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PART I : BOOKS PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

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355.2 /00270
   The Lessons of History: The Chinese People's Liberation Army at 75 -
      Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.
      v, 456 p.; 23 cm.
      ISBN: 1584871261
      Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--ARMED FORCES--HISTORY
         2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY--HISTORY
      Added entry(s):
         1. Burkitt, Laurie, ed.
         2. Scobell, Andrew, ed.
         3. Wortzel, Larry M., ed.
         4. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
      Notes:
         Final product of a three day conference held in September 2003 and
            sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage
            Foundation, and the U.S. Army War College.
         'The primary focus of this book is not on summarizing the lessons
            that analysts or scholars from outside China have learned when
            they look back at the past three-quarters of a century of
            Chinese military history. Rather, the emphasis of this volume
            is to assess key lessons that the top ranks of the People's
            Liberation Army (PLA) have drawn from their own military's
            75-year history.'
      ID number: 80018976
      Year: 2003
321
       /00308 REF
   China Facts & Figures Annual Handbook. Volume 28 - Gulf Breeze, FL:
      Academic International Press.
      xiii, 423 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
      ISBN: 0875692486
      Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
         2. CHINA--POPULATION--STATISTICS
         3. CHINA--ARMED FORCES
         4. CHINA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
         5. CHINA--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
         6. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
      Added entry(s):
         1. Perrins, Robert John, ed.
      ID number: 80018907
      Year: 2003
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^{*} This list contains material received as of March 1st, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 1er mars 2004.

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327 /01157
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Transatlantic Dialogue on China : Final Report - Washington : Henry L. Stimson Center.

xv, 26 p.; 30 cm.

(Report ; 49)

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
- 5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. Henry L. Stimson Center (US)

Notes:

<http://www.stimson.org/tadc/pdf/finalreport.pdf> accessed on
22/09/03.

'China's rise will pose fundamental challenges to the United States and Europe, both separately and in their political relations with one another. Although US and European leaders for the foreseeable future will remain focused on more pressing near-term challenges than China, steps to enhance mutual understanding of American and European perspectives on China's future and international role can and should be taken now. This report makes the case for an intensified exchange between US and European China and transatlantic experts both in and outside of government. It is based on a year-long exchange among US and European experts on China and transatlantic relations organized by the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, DC and the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin, Germany.'

ID number: 80018824

Year: 2003

355.4 /01379

Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

56 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY
- 2. CHINA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
- 3. CHINA--ARMED FORCES
- 4. CHINA--DEFENSES

Notes:

<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jul2002/d20020712china.pdf>
accessed on 22/09/03.

Report to Congress Pursuant to the FY2000 National Defense Authorization $\mbox{Act}.$

'This report addresses (1) gaps in knowledge of China's military power; (2) China's grand strategy, security strategy, and military strategy; (3) developments in China's military doctrine and force structure, to include developments in advanced technologies that would enhance China's military capabilities; (4) China's relations with the former Soviet Union; and, (5) the security situation in the Taiwan Strait.'

ID number: 80018823

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327
      /01086
  The Rise of China in Asia : Security Implications - Carlisle Barracks, PA
      : US Army War College.
     v, 308 p.: ill.; 23 cm.
      ISBN: 1584870826
     Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS
         2. SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL
         3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
      Added entry(s):
         1. Pumphrey, Carolyn W., ed.
         2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
     Notes:
         This book is a compilation of reports prepared by attendees and
           participants of a March 2001 conference in Chapel Hill, North
            Carolina, that examined the security implications of the rise
            of China for the International community and the United States.
            The conference was co-sponsored by the U.S. Army War College,
            the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, and Duke
            University's program in Asian security studies.
      ID number: 80017916
      Year: 2002
355.4 /01254
  The Chinese Armed Forces in the 21st Century - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US
     Army War College.
     xii, 344 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
      ISBN: 1584870079
      Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--ARMED FORCES
         2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY
         3. TAIWAN--ARMED FORCES
         4. TAIWAN--MILITARY POLICY
      Added entry(s):
         1. Wortzel, Larry M., ed.
         2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
     Notes:
         Includes index.
      ID number: 80016335
     Year: 1999
327
      /00943
  The Roles of the United States, Russia and China in the New World Order -
     Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.
      xix, 333 p.; 22 cm.
      ISBN: 0312128967
      Subject(s):
         1. NEW WORLD ORDER
         2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION) -- FOREIGN RELATIONS
         3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
         4. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
      Added entry(s):
         1. Malik, Hafeez, 1930- , ed.
     Notes:
        Includes index.
         'This book is the result of the collective endeavours of thirteen
            scholars and maintains that in the name of peace, international
            cooperation, democracy, trade and human rights, the struggle
            for power is under way between the United States, Russia and
            China. This struggle is motivated by the natural clash of
            national interests, an almost preordained process in the
            contemporary state system. The struggle for power has been the
            dynamic element of history, and is likely to remain so in the
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future. International war may or may not ensue between the

three major powers, but their relations will remain

competitive, and at times quite hostile. After the inevitable but unexpected demise of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the United States, without firing a shot in combat, emerged as the sole surviving superpower and now dominates the nascent new world order. How long the American 'century' will be is a subject of varied speculation. However, the Soviet Union's collapse and Russia's exceptional weakening, in conjunction with China's spectacular rise to power, has brought the issue of the new world order to the intellectual forefront. When Rome emerged as the sole world empire in 146 BC, it had physically destroyed Carthage, which never rose again to challenge Rome. However, Russia has already started to challenge the new Rome of the United States. The new world order is underlined by the competitive and often antagonistic relations between the United States, Russia and China.'

ID number: 80013606

Year: 1997

338.9 /00283

World Development Report: 1996: From Plan to Market - New York: Oxford

University Press.

ix, 241 p. : ill.; 27 cm. ISBN: 0195211081

Subject(s):

- 1. CEE--ECONOMIC POLICY
- 2. FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--ECONOMIC POLICY
- 3. VIETNAM--ECONOMIC POLICY
- 4. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

- 1. World Bank (US)
- 2. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (US) Notes:

'This report is devoted to the transition of countries with centrally planned economies - in particular, Central and Easatern Europe, the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, China and Vietnam - to a market orientation.'

ID number: 80013226

Year: 1996

338.9 /00588

L'economie chinoise et les relations entre la Chine et l'Union Europeenne - Bruxelles : Club de Bruxelles.

var. pag.; 29 cm.

