	163
Morocco	118
Tunisia	49

25. Most of Libya's purchases have been made since the militant Qadafi seized power in September 1969. France and the USSR have been the major suppliers.

- Within three months of the coup France concluded an arms accord for 110 Mirage aircraft.
- Subsequent French sales have covered helicopters, radar, the Crotale antiaircraft missile system, and Mirage F-1 interceptors (see Figure 10).
- Moscow and Prague sold Tripoli tanks, APCs, artillery, radar, and antitank missiles.

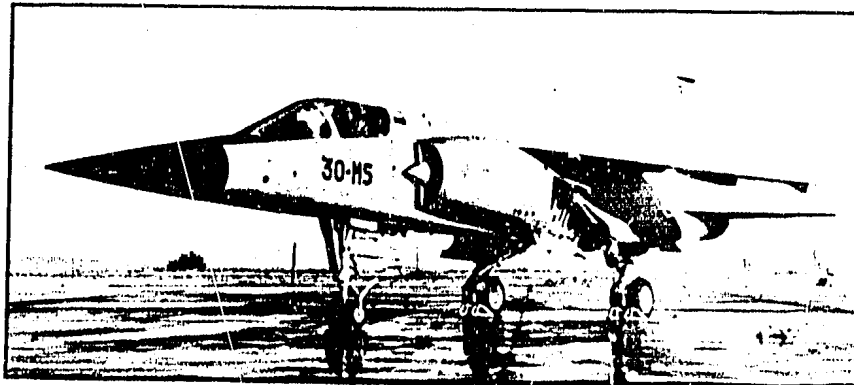
26. Libyan efforts to purchase ground forces equipment from Western sources have met with mixed results.

- Brazil concluded a \$50 million agreement for APCs because Italy was unable to deliver some 150 APCs built under US license.

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Figure 10

**Mirage F-1 Interceptor**

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- Other recent purchases include communications equipment and the Swing-fire antitank missile system from the United Kingdom, as well as West German communications equipment and Spanish ammunition.

Prospects

27. The Middle East will continue to be the major arms market in the Third World, with annual purchases averaging more than the \$5 billion level during the mid-1970s. Although modern military equipment is costly, the oil producing countries will be able to pay for it as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Potential Annual Oil Revenues
in the Middle East
1975

	Billion US \$
Total	84.2
Abu Dhabi	4.5
Algeria	4.5
Iran	22.5
Iraq	7.8
Kuwait	8.8
Libya	9.1
Oman	0.8
Qatar	1.6
Saudi Arabia	24.6

28. Suppliers will continue to scramble for sales in this well-heeled market.

- The US willingness to sell such items as the F-4 fighter bomber and the Hawk surface-to-air and TOW antitank missile systems has stimulated demands for this equipment.
- West European countries are likely to mount more aggressive sales campaigns and be willing to sell to the belligerent Arabs.

- The British are pushing naval craft, the Jaguar aircraft, and the Rapier surface-to-air missile system.
 - The French are trying to sell more Mirage jets, AMX-30 tanks, and their Crotale surface-to-air missile system.
 - Soviet arms sales are likely to be confined to their current recipients but they will continue to make newer systems available.
29. Sophisticated weapons systems are being purchased in the Middle East by some of the world's technologically most backward countries.
- The shortage of trained or readily trainable personnel to operate and maintain these systems will continue to pose a major problem for the Arabs.
 - Unlike the Israelis, therefore, many will remain dependent on foreign technicians to maintain most of their equipment.
30. Some of the countries in the area will attempt to develop a domestic arms production capability.
- Israel already has a significant defense industry and indications are that its production will be further expanded.
 - For the Arabs, given their current industrial base, indigenous production of major items such as aircraft or missile systems is years away.

APPENDIX A

MAGNITUDE AND DIRECTION OF ARMS SALES
 IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Agreements

During 1967-73 the nations of the Middle East purchased \$15.6 billion worth of arms and military technical assistance (see Table 5). About two-thirds of these sales occurred after 1970, and almost one-third of this amount was contracted in 1973 alone.

Table 5

Arms Sales to the Middle East by Recipient¹

	Million US \$							
	1967-73	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total	15,586	1,120	1,207	975	1,792	2,940	2,643	4,908
Algeria	163	....	50	10	2	100	....	Negl.
Bahrain	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	Negl.
Egypt	2,212	216	109	88	662	415	181	542
Iran ²	5,671	350	99	503	397	1,184	754	2,384
Iraq	826	112	45	82	56	271	99	161
Israel ³	2,141	99	539	156	146	429	554	218
Jordan	429	52	94	22	40	59	82	80
Kuwait	53	Negl.	27	18	1	3	1	2
Lebanon	72	2	Negl.	16	3	11	24	16
Libya	685	42	23	2	334	69	186	30
Morocco	118	35	20	7	6	5	9	36
Oman	42	Negl.	4	2	9	14	7	7
Qatar	7	....	1	....	1	2	2	....
Saudi Arabia ⁴	1,654	83	94	24	52	211	364	827
Syria	1,257	110	80	22	71	135	311	529
Tunisia	49	9	8	10	4	10	3	6
United Arab Emirates	121	1	1	6	1	9	45	57
Yemen (Aden)	56	....	8	5	5	13	17	8
Yemen (San'a)	29	10	5	3	2	....	4	5

1. Sales and agreements to be differentiated from exports, which represent actual deliveries. Because of rounding, components may not add to the totals shown.

2. Excluding the \$1 billion in US arms sales during 1 July - 31 December 1973, because all US data are for fiscal years.

