STRATEGIC ASIA 2013–14

ASIA IN THE SECOND NUCLEAR AGE

Edited by

Ashley J. Tellis, Abraham M. Denmark, and Travis Tanner

Indicators

Strategic Asia by the Numbers

NBR THE NATIONAL BUREAU *of* ASIAN RESEARCH
Seattle and Washington, D.C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Indicators

Strategic Asia by the Numbers

The strategic dynamics of the Asia-Pacific have evolved significantly in the past year as the global geopolitical center of gravity continues to shift eastward. China's rise still generates concern among neighboring states despite a growing level of regional economic integration. As the United States "rebalances to Asia," a dual regional structure is emerging whereby many Asian nations are increasingly dependent on China economically yet continue to rely on the United States for the maintenance of regional security.

In the second year of the U.S. rebalance, the focus of the strategy has shifted to place greater emphasis on economic and political engagement. Diplomatic and trade initiatives, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, have received greater attention, building on the military aspects of the rebalance announced in its first year.

The Asia-Pacific continues to be plagued by several long-term sources of tension, most notably on the Korean Peninsula. Early on in her administration, new South Korean president Park Geun-hye was confronted by North Korean provocations, including nuclear threats. Despite President Park's attempts to recast inter-Korean relations through a policy of *trustpolitik*—aimed at strengthening deterrence while renewing dialogue with the North—progress has been stymied by Pyongyang's belligerence.

Disputes over territorial and historical issues also intensified in 2012 and early 2013, resulting in several armed confrontations. These clashes highlighted the persistent and growing distrust and antagonism among many of Asia's leading powers and may be emblematic of the rising influence of nationalism within the region.

The following pages contain tables and figures drawn from a broad array of sources. These charts cover politics, economics, trade and investment, energy and the environment, security challenges, and nuclear arms and nonproliferation. The data sets summarize the critical trends in Asia and changes underway in the regional balance of power.

The information for "Strategic Asia by the Numbers" was compiled by NBR interns Zane Buckey, Charlie Chung, Miriam D'Onofrio, Christopher Martin, Kuni Shimoji, and Taylor Washburn.

Politics

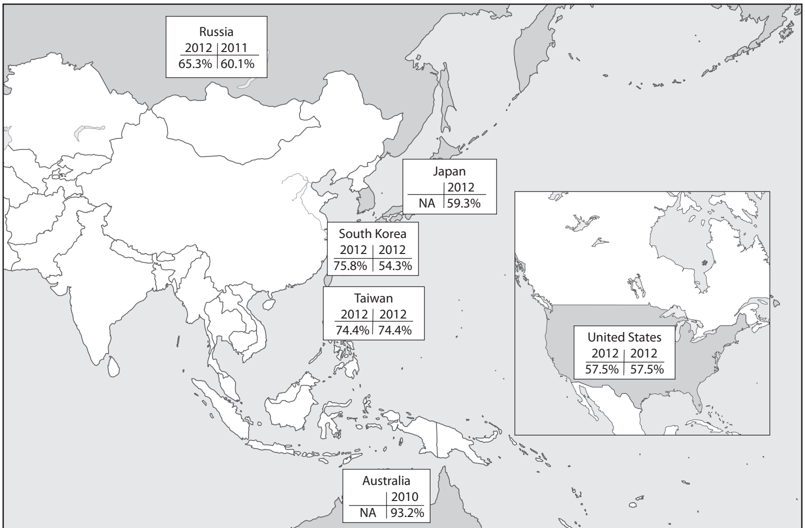
Late 2012 and early 2013 saw change as well as continuity in the political dynamics of the Asia-Pacific. Discouragingly, a growing strategic distrust has come to characterize many of the bilateral relationships between Asia's most prominent powers over the past year.

- U.S. president Barack Obama hosted visits with leaders from Japan, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Singapore, South Korea, Myanmar, Vietnam, and Brunei in Washington, D.C., and met with Chinese president Xi Jinping in California. In November 2012, Obama took his fifth trip to the Asia-Pacific as president, visiting Bangkok and Rangoon before attending the East Asia Summit in Phnom Penh.
- A number of political transitions took place in the Asia-Pacific in 2012–13. U.S. president Barack Obama was elected to a second term, as was Taiwan president Ma Ying-jeou. In China, South Korea, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, and Iran, new leaders assumed power.
- In Myanmar the military has continued to relinquish political control, creating a platform for improved relations with the United States and the international community.