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--EU COUNTRIES
- 3. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

- 1. Berruet, Ghislaine, ed.
- 2. Club de Bruxelles (BE)

ID number: 80010182

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327
   Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice - Oxford, UK: Clarendon
      xiii, 644 p.; 24 cm.
      ISBN: 019828389X
      Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
      Added entry(s):
         1. Robinson, Thomas W., ed.
         2. Shambaugh, David L., ed.
      Notes:
         Includes index.
         'This book offers a comprehensive survey of China's foreign
            relations since 1949. The contributors include leading historians,
            economists, and political scientists in the field of Chinese studies, as well
            as noteworthy international relations specialists. The principal
            purposes of the volume are to assess the variety of sources that give shape
            to Chinese foreign policy, and to explain and analyse four decades of
            Chinese interactions with the world, using theories of international
            relations as an analytical framework.'
      ID number: 80009927
      Year: 1994
338.9 /00507
   China : Economic Reform and Macroeconomic Management - Washington :
      International Monetary Fund.
      38 p. : ill.; 28 cm.
      (Occasional Paper, 0145-8841; 76)
      ISBN: 1557752028
      Subject(s):
         1. MONETARY POLICY--CHINA
         2. FISCAL POLICY--CHINA
         3. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY
      Added entry(s):
         1. International Monetary Fund (US)
      Notes:
        Bibliography: p. 37-38.
      ID number: 80006002
      Year: 1991
338.9 /00508
   The End of Central Planning? : Socialist Economies in Transition : The
     Cases of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, China, and the Soviet Union - New
     York : Institute for East-West Security.
      iv, 112 p.; 23 cm.
      (Special Report)
      ISBN: 0913449210
      Subject(s):
         1. EUROPE, EASTERN--ECONOMIC POLICY
         2. EUROPE, EASTERN--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS
         3. CHINA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS
         4. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY
      Added entry(s):
         1. Kemme, David M., ed.
         2. Gordon, Claire E., ed.
         3. Institute for East-West Security Studies (US)
         4. Hellenic Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy (GR)
      ID number: 80006257
      Year: 1990
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After Tiananmen Square: Challenges for the Chinese-American Relationship
      - London : Brassey's Defence Publications.
     xxiii, 124 p.; 23 cm.
      (Special Report)
      ISBN: 0080405592
      Subject(s):
         1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
         2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
      Added entry(s):
         1. Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (US)
      ID number: 80005487
      Year: 1990
327
       /00968
   The Limits of Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership - Oxford, UK: Oxford
     University Press.
      94 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
      (Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 315)
      ISBN: 0198294271
     Author(s):
         1. Anderson, Jennifer
      Subject(s):
         1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION) -- FOREIGN RELATIONS -- CHINA
         2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
      Added entry(s):
         1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)
         'Russia and China claim to have established a 'strategic
           partnership'. This paper argues that there is little in their
            relationship that can be seen as 'partnership', and even less
            that is 'strategic'. The author argues that, in reality, this
            relationship merely overlays a diplomatic agenda established by
            Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s. China's
           pragmatic and limited approach and Russia's domestic economic
            and political difficulties mean that the Sino-Russian strategic
           partnership is unwieldy and imprecise, and complicates the
            still-incomplete normalisation process. Moscow and Beijing must
           return to building a stable, long-term relationship. In turn,
           Western governments and analysts need to make clearer to Russia
            the benefits of improved relations with China, and the position
            such relations occupy in a benign Asia-Pacific balance of
           power.'
      ID number: 80014548
      Year: 1997
620
   The Strategic Implications of China's Energy Needs - Oxford, UK : Oxford
     University Press.
      115 p.: ill.; ; 23 cm.
      (Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 346)
     ISBN: 0198516754
     Author(s):
         1. Andrews-Speed, Philip
         2. Liao, Xuanli
         3. Dannreuther, Roland
      Subject(s):
         1. ENERGY POLICY--CHINA
      Added entry(s):
         1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)
     Notes:
         'In the mid-1990s, China ceased to be energy self-suficient and
           became a major oil importer. Over the next two decades, China's
            dependences on overseas oil and gas supplies is set to increase
            substantially. This paper assesses China's emerging energy
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security policy and argues that it has tended to be ad hoc and incomplete, focusing on strategic rather than market measures. Geopolitically, China's growing energy needs are going to make China a more powerful actor in the global energy markets. For the West, the main challenges are to encourage a more balanced Chinese energy policy and to ensure that China's energy interdependence promotes regional and international integration rather than strategic competition and conflict..

ID number: 80018079

Year: 2002

355.4 /00902

Cooperative Security in Northeast Asia: A China-Japan-South Korea Coalition Approach - Washington: National Defense University Press. xiv, 198 p.; 21 cm.

Author(s):

1. Bean, R. Mark.

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--MILITARY RELATIONS--JAPAN
- 2. CHINA--MILITARY RELATIONS--KOREA (SOUTH)
- 3. EAST ASIA--NATIONAL SECURITY
- 4. JAPAN--MILITARY RELATIONS--CHINA
- 5. JAPAN--MILITARY RELATIONS--KOREA (SOUTH)
- 6. KOREA (SOUTH) -- MILITARY RELATIONS -- CHINA
- 7. KOREA (SOUTH)--MILITARY RELATIONS--JAPAN

Added entry(s):

1. National Defense University (US)

Notes:

Includes index.
ID number: 80005036

Year: 1990

623 /00795

Conversion of Military Industries in China - Paris : OECD.

130 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 9264146547

Author(s):

- 1. Berthelemy, Jean-Claude
- 2. Deger, Saadet

Subject(s):

- 1. ECONOMIC CONVERSION--CHINA
- 2. WEAPONS INDUSTRY--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. OECD Development Centre

Notes:

'Over the past 15 years, China has converted a considerable proportion of its military industry to civilian production. If the process has been particularly successful on the technical level, enterprise management and product competitivity are still in need of improvement. This study is the result of a survey of converted enterprises in the military-industrial complex. The conclusions are of direct interest to the Chinese authorities, and are also important for developing countries or transition economies engaged in similar reforms. Moreover, the converted sector presents real opportunities for China's economic partners.'

ID number: 80012732

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327
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/01070 The Geostrategic Triad : Living with China, Europe, and Russia -Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies. xi, 75 p. : ill.; 23 cm. (Significant Issues Series, 0736-7136; v. 23, no. 1) ISBN: 089206384X Author(s): 1. Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., 1928-Subject(s): 1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

6. RUSSIA (FEDERATION) -- FOREIGN RELATIONS -- USA

7. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US) Notes:

'Global stability in the early twenty-first century will be conditioned largely by how the United States handles its relations with China, Europe, and Russia - the 'geostrategic triad' - according to Zbigniew Brzezinski. Thus, the United States needs a well-defined strategy to manage the two 'Eurasian power triangles' : the United States, Japan, and China; and the United States, Europe, and Russia. With this work, Brzezinski offers a comprehensive geostrategic road map for such US engagement.'

ID number: 80017748

Year: 2001

323 /00796

L'eveil de la Chine : les bouleversements intellectuels apres Mao, 1976-2002 - [s.l.] : Editions de l'Aube. 315 p.; 24 cm. (Monde en Cours)

ISBN: 2876788136

Author(s):

1. Chen, Yan

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--INTELLECTUAL LIFE
- 2. CHINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

'Toute reforme est guidee et soutenue par des idees. Contrairement a certaines opinions communement repandues, cet essai montre que ni la seule volonte politique reformatrice, ni le pretendu sens du commerce de la vieille civilisation chinoise, n'ont suffi a creer l'extraordinaire mue du grand dragon rouge du communisme au capitalisme que l'on observe aujourd'hui. Une longue bataille d'idees a eu lieu - et se poursuit. Des la fin des annees soixante-dix, des intellectuels chinois de differentes generations, motives par l'ideal d'origine du communisme, ou inspires de la democratie occidentale, ont engage, malgre la repression et la censure, cette bataille des idees. S'emancipant de trente ans de matraquage ideologique et defiant le regime, ils ont chemine de l'humanisme marxiste au liberalisme politique en passant par la reconciliation avec leur propre tradition. Par leus ecrits, leurs reflexions, leurs debats, ils ont explore l'avenir de la Chine, ils ont propose differents projets de societe, ils ont anticipe, sur le plan theorique, les scenarios des eventuelles derives. Dans l'histoire de la Chine, par son ampleur et sa profondeur, le bouleversement intellectuel de ces deux decennies ne trouve d'equivalent que dans le Mouvement du 4 mai 1919 qui marque le reveil moderne de la vieille Chine. Cet essai vif, et extremement documente, revolutionne le regard que nous portons

sur cet immense pays.'