3. Excluding the \$1 billion in US arms sales during 1 July - 31 December 1973.

4. Excluding \$29 million in US arms sales during 1 July - 31 December 1973.

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Israel and the Arab countries bordering it accounted for almost 40% of the arms sold. These countries were responsible for the bulk of Middle East purchases until the late 1960s. However, the British government announcement in January 1968 of its intention to withdraw its forces from the Persian Gulf area sparked a major round of arms purchases by Iran and, to a lesser degree, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. Purchases by the Gulf states accelerated as the British withdrawal neared completion, jumping from an annual average of \$420 million during 1967-68 to \$1.7 billion in 1971 and to nearly \$3.5 billion in 1973. Purchases by the North African countries amounted to only about \$1 billion during 1967-73.

Deliveries

Because of the lag between sales and deliveries, arms exports to the Middle East increased less rapidly than purchases, rising from about \$800 million in 1967 to almost \$2.7 billion in 1973. Nevertheless, about two-thirds of the purchases prior to 1974 were delivered by the end of 1973 (see Figure 2). The belligerent countries received about 55%, the Persian Gulf states 36%, and North African countries the remainder (see Table 6). Egypt, Iran, Israel, and Syria account for 70% of deliveries, with Egypt alone receiving about 22%, and Iran, which has not been involved in a major war for centuries, only slightly less.

Table 6

Arms Deliveries to the Middle East by Recipient¹

	Million US \$							
	1967-73	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total	10,019	778	884	905	1,707	1,499	1,585	2,662
Belligerents	5,560	359	380	361	1,148	939	820	1,552
Egypt	2,240	176	130	112	685	373	283	480
Israel	1,701	100	133	131	324	413	322	279
Jordan	344	34	40	58	74	41	40	56
Lebanon	102	....	34	21	3	2	24	18
Syria	1,173	50	43	39	62	110	150	720
Persian Gulf	3,633	343	448	498	429	406	597	910
Bahrain	2	....	1	....	....	1	....	....
Iran	1,967	129	174	246	262	292	434	429
Iraq	752	80	123	78	48	36	84	303
Kuwait	77	2	....	28	15	28	2	1
Oman	29	....	....	2	9	3	3	13
Qatar	4	....	....	1	2	1	....	....
Saudi Arabia	694	122	144	137	84	35	43	130
United Arab Emirates	23	....	....	....	1	4	8	10
Yemen (Aden)	54	....	3	5	4	6	15	21
Yemen (San'a)	32	10	5	2	3	....	8	3
North Africa	826	76	55	46	129	154	168	199
Algeria	116	41	15	3	27	25	5	....
Libya	576	8	11	29	76	109	154	188
Morocco	97	26	26	8	16	11	4	6
Tunisia	38	1	2	5	11	9	5	5

1. Exports represent actual deliveries and are to be differentiated from arms sales and aid agreements. Because of rounding, components may not add to the totals shown.

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APPENDIX B

ARMS SUPPLIERS TO THE MIDDLE EAST

About 67% of the arms sales to the area during 1967-73 came from Western suppliers. The United States has been the largest supplier, accounting for more than 42% of the total; the United Kingdom and France together sold another 20% (see Table 7). Although Communist countries, primarily the USSR, were the source of some 33% of total sales, they accounted for almost 50% of total deliveries.

Table 7

Arms Sales to the Middle East by Supplier¹

	Million US \$							
	1967-73	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total	15,586	1,120	1,207	975	1,792	2,940	2,643	4,908
Non-Communist countries	10,493	530	928	757	828	1,769	1,935	3,746
United States ²	6,597	364	638	414	294	983	1,478	2,427
United Kingdom	1,758	32	118	40	138	414	122	895
France	1,282	85	122	95	341	175	132	331
Italy	282	13	13	67	16	16	137	21
West Germany	151	30	20	31	2	3	49	15
Other	422	6	17	110	37	178	17	57
Communist countries	5,093	590	279	218	964	1,171	708	1,163
USSR	4,643	515	247	142	920	1,123	583	1,113
Czechoslovakia	332	75	30	48	20	20	118	21
Other	118	....	2	28	24	28	7	29

1. Because of rounding, components may not add to the totals shown.

2. US data are for fiscal years.

United States

US arms sales to the area totaled \$6.6 billion, with about three-fourths of that amount sold during 1971-73.* Although the United States provided arms to most Middle Eastern countries, 85% of US sales went to Iran and Israel. Almost 90% of US arms contracts moved under the FMS program. Virtually all deals with Israel and Saudi Arabia and all recent dealings with Iran were concluded under

* The US arms export program, which operates under the policy supervision of the Secretary of State, is administered by the Department of Defense. It operates under three basic pieces of legislation: (a) the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, for grant aid; (b) the Foreign Military Sales Act of 1968, as amended, for official sales; and (c) the Mutual Security Act of 1954, which authorizes Executive control of arms sales by private dealer. The arms transfers are channeled through the following programs: (a) Foreign Military Sales (FMS), which consists of US-financed arms, US-guaranteed private arms credits, and US-approved commercial sales; (b) Military Assistance Program (MAP) grants under the various Mutual Security Acts; and (c) Excess Stock Sales (ESS), which involve surplus used equipment.

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the FMS program. Grant aid to Iran under MAP ended in 1969 because of Iran's high rate of economic growth and its sizable oil revenues. The only US arms clients in the area who remain primarily on a grant basis are Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia.

West European Suppliers

While US military assistance programs in the Middle East have sought to bolster Israel against the Arabs and to accommodate the Shah of Iran, commercial considerations have been the primary motivation for most West European sales. West European countries use arms sales to strengthen their balance of payments, to reduce average production costs, to recoup expenses incurred in weapons research and development, to keep industrial and technological labor steadily employed, and, more recently, to assure sources of petroleum. France also has used military sales to expand its influence in the Middle East.