TABLE 1 Political leadership

	Head of state	Head of government
Australia	Queen Elizabeth II	Prime Minister Kevin Rudd
China	President Xi Jinping	Premier Li Keqiang
India	President Pranab Mukherjee	Prime Minister Manmohan Singh
Indonesia	President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	
Iran	Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei	President Hassan Rouhani
Japan	Emperor Akihito	Prime Minister Shinzo Abe
Myanmar	President Thein Sein	
North Korea	Eternal President Kim Il-sung (deceased)	First Chairman Kim Jong-un
Pakistan	President Mamnoon Hussain	Prime Minister Mohammed Nawaz Sharif
Russia	President Vladimir Putin	Premier Dmitri Medvedev
South Korea	President Park Geun-hye	Prime Minister Chung Hong-won
Taiwan	President Ma Ying-jeou	Premier Jiang Yi-huah
Thailand	King Phumiphon Adunyadet	Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra
United States	President Barack Obama	
Vietnam	President Truong Tan Sang	Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung

SOURCE: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *The World Factbook*, 2013; and "North Korea Profile," *BBC*, June 7, 2013.



Turnout by registered voters in the most recent presidential and legislative elections (%)

SOURCE: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, "Voter Turnout Database," 2013; and Bipartisan Policy Center, "Voter Turnout Report," 2012.

TABLE 2 Political rights, corruption, and democracy

	Political rights score		Corruption index		Democracy index	
	2005	2012	2005	2012	2006	2012
Australia	1	1	8.8	8.5	9.1	9.2
China	7	7	3.2	3.9	3.0	3.0
India	2	2	2.9	3.6	7.7	7.5
Indonesia	2	2	2.2	3.2	6.4	6.8
Iran	6	6	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.0
Japan	1	1	7.3	7.4	8.2	8.1
Myanmar	7	6	1.8	1.5	1.7	2.4
Pakistan	6	4	2.1	2.7	3.9	4.6
Russia	6	6	2.4	2.8	5.0	3.7
Singapore	5	4	9.4	8.7	5.9	5.9
South Korea	1	1	5.0	5.6	7.9	8.1
Taiwan	1	1	5.9	6.1	7.8	7.6
Thailand	3	4	3.8	3.7	5.7	6.6
United States	1	1	7.6	7.3	8.2	8.1

SOURCE: Freedom House, "Freedom in the World," 2006 and 2013; Transparency International, "Corruption Perceptions Index," 2005 and 2012; and Economist Intelligence Unit, "Democracy Index," 2006 and 2012.

NOTE: Political rights score = a people's ability to participate freely in the political process (1 = most free / 7 = least free). Prior to 2011, corruption index = degree to which public official corruption is perceived to exist (1 = most corrupt / 10 = most open); from 2012, corruption index = how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be (0 = highly corrupt / 100 = very clean). NBR has standardized the data for consistency. Democracy index = level of democratization (0 = least democratic / 10 = most democratic).

Economics

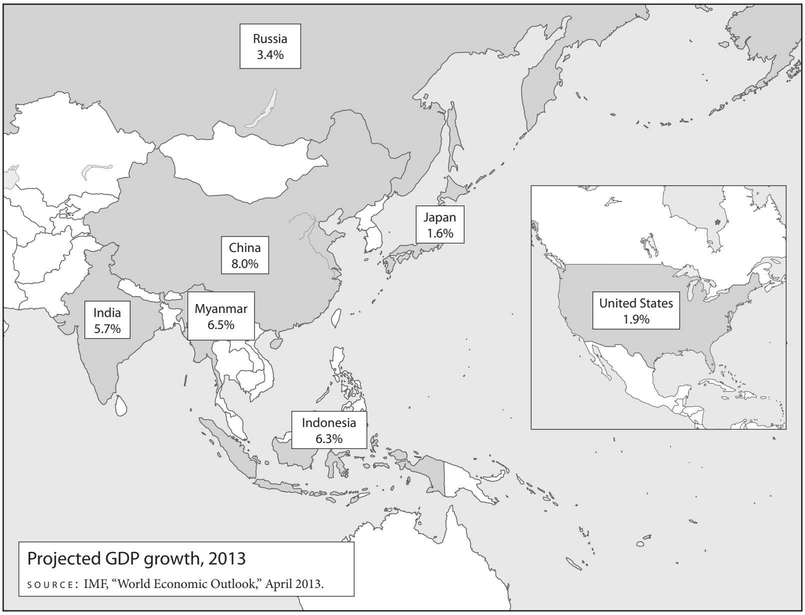
GDP growth in the world's developed countries occurred at a rate of about 1.3% in early 2013, compared with a rate of 7.1% in Asia's developing economies. Rising domestic consumption in Southeast Asia was a key driver of GDP growth in East and South Asia and was enough to overcome reduced consumer demand in India, China, the United States, and Europe.