ID number: 80018845

Year: 2002

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343 /00041
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International Triad Movements: The Threat of Chinese Organised Crime - London: RISCT.

25 p.; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792; 291)

Author(s):

1. Chu, Yiu-Kong

Subject(s):

1. ORGANIZED CRIME--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB) Notes :

Bibliography: p. 24-25.

'In this study, Yiu-Kong Chu, a researcher into Chinese organised crime, reviews the history, present power and future growth of triad societies and places them in the wider context of Chinese organised crime and its worldwide criminal networks. He shows how triads in Hong Kong control a wide range of commercial enterprises both legitimate and illegal from the entertainment and film industries to property development. The study reveals the spread of triads into China to exploit the potential for wealth creation there, and discusses the emergence of triad gangs in Europe, together with other Chinese and Vietnamese criminal groups, some of which are involved in drug trafficking and illegal immigration in the US.'

ID number: 80013341

Year: 1996

623 /00923

L'Asie nucleaire - Paris : IFRI.

183 p.; 24 cm.

(Travaux et Recherches de l'IFRI)

ISBN: 2865921069

Author(s):

- 1. Cordonnier, Isabelle
- 2. Tertrais, Bruno

Subject(s):

- 1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--ASIA
- 2. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--CHINA
- 3. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--INDIA
- 4. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--PAKISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Français des Relations Internationales (FR) Notes:

Bibliography: p. 177-179. Includes index.

'Dix ans apres la fin de la guerre froide, le risque nucleaire s'est deplace d'Europe en Asie. La Chine, l'Inde et le Pakistan ont entame la constitution d'arsenaux nucleaires et balistiques importants. Dans un contexte de rivalites et de tensions, la proliferation de ces armes est devenue l'une des cles des rapports de force entre les acteurs de la securite dans la region. Quel est l'impact du nucleaire sur la securite en Asie ? Le deploiement de defenses antimissiles est-il de nature a susciter de nouvelles courses aux armements ? Y a-t-il un risque de guerre nucleaire sur le continent ? Telles sont, parmi d'autres, les questions auxquelles cet ouvrage, le premier en France sur ce sujet, s'attache a repondre. Il explique les logiques qui determinent les politiques nucleaires en Asie, decrit la nouvelle donne strategique qui s'y dessine, et tente d'evaluer les consequences de ces evolutions sur le debat nucleaire international et sur la stabilite mondiale.'

ID number: 80017818

Year: 2001

355.4 /01163

China's Strategic View: The Role of the People's Liberation Army - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 24 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Dreyer, June Teufel

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--ARMED FORCES
- 2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY
- 3. CHINA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'The author argues here that the armed forces of China, although large, simply are not capable today of militarily endorsing the kind of truculent actions recently undertaken in the Taiwan Straits. The qualitative advantage possessed by the sum total of Asian nations with interests at stake, not to mention those of the United States, exceeds that of the People's Liberation Army. Professor Dreyer provides an overview of the current and projected strengths of the PLA's land, sea and air forces. Pressure is growing throughout the Pacific and around the world for China to attenuate hard line positions of the past. Dr. Dreyer argues that the PRC's actions may be eliciting equal and opposite reactions from states that feel their interests are being threatened. On the other hand, domestic pressures may make it difficut for the Chinese leadership to back away from some of the positions they have taken. The course China pursues into the 21st century will directly bear on the strategic interests of the United States in a significant way - and vice-versa.

ID number: 80012950

Year: 1996

355 /00390

The PLA and the Kosovo Conflict - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 22 p.; 23 cm.

(Letort Papers)
ISBN: 1584870222

Author(s):

1. Dreyer, June Teufel, 1939-

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY
- 2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--CHINA Added entry(s):
- 1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'The US armed forces are not the only military that has sought to discern the lessons of the Kosovo campaign in the spring of 1999. The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) has also analyzed the conflict and drawn its own conclusions. In fact, as the author observes, rather than reach a single set of conclusions, different groups within the Chinese military drew different judgements. The author argues that these differences of opinion reflect the considerable diversity of thinking about defense modernization and future war that exists within the PLA today. The analysis that follows therefore provides an opportunity for readers to learn about the different strands in Chinese strategic thinking as that country enters the 21st century.'

ID number: 80016528

Year: 2000

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355.4 /01176
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What's With the Relationship between America's Army and China's PLA? : An Examination of the Terms of the U.S. Army's Strategic Peacetime Engagement with the People's Liberation Army of the People's Republic of China - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vii, 38 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Get, Jer Donald

Subject(s):

- 1. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

- 1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:
 - 'In May 1995, Secretary of Defense William J. Perry asked the Army to examine various ways to re-establish the army-to-army ties which existed between the US Army and Beijing's People's Liberation Army (PLA) prior to the 1980s. US President George Bush ordered a curb in military-to-military ties following the Tiananmen incident in 1989, and, since then, efforts at rapproachment between the two armies have been faltering and uneven. There are some who question the value of renewing military ties with the People's Republic of China (PRC) based on the limited gains accrued to the US Army from the earlier relationship. In this essay, US Army Colonel Get argues that this is a short-sighted attitude. The reasons for renewing army-to-army ties are substantial given that China's relevance as a power will grow. The United States needs to marshal all the resources at its disposal to influence China positively. One of these resources, Colonel Get argues, is America's Army.'

ID number: 80013528

Year: 1996

382 /00267

China's Arms Acquisitions from Abroad : A Quest for 'Superb and Secret Weapons' - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

x, 159 p.; 23 cm.

(SIPRI Research Report ; 11)

ISBN: 0198291957

Author(s):

- 1. Gill, Bates
- 2. Kim, Taeho, 1933-

Subject(s):

- 1. ARMS SALES--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--ARMED FORCES--PROCUREMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SE) Notes:

Includes index.

'This book documents and analyses the 150-year effort by China to strengthen its military forces through arms imports. Based on an historical understanding of this process, the report focuses mainly on contemporary transfers of weapons and technologies to China, particularly those from the Soviet Union and Russia, but also including imports from Israel, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and other suppliers. Relying on primary sources as well as on the most comprehensive collection of open-source data and information available on the subject, the report provides extensive documentation and a balanced assessment of past, current and likely future developments regarding Chinese arms imports.'

ID number: 80013066

321 China's Coming "Revolution" : The Dynamics of Political Change - London : RISCT. 23 p. : ill.; 25 cm. (Conflict studies, 0069-8792; 266) Author(s): 1. Goodman, Davis S. G. Subject(s): 1. CHINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT 2. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY Added entry(s): 1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB) Notes: 'In this study, Professor Goodman addresses three major areas of social, political and economic change in China. The experience of modernisation in Western Europe emphasises the emergence of capitalism and democracy. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe highlights the importance of popular protest and the establishment of civil society, as well as the possibilities and dangers of political disintegration. The process of late development in East Asia points to the relationship between economic growth and authoritarianism.' ID number: 80009273 Year: 1993 912 /00049 REF China : A Provincial Atlas - New York : MacMillan. x, 303 p. : ill.; 31 cm. ISBN: 0028971841 Author(s): 1. Hsieh, Chiao-min, 1921-2. Hsieh, Jean Kan Subject(s): 1. CHINA--MAPS Notes: Bibliography: p. 155. Includes index. 'This atlas is divided into two parts. The first addresses the overall physiographic, cultural, social and economic features of China as a whole, with text and accompanying maps. The second focuses on the individual political units within China, including the historical background, physical environment, economic patterns, and population and cities indigenous to that province or autonomous region, incorporating maps and text.' ID number: 80011983 Year: 1995

Page 14

355 /00366

Traditional Military Thinking and the Defensive Strategy of China: An Address at the U.S. Army War College - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

vi, 9 p.; 23 cm.