A stepped-up West European arms sales campaign launched in the mid-1960s achieved results quickly, as shown in Table 8. The United Kingdom and France have accounted for 45% and 33%, respectively, of total West European arms sales. Both countries manufacture a complete line of equipment ranging from small arms to sophisticated missile systems and aircraft. Italy, with 7% of the market, has sold large quantities of helicopters, APCs, radar, and support equipment. Most Italian equipment is manufactured under US licenses and requires US approval before it can be exported. Other West European sales included Belgian small arms, West German vehicles and support equipment, Spanish recoilless rifles, Dutch transport aircraft, and Swiss antiaircraft guns.

Table 8
West European Arms Sales
to the Middle East

	<u>Million US \$</u>
Total	3,896
1967	166
1968	291
1969	343
1970	534
1971	786
1972	457
1973	1,319

Most West European dealers offer favorable credit terms requiring average repayment terms of seven years at 5% interest. Many exporters grant concessions to certain buyers, such as offsetting part of the cost of arms with purchases of local goods and services. In the case of Israel, some exporters also have sold licenses to manufacture components or to assemble equipment as part of a deal.

Ad hoc restrictions on arms sales to the major Middle East belligerents, combined with their lack of funds, limited Western Europe's sales to Egypt, Syria, and, to a lesser extent, Israel. However, the recent willingness of the oil rich states to bankroll some Egyptian and Syrian purchases has led to a liberalization of sales policies towards Cairo and Damascus. The British and French, in particular, have begun negotiating directly with Egypt and Syria as well as through third parties for a wide range of military equipment. Previously, West European exports to these

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two countries were limited to such non-lethal items as radar, communications equipment, vehicle transport aircraft, and helicopters.

The Soviet Military Aid Program

The USSR is the second largest source of arms for the Middle East, committing some \$4.6 billion during 1967-73.* Moscow's program has been highly concentrated, with Egypt and Syria accounting for about two-thirds of Soviet Middle East arms commitments, as shown in Table 9.

Soviet arms are usually priced lower than comparable Western equipment and are sold at discounts averaging about 40% below list prices. Cash sales make up less than 1% of Soviet exports; the remainder is financed with credits repayable over 8 to 10 years at 2%-2.5% interest after grace periods of 1 to 3 years. The USSR generally accepts payment in goods and often eases the terms when a recipient is unable to make its payments.

The USSR probably has been the most forthcoming among the major arms suppliers in providing modern equipment. Most of Soviet-supplied equipment was of types deployed in the Soviet armed forces or still in production at the time it was exported. The Soviets were the first to introduce jet fighter and bomber aircraft, surface-to-air missile systems, and guided missile patrol boats into the Middle East. Arab recipients of Soviet armaments have nevertheless been critical of their quality, the availability of spare parts and consumables, the large number of experts and advisers who accompany them, and above all Soviet reluctance to provide longer range offensive weapons and more advanced aircraft.

Other Communist Suppliers

The East European countries -- Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania -- sold \$448 million in military equipment to Middle Eastern countries, largely to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Czechoslovakia, which provides about 75% of the total, specializes in APCs and trainer aircraft. The East Europeans usually require repayment for their arms in hard currency over three to five years, and give no discounts from list prices. The only known Chinese arms deliveries were \$2 million in small arms provided to Syria in May 1969.

* Moscow's Middle East arms clients represent 65% of total Soviet military extensions since the inception of the Soviet program in 1956 and more than 80% during 1967-73.

Table 9
Soviet Arms Sales
to the Middle East
1967-73

	Million US \$
Total	4,633
Egypt	1,975
Syria	1,142
Iraq	592
Iran	576 ¹
Algeria	150
Libya	125
Yemen (Aden)	50
Yemen (San'a)	18
Lebanon	3
Morocco	2

1. The bulk of Iranian purchases are for ground forces equipment. They have not purchased sophisticated items like aircraft and surface-to-air missile systems.

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APPENDIX C

Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹
Algeria	1968	USSR	50.0	SU-7 jet fighters, MI-6 helicopters, ground forces equipment	U
	1969	France	10.0	28 Fouga jet trainers	C
	1970	France	2.3	50 armored cars	C
	1971	USSR	100.0	MIG-21 jet fighters, MI-8 helicopters, naval and ground forces equipment	C
Bahrain	1973	West Germany	0.3	150 motorcycles	C
	1967	Italy	0.5	Small arms	C
Egypt	1973	Spain	0.2	Recoilless rifles	C
	1967	Czechoslovakia	25.0	L-29 jet trainers, tanks	C
	1967	United States	0.5	Spare parts	C
	1967	USSR	175.0	Jet fighters, tanks, SA-2s	C
	1967	West Germany	15.0	Vehicles	C
	1968	Belgium	0.1	Rocket launchers	C
	1968	USSR	100.0	Jet fighters, tanks, ships	C
	1968	West Germany	9.0	Vehicles	C
	1969	Czechoslovakia	21.0	L-29 jet trainers, APCs	C
	1969	Hungary	16.0	Artillery	C
	1969	United States	0.5	Support equipment	C
	1969	USSR	50.0	Aircraft and support equipment	C
	1970	East Germany	6.0	Vehicles, support equipment	C
	1970	Poland	1.0	Vehicles	C
	1970	Syria	0.7	Motor patrol boats	C
	1970	United Kingdom	3.0	Electronic equipment	C
	1970	United States	0.1	Spare parts	C
	1970	USSR	650.0	SA-3s, jet fighters, FROGs, helicopters	C
	1970	Yugoslavia	1.4	Artillery, vehicles	C
	1971	Czechoslovakia	15.0	APCs	C
	1971	United Kingdom	0.3	Support and communications equipment	C
	1971	United States	0.1	Training aids	C
	1971	USSR	400.0	Jet fighters, SA-3s, ground forces equipment	C
	1972	Czechoslovakia	20.0	Tanks	C
	1972	Japan	0.1	Communications equipment	C
	1972	United Kingdom	0.4	Communications equipment	C
	1972	USSR	150.0	SU-17 jet fighters, SA-6s	C
	1972	West Germany	10.1	Bridging equipment	U
	1973	Czechoslovakia	9.0	Tanks	C
	1973	France	1.5	SS-11 antitank missile system	U
	1973	Poland	4.0	Tanks	C
	1973	United Kingdom	60.0	30 Seaking helicopters	U
	1973	USSR	450.0	Tanks, APCs, jet fighters, SCUD surface-to-surface missile system	U
	1973	Yugoslavia	17.4	Tanks	C
Iran	1967	United States	186.5	F-4 and F-5 fighters, tanks, patrol boats, helicopters	C
	1967	USSR	150.0	APCs, artillery, vehicles, ammunition	C
	1967	West Germany	13.9	Arms factory, small arms	U
	1968	Belgium	0.7	Ammunition	C
	1968	Israel	1.4	Communications equipment	C
	1968	United States	96.5	F-5 jet fighters, Sparrow missiles, support equipment	C