- In the United States, GDP growth continued to improve and unemployment to slowly recede. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts that U.S. GDP will grow 1.7% in 2013 and 2.7% in 2014.
- The IMF forecasts that in 2013 the GDP of Asia's two rising powers, India and China, will grow by 5.7% and 8.0% respectively.
- The Asian Development Bank anticipates that by 2035 Asia's GDP will more than quadruple.
- Improvement in Central Asia's economic performance was largely attributable to growth in the energy sector, with Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan at the front of a boom in oil and natural gas production.

TABLE 3 Gross domestic product

	GDP ($bn)				Rank	
	1990	2000	2012	2012 annual growth (%)	1990	2012
United States	5,800.5	9,951.5	15,684.8	2.1%	1	1
China	390.3	1,198.5	8,227.0	7.8%	3	2
Japan	3,103.7	4,731.2	5,964.0	1.9%	2	3
Russia	516.8	259.7	2,022.0	3.9%	8	4
India	323.5	476.4	1,824.8	3.2%	5	5
Australia	323.8	399.6	1,541.8	3.4%	6	6
South Korea	270.4	533.4	1,155.9	2.0%	4	7
Indonesia	113.8	165.0	878.2	6.2%	9	8
Iran	85.0	96.4	548.9	-1.9%	10	9
Taiwan	165.0	326.2	474.0	1.3%	7	10
Malaysia	43.4	93.8	303.5	5.6%	12	11
Singapore	38.8	94.3	276.5	1.3%	11	12
Pakistan	48.6	74.1	231.9	3.7%	13	13
Kazakhstan	26.9	18.3	196.4	5.0%	15	14
Vietnam	6.5	31.2	138.1	5.0%	14	15
World	22,195.9	32,331.3	71,707.3	2.2%	N/A	N/A

SOURCE: International Monetary Fund (IMF), "World Economic Outlook Database," 2013; and World Bank, "World Development Indicators," 2013.



Projected GDP growth, 2013

SOURCE: IMF, "World Economic Outlook," April 2013.

TABLE 4 GDP growth and inflation rates

	Average GDP growth (%)			Average inflation rate (%)		
	2001–5	2006–10	2012	2001–5	2006–10	2012
Australia	3.3	2.8	3.6	2.9	2.9	1.8
China	9.8	11.2	7.8	1.3	2.9	2.7
India	6.4	8.4	4.0	3.9	8.4	9.3
Indonesia	4.7	5.7	6.2	9.2	7.8	4.3
Iran	6.1	4.6	-1.9	13.6	15.7	30.6
Japan	1.2	0.4	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Malaysia	4.8	4.5	5.6	1.7	2.6	1.7
Myanmar	12.9	7.8	6.3	26.4	19.0	6.1
Pakistan	5.3	4.2	3.7	4.8	10.8	11.0
Russia	6.1	3.7	3.4	14.9	10.2	5.1
Singapore	4.8	6.7	1.3	0.7	2.6	4.6
South Korea	4.6	3.8	2.0	3.3	3.0	2.2
Taiwan	3.6	4.2	1.3	0.7	2.9	1.9
United States	2.4	0.7	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.1
Vietnam	7.6	7.0	5.0	4.6	10.9	9.1

SOURCE: IMF, "World Economic Outlook," April 2013.

Trade and Investment

The Trans-Pacific Partnership has become the cornerstone of U.S. trade policy in the region and a key component of the Obama administration's rebalance to Asia. The multilateral free trade agreement has the potential to revolutionize the region's economic architecture, particularly with Japan—whose GDP still exceeds that of ASEAN—joining the negotiations in July 2013.

- In 2012, China surpassed the United States to become the world's largest trading nation, measured by trade volume.
- China accounted for 14% of total U.S. trade and is the world's largest holder of U.S. Treasuries, with $1.2 trillion in U.S. debt, while Japan ranks second with $1.1 trillion.
- Despite FDI outflows from East Asia decreasing by $17 billion dollars from 2011, 24% of world outflows in 2012 originated in the region. FDI inflows to East Asia saw a moderate $4 billion increase from the previous year. Meanwhile, FDI inflows and outflows to South Asia in 2012 decreased by $10 billion and $4 billion, respectively.

TABLE 5 Trade flow and trade partners

	Trade flow ($bn constant 2005)		2010–11 growth (%)	Top export partner, 2012	Top import partner, 2012
	2000	2011			
Australia	210.8	364.4	6.6%	China (29.5%)	China (18.2%)
China	578.1	2,958.8	7.1%	U.S. (17.2%)	Japan (9.8%)
Hong Kong	459.6	918.0	4.3%	China (54.1%)	China (46.9%)
India	158.8	724.8	18.6%	U.S. (12.7%)	China (11.0%)
Indonesia	126.5	275.7	13.5%	Japan (15.9%)	China (15.3%)
Iran	73.4	–	–	China (22.1%)	UAE (32.2%)
Japan	990.1	1,372.7	2.5%	China (18.0%)	China (21.3%)
Malaysia	223.2	352.3	5.1%	Singapore (13.6%)	China (15.1%)
North Korea	–	–	–	China (67.2%)*	China (61.6%)*
Pakistan	24.3	43.5	1.1%	U.S. (13.3%)	China (19.8%)
Russia	246.2	620.2	10.7%	Netherlands (14.4%)	China (15.5%)
South Korea	419.9	1,011.0	8.2%	China (24.4%)*	China (16.5%)*
Thailand	190.4	344.2	11.4%	China (11.7%)	Japan (20.0%)
United States	2,826.1	3,961.8	5.6%	Canada (18.9%)	China (19.0%)
Vietnam	32.9	117.3	7.4%	U.S. (17.0%)	China (27.2%)

SOURCE: World Bank, "World Development Indicators," 1990–2013; and CIA, *The World Factbook*, 2013.
NOTE: A dash indicates that no data is available. An asterisk indicates that data is from 2011.

Current account balance as a share of GDP, 2012

SOURCE: IMF, "World Economic Outlook," April 2013.

TABLE 6 Flow of foreign direct investment

	FDI inflows ($bn)			FDI outflows ($bn)		
	2000–2010 annual avg.	2012	2011–12 growth (%)	2000–2010 annual avg.	2012	2011–12 growth (%)
Australia	23.2	57.0	-12.8%	13.0	16.1	13.0%
China	72.8	121.1	-2.3%	23.6	84.2	12.8%
Hong Kong	45.6	74.6	-22.4%	47.2	84.0	-12.4%
India	16.5	25.5	-29.4%	8.7	8.6	-31.1%
Indonesia	3.8	19.9	3.2%	2.3	5.4	-29.7%
Iran	2.3	4.9	17.3%	0.2	0.4	19.4%
Japan	8.4	1.7	198.6%	53.7	122.6	13.9%
Kazakhstan	6.5	14.0	0.9%	1.3	1.6	-65.8%
Malaysia	4.6	10.1	-17.4%	5.8	17.1	12.2%
Pakistan	2.3	0.8	-36.2%	0.1	0.1	17.7%
Russia	25.9	51.4	-6.7%	25.2	51.1	-23.6%
South Korea	7.5	9.9	-3.3%	11.5	33.0	13.7%
Thailand	6.7	8.6	10.6%	1.6	11.9	45.0%
United States	177.2	167.6	-26.1%	212.6	328.9	-17.1%
Vietnam	3.9	8.4	12.6%	0.4	1.2	26.3%
World	1,179.5	1,350.9	-18.2%	1,186.1	1,391.0	-17.1%

SOURCE: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *World Investment Report,* 2004, 2005, 2007, and 2013.

Energy and the Environment

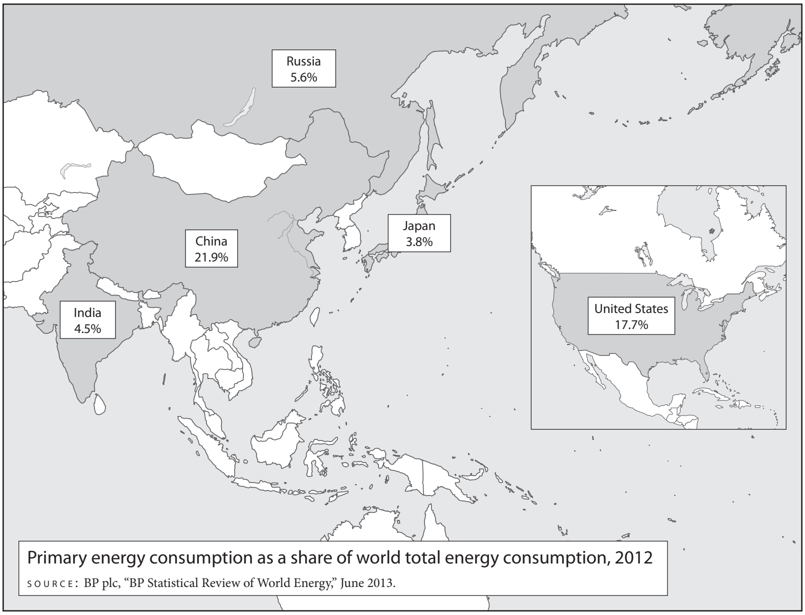
Asia's energy consumption continues to grow, with experts estimating that demand will increase annually by 2.7% on average over the next two decades. The United States, meanwhile, is reducing its reliance on energy sources outside North America. Asian nations that have free trade agreements with the United States could begin to import U.S. LNG by 2016.

- As gas, oil, and coal consumption has grown to fuel Asia's expanding economies, carbon emissions are on the rise, which could heighten the political impetus for multilateral cooperation to combat climate change.
- Nuclear power figures prominently in the future energy portfolios of many Asian nations, most notably South Korea, China, and Taiwan. Even Japan, despite the March 2011 disaster, has not abandoned nuclear power. In 2013, Prime Minister Abe pledged to reopen idled plants and signed nuclear technology deals with France and India.
- A majority of Asian states still struggle to provide their citizens with safe water, a problem that contributes to malnutrition and outbreaks of disease. This problem is particularly salient in India, where more than half of households lack access to basic plumbing.

TABLE 7 Primary energy consumption

	Primary energy consumption (million ton oil equivalent)				Rank	
	1990	2000	2012	2011–12 growth (%)	1990	2012
China	664.6	980.3	2,735.2	7.4%	3	1
United States	1,968.4	2,313.7	2,208.8	-2.8%	1	2
Russia	863.8	619.4	694.2	-0.6%	2	3
India	180.7	295.8	563.5	5.1%	5	4
Japan	434.1	518.2	478.2	-0.9%	4	5
South Korea	90	189.4	271.1	1.0%	6	6
Iran	72.9	123.9	234.2	2.9%	8	7
Indonesia	52.4	99.1	159.4	0.2%	9	8
Australia	87.5	107.1	125.7	-0.9%	7	9
Thailand	30.7	63.7	117.6	5.5%	11	10
Taiwan	49.7	87.1	109.4	-0.6%	10	11
Singapore	23.4	37.7	74	-0.2%	13	12
Pakistan	27.8	44.3	69.3	1.4%	12	13
Hong Kong	11.8	16.1	28.1	-2.0%	14	14
World	8,110.1	9,339.2	12,476.6	1.8%	N/A	N/A

SOURCE: BP plc, "BP Statistical Review of World Energy," June 2013, 41.



Primary energy consumption as a share of world total energy consumption, 2012

SOURCE: BP plc, "BP Statistical Review of World Energy," June 2013.

TABLE 8 Primary energy consumption by fuel type

	2012 energy consumption by fuel type (%)					
	Oil	Gas	Coal	Nuclear	Hydro	Renewables
China	17.7%	4.7%	68.5%	0.8%	7.1%	1.2%
Hong Kong	3.2%	0.4%	1.3%	–	–	1.9%
India	30.5%	8.7%	52.9%	1.3%	4.6%	1.9%
Indonesia	44.9%	20.2%	31.6%	–	1.8%	1.4%
Iran	38.3%	60.0%	0.4%	0.1%	1.2%	<
Japan	45.6%	22.0%	26.0%	0.9%	3.8%	1.7%
Kazakhstan	22.0%	14.6%	60.2%	–	3.1%	–
Malaysia	39.1%	39.3%	18.7%	–	2.4%	–
Pakistan	28.9%	53.8%	6.2%	1.9%	9.2%	<
Philippines	43.0%	10.3%	31.1%	–	8.3%	7.6%
Russia	21.2%	54.0%	13.5%	5.8%	5.4%	0.0%
Singapore	89.5%	10.1%	–	–	–	0.4%
South Korea	40.1%	16.6%	30.2%	12.5%	0.3%	0.3%
Taiwan	38.6%	13.4%	37.6%	8.3%	1.1%	1.0%
Thailand	44.6%	39.2%	13.6%	–	1.7%	1.0%
United States	37.1%	29.6%	19.8%	8.3%	2.9%	2.3%
Vietnam	31.9%	16.3%	28.7%	–	22.9%	<

SOURCE: BP plc, "BP Statistical Review of World Energy," June, 2013.

NOTE: Due to rounding, some totals may not add up to exactly 100%. Dash indicates that no data is available. Angle bracket indicates that value is less than 0.05%.

Security Challenges

Asia's nominal defense expenditures rose from $268.4 billion in 2011 to $287.4 billion in 2012, exceeding European defense spending for the second consecutive year. IHS Jane's anticipates that Asia's combined defense expenditures will outpace U.S. defense spending by 2021.

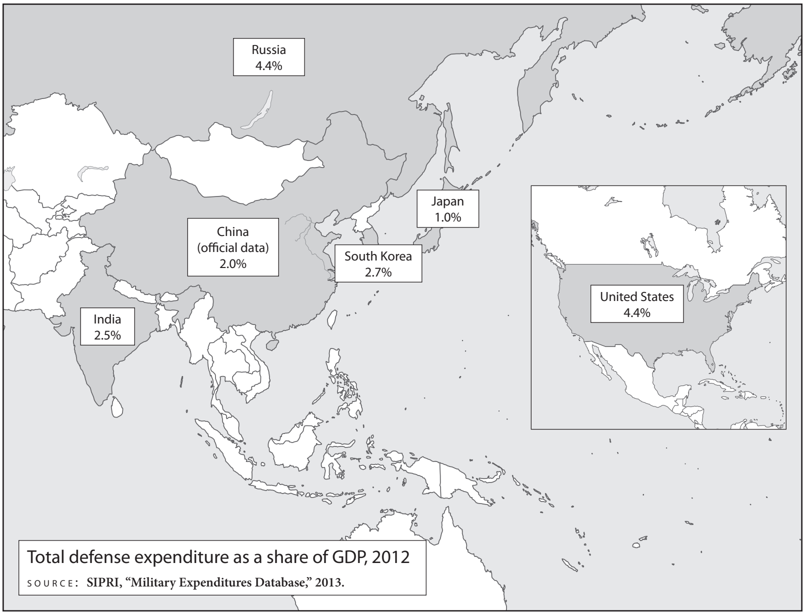
- U.S. forces increased cooperation with allies and partners. The Philippines agreed to reopen Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base to U.S. rotational deployments, while Australia welcomed a second detachment of marines to Darwin. The first forward-deployed littoral combat ship, the USS *Freedom*, arrived in Singapore in April 2013.
- China announced a defense budget of $114 billion for 2013, a 10.7% nominal increase over 2012's figure. The U.S. Department of Defense estimates that China's actual military spending in 2012 was between $135 and $215 billion.
- Sequestration requires the U.S. Department of Defense to reduce FY2013 spending by $41 billion, or 6.5%. Over ten years, sequestration will cut about $500 billion from the defense budget, on top of the scheduled $487 billion in spending cuts over the next decade.

TABLE 9 Armed forces

	Armed forces (th)				Rank	
	1990	2000	2013	2012–13 change (th)	1990	2013
China	3,030	2,470	2,285	2,229	2	1
United States	2,118	1,366	1,520	-765	3	2
India	1,262	1,303	1,325	135	4	3
North Korea	1,111	1,082	1,190	888	5	4
Russia	3,988	1,004	845	322	1	5
South Korea	750	683	655	407	7	6
Pakistan	550	612	642	533	8	7
Iran	504	513	523	117	9	8
Vietnam	1,052	484	482	-677	6	9
Myanmar	230	344	406	-236	14	10
Indonesia	283	297	396	-561	11	11
Thailand	283	301	361	288	11	12
Taiwan	370	370	290	-365	10	13
Japan	249	237	247	-43	13	14
Singapore	55	60	73	-1,253	16	15
Australia	68	50	57	-425	15	16

SOURCE: International Institute of Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*, various editions.

NOTE: Active duty and military personnel only. Data value for Russia in 1990 includes all territories of the Soviet Union.



Total defense expenditure as a share of GDP, 2012

SOURCE: SIPRI, "Military Expenditures Database," 2013.

TABLE 10 Total defense expenditures

	Expenditure ($bn)				Rank	
	2000	2011	2012	2011–12 growth (%)	2000	2012
United States	394.2	711.4	668.8	-6.0%	1	1
China (official)	37.0	91.5	106.0	11.2%	3	2
China (DoD estimate)	–	120–80	135–215	12.9%–19.4%	–	2
Russia	32.5	78.3	90.6	15.7%	4	3
Japan	60.3	59.6	59.2	-0.6%	2	4
India	27.7	49.6	48.3	-2.8%	5	5
South Korea	20.0	30.9	31.5	1.9%	6	6
Australia	18.0	26.6	25.6	-4.0%	7	7
Taiwan	10.4	10	10.5	5.2%	8	8
Singapore	7.3	9.2	9.2	0.3%	9	9
Indonesia	–	5.7	7.0	23.5%	–	10
Pakistan	4.6	6.5	6.6	1.3%	10	11
Thailand	3.2	5.5	5.3	-3.4%	11	12
Malaysia	2.4	4.8	4.7	-3.0%	12	13
Vietnam	–	2.7	3.4	26.5%	–	14
Philippines	2.2	2.7	2.8	4.2%	13	15

SOURCE: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), "Military Expenditures Database;" and Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*, various editions.

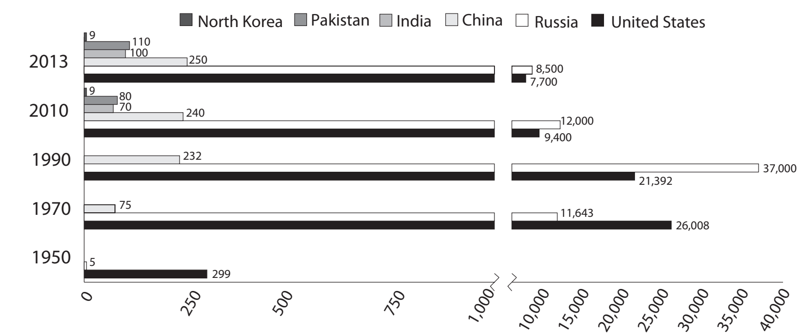
NOTE: Dash indicates that no data is available.

Nuclear Arms and Nonproliferation

In a June 2013 speech, President Obama reiterated his commitment to a nuclear-free future. However, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, and North Korea are all expanding or modernizing their nuclear capabilities.

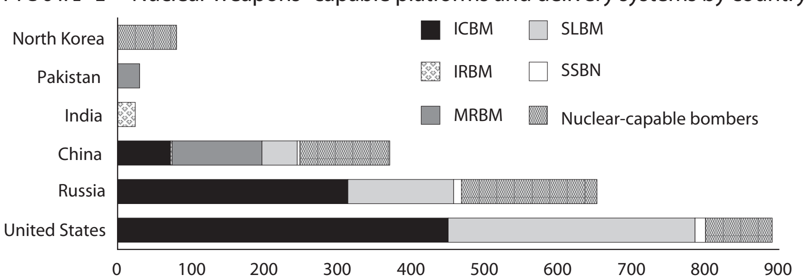
- North Korea conducted its third nuclear weapons test in February 2013. The device's yield was estimated to be 6–7 kilotons—roughly twice that of its last tested device in 2009.
- According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, although Iran has boosted its uranium-production capabilities, it has not yet crossed Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's 2012 "red line."
- In April 2013, within five days of each other, India and Pakistan successfully tested intermediate-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear or conventional warheads.
- Russia's first new Borei-class ballistic missile submarine (SSBN), the *Yury Dolgoruky*, was commissioned in January 2013. Russia intends to field ten Borei-class SSBNs by 2020, each capable of carrying sixteen to twenty nuclear missiles.

FIGURE 1 Nuclear warhead stockpiles by country and year



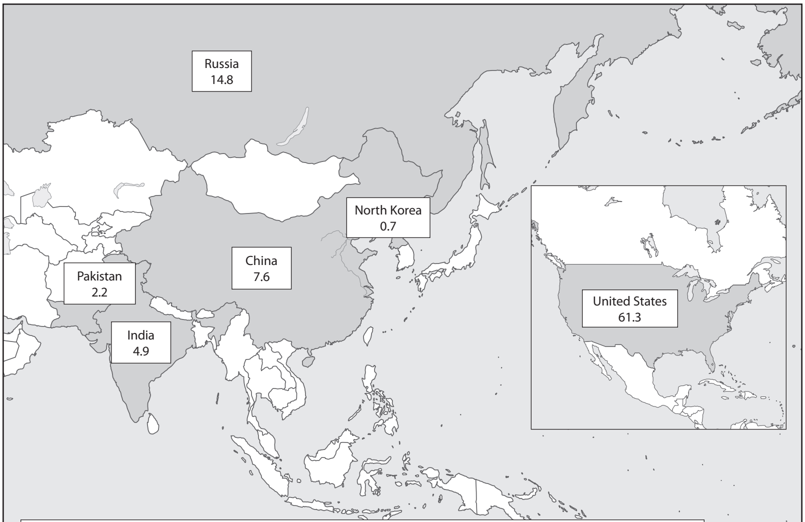
SOURCE: Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "Global Nuclear Weapons Inventories, 1945–2010," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 66, no. 4 (2010): 77–83; and Federation of American Scientists, "Status of World Nuclear Forces," 2013.

FIGURE 2 Nuclear weapons–capable platforms and delivery systems by country



SOURCE: IISS, *The Military Balance*, 2013; "North Korea's Nuclear and Ballistic Missile Programs," Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, July 2013; and OSD, *Annual Report to Congress* (2012).

NOTE: North Korea has working MRBMs but has not created a nuclear device capable of missile delivery. China's SLBMs are not thought to be operational. India and Pakistan are both testing IRBM-range missiles. All the countries in Figure 2 except India possess nuclear-capable cruise missiles.



Spending on nuclear weapons, 2011 ($bn)

SOURCE: SIPRI, "Military Expenditures Database," IISS, *The Military Balance*; CIA, *The World Factbook;* and other sources identified in Global Zero, "Global Zero Technical Report," June 2011.

TABLE 11 Nonproliferation treaties

	NPT	Additional Protocol	CTBT	CWC	BTWC
Russia	Ratified	In force	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified
United States	Ratified	In force	Signatory	Ratified	Ratified
China	Acceded	In force	Signatory	Ratified	Acceded
India	–	Signatory	–	Ratified	Ratified
Pakistan	–	–	–	Ratified	Ratified
North Korea	Withdrew	–	–	–	Acceded

SOURCE: International Atomic Energy Agency; United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs; Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization; and Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

NOTE: NPT = Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Additional Protocol = IAEA Additional Protocol. CTBT = Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. CWC = Chemical Weapons Convention. BTWC = Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention. Dash indicates nonparticipation.

TABLE 12 WMD-export control regimes

	Nuclear Suppliers Group	Australia Group	Wassenaar Arrangement	Zangger Committee	MTCR
United States	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member
Russia	Member	–	Member	Member	Member
China	Member	–	–	Member	–
India	–	–	–	–	–
Pakistan	–	–	–	–	–
North Korea	–	–	–	–	–

SOURCE: Nuclear Threat Initiative; and Monterey Institute of International Studies.

NOTE: Dash indicates nonparticipation.