

Table 3. Variables Affecting Missile Proliferation in Selected Countries

	China	India	Iran	North Korea	Pakistan
<i>Demand Side</i>					
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited deterrence Counter measures against TMD/NMD Useful instrument against Taiwan independence Regional superiority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Balance against China Conventional and nuclear superiority over Pakistan Primacy on Indian subcontinent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Competition with Iraq Ability to control the Persian Gulf 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regime survival Equaliser vis-à-vis superior US/ROK conventional forces Threat to US as bargaining chip 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deterrence against Indian conventional/ nuclear superiority
Prestige	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To some extent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Military/ technological prowess 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbol of socialism Strength under difficult circumstances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Islamic missiles?
Bureaucracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Military-industrial complex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Industrial-technocrat complex? Institutional advancement (ISRO) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revolutionary Guard regards control of missiles as important vestige of power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Military interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Military interests
Domestic Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maybe; perceived US hegemony strengthens hardliners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustain BJP-led coalition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> See above 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen the hands of the military 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civilian government needs military support
<i>Supply Side</i>					
Foreign policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supports key allies such as Pakistan Gain political influence (e.g., Iran) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not known for transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In exchange for missiles and missile technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish and expand influence in other regions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A
Commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foreign currency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not known for transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maybe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key source of foreign currency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maybe; but not known as a supplier
Military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Keep India tied down by supplying Pakistan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not known for transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gain knowledge through recipient countries' testing and use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maybe (e.g., support Mujahadin guerrillas)
Bureaucracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> parochial interests of arms-export companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not known for transfers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean People's Army gains through exports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not clear