Footnote at end of table.

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status
<i>Iran (Continued)</i>					
	1968	West Germany	0.2	3 small boats	C
	1969	Israel	26.9	Mortars, recoilless rifles, communications equipment	C
	1969	Italy	65.0	150 helicopters	U
	1969	Switzerland	65.0	Antiaircraft guns, support equipment	C
	1969	United States	290.0	F-4 and F-5 jet fighters, artillery, tanks, helicopters	C
	1969	USSR	40.0	APCs, artillery, vehicles	C
	1969	West Germany	16.4	Small arms	C
	1970	Israel	22.5	Recoilless rifles, communications equipment	C
	1970	Italy	4.8	16 helicopters	C
	1970	United Kingdom	5.0	Radar	U
	1970	United Kingdom	94.0	Rapier surface-to-air missile system	C
	1970	United Kingdom	11.0	1 destroyer	C
	1970	United States	125.1	F-5 jet fighters, Sidewinder missiles, helicopters	C
	1970	USSR	135.0	APCs, artillery, vehicles, ammunition	C
	1971	Canada	8.1	Radar	U
	1971	Canada	100.0	Electronic and aircraft maintenance equipment	U
	1971	Canada	7.0	Radios	U
	1971	France	0.3	Communications equipment	C
	1971	Israel	9.6	Ammunition, support equipment	C
	1971	Italy	10.9	100 Sea Killer missiles	C
	1971	Netherlands	30.0	14 F-27 transports	C
	1971	Norway	2.1	Ammunition	C
	1971	Switzerland	3.2	Ammunition	C
	1971	United Kingdom	1.3	Communications equipment	C
	1971	United Kingdom	368.8	Chieftain tanks	U
	1971	United Kingdom	2.4	Seacat missiles	C
	1971	United States	462.3	F-4 jet fighters, boats, radar	C
	1971	USSR	179.0	APCs, artillery, vehicles, ammunition	U
	1972	Czechoslovakia	1.0	Ammunition, support equipment	C
	1972	France	0.1	Quartermaster supplies	C
	1972	Israel	0.6	Communication equipment	C
	1972	Italy	9.0	6 helicopters	U
	1972	Italy	3.5	50 Sea Killer missiles	U
	1972	Italy	28.8	36 helicopters	U
	1972	Switzerland	0.6	Spare parts	C
	1972	United Kingdom	15.0	Hovercraft	Delivery to begin 1974
	1972	United Kingdom	24.9	2 support ships	Delivery scheduled 1974-75
	1972	United Kingdom	13.0	Communications equipment	C
	1972	United States	559.6	F-5 jet fighters, TOW missiles, armored vehicles	C
	1972	USSR	72.0	Support equipment, ammunition	U
	1972	West Germany	1.4	Support equipment	C
	1972	West Germany	26.0	2 cargo tankers	Delivery scheduled 1974-76
	1973	Czechoslovakia	1.0	Small arms, ammunition	C

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹	
Iran (Continued)	1973	Denmark	0.1	Ammunition	C	
	1973	France	10.0	Naval communication network	U	
	1973	France	109.0	6 guided missile patrol boats	U	
	1973	Israel	1.1	Communications equipment	C	
	1973	Italy	0.1	Ammunition	C	
	1973	Netherlands	17.5	10 F-27 transport aircraft	Delivery to begin 1974	
	1973	United Kingdom	36.0	300 Scorpion tanks	U	
	1973	United Kingdom	143.0	Rapier missile system and Blindfire radar	U	
	1973	United States	2,073.7	F-4 and F-5 jet fighters, helicopters, Hawk missiles, Mavriak missiles	U	
	1973	West Germany	1.2	Support and training	U	
	Iraq	1967	Czechoslovakia	20.0	L-29 jet trainers	C
		1967	France	5.2	72 armored vehicles	C
		1967	Italy	5.3	Ammunition	C
1967		United States	1.3	Ammunition, vehicles	C	
1967		USSR	80.0	Jet fighters, ground forces equipment	C	
1968		Bulgaria	2.0	Ammunition	C	
1968		Czechoslovakia	30.0	L-29 jet trainers	C	
1968		France	2.3	Ammunition	C	
1968		United States	0.3	Support equipment	C	
1968		USSR	10.0	AN-24 transport aircraft	C	
1969		Czechoslovakia	15.0	MIG-15 jet fighters	C	
1969		France	1.0	Ammunition	C	
1969		Poland	10.0	MIG-15 jet fighters	C	
1969		Spain	2.5	Small arms, recoilless rifles	U	
1969		United Kingdom	8.6	Ammunition	C	
1969		United States	0.2	Support equipment	C	
1969		USSR	45.0	SU-7 jet fighters, helicopters	C	
1970		France	0.2	Communications equipment	C	
1970		United States	0.5	Support equipment	C	
1970		USSR	55.0	Aircraft, communications equipment	C	
1971		Belgium	0.3	Ammunition	C	
1971		Hungary	16.0	Antiaircraft guns	C	
1971		Portugal	2.5	Support equipment	U	
1971		Sweden	0.6	Support equipment	C	
1971		United Kingdom	0.8	Motor torpedo boat	C	
1971		United Kingdom	0.3	3 BN-2 Islander transport aircraft	C	
1971		West Germany	0.7	Communications equipment	U	
1971		United States	0.2	Support equipment	C	
1971		USSR	250.0	SA-3 equipment, Osa guided missile patrol boats, ground forces equipment	U	
1972		Bulgaria	1.0	Support equipment	C	
1972	Czechoslovakia	80.0	L-39 jet trainers, APCs	U		
1972	East Germany	1.0	Vehicles	C		
1972	France	1.9	16 Alouette III helicopters and spare parts	U		
1972	France	0.4	Ammunition	C		
1972	Hungary	1.0	Support equipment	C		
1972	USSR	14.0	Helicopters	U		
1973	Belgium	1.0	Small arms and ammunition	C		

