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Soviet Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1987

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Soviet Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1987



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**Soviet Arms Deliveries to the
Third World in 1987** 



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Preface

*Information available
as of 4 April 1988
was used in this report.*



 The values for Soviet arms deliveries in this volume ^{25X1}
were calculated using a methodology that has been coordinated with the
Intelligence Community. 



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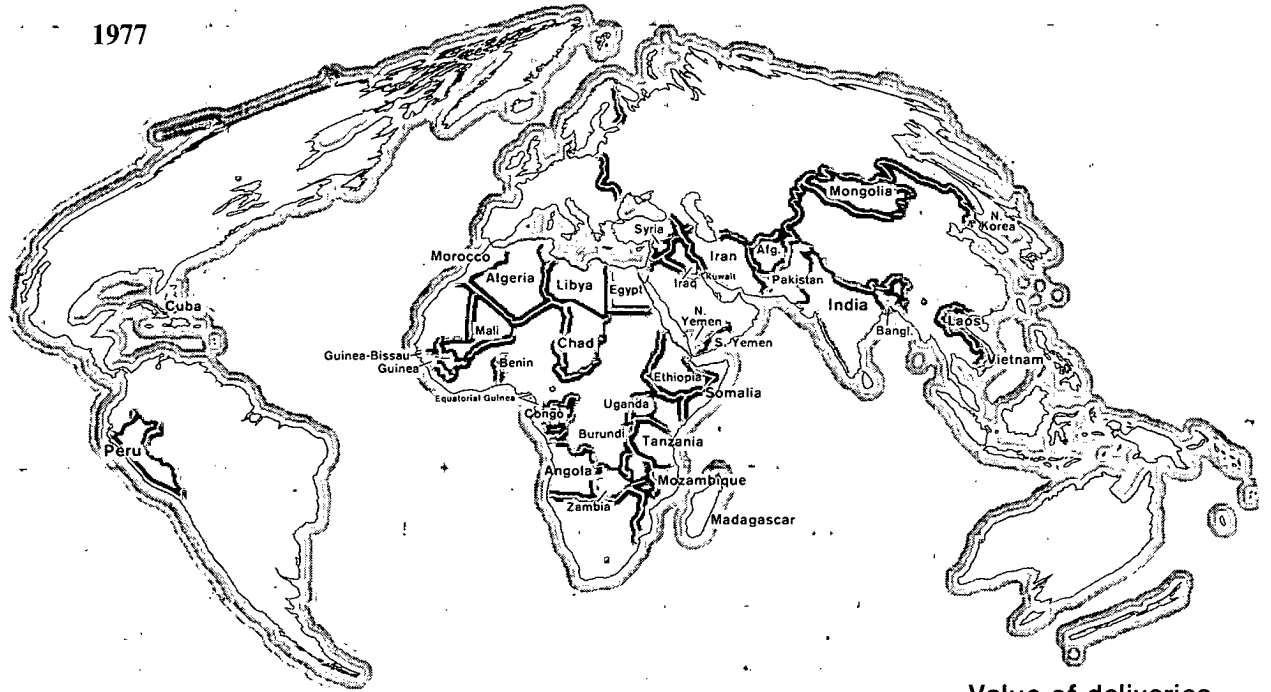
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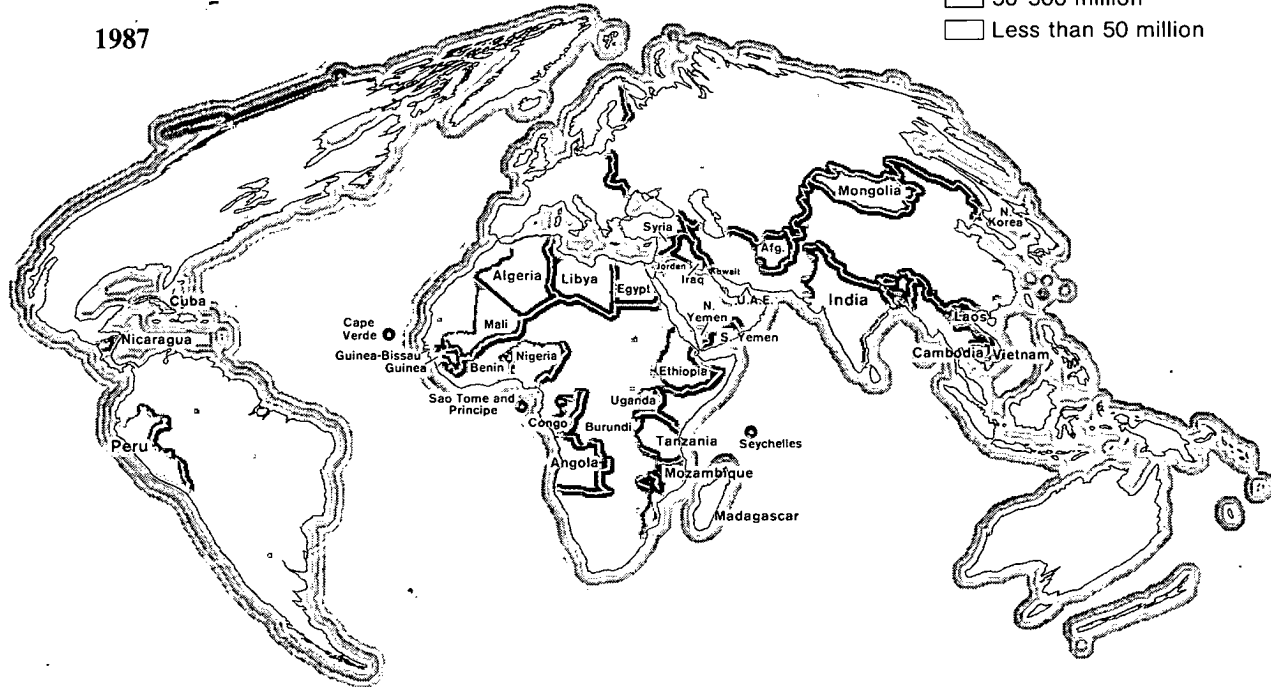
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Figure 1
Third World Recipients of Soviet Arms