(Letort Paper ; 1)

Author(s):

1. Jijun, Li

Subject(s):

1. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

- 1. Tilford, Earl H., ed.
- 2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'As relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China continue to improve, elements of the People's Liberation Army have demonstrated their sincere willingness to work toward better professional relationships with their US military counterparts. In his address, General Li sets the cornerstone for a future relationship between the Academy of Military Science and the US Army War College that will further those goals.'

ID number: 80014337

Year: 1997

327 /01084

La Chine et la nouvelle Asie centrale : de l'independance des republiques centrasiatiques a l'apres-11 septembre - Bruxelles : GRIP.

39 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(Rapports du GRIP ; 1/2002)

Author(s):

1. Kellner, Thierry

Subject(s):

- 1. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ASIA, CENTRAL
- 3. ASIA, CENTRAL--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--CHINA
- 4. CHINA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--ASIA, CENTRAL

Added entry(s):

1. Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Securite (BE)

Notes

'La Chine a entretenu au cours de l'Histoire des contacts etroits avec l'Asie centrale. Ses liens avec cette region ont ete politiques et militaires mais aussi culturels et commerciaux. L'espace centrasiatique fut longtemps l'intermediaire privilegie de la circulation, de l'echange et de la transmission des idees et des marchandises le long des antiques 'Routes de la soie' reliant l'Occident, l'Orient et la Chine. Tout au long de son histoire, l'Empire du Milieu a egalement accorde une attention particuliere a cette zone en raison de la menace que faisaient peser sur lui les peuples nomades des steppes centrasiatiques. Ces facteurs historiques mais aussi la proximite geographique nous invitent a nous interroger sur la place, dans la recomposition geopolitique en cours, de cet acteur regional majeur dont le role fut minore depuis presque un siecle par le dynamisme de la penetration russe, puis sovietique. Si la faiblesse de la Chine et la montee en puissance parallele de la Russie au cours du XIXe siecle ont provoque l'affaiblissement progressif puis la rupture de la quasi-totalite des contacts sino-centrasiatiques, l'effondrement de l'URSS et le reflux de la Russie changent fondamentalement le paysage geopolitique regional. La fracture artificielle qui separait l'extreme-occident chinois de l'Asie centrale et aussi de la region autonome chinoise du Xinjiang a disparu. Face a cette transformation radicale du paysage geopolitique a ses frontieres, Pekin a mis en oeuvre depuis dix ans une politique exterieure dont les determinants sont a la fois systemique et interne. Ses interets tournent principalement autour de trois axes : la securite definie dans un sens large, les echanges economiques et l'acces aux hydrocarbures. Cette etude se propose d'examiner successivement ces trois axes, et de les mettre en perspective avec la nouvelle configuration politico-strategique decoulant des evenements du 11 septembre 2001.'

ID number: 80017906

Year: 2002

355.4 /01173

China's Quest for Security in the Post-Cold War World - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 40 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Kim, Samuel S., 1935-

Subject(s):

1. CHINA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'Dr. Kim argues in this monograph that, while post-Tiananmen China is a growing regional military power, it is, almost paradoxically, a weak state both pretending and trying to be a strong one. By flexing its muscles with its weaker neighbors, China is largely compensating for self-doubts about its national image and strength. What the world sees in China, a modernizing, economically robust and assertive regional hegemon and world power 'want-to-be', is, Dr. Kim asserts, at least in part a facade. Although China has made remarkable economic progress in the past few years, those who trumpet its rise do not consider its massive internal contradictions involving social, political, demographic and environmental problems. Dr. Kim makes the point that weaknesses in those areas cannot be overcome by purchasing modern weapons, even those high-tech weapons that bolster a nation's claim to being a major military power. The United States is, and in all likelihood will remain, a Pacific power. China, despite the limitations Dr. Kim examines herein, will be an immense factor in the strategic balance of power in the Pacific region.'

ID number: 80013526

Year: 1996

327 /01003

The Security Implications of the New Taiwan - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

86 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 331)

ISBN: 019922479X

Author(s):

1. Lee, Bernice

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TAIWAN
- 2. TAIWAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 3. CHINESE REUNIFICATION QUESTION, 1949-
- 4. TAIWAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TAIWAN
- 6. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 7. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 8. TAIWAN STRAIT

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB) Notes:

'The crisis in the Taiwan Strait in 1995-96, and fresh tensions in

mid-1990, made it clear that relations between China and Taiwan are not only about trade, investment and tourism, but also about war and peace. Taiwan's democratisation means that it will become increasingly difficult for the island's people to contemplate reunification with the mainland. Beijing will not tolerate Taiwanese independence, and the prospects of a coherent US policy concerning the dispute remain distant. Taiwan's progress towards a new identity and greater self-determination seems unstoppable; unless all the parties involved accept the existence of a new Taiwan, the risk of serious conflict will persist.'

ID number: 80016141

Year: 1999

338.9 /00591

La nouvelle economie chinoise - Paris : La Decouverte.

125 p. : ill. ; 18 cm.

ISBN: 2707123137

Author(s):

1. Lemoine, Francoise

Subject(s):

1. CHINA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 122-123.

'La croissance economique, rapide et desordonnee, tiree par une nouvelle vague d'industrialisation dans les regions cotieres de la Chine du Sud, s'accompagne de tensions inflationnistes, de desequilibres sectoriels et de disparites regionales accrues. Le pole commercial Hong Kong/Chine developpe une formidable puissance exportatrice, qui associe les reserves inepuisables de main d'oeuvre du continent et le savoir-faire technique et commercial de la colonie. Cette nouvelle economie chinoise ouvre de nouvelles perspectives aux pays d'Asie et exerce une puissante force d'attraction sur l'ensemble du monde chinois.'

ID number: 80010414

Year: 1994

327 /01176

Crisis Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 43 p.; 28 cm.

(Carlisle Papers in Security Strategy)

ISBN: 1584871369

Author(s):

1. MacCready, Douglas

Subject(s):

- 1. TAIWAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TAIWAN
- 3. CHINESE REUNIFICATION QUESTION, 1949-
- 4. TAIWAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TAIWAN
- 6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
 7. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 8. TAIWAN STRAIT

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'For more than 50 years, Taiwan's unresolved international status has been the cause of repeated crises in East Asia. While the parties involved could be willing to live with the status quo, the domestic political transformation of Taiwan has called the status quo into question. China, Taiwan, the United States, and Japan have national interests in how the conflict is resolved, and these interests will be difficult to reconcile. By conventional measures, China cannot gain Taiwan by force before

the end of this decade. Chinese leaders believe that, by using asymmetrical means, they will be able to overcome the military advantage of the United States and Taiwan. While the United States will be able to delay Chinese action against Taiwan, it is unlikely to be successful at long-term deterrence. Deterrence, as used against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, will not be effective with China without significant modification. The cultural divide affects not only deterrence theory, but also how China and the United States understand and communicate with each other. Crisis deterrence in the Taiwan Strait is unlikely to succeed due to conflicting national interests and several crucial mutual misperceptions.'

ID number: 80019086

Year: 2003

001 /00211

The Technological Transformation of China - Washington : National Defense University Press.

xxx, 191 p.; 21 cm.

Author(s):

1. MacDonald, T. David

Subject(s):

1. TECHNOLOGY AND STATE--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. National Defense University (US)

Notes:

Includes index.
ID number: 80004874

Year: 1990

327 /01113

Dragon on Terrorism: Assessing China's Tactical Gains and Strategic Losses Post-September 11 - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

v, 63 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871032

Author(s):

1. Malik, Mohan

Subject(s):

- 1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
- 3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'The US relationship with China and the global war on terrorism are the two most significant strategic challenges faced by the Bush administration. Both are vital and complex; the way the administration manages them will shape American security for many years. While there is a growing literature on both key strategic issues, little analysis has been done on the intersection of the two. The author fills this gap as he assesses how the war on terrorism has affected China. He concludes that the war on terrorism radically altered the Asian strategic environment in ways that negated China's foreign policy gains of the last decade and undermined its image as Asia's only great power. Dr. Malik then offers a range of recommendations for a more stable relationship with China.'

ID number: 80018293

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European-Chinese Relations in the Post-Bipolar International System : the
      Political Dimension - Roma : Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale.
      12 p.; 30 cm.
      (Occasional Papers)
      Author(s):
         1. Menotti, Roberto
      Subject(s):
         1. EU--CHINA
         2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
         3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
      Added entry(s):
         1. Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (IT)
      ID number: 80012400
      Year: 1995
654
       /00055
  China in the Information Age: Telecommunications and the Dilemmas of
      Reform - Westport, CT : Praeger.
      xv, 165 p.; 24 cm.
      (The Washington papers, 0278-937X; 169)
      ISBN: 0275958299
      Author(s):
         1. Mueller, Milton
         2. Tan, Zixiang
      Subject(s):
         1. TELECOMMUNICATION POLICY--CHINA
         2. TELECOMMUNICATION SYSTEMS--CHINA
      Added entry(s):
         1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)
     Notes:
         Bibliography: p. 151-155. Includes index.
         'China is an awakening economic giant but an information-age
            dwarf. The two authors examine China's torturous road to
            advanced information highways and provide a long-needed
            comprehensive volume on China's telecommunications system.'
      ID number: 80013844
      Year: 1997
  Nuclear Weapons Databook. Volume V: British, French, and Chinese Nuclear
      Weapons - Boulder, CO: Westview.
      xvii, 437 p.: ill.; 29 cm.
      ISBN: 0813316111
      Author(s):
         1. Norris, Robert S.
         2. Burrows, Andrew S.
         3. Fieldhouse, Richard W.
      Subject(s):
         1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--GREAT BRITAIN
         2. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--FRANCE
         3. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--CHINA
      Added entry(s):
         1. Natural Resources Defense Council (US)
      Notes:
         Includes index.
      ID number: 80010304
      Year: 1994
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327

327 /00975

New Century, Old Thinking: The Dangers of the Perceptual Gap in U.S.-China Relations - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 43 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Puska, Susan M.

Subject(s):

- 1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

- 1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:
 - 'If a host of pundits are to be believed, we are fast approaching the 'Pacific Century', and many of them argue, the centerpiece of the new era will be China. Some forecasts have China rising to become the world's largest economy over the next two decades, and acquiring attendant political and military power in the process. Unquestionably, China's size, population and burgeoning economy will elevate it to a more prominent role in Asia, the Pacific and the world by 2020. All the more reason then for those concerned with America's security to develop a keener understanding of this rising giant. LtCol. Puska provides here an examination of the reciprocal relations between China and the United States over the past century and a half. She articulates the theme that cycles of misperception have characterized the relationship. If this past is prologue, then potential conflict looms darkly over future US-China interactions. The first step toward precluding conflict, according to the author, is to understand the nature of the past relationship. Then, the two countries must overcome the deep perceptual gap between their cultures, their historical views and their ideological perspectives. Such understanding, widely shared in each society, will not assure development of bilateral partnership, but is essential to giving it a chance.'

ID number: 80014784

Year: 1998

327 /00941

Managing a Changing Relationship: China's Japan Policy in the 1990s - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 29 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Ross, Robert S., 1940-

Subject(s):

- 1. JAPAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--JAPAN

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'The author argues here that Japan's relationship with China is a key element in the evolving East Asian security structure. From Beijing's perspective, China's Japan policy rivals its relationship wiht the United States in relative strategic importance. Japan's economic strength and its potential military power make it a major factor in Chinese security calculations. Many of the same factors that affect Sino-American relations and Sino-Russian relations are integral to the relationship between Beijing and Tokyo. Among these are Chinese treatment of dissidents, the Taiwan issue, economic investment, and Japanese military policy and strategy. Today Japanese and Chinese interests compete in many areas, requiring tolerance, patience and diplomatic sophistication to keep competition from evolving into conflict. In the future, these challenges are likely to grow in complexity.'

ID number: 80013527

327 /00988 China's Foreign Relations - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan. viii, 264 p.; 23 cm. ISBN: 0333693124 Author(s): 1. Roy, Denny, 1960-Subject(s): 1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS Notes: Bibliography: p. 246-260. Includes index. 'The Asia-Pacific region has become an increasingly important arena in international relations in the post-Cold War period and, following the break-up of the USSR, China is set to become the region's dominant power early in the twenty-first century. In this timely new text the author shows how the drive for security and power underlying Chinese foreign policy is reinforced by other important causal factors, including internal political struggles and uniquely Chinese perceptions of international affairs stemming from China's particular historical experiences. The book provides a broad-ranging assessment of China's relationships with other key countries, including the United States, Japan, Russia, Korea, India and the Southeast Asian states, and with major international organizations. It also examines more general aspects of Beijing's outward orientation : its increasing economic interdependence with foreign consumers and suppliers, its struggle with the challenges of globalization, and the People's Liberation Army's aspiration to put China on a par with the great military powers. The author concludes by analysing the possibility of a 'Chinese threat' to the Asia-Pacific region and identifies key issues in the future of Chinese foreign relations.' ID number: 80015441 Year: 1998 355.4 /01328 China and Strategic Culture - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College. vi, 39 p.; 23 cm. ISBN: 1584870907 Author(s): 1. Scobell, Andrew Subject(s): 1. CHINA--STRATEGIC ASPECTS 2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY Added entry(s): 1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes: 'Culture influences the way strategists in a particular country think about matters of war and peace. Culture is especially influential in a country like China, with an ancient civilization and strategic tradition dating back thousands of years. The author examines the impact of strategic culture on 21st century China. He contends that the People's Republic of China's security policies and its tendency to use military force are influenced not only by elite understandings of China's own strategic tradition, but also by their

understandings of the strategic cultures of other states. Gaining a fuller appreciation for how Chinese strategists view the United States and Japan, our key ally in the Asia-Pacific, will better enable us to assess regional and global security issues.'

ID number: 80017986

327 China changes Shape : Regionalism and Foreign Policy - London : Brassey's. 72 p. : ill.; 22 cm. (Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 287) ISBN: 1857531701 Author(s): 1. Segal, Gerald, 1953-Subject(s): 1. CHINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS Added entry(s): 1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB) Notes: 'How will the outside world deal with a China re-shaped by the forces of decentralisation and internal reform ?' ID number: 80009820 Year: 1994 355.2 /00261 Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects -Berkeley: University of California Press. xxviii, 374 p. : ill.; 24 cm. ISBN: 0520225074 Author(s): 1. Shambaugh, David L. Subject(s): 1. CHINA--ARMED FORCES 2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY Notes: Includes index. 'The policy consequences of China's military modernization for the United States and China's neighbors are multiple and profound, involving questions of the global balance of power. The author investigates how much progress the PLA is making and in precisely which areas. He questions whether China is developing a power projection capability that might threaten its neighbors and important American interests in East Asia. He also asks whether the PLA can successfully invade Taiwan if ordered to do so, whether China's strategic missile force threatens its

United States and China's neighbors are multiple and profound, involving questions of the global balance of power. The author investigates how much progress the PLA is making and in precisely which areas. He questions whether China is developing a power projection capability that might threaten its neighbors and important American interests in East Asia. He also asks whether the PLA can successfully invade Taiwan if ordered to do so, whether China's strategic missile force threatens its neighbors and the United States, and whether China's own military-industrial establishment is capable of producing modern weaponry. The book also discusses what weaponry the PLA is importing from Russia, how up-to-date it is, and how it augments the PLA's arsenal. The author considers the professionalism of the PLA and its efforts in recent years to streamline and upgrade the force structure and improve its combat capabilities. He explores how China's military leaders see their national security environment and to what ends might they put China's new military power. The book goes on to investigate how evolving civil-military relations in China affect the strategic outlook and intentions of China's leaders. Unparalleled in the field of Chinese strategic studies, this work is essential for anyone interested in China's ascendancy and the future of the Asia-Pacific region.'

ID number: 80018639

323 /00608

China's Transition into the 21st Century: U.S. and PRC Perspectives - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

v, 40 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

- 1. Shambaugh, David L.
- 2. Zhongchun, Wang

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
- 2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'Professor Shambaugh contends here that those who succeed Deng Xiaoping, fearful of any further erosion of Communist Party hegemony and determined to return China to a purer form of neo-Maoist Marxism, will become even more conservative as China's economic and social problems intensify. Despite considerable political and economic challenges, his best estimate is that China will, from inherent inertia, 'muddle through' well into the 21st century. Indeed, it is in the interests of the United States for China to hold together as a territorial nation-state and political unit because disintegration would foster socio-economic dislocations that could destabilize Asia. At the same time, US policy must maintain pressure on China to improve human and civil rights performance. Senior Colonel Wang Zhongchun provides a tour d'horizon of nearly a half-century of Chinese defense policy, from a distinctly PRC perspective. He then argues that China has attained a position of security and, even though the world presents many uncertainties, Beijing is committed to playing a positive role for peace and stability in Asia. The central principle in today's security analysis is that defense policy must support economic development so that China can grow into an economically progressive, democratic, and modern socialist country. Colonel Wang portrays China's military posture as one that seeks, above all, to protect China's territorial sovereignty, while focusing in this relatively peaceful era on modernizing in step with national economic development.'

ID number: 80013525

Year: 1996

327 /00931

Shaping China's Future in World Affairs : The U.S. Role - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

iv, 41 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Sutter, Robert G.

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'Dr. Sutter sets the scene for his discussion of the US role in China's future by providing a comprehensive analysis of the key factors that shape China's domestic and international policies. He outlines a mixed picture - a regime today that is pragmatic in its international political and economic relations but highly protective on territorial and sovereignty issues. He also notes that it is a regime in transition and articulates the various interpretations of where that transition might be headed. Dr. Sutter concludes his paper with several guidelines for those charged with formulating instrumental policy with respect to China. These insights complete a thorough survey of

the major issues, interactions and choices which will shape the US-China strategic relationship.'
ID number: 80012943
Year: 1996

355 /00351

Chinese Military Theory : Ancient and Modern - Oakville, CAN : Mosaic

Press.

319 p.; 24 cm. ISBN: 0889624232 Author(s):

1. Tien, Chen-Ya

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--HISTORY, MILITARY
- 2. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY
- 3. MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE--CHINA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 299-308.

'This book includes extensive analysis and discussions of ancient Chinese military theories right up to modern and contemporary times. The author argues that Chinese military theory is closely related to the socio-economic conditions of Chinese society. He bases his historical and contemporary analysis on primary documents and a thorough and complete search of all available materials. The author also locates Chinese military theory in the present strategic situation of China and speculates about the direction and future of China's development.'

ID number: 80013356

Year: 1992

341.2 /00234

China and the South China Sea Disputes - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

75 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X; 298)

ISBN: 0198280890

Author(s):

1. Valencia, Mark J.

Subject(s):

- 1. SOUTH CHINA SEA
- 2. CHINA--BOUNDARIES

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'This paper provides the political context and prognosis for the South China Sea issues focusing on China. In particular, it describes the claims and tactics of claimant states, as well as burgeoning interest in potential petroleum discoveries in the South China Sea. It then analyses China's intentions in the region, focusing on the contrast between Chinese rhetoric and action. It also reviews China's relations regarding the issue with the United States as an interested outside party, ASEAN, and other claimants, particularly Vietnam and Taiwan.'

ID number: 80012403

327 /00945

Tacit Acceptance and Watchful Eyes : Beijing's Views about the U.S.-ROK Alliance - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 23 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Wang, Fei-Ling

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EAST ASIA
- 2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--KOREA (SOUTH)
- 3. KOREA (SOUTH) -- MILITARY RELATIONS -- USA
- 4. CHINA--NATIONAL SECURITY
- 5. EAST ASIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'For nearly a half century, the security alliance between the ROK and the United States has deterred aggression, helped assure stability in Northeast Asia, and supported the ROK's political and economic emergence as one of the advanced democratic industrial countries of the world. In this monograph, Professor Wang Fei-ling examines the future of the alliance from China's perspective. He suggests that China's current preoccupation with its domestic agenda and relatively conservative foreign policy seek to maintain the status quo in Northeast Asia. And that status quo makes even continued US military presence desirable in the context of a divided Korea because it buttresses stability and inhibits militarism in Japan. But an American presence that grows, takes on the flavor of containment, or emphasizes human rights and the enlargement of democracy threatens Chinese security interests. Overall, concern that Northeast Asia is on the verge of significant transformation in economics, governments, and balance of power relationships lends an inevitable duality to Chinese attitudes toward the Washington-Seoul relationship.'

ID number: 80013736

Year: 1997

327 /00929

International Politics in Northeast Asia : The China-Japan-United States
 Strategic Triangle - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.
 vii, 62 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Wilborn, Thomas L.

Subject(s):

- 1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EAST ASIA
- 2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--JAPAN
- 3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 4. EAST ASIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

The US has vital security and economic interests in Northeast Asia, one of the most dynamic regions of the world. This monograph focuses on the three bilateral relationships, those connecting China, Japan and the US to each other, which will dominate the future of the region. The author analyzes these relations, taking into account key issues involving Taiwan and North Korea, and offers insights regarding their future course. He also reviews US engagement policy and assesses the value of US military presence for regional stability. He suggests that in the short range, Washington should avoid significant changes of policy. However, in the long range, the United States will have to establish a machinery which provides ways for the major states, especially China and Japan, to assert greater intiative commensurate with their economic power, yet within a stable political context. Multilateral operational structures to

supplement existing bilateral relations in Northeast Asia may provide a means for the United States to influence long-range trends and protect US interests.'

ID number: 80012888

Year: 1996

355.4 /01109

Security Cooperation with China: Analysis and a Proposal - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

ix, 32 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Wilborn, Thomas L.

Subject(s):

- 1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 3. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--CHINA
- 4. CHINA--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In this study, Dr. Wilborn examines US-China security cooperation before Tiananmen, the strategic context in which it took place, and the strategic environment of US-China relations at the present time. He then concludes that the reasons which justified the program of security cooperation with China during the cold war are irrelevant today.'

ID number: 80011009

Year: 1994

327 /00862

The Chinese at the Negotiating Table : Style and Characteristics - Washington : National Defense University Press.

xxxiii, 281 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Wilhelm, Alfred D.

Subject(s):

- 1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
- 3. NEGOTIATION

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 253-270. Includes index.

'This study does not attempt to develop a definitive model of Chinese negotiations. Instead it tries to move beyond mere description of negotiations and identify critical Chinese perceptions of negotiations - ways of thinking about or reacting to the process. The first chapter contrasts the definition and connotations of the word 'negotiation' as used in the US with the Chinese words most commonly used in translating it. The second chapter suggests a framework for analyzing Sino-American negotiations. The third one characterizes the principal Chinese negotiators that US negotiators faced from 1951 to 1979. Two case studies then analyze the Military Armistice and Political Talks at Panmunjom, Korea and the Ambassadorial Talks in Geneva and Warsaw (1955-1970).'

ID number: 80010443

355.2 /00223

China's Military Potential - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 32 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Wortzel, Larry M.

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--ARMED FORCES
- 2. CHINA--DEFENSES
- 3. CHINA--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'This monograph provides an appraisal of the ability of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to build a credible military force in the 21st century. The author examines a complicated set of factors, which, when taken together, equates to potential military power in China's case. Perhaps foremost among these factors is the PRC's current economic success and whether Beijing can transfer it to the military sphere. The author concludes that China could become a military power in every sense, but the greater the likelihood is that the PRC will be overcome by internal problems. Nonetheless, the growth in China's military potential bears careful watching by US military planners.'

ID number: 80015301

Year: 1998

327 /01014

Asia-Pacific Security: China's Conditional Multilateralism and Great Power Entente - Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College.

iv, 67 p.; 23 cm. ISBN: 1584870125

Author(s):

1. Yuan, Jing Dong

Subject(s):

- 1. CHINA--NATIONAL SECURITY
- 2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US) Notes:

'This book provides an analysis of the People's Republic of China's evaluation of multilateralism and its place in Chinese foreign relations in the Asia-Pacific region. In contrast to conventional scholarly wisdom, the author contends that China is not opposed to multilateral approaches. In fact, the author asserts that China has adopted an approach he dubs 'conditional multilateralism'. According to him, China now recognizes that multilateral engagement is unavoidable and indeed can be useful in advancing China's interests. China's embrace of multilateralism, however, varies depending upon the particular forum and specific issues. Furthermore, the author contends China remains leery of entering into arrangements that might constrain its independence and flexibility. This change in China's attitude towards multilateralism is a significant one that has important implications for US national security strategy and for US interests in the Asia-Pacific.'

ID number: 80016309

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- China. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 92, no. 575, September 1993, Whole Issue. - China CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 93, no. 584, September 1994, Whole Issue. - China. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 94, no. 593, September 1995, Whole Issue. - China. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 95, no. 602, September 1996, Whole Issue. - China. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 96, no. 611, September 1997, Whole Issue. China. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 99, no. 638, September 2000, Special Issue. http://www.currenthistory.com - China : 1991. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 90, no. 557, September 1991, Whole Issue. - China, 1992. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 91, no. 566, September 1992, Whole Issue. - China: From Communism to Capitalism. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 629, September 1999, Whole Issue. http://www.currenthistory.com This autumn will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist Revolution. How different - and how similar - are the 'Red' China of Mao and the 'modernizing' China of Deng and his followers ? This special issue offers a provocative examination of the changes Communist rule has brought to China and to China's place in the world. - China's Environment. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 156, December 1998, Special Issue. - Contemporary Taiwan. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 148, December 1996, Whole Issue. - The People's Republic of China, 1990. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 89, no. 548, September 1990, Whole Issue. - Taiwan : republique de Chine. POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 72, ete 1996, numero entier.

^{**} This list contains material received as of March 1st, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 1er mars 2004.

- Arquilla, John Karmel, Solomon M. Welcome to the Revolution...in Chinese Military Affairs. DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 13, no. 3, December 1997, p. 255-269. In this paper the authors explore Chinese thinking in the areas of "information warfare" and the "Revolution in Military Affairs", as most of the ferment in military thought currently revolves around the changes in warfare likely to be wrought by recent and newly emerging advances in information technologies. After advancing some working definitions of these concept, and developing a few of their key implications for the future of conflict, drawn from Western views, they survey the Chinese literature to search out the various similarities and differences in emerging strategic thought. Finally, they consider what the West may learn from the Chinese approach, and theorise about China's prospects for achieving revolutionary change-and the effects this might have upon the international system.

- Ash, Robert Kueh, Y. Y. Economic Integration within Greater China: Trade and Investment Flows between China, Hong-Kong and Taiwan. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 136, December 1993, p. 711-745.

- Banlaoi, Rommel C.
Southeast Asian Perspectives on the Rise of China: Regional Security after 9/11.
PARAMETERS, vol. 33, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 98-107.
http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters
The author contrasts the fears of most Western nations related to the rapid rise in world-stature of China with the Southeast Asian view that such a rise is in their economic best interest. He concludes that Southeast Asian nations sincerely believe China's intentions are benign; in fact, they view the rise of China more as an opportunity with concomitant challenges rather than a threat.

- Bernier, Justin
China's Strategic Proxies.
ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 4, Fall 2003, p. 629-643.
Whether selling the knowledge and parts to manufacture chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons or giving up the secrets to the long-range ballistic missiles that might ultimately deliver them, China continues to disappoint the United States through its proliferation practices. The United States sees WMD as its largest security challenge for the foreseeable future, and the George W. Bush administration has been harshly critical of serial proliferators such as North Korea and Iran. Though its relations with the People's Republic of China remain considerably more cordial on the matter, the administration's patience seems to be wearing thin. It warned Beijing early in 2002 that WMD proliferation is now a friend-or-foe issue for the United States.

- Bernier, Justin Gold, Stuart China's Closing Window of Opportunity.

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 72-95.

http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm

American civilian and military leaders must dismiss the fatally flawed theory that time is on China's side in the struggle over the fate of Taiwan. The real danger of a PRC attack is in this decade, when Taiwan is most vulnerable, not in the next. Closer military ties with Taiwan, more cautious dealings with China, a strengthened U.S. naval and air presence in the western Pacific, and complementary non-military measures are needed.

- Bouissou, Jean-Marie
 Le Japon et la Chine : amour, haine et geostrategie.
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 2, ete 1996, p. 315-326.
 Dix-huit siecles de rapports ambigus et le traumatisme d'une guerre devastatrice ont marque les relations sino-japonaises, dont le contexte passionnel place Tokyo sur la defensive. Le developpement de la Chine, dans toutes les hypotheses, constitue une menace pour le Japon, qui n'a guere de prise sur cette evolution. De meme, il est assez desarme face aux diverses options militaires dont la Chine dispose. Une strategie patiente a trois axes esquisser un containment, prendre Pekin dans le filet des organisations internationales et batir la confiance semble la plus appropriee a terme. Mais le facteur temps peut s'averer crucial, compte tenu de la volatilite de la situation en Chine.
- Brauer, Birgit
 China Loses Out in Central Asia.
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 2, 2002, p. 83-86.
 After the collapse of the Soviet Union China at first was only a
 bystander as Russia played a star role in Central Asia. In the late 1990s
 it too joined the 'great game' by signing the \$9.5 billion oil 'contract
 of the century' with Kazakhstan. After September 11 it is again a
 bystander, this time as Washington flexes its muscles by stationing
 anti-terror US troops in the region. After others have left the field,
 China will still be present as a powerful neighbor.
- Breslin, Shaun
 The China Challenge ?: Development, Environment and National Security.
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 4, December 1997, p. 497-508.
 In much of East Asia there is considerable unease over the potential threat that China poses to stability in the region. Claims to sovereignty over the Spratly Islands, long-standing tensions in the Taiwan Straits and a growing influence in Burma are but three worrying examples for those who are sceptical of China's aspirations in the region. On a global level, the Chinese threat is perceived more in economic terms, as witnessed by the ongoing Sino-American trade conflict. However, real as these threats may be, this article suggests that both regional security and global security are also challenged by another bi-product of China's rapid development in the post-Mao era: namely the abuse and destruction of the environment.
- Bridges, Brian
 Europe to the Rescue?
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 6, June 1997, p. 159-160.
 It is the season for political tourism in Hong Kong. European
 politicians, ex-politicians and officials are all part of the influx. Sir
 Leon Brittan and a host of European dignitaries will be among the invited
 guests at the handover ceremony on 30 June. But will they fly back to
 Europe only to forget all about Hong Kong? Britain, as the departing
 colonial power, will retain a considerable interest in political and
 economic stability, even after the handover. But many of the other
 members of the European Union are also heavily involved, at least
 commercially. For them, post-1997 Hong Kong will rise in importance in
 the context of their own relations with China.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre
 Taiwan's Mainland Policy: Normalization, Yes; Reunification, Later.
 CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 148, December 1996, p. 1260-1283.
 The aim of this article is on the one hand to show that the main short and mid-term goal of Taiwan's mainland policy is not the reunification of China but a gradual normalization of its links with the PRC. On the other hand, it assesses the domestic and outside constraints exerted on this policy.

- Calabrese, John China's Policy Towards Central Asia: Renewal and Accommodation. EURASIAN STUDIES, no. 16, Autumn - Winter 1999, p. 75-99.
- Caldwell, John
 Lennon, Alexander T.
 China's Nuclear Modernization Program.
 STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 23, no. 4, Fall 1995, p. 27-37.
 The People's Republic of China has recently experienced explosive economic growth. Many Asian countries are concerned that this economic prosperity will fuel China's military growth. While many have focused on the development of the PRC's conventional capability, the Chinese have also substantially modernized their nuclear capability. By the early 21st century, China's nuclear arsenal will be more capable, accurate and flexible, allowing the PRC to threaten most parts of the globe and posing new challenges to US defense planners.
- Campbell, Kurt M.
 Mitchell, Derek J.
 Crisis in the Taiwan Strait?
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 4, July August 2001, p. 14-25.
 The simmering dispute over the status of Taiwan may soon explode in violence. The Chinese regime sees Taiwan's recent democratization as an implicit challenge to its own authority and legitimacy and thus continues to threaten and intimidate the island. Meanwhile, Taiwan has procured advanced defensive weapons from the US. Growing tensions across the Taiwan Strait, along with the lack of military and diplomatic communication, make conflict possibly involving the US increasingly likely. To avoid such an outcome, Washington should actively facilitate cross-strait dialogue and deter provocations by either side. But it must do so soon, for both China and Taiwan are growing impatient.
- Carpentar, William M.
 The Taiwan Strait Triangle.
 COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 19, no. 4, October December 2000, p.
 329-340.
 This article examines the ongoing set of relationships among the US, the
 People's Republic of China, and the republic of China on Taiwan. This has
 been a difficult strategic (political, economic and military) problem for
 the US over the half century since communist forces drove Chiang Kai-shek
 and his Nationalist forces from the mainland to refuge on Taiwan in 1949.
 The situation of 'two Chinas' has persisted all through the Cold War and
 now into the confusing post-Cold War era. As the center of gravity of
 global strategic affairs shifts to the Asian hemisphere, this triangle
 will continue to be a focus of national and international policy concern
 in Washington, Beijing, and Taipei (and in many other capitals). It is
 likely to persist for some time.
- Cha, Victor D.
 Engaging China : Seoul-Beijing Detente and Korean Security.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 73-98.
 http://www.swetswise.com
 Most discussions of East Asian security focus on three issues : the

threat of nuclear proliferation in North Korea; the region's US-based security architecture; and coping with China's rising power in the region. A fourth issue, often overlooked, skirts the other three categories but has implications for each: the new China-South Korea detente. The dramatic transformation of this relationship in the 1990s is the most successful case of 'engaging China' in East Asia. This case sheds light on the likely effectiveness of American and South Korean efforts to engage North Korea. As the Agreed Framework threatens to unravel and another potential crisis looms over the Peninsula, the China-South Korea axis constitutes - on balance - a stabilising factor.

- Chang, Felix K.
Chinese Energy and Asian Security.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 211-240.

- Chang, Maria Hsia Chinese Irredentist Nationalism: The Magician's Last Trick. COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 71, no. 1, 1998, p. 83-100. Since the 1989 Tiananmen incident, Beijing has mounted a patriotic nationalist campaign to regain popular support by shifting its basis of legitimacy from a bankrupt ideology to nationalism. The campaign appears to be effective, especially among youth and intellectuals. The new Chinese nationalism is a troubling mix of reaction to past humiliation, a sense of being presently thwarted from achieving greatness, and irredentism. Drawing from official and popular Chinese publications, this

article seeks to provide a detailed account of Chinese irredentist claims, and concludes with a brief discussion of policy implications.

- Chang, Maria Hsia
Chen, Xiaoyu
The Nationalist Ideology of the Chinese Military.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1998, p. 44-64.
One of the effects of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms is the steady erosion of the ideological integrity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. To compensate for that erosion, the Chinese Communist Party has turned to patriotic nationalism for a new source of legitimacy. China's new nationalism transcends mere rhetoric but is manifested in the behavior of its armed forces - which makes an understanding of the nationalist ideology of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) important. As revealed in PLA and related military publications, that ideology is a potentially problematic mix of wounded pride, historical resentment, and irredentism.

- Charles, F.
L' industrie chinoise de defense.
ARMEMENT, no. 45, decembre 1994 - janvier 1995, p. 156-165.

http://www.swetswise.com

- Chen, An Socio-Economic Polarization and Political Corruption in China: A Study of the Correlation.

JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 18, no. 2, June 2002, p. 53-74.

China's two-decade market reform has widened the income gap to a significant degree and caused the development of socio-economic polarization in urban areas. Since the 1990s, a large proportion of the employees of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) have suffered from the absolute decline of living standards. Either they have been thrown out of work or they have to receive reduced wages and rewards. These people now constitute an overwhelming majority of the urban poorest. This (re-)impoverishment of China's working class in an era of economic prosperity only