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹
Iraq (Continued)	1973	Bulgaria	2.0	Support equipment	C
	1973	Czechoslovakia	1.0	Vehicles	C
	1973	France	2.6	AS-11 antitank missile system	U
	1973	France	3.7	31 Alouette III helicopters	U
	1973	France	1.0	Communications equipment	C
	1973	Hungary	2.0	Support equipment	C
	1973	United Kingdom	0.1	Communications equipment	C
	1973	USSR	148.0	TU-22 medium bombers	C
Israel	1967	France	75.0	Assorted spare parts, ammunition, communications and electric equipment	C
	1967	Italy	0.1	Small arms, ammunition	C
	1967 73	United Kingdom	70.0	900 used medium tanks	U
	1967	United States	14.0	Hawk missiles	C
	1968	Belgium	0.5	Small arms	C
	1968	France	75.0	Assorted spare parts, ammunition, communications and electric equipment	C
	1968	Italy	10.0	Helicopters	C
	1968	Italy	1.3	Radar	C
	1968	Japan	0.5	Patrol craft	C
	1968	United States	441.3	A-4 and F-4 jet fighters, artillery, missiles, radar	C
	1969	Belgium	0.3	Small arms	C
	1969	France	50.0	Assorted spare parts, ammunition, communications and electric equipment	C
	1969	Spain	0.6	Ammunition	C
	1969	Switzerland	1.0	Support equipment	C
	1969	United States	83.6	Jet fighters, radar	C
	1969	West Germany	10.0	6 150-foot patrol boats	C
	1970	Belgium	2.7	Ammunition	C
	1970	France	50.0	Assorted spare parts, ammunition, communications and electric equipment	C
	1970	Italy	1.1	10 helicopters	C
	1970	United States	82.5	Hawk and Sidewinder missiles	C
	1971	Belgium	4.0	Ammunition	C
	1971	France	75.0	Mirage assembly facility	C
	1971	United States	340.0	Jet fighters, C-130 transports, APCs, artillery, tanks, Shrike, Rockeye, and Walleye missiles	C
	1972	Italy	5.4	Support equipment	C
	1972	Netherlands	4.2	Ammunition	C
	1972	United Kingdom	36.0	2 submarines	C
1972	United States	498.6	Jet fighters, drones, APCs, artillery, Sparrow and Sidewinder missiles	U	
1973	Belgium	3.0	Ammunition	C	
1973	Italy	0.1	Spare parts	C	
1973	United States	205.1	Jet fighters, missiles, ammunition	U	
Jordan	1967	Egypt	1.3	Ground forces equipment	C
	1967	France	0.6	3 helicopters	C
	1967	United Kingdom	4.4	Ammunition	C