Value of deliveries
(in 1987 US dollars)

- 500 million and above
- 50-500 million
- Less than 50 million



Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

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Soviet Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1987

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Overview

Soviet arms deliveries to the Third World rose in real terms in 1987 for the first time in five years, edging up 6 percent to almost \$19 billion.¹ Moscow remained the leading supplier of weapons to the Third World, shipping twice as many arms as the United States—the second-leading supplier—despite a sharp rise in US deliveries, which was due partly to the handing over of several AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia and Egypt (see figure 1). The tonnage of Soviet exports of military goods rose by about 14 percent to 525,000 metric tons. In addition to arms previously exported, Moscow delivered for the first time the SA-16 surface-to-air missile, the MI-35 attack helicopter, and the M1976 howitzer (see figures 2, 3, and 4).

Key Developments in 1987

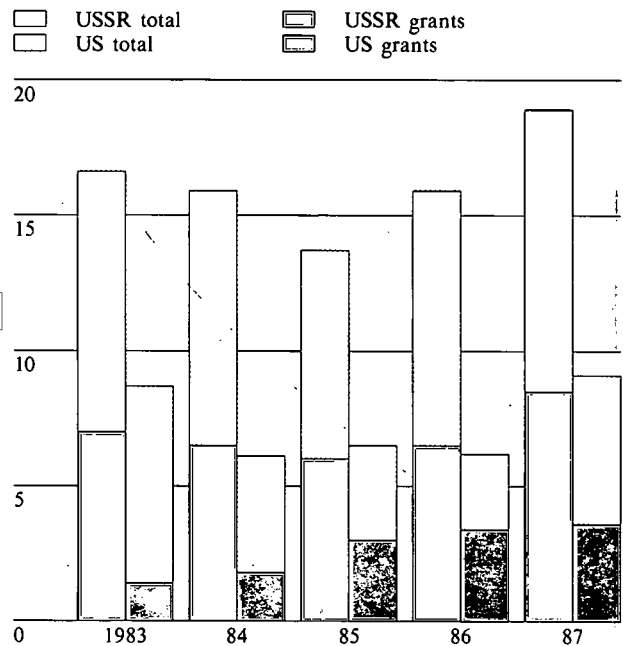
While Soviet arms transfers overall were up, Moscow's collective deliveries to its eight Marxist-Leninist clients fighting insurgencies rose most sharply and now account for about 40 percent of its arms exports:

- Afghanistan and Angola received large amounts of arms to replace heavy combat losses. Estimates of Kabul's arms inventory and of Soviet deliveries indicate Afghanistan may have replaced almost all of its light armored vehicle fleet during the year. Kabul and Luanda also received large numbers of aircraft and helicopters.
- Soviet arms shipments to Ethiopia rebounded from the low in 1986 after a new arms deal was signed. Cambodia also received a sharp increase in arms deliveries, possibly reflecting an effort to strengthen Phnom Penh's forces in anticipation of the Vietnamese force withdrawal planned for 1990.

¹ All values are in constant 1987 dollars unless otherwise indicated. Previous published estimates of values were in constant 1986 dollars.

Figure 2
Value of Soviet and US Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1983-87

Billion current US \$



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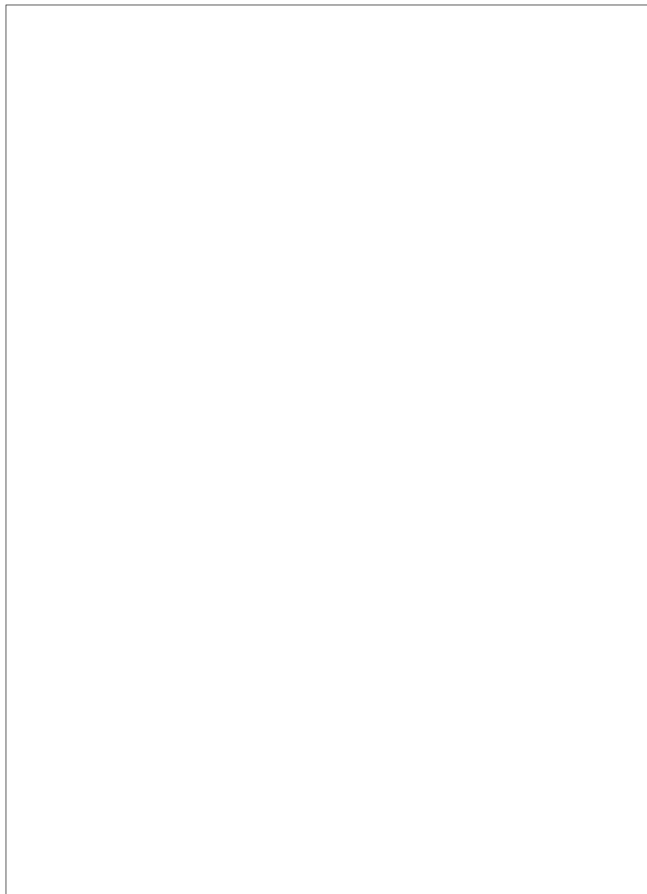
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- Deliveries to Nicaragua, Mozambique, Laos, and Vietnam remained at a high level. Almost all deliveries consisted of consumables, such as ammunition, and other basic items, such as trucks, to support continuing operations.

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their air forces. Exports of field and air defense artillery also appear to have fallen, although Moscow delivered the long-range 152-mm M1976 field gun, for the first time, to Iraq.

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- A record number of large surface-to-air missile launchers were delivered in 1987. Nations in all parts of the world received SAMs from Moscow, highlighting the widespread focus in the Third World on improving air defense capabilities.
- Third World nations received roughly the same number of tanks and other armored vehicles as in 1986. India took delivery of more than 200 T-72M1s and T-72M1 assembly kits to upgrade the capabilities of its large armored forces. Most other armor exports went to replace losses of nations fighting wars. Soviet deliveries of warships also held steady in 1987 (see table 1).

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Deliveries of basic items—support equipment, small arms, ammunition, and spare parts—rose and accounted for all of the increase in Soviet arms deliveries in 1987. The tonnage and value of exports of these items rose by 15 percent, while the total tonnage and value of major weapons held roughly steady. In part, the increased focus on basic items reflects the rise in deliveries to Marxist clients at war who need large quantities of consumables. In addition, most Third World nations are having difficulty paying for expensive new weapons, and some countries that built up their inventories of major arms in the 1970s and early 1980s are now focusing more on maintaining these forces rather than on adding new capabilities.

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As far as developments in exports of major weapon systems are concerned:

- Soviet deliveries of helicopters rose sharply to near the peak of 1983. Included for the first time was the "Hind E," which defense attache reporting indicates has been designated the MI-35 for export purposes.
- Moscow delivered 151 fighter aircraft to LDCs, a sharp drop from the 202 shipped in 1986. Soviet fighter exports remain well below the levels of the early 1980s, when many nations were bolstering

Regional Highlights in 1987

Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa region accounted for the largest share of Soviet arms deliveries to the Third World in 1987—about 38 percent—but this

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Table 1
Identified Items of Major Military Equipment Delivered to the
Third World by the USSR, 1983-87

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Fighters/jet trainers	389	494	185	202	151
Helicopters	199	137	155	118	175
SAM Launchers ^a	256	161	328	170	389
Air defense artillery (>20mm)	728	382	58	212	102
Main battle tanks	860	695	917	760	738
Other armored vehicles	2,147	1,266	1,366	1,617	1,521
Field artillery (>100mm) ^b	736	617	396	677	524
Large warships/submarines	4	7	2	4	3
Patrol boats/minesweepers	26	40	39	17	21

^a Excluding man-portable SAMs.

^b Including Scud, Frog, and SS-21 missile launchers, but not missiles.

share was the lowest in at least 10 years. Moreover, this region was the only one to see a drop in the value of Soviet arms deliveries in 1987, the sixth straight year of decline. Substantial declines in Soviet arms deliveries to Iraq, Libya, and Jordan accounted for almost all of the drop in Moscow's military exports to the region. Deliveries to Baghdad fell by more than a billion dollars, or 29 percent, although this probably does not represent a decline in Moscow's commitment. Iraq remains the largest recipient of Soviet arms in the world, and Moscow's deliveries to it have risen and fallen in alternate years since 1981—possibly reflecting a routine pattern of deliveries under two-year contracts. In addition, East European nations increased their exports of ground arms to Iraq in 1987, taking up some of the slack in Soviet deliveries. The 58-percent drop in deliveries to Libya probably was due partly to Tripoli's declining willingness to pay hard currency for arms. Deliveries to Jordan fell because Amman's major order—for SA-8 and SA-13 SAMs and other air defense equipment—was largely filled in the previous two years.