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status
<i>Jordan (Continued)</i>					
	1967	United States	45.2	F-104 jet fighters, drones, APCs	C
	1968	Lebanon	0.2	Jet trainers	C
	1968	United Kingdom	54.8	Tanks, other ground forces equipment	C
	1968	United Kingdom	4.8	12 Tigercat missiles launchers and 180 missiles	C
	1968	United States	34.1	APCs, artillery, tanks	C
	1969	Kuwait	3.3	Tanks, armored vehicles, artillery	C
	1969	Saudi Arabia	1.8	Jet trainers	C
	1969	United Kingdom	3.0	Tanks, other ground forces equipment	C
	1969	United States	13.8	Aircraft spare parts, trucks	C
	1970	Pakistan	1.0	Small arms	C
	1970	United Kingdom	0.1	Ammunition	C
	1970	United Kingdom	4.5	Hawker-Hunter jet fighters	C
	1970	United Kingdom	2.0	30 Saracen armored cars, 12 40-mm antiaircraft guns	C
	1970	United States	32.0	APCs, artillery, small arms, ammunition	C
	1971	Italy	0.5	Ammunition	C
	1971	Spain	3.3	Vehicles	C
	1971	United Kingdom	2.7	Vehicles	C
	1971	United Kingdom	0.6	24 Leyland contractor vehicles	C
	1971	United Kingdom	0.3	550 motoreycles	C
	1971	United States	51.8	Jet fighters, artillery, small arms	C
	1972	India	0.6	Ground forces equipment	C
	1972	Iran	1.8	Ammunition	C
	1972	United Kingdom	5.7	Support equipment and vehicles	C
	1972	United Kingdom	0.2	Small arms	C
	1972	United Kingdom	0.9	Communications equipment	C
	1972	United States	64.8	F-5 fighters, transport aircraft, APCs, missiles	C
	1972	West Germany	8.3	Support equipment	U
	1973	United Kingdom	3.9	30 tanks, spares	C
	1973	United Kingdom	7.5	Radar	N
	1973	United Kingdom	0.4	10 tanks	C
	1973	United States	67.7	Jet fighters, helicopters, artillery, APCs, boats	C
	1973	West Germany	1.0	Support equipment, vehicles	N
<i>Kuwait</i>					
	1967	United Kingdom	0.4	Patrol boats	C
	1968	Italy	1.7	Helicopters	C
	1968	United Kingdom	3.6	6 BAC-167 jet training aircraft	C
	1968	United Kingdom	0.4	2 patrol boats	C
	1968	United Kingdom	21.5	Armored vehicles	C
	1969	Belgium	0.3	Small arms	C
	1969	France	16.0	Ground forces equipment	U
	1969	Switzerland	1.7	Antiaircraft guns	C
	1969	United Kingdom	0.4	2 patrol boats	C
	1970	United States	0.2	Support equipment	C
	1970	Yugoslavia	1.2	Antiaircraft guns	C
	1971	United Kingdom	2.7	6 BAC-167 strike aircraft	C
	1971	United States	0.2	Support equipment	C
	1972	United Kingdom	0.6	8 fast patrol launches	C
	1973	Spain	0.8	Recoilless rifles	C
	1973	United Kingdom	0.9	2 patrol boats	C
					Delivery scheduled for 1974
	1973	United Kingdom	0.5	Red Top air-to-air missiles	C

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹	
Lebanon	1967	United States	2.3	Communications and support equipment	C	
	1968	United States	0.1	Weapons, spare parts	C	
	1969	France	13.0	Crotale surface-to-air missile system	Canceled	
	1969	Saudi Arabia	2.0	Ammunition	C	
	1969	United States	1.0	Small arms	C	
	1969	Yugoslavia	0.2	Artillery	C	
	1970	France	0.6	22 AMX tanks	C	
	1970	United States	2.0	Small arms, ammunition, trucks	C	
	1971	Belgium	2.1	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1971	France	0.1	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1971	United States	5.6	APCs, small arms, ammunition, trucks	C	
	1971	USSR	3.0	Artillery	C	
	1972	France	16.0	6 Alouette III helicopters, armored vehicles, patrol boats	U	
	1972	Italy	5.2	6 AB-212 helicopters	C	
	1972	Spain	0.1	Vehicles	C	
	1972	United Kingdom	1.5	2 patrol boats	U	
	1972	United States	0.5	Communications equipment	C	
	1972	Yugoslavia	1.0	Artillery, ammunition	C	
	1973	Belgium	0.4	Machineguns, ammunition	C	
	1973	Bulgaria	2.0	Explosives	U	
	1973	Czechoslovakia	1.0	Ammunition	U	
	1973	France	2.2	Ammunition	C	
	1973	United Kingdom	1.5	Vehicles	C	
	1973	United States	8.8	Small arms, support equipment	C	
	Libya	1967	Belgium	3.9	Small arms, ammunition	C
		1967	United Kingdom	14.3	3 patrol boats, 1 fleet tender	C
		1967	United Kingdom	2.4	4 motor gunboats	C
		1967	United States	21.3	F-5 jet fighter, C-47 transport	C
		1968	United Kingdom	16.8	1 Mark-7 frigate	C
		1968	United States	6.2	Support equipment	C
		1969	United States	2.4	Spare parts, support equipment	C
		1970	Czechoslovakia	5.0	APCs, vehicles	C
		1970	France	250.0	110 Mirage aircraft	U
1970		France	19.0	Helicopters, radar	C	
1970		United States	25.6	C-130 transport aircraft	C	
1970		USSR	35.0	Tanks, APCs, artillery	C	
1971		Czechoslovakia	5.0	Tanks, APCs	C	
1971		United Kingdom	3.0	Ground forces equipment	C	
1971		United States	4.4	C-130 transports	C	
1971		USSR	56.0	Tanks, APCs, artillery, radar	C	
1971		West Germany	0.6	Support equipment	C	
1972		Czechoslovakia	9.0	Tanks, spare parts	C	
1972		France	10.0	Additional Mirage aircraft	U	
1972		France	60.0	Crotale missile system	C	
1972		Italy	43.0	Helicopters, 150 APCs, and other ground forces equipment	C	
					Manufactural under US license—US permission to export granted	
		1972	Italy	27.0	Naval radar	C

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status	
Libya (Continued)	1972	United Kingdom	1.9	Ground forces equipment	C	
	1972	United States	3.6	Spare parts, support equipment	C	
	1972	USSR	30.0	Tanks, APCs	C	
	1972	West Germany	1.2	Support equipment	C	
	1973	Czechoslovakia	6.0	Tanks	C	
	1973	Italy	10.0	APCs	Manufactural under US license—US export permission not given	
	1973	Spain	0.9	Ammunition	C	
	1973	United Kingdom	0.5	Swingfire antitank missile system	C	
	1973	United Kingdom	5.0	Communications equipment	C	
	1973	United States	0.2	Spare parts, support equipment	C	
	1973	USSR	4.0	Small arms, vehicles	C	
	1973	West Germany	3.0	Communications equipment	C	
	Morocco	1967	Czechoslovakia	20.0	Tanks, self-propelled guns	C
		1967	France	4.0	Fouga Magister aircraft	C
		1967	Italy	6.7	Helicopters, radar	C
1967		United States	4.1	Spare parts, ammunition	C	
1968		Israel	3.6	Tanks	C	
1968		United States	14.9	F-5 jet fighters, small arms	C	
1968		West Germany	2.0	Vehicles	C	
1969		United States	7.2	Support equipment	C	
1970		United States	3.6	Support equipment	C	
1970		West Germany	2.0	Vehicles, support equipment	C	
1971		Belgium	0.3	Ammunition	C	
1971		France	0.3	Support equipment	C	
1971		United States	4.0	Support equipment	C	
1972		United States	8.1	Helicopters, vehicles	C	
1972		West Germany	0.6	Vehicles, spare parts	C	
1973		France	30.0	2 patrol boats	Delivery scheduled for 1975	
1973		United States	2.8	Communications equipment	C	
1973		USSR	2.0	Small arms, artillery	C	
1973		West Germany	1.5	Vehicles, quartermaster supplies	C	
Oman		1967	Italy	0.1	Support equipment	C
	1968	United Kingdom	3.6	BAC-167 jet trainers	C	
	1969	Belgium	1.9	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1970	Belgium	1.4	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1970	United Kingdom	1.6	6 helicopters, support equipment	U	
	1970	United Kingdom	3.0	6 Sky Van transport aircraft	C	
	1970	United Kingdom	3.0	3 DC-4 transports	C	
	1970	United States	0.1	Support equipment	C	
	1971	Belgium	1.3	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1971	Italy	5.0	7 helicopters	C	
	1971	United Kingdom	6.0	3 patrol boats	C	
	1971	United Kingdom	1.0	2 Sky Van transport aircraft	N	
	1971	United States	0.4	Support equipment	C	
	1972	Belgium	0.1	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1972	India	0.3	Howitzers, small arms	C	

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**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹	
Oman (Continued)	1972	Iran	1.0	Small arms, ammunition, support equipment	C	
	1972	Jordan	1.4	Small arms, howitzers	C	
	1972	Saudi Arabia	1.2	Artillery, ammunition	C	
	1972	United Kingdom	1.0	2 Sky Van transport aircraft	U	
	1972	United Kingdom	2.3	Armored cars	C	
	1972	United States	0.1	Support equipment	C	
	1973	Belgium	0.1	Small arms, ammunition	C	
	1973	Iran	0.8	Ammunition	C	
	1973	Italy	5.7	7 helicopters, ammunition	U	
	1973	United States	0.1	Support equipment	C	
	Qatar	1968	United Kingdom	1.4	2 patrol boats	C
		1970	Belgium	0.1	Small arms	C
		1970	United Kingdom	1.2	Tigercat missile system	U
1971		United Kingdom	2.0	4 Hawker-Hunter jet fighters	C	
1972		United Kingdom	2.4	6 patrol boats	Delivery scheduled for 1975	
Saudi Arabia	1967	Netherlands	0.7	Patrol boats	U	
	1967	United States	80.6	Jet trainers, APCs, artillery, ammunition, trucks	C	
	1967	West Germany	1.4	Antiaircraft guns, ammunition	C	
	1968	France	42.0	Armored vehicles	C	
	1968	Spain	5.1	Antiaircraft guns	C	
	1968	Spain	4.3	Trucks	C	
	1968	United States	41.1	F-86 jet fighters, trainers, Sidewinder missiles	C	
	1968	West Germany	1.8	3 patrol boats	C	
	1968	West Germany	0.2	Ammunition	C	
	1969	Switzerland	1.0	Antiaircraft guns	C	
	1969	United Kingdom	11.5	8 hovercraft	C	
	1969	United States	11.0	Aircraft and missile spare parts, ammunition	C	
	1970	France	0.2	4 utility aircraft	C	
	1970	France	20.0	Armored vehicles	C	
	1970	Italy	8.0	40 AB-205 helicopters	C	
	1970	Spain	5.4	Antiaircraft guns	C	
	1970	Spain	0.2	Ammunition	C	
	1970	United States	17.8	Small arms	C	
	1971	France	100.0	Armored vehicles	U	
	1971	Spain	3.0	Vehicles	C	
	1971	United Kingdom	2.0	10 small patrol craft	C	
	1971	United States	105.7	Aircraft spare parts, supply operation, communications equipment, ammunition	C	
	1972	Italy	15.0	10 AB-212 helicopters	U	
1972	Spain	1.0	Recoilless rifles	C		
1972	United Kingdom	7.5	10 Strikemaster trainer aircraft and refitting of 20 others	U		
1972	United States	340.3	F-5 jet fighters, landing boats, small arms, ammunition, technical assistance	U		

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**Arms Sales Agreements for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status	
Saudi Arabia (Continued)	1973	Belgium	9.4	106-mm guns, machineguns, ammunition	C	
	1973	France	0.3	Ammunition	C	
	1973	France	114.0	38 Mirage III jet fighters, Matra R-550 air-to-air missiles	Delivery scheduled for 1974-75	
	1973	France	7.0	APCs, artillery, ammunition	U	
	1973	Italy	3.0	Pistols, 3 20-mm antiaircraft guns	C	
	1973	Italy	1.7	Aircraft spare parts	C	
	1973	United Kingdom	625.0	Maintenance, training, support for the air force	U	
	1973	United States	66.5	Aircraft spare parts, small arms, trucks	U	
	Syria	1967	Czechoslovakia	10.0	Jet trainers, tanks	C
		1967	USSR	100.0	Jet fighters, ground forces equipment	C
		1968	United States	0.1	Support equipment	C
1968		USSR	75.0	SA-2s, jet fighters, ground forces equipment	C	
1968		West Germany	4.5	Vehicles	C	
1969		Czechoslovakia	12.0	Jet trainers, ammunition	C	
1969		Italy	1.0	Land mines	C	
1969		PRC	2.0	Support equipment	C	
1969		Spain	1.3	Truck-mounted recoilless rifles, ammunition	C	
1969		United States	0.7	Support equipment	C	
1969		West Germany	4.5	Communications equipment	C	
1970		Czechoslovakia	15.0	Tanks	U	
1970		Poland	15.0	Tanks, support equipment	U	
1970		Spain	0.3	Ammunition	C	
1970		United States	0.9	Support equipment	C	
1970		USSR	40.0	Jet fighters	C	
1971		Hungary	10.0	Communications equipment	U	
1971		USSR	125.0	SA-3s, Oca guided missile patrol boats, jet fighters, ground forces equipment	C	
1972		Czechoslovakia	8.0	Vehicles	U	
1972		Hungary	1.0	Communications equipment	C	
1972		USSR	302.0	SA-6s, jet fighters, ground forces equipment, naval craft	U	
1972		West Germany	0.4	Vehicles	C	
1973		Czechoslovakia	3.0	Small arms, spare parts	C	
1973	East Germany	3.0	Small arms	C		
1973	Hungary	1.0	Communications equipment	C		
1973	Poland	15.0	Tanks	C		
1973	United Kingdom	0.3	Vehicles	C		
1973	USSR	500.0	SAM equipment, jet fighters, ground forces equipment	U		
1973	West Germany	6.3	Trucks	U		
Tunisia	1967	United States	8.6	Spare parts, ammunition	C	
	1968	France	3.0	2 patrol boats	C	
	1968	United States	3.0	Small arms, communications equipment	C	
	1968	West Germany	2.4	Communications equipment	C	
	1969	France	4.8	Armored vehicles	C	
	1969	Italy	1.0	Radar	C	

**Arms Sales Records for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status
	1969	United States	3.9	Small arms, communications equipment	C
	1969	West Germany	0.2	Trucks	C
	1970	Italy	0.2	Aircraft spare parts	C
	1970	United States	3.8	Small arms, communications equipment	C
	1971	Italy	0.2	Aircraft spare parts	C
	1971	United States	7.0	Spare parts, small arms, ammunition	U
	1971	West Germany	1.8	Field hospital, support equipment	C
	1972	United Kingdom	0.2	Ammunition	C
	1972	United States	2.0	Ammunition, communications equipment	U
	1972	West Germany	0.8	Field hospital, communications equipment	C
	1973	France	0.1	1 minesweeper	Loaned for 10 years
	1973	France	1.8	1 helicopter	C
	1973	United States	1.8	Ammunition, communications equipment	U
	1973	West Germany	1.8	Vehicles	Delivery scheduled for 1974-76
United Arab Emirates	1967	Italy	0.8	2 helicopters, small arms, ammunition	C
	1968	Belgium	0.1	Small arms, ammunition	C
	1968	United Kingdom	1.0	10 patrol boats	C
	1969	United Kingdom	6.0	12 jet fighter aircraft	C
	1970	Belgium	0.2	Small arms, ammunition	C
	1970	United Kingdom	1.2	Tigercat missile system	U
	1971	United Kingdom	2.0	1 Hawker-Hunter jet fighter	U
	1971	United Kingdom	7.0	Vigilant antitank missile system	U
	1972	France	7.0	6 SA-330 helicopters	C
	1972	France	1.3	5 Alouette III helicopters	U
	1972	France	35.0	14 Mirage 5 jet fighters	U
	1972	Jordan	0.7	Artillery, recoilless rifles	C
	1972	United Kingdom	1.0	2 patrol boats	Deliveries scheduled for 1974
	1973	France	54.0	18 Mirage III jet fighters	N
	1973	France	2.7	68 Panhard armored cars	Deliveries to begin 1977
	1973	United Kingdom	0.6	10 Scorpion armored cars	U
	1973	Yugoslavia	0.1	Artillery	C
Yemen (Aden)	1968	Algeria	0.8	Small arms	C
	1968	USSR	7.0	MIG-15 jet fighters, ground forces equipment	C
	1969	USSR	5.0	MIG-17 jet fighters, AN-24 transports	C
	1970	USSR	5.0	MIG-17 jet fighters	C
	1971	East Germany	2.0	Artillery, APCs	C
	1971	USSR	10.0	IL-18 bombers, helicopters, ground forces equipment	C
	1971	Yugoslavia	0.7	Radar	C
	1972	Hungary	2.0	Artillery	C
	1972	USSR	15.0	MIG-21 jet fighters	C
	1973	USSR	8.0	Helicopters	C

**Arms Sales Accords for the Middle East, by Recipient
1967-73 (Continued)**

Recipient	Year of Agreement	Supplier	Million US \$	Equipment Covered	Status ¹
Yemen (San'a)	1967	USSR	10.0	Jet bombers, fighters, patrol boats	C
	1968	USSR	5.0	Ground forces equipment	C
	1969	Algeria	0.8	Ammunition	C
	1969	USSR	2.0	Small arms	C
	1970	Bulgaria	2.0	Ground forces equipment	U
	1971	USSR	N.A.		U
	1972	Egypt	1.4	Tanks	C
	1972	Libya	0.6	F-28 jet bombers	C
	1972	Romania	1.0	Quartermaster supplies	U
	1972	Saudi Arabia	0.8	Small arms	C
	1972	Spain	0.2	Small arms	C
	1972	West Germany	0.3	Vehicles, communications equipment	C
	1973	Abu Dhabi	1.0	Saladin tanks	C
	1973	Jordan	1.0	Tanks	C
	1973	Saudi Arabia	2.3	Tanks, aircraft	C
	1973	USSR	1.0	Vehicles	U

¹ The letter C denotes delivery has been completed, U indicates they are under way, and N signifies no delivery information.