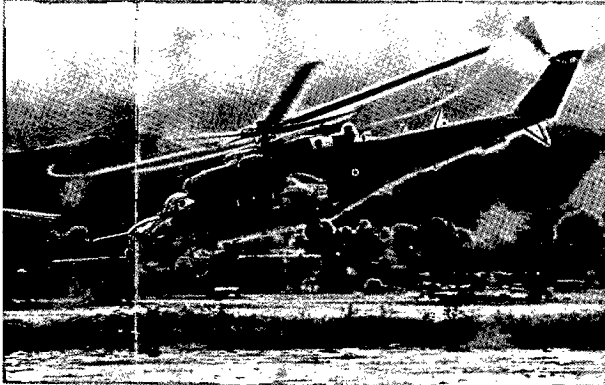
Soviet arms exports to most other nations in the Middle East and North Africa rose or held steady in 1987. Syria received the largest increase in Soviet arms aid, including 21 MIG-29 fighters, 28 self-propelled howitzers, and more than \$1 billion of other military equipment and materiel. The rise in deliveries came after Moscow forgave part of Damascus's military and civil debt and rescheduled payment on the remainder. Soviet arms deliveries to Egypt again consisted almost totally of trucks, but the rescheduling of Cairo's arms debt improved the prospects for limited future sales of combat arms. North and South Yemen both received hefty increases in Soviet arms aid last year. Moscow sent Sana SU-22 fighter aircraft to replace accident losses and also sent SS-21 surface-to-surface missiles. North Yemen is only the second LDC, after Syria, to have the SS-21. Oil production is beginning in North Yemen, which may be making Sana a more attractive customer to Moscow, and the Soviets also are trying to improve ties to

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**Three Soviet Weapons Systems
Newly Exported in 1987**

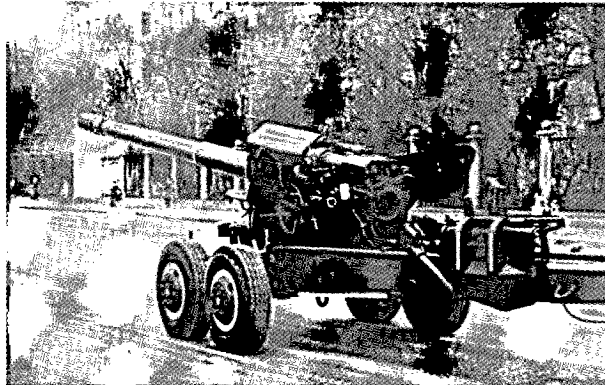
MI-35 "Hind E"



The MI-35 "Hind E" is a heavily armed assault helicopter that can carry up to 12 AT-6 radio guided, tube-launched antitank missiles and has more powerful engines than the previously exported Hind D.

[redacted]

M1976 "Perm" Gun



The M1976 152-mm towed field gun fires a high explosive projectile to a maximum range of 27,000 meters and is mounted on a split trail carriage with a small shield.

[redacted]

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SA-16 "Igla" Surface-to-Air Missile

The SA-16 man-portable surface-to-air missile is an improved version of the SA-14. It has a maximum range of 6 kilometers and a maximum altitude of 5500 meters. The SA-16 can successfully engage aircraft in both frontal and rear aspect.

[redacted]

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Sana. South Yemen received eight SU-22 fighters and several dozen light armored vehicles, probably to replace losses from the 1986 coup and to preserve a measure of military balance between the two Yemens. The USSR also delivered [redacted] SA-14 surface-to-air missiles to Abu Dhabi, its first arms export to the UAE [redacted]

Asia

Asia remained the second-leading region for Soviet arms exports, with more than 34 percent of deliveries. Deliveries to Asia rose to \$6.5 billion, a record for the

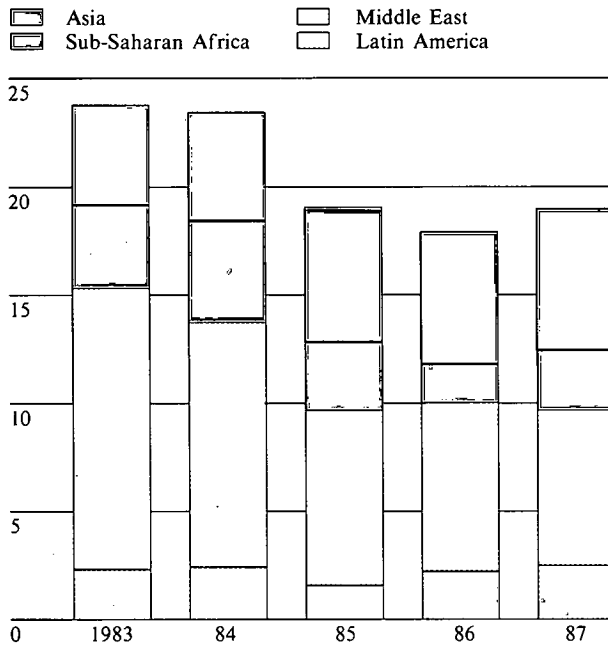
1980s. India was the largest recipient of Soviet arms in Asia last year, with \$2.3 billion in deliveries, mainly from large orders placed over the last several years. Unlike most recipients of Soviet arms, New Delhi's imports consist mainly of major weapons. India received a variety of major arms in 1987—MIG-29 fighters, T-72M1 tanks, AN-32 transport aircraft, and a Kilo-class submarine, for example—that made up three-fourths of the value of Moscow's deliveries. Soviet arms deliveries to Afghanistan also

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Figure 4
Value of Soviet Arms Delivered to the Third World by Region, 1983-87

Billion constant US \$



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rose to \$1.5 billion, a 5-percent increase over the record level in 1986. The rise resulted from an increased tempo of insurgent activity and a need to replace Kabul's heavy losses of aircraft, helicopters, and armor. Moscow may also have been trying to build up Kabul's forces in anticipation of a withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Soviet military aid to the three Indo-Chinese nations rose about 15 percent in 1987 to more than \$2.4 billion. Cambodia and Laos appear to have taken most of the increase, although Vietnam still accounted for four-fifths of deliveries to the region. As in the

past four years, only 10 to 15 percent of Moscow's aid consisted of major arms, such as SAM launchers and warships, highlighting the huge amounts of munitions, support equipment, and spare parts needed just to sustain Hanoi's million-man armed forces and war efforts.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

The value of Soviet military deliveries to Sub-Saharan Africa rose substantially in 1987 to \$2.7 billion, making it the third-leading region for Soviet arms exports. Most of the increase was accounted for by the sharp rebound in deliveries to Ethiopia as Moscow began fulfilling a new arms contract. Addis Ababa received \$925 million in arms in 1987—up from \$220 million in 1986—including more than 100 T-55 tanks and 10 MI-35 helicopters. The value of deliveries to Mozambique fell to \$125 million. Most shipments consisted of consumables, but Moscow also sent three transport helicopters. Maputo signed a new arms deal with Moscow last year, but deliveries are only beginning to pick up.

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Soviet deliveries to Angola remained at a high level in 1987, reaching \$1.45 billion. The value of deliveries has averaged more than \$1 billion since 1983. Angola is now the leading recipient of Soviet arms in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s, surpassing Ethiopia. Soviet arms aid has added notable quantities of relatively sophisticated weapons to Angola's arsenal, including 10 MIG-23 interceptors and 17 MI-25/35 attack helicopters. The arrival of large numbers of SAMs—SA-2s, SA-3s, and SA-13s—and associated radars highlighted Moscow's continuing effort to upgrade Luanda's air defense network in the face of South African air attacks.

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Tanzania and Uganda also received significant increases in Soviet arms deliveries. Moscow shipped 6 BTR-60 and 15 BRDM-2 armored vehicles and eight

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Changes in Soviet Seaborne Deliveries in 1987

Several major developments occurred in the pattern of Soviet seaborne arms deliveries to the Third World in 1987. In addition to changes on a global scale, Soviet seaborne deliveries to two key clients, Iraq and Nicaragua, adjusted quickly to political and military contingencies. [redacted]

The Soviets delivered an increased volume of arms last year and avoided a yearend surge in deliveries:

- The total number of arms carriers making voyages from the Soviet Union rose about 30 percent to 420, while the total tonnage carried increased by 17 percent. [redacted]

- NPFS ships also picked up commercial cargoes in foreign ports after completing military operations, making their voyages more profitable and difficult to monitor.

- The annual surge in deliveries from NPFS during the months of October through December did not materialize. Soviet deliveries peaked during April to June, in part because of massive shipments to Syria (see figures 6 and 7). [redacted]

Changes in the pattern of Soviet deliveries to Iraq may also help explain the absence of a fourth-quarter surge. Since the Iran-Iraq war began in September 1980, all lethal weapons, aircraft, helicopters, and

ammunition for Iraq had been shipped through the Kuwaiti port of Ash Shu'aybah. In mid-November, Moscow suspended shipments through Ash Shu'aybah, probably to avoid the risk of Iranian attack. Moscow instead began sending military cargo destined for Iraq to the Saudi port of Al Qadimah and the North Yemeni port of Ra's al Kathib. The cargo was then transshipped by air or land to Iraq. This shift in ports may have caused a temporary decline in arms deliveries. Deliveries to Ash Shu'aybah resumed in January 1988 after the tanker war eased, although Soviet arms carriers continue to call at Al Qadimah. [redacted]

The Soviets attempted to mask their continued military deliveries to Nicaragua through increased use of the Cuba-Nicaragua shuttle, supplemented by one trans-Pacific voyage of a Soviet arms carrier from NPFS. Last year we identified 25 voyages by Cuban and Nicaraguan ships that carried 8,701 tons of NPFS-origin military goods from Cuban ports to Nicaragua—21 percent of Moscow's aid. We believe Moscow provides these goods, either by replacing items sent to Nicaragua out of Cuban stocks or by transshipping materiel delivered to Cuba on Soviet ships. The dedicated arms carrier, Agostino Neto, delivered military cargo from NPFS to Nicaragua by crossing the Indian and Pacific Oceans, following a route used in 1986 by another Soviet arms carrier from NPFS. Additional Soviet military aid to Nicaragua arrived on Soviet merchant vessels departing other Soviet ports. [redacted]

BM-21 multiple rocket launchers to Tanzania. We believe that Moscow's deliveries are going at least in part to support Dar es Salaam's forces in Mozambique. Uganda received significant amounts of Soviet arms in 1987 as Moscow tried to increase its influence in the region. Included were four MI-17 helicopters and 12 BM-21 rocket launchers valued at a total of \$20 million. [redacted]

Latin America

The Soviet Union delivered about \$2.4 billion in military equipment and materiel to Latin America in 1987—a small increase over 1986. Analysis of Soviet

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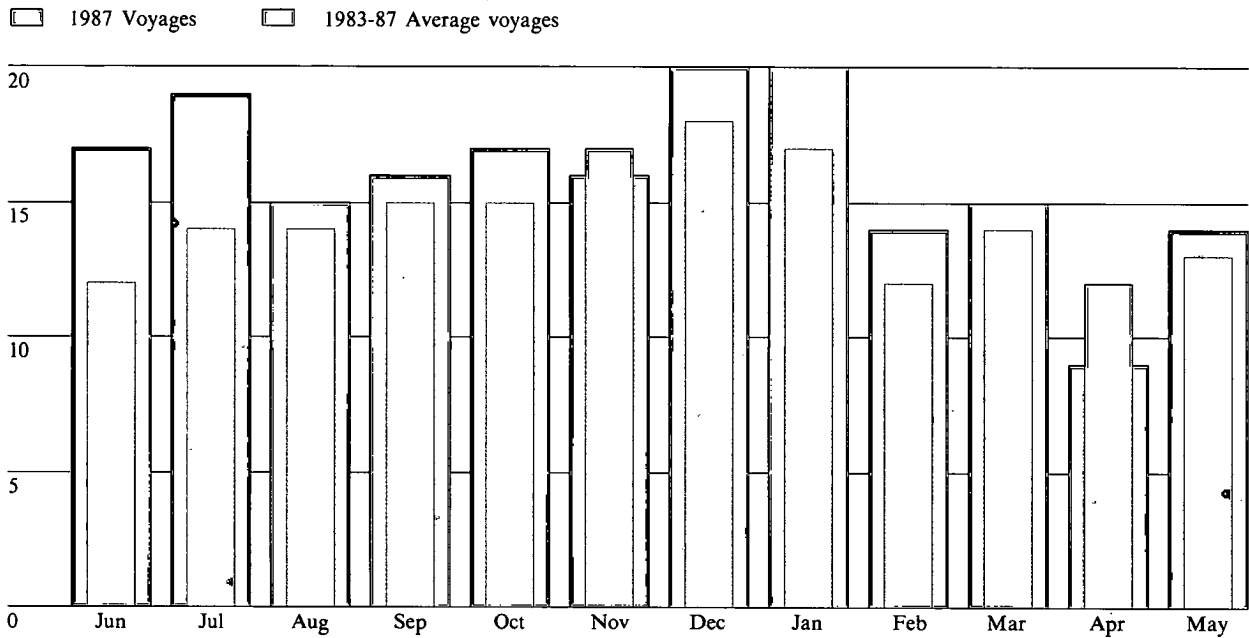
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Figure 5
Soviet Arms Carriers Transiting the Bosphorus from Nikolayev Port Facilities South
Monthly Average, 1983-87

Number of voyages



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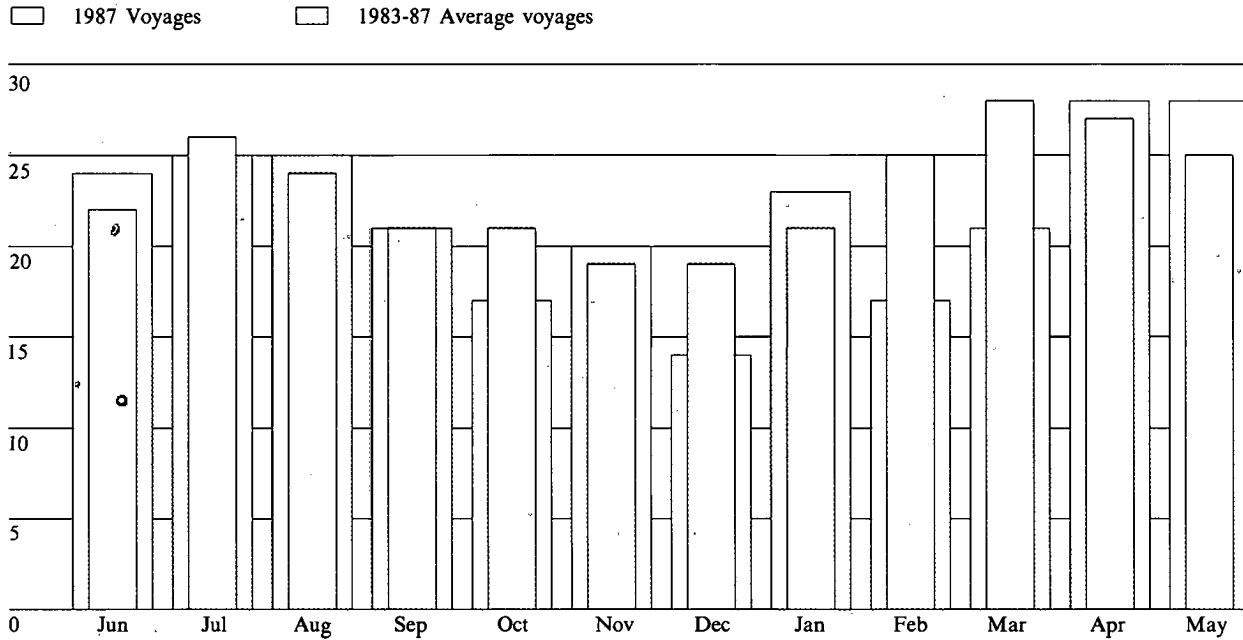
arms deliveries to Cuba suggests that a replacement cycle has begun for at least part of Havana's aging equipment inventory. Exports to Cuba rose some 28 percent to \$1.8 billion and included 55 T-55 and 28 T-62 tanks to replace vehicles that had reached the end of their service life. Cuba also received 10 SA-3 and 8 SA-2 surface-to-air missile batteries to expand its air defense network, as well as a dozen MI-35s. Havana also received additional air defense artillery, armored vehicles, and two transport aircraft.

Meanwhile, the tonnage of Soviet assistance to Nicaragua in 1987 remained about the same as in 1986. The value dropped some 15 percent, however, to \$535 million, reflecting a shift in the composition of deliveries from expensive equipment such as helicopters to lower cost items such as armored vehicles, trucks, and ammunition. Managua took delivery of the largest armored personnel carrier and air defense artillery shipment since 1984 and virtually completed an air

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Figure 6
Non-Nikolayev Port Facilities South Arms Carriers Departing From the Soviet Union
Monthly Average, 1983-87

Number of voyages



[Redacted]

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Table 2
Top 10 Soviet Arms Export
Customers in 1987

Million 1987 US \$

Rank	Country	Estimated Value of Arms Delivered
1	Iraq	3,440
2	India	2,300
3	Vietnam	1,955
4	Syria	1,830
5	Cuba	1,775
6	Afghanistan	1,505
7	Angola	1,450
8	Ethiopia	925
9	Algeria	575
10	Nicaragua	535

[Redacted]

defense tracking network in northern Nicaragua. Soviet ships carried a declining share of Moscow's deliveries to Managua—less than half the total tonnage. Nicaraguan and Cuban ships brought almost half the tonnage, mainly consumables, from Cuba. The Soviets either replenish depleted Cuban stocks or provide materiel to Havana expressly for transshipment to Nicaragua.

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Appendix A

East European Arms Deliveries to the Third World in 1987

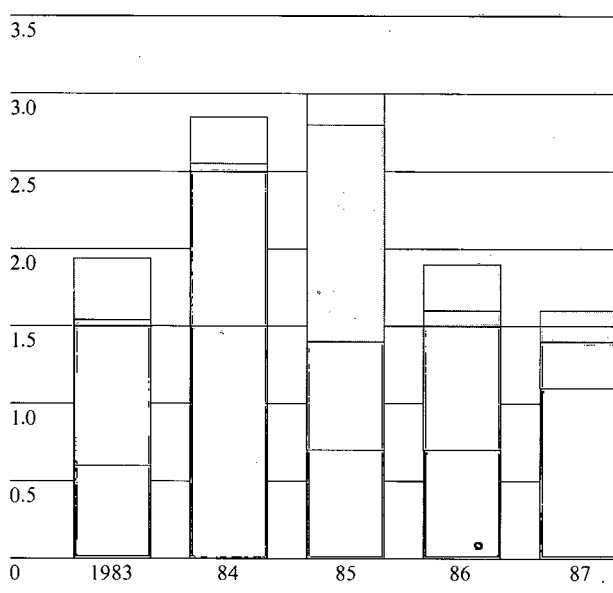
East European arms exports often complement the Soviet arms transfer program. East European arms deliveries to the Third World fell modestly in 1987, the second year of decline. Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies and Yugoslavia export arms mainly to earn hard currency, and some of their customers—Libya and Syria, for example—have cut back on orders because of financial problems. Iraq and Iran are the region's main customers. In 1987, Baghdad received more than 500 light armored vehicles from Eastern Europe and more than 80 T-72 tanks. Iran buys mainly ammunition and components, but also took delivery of 50 BMP infantry fighting vehicles in 1987, probably from Bulgaria or Romania. Outside the Middle East, India is a major customer, receiving several LIGET communications systems from Hungary in 1987, as well as bridges from Czechoslovakia.

Figure A-1 displays the value of known East European arms deliveries over the last five years. We believe that a significant share—up to 25 percent—of East European arms exports are not detected.

Figure 7
Value of East European Arms Deliveries to the Third World, 1983-87

Billion US \$

□ Other LDCs	□ Other Middle East/North Africa
□ Latin America	□ Iran-Iraq



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Appendix B

Estimated Current Value of Soviet Military Deliveries to the Third World

Million US \$

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Total Third World	16,580	15,939	13,739	15,857	18,957
Asia	3,230	3,430	4,492	5,494	6,540
Afghanistan	470	635	635	1,270	1,505
Bangladesh	5	NEGL	NEGL	1	0
Cambodia	140	190	335	140	365
India	1,005	970	1,525	1,900	2,300
Laos	140	120	80	60	120
Mongolia	50	55	2	3	NA
North Korea	50	15	355	420	295
Vietnam	1,370	1,445	1,560	1,650	1,955
Latin America	1,615	1,642	1,126	1,965	2,420
Cuba	1,260	1,335	835	1,410	1,775
Grenada	NEGL	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	16	0	0
Nicaragua	225	305	230	545	535
Peru	130	2	45	10	110
Middle East/North Africa	9,075	7,706	5,870	6,914	7,272
Algeria	490	535	385	550	575
Egypt	60	60	60	8	100
Iran	90	6	0	0	0
Iraq	2,675	3,545	2,325	4,290	3,440
Jordan	120	20	385	295	185
Kuwait	40	65	25	11	17
Libya	945	1,175	835	730	350
North Yemen	465	55	170	210	390
South Yemen	785	325	375	195	355
Syria	3,405	1,920	1,310	625	1,830
United Arab Emirates	0	0	0	0	30
Sub-Saharan Africa	2,660	3,161	2,251	1,534	2,725
Angola	1,070	1,335	765	1,000	1,450
Benin	16	3	4	9	2
Burkina	0	4	0	0	0
Burundi	7	5	4	9	18
Cameroon		NEGL			
Cape Verde	2	2	2	3	3

Secret**Estimated Current Value of Soviet Military Deliveries to the Third World (continued)***Million US \$*

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Congo	65	95	30	18	4
Ethiopia	1,005	1,200	935	195	925
Ghana	0	16	0	0	NEGL
Guinea	13	50	75	50	40
Guinea-Bissau	8	35	7	20	14
Madagascar	45	10	30	9	35
Mali	5	30	7	9	6
Mozambique	360	330	270	155	125
Nigeria	20	4	75	11	7
Sao Tome and Principe	6	2	0	3	3
Senegal	3	0	0	0	NEGL
Seychelles	17	5	2	20	18
Tanzania	18	35	45	15	55
Uganda	0	0	0	5	20
Zambia	0	0	0	3	0

Notes: 1. Values of \$20 million and more are rounded to the nearest \$5 million; values between \$1 million and \$19 million are rounded to nearest million; values under \$500,000 are listed as negligible (NEGL).

2. Dollar values for individual nations are believed accurate within the following ranges:

- 15 percent for nations receiving \$200 million or more.
- 25 percent for nations receiving \$50-199 million.
- 40 percent for nations receiving \$20-49 million.
- \$5 million for nations receiving less than \$20 million.

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Appendix C

Estimated Constant 1987 Value of Soviet Military Deliveries to the Third World*Million 1987 US \$*

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Total Third World	23,766	23,434	19,051	17,914	18,957
Asia	4,642	5,040	6,238	6,149	6,540
Afghanistan	680	935	880	1,435	1,505
Bangladesh	7	NEGL	NEGL	1	0
Cambodia	205	280	465	155	365
India	1,440	1,425	2,120	2,145	2,300
Laos	205	180	110	70	120
Mongolia	70	80	3	3	NA
North Korea	70	20	495	475	295
Vietnam	1,965	2,120	2,165	1,865	1,955
Latin America	2,315	2,413	1,567	2,222	2,420
Cuba	1,805	1,960	1,160	1,595	1,775
Grenada	NEGL	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	22	0	0
Nicaragua	320	450	325	615	535
Peru	190	3	60	12	110
Middle East/North Africa	13,010	11,329	8,125	7,811	7,272
Algeria	700	785	535	620	575
Egypt	90	90	50	9	100
Iran	125	9	0	0	0
Iraq	3,835	5,205	3,230	4,850	3,440
Jordan	170	35	535	335	185
Kuwait	55	95	30	12	17
Libya	1,355	1,725	1,160	825	350
North Yemen	665	85	240	235	390
South Yemen	1,125	480	520	220	355
Syria	4,890	2,820	1,825	705	1,830
United Arab Emirates	0	0	0	0	30
Sub-Saharan Africa	3,799	4,652	3,121	1,732	2,725
Angola	1,535	1,965	1,065	1,130	1,450
Benin	7	NEGL	NEGL	1	2
Burkina	0	5	0	0	0
Burundi	10	8	5	10	18
Cameroon	0	NEGL	0	0	0
Cape Verde	2	3	3	3	3

Estimated Constant 1987 Value of Soviet Military Deliveries to the Third World (continued)

Million 1987 US \$

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Congo	90	135	40	20	4
Ethiopia	1,440	1,765	1,300	220	925
Ghana	0	25	0	7	NEGL
Guinea	18	75	105	55	40
Guinea-Bissau	12	55	10	25	14
Madagascar	65	15	40	10	35
Mali	8	45	10	10	6
Mozambique	520	490	375	175	125
Nigeria	30	6	105	13	7
Sao Tome and Principe	8	3	0	3	3
Senegal	4	0	0	0	NEGL
Seychelles	25	7	3	25	18
Tanzania	25	50	60	17	55
Uganda	0	0	0	5	20
Zambia	0	0	0	3	0

Notes: 1. Values of \$20 million and over are rounded to the nearest \$5 million; values between \$1 million and \$19 million are rounded to the nearest million; values less than \$500,000 are listed as negligible (NEGL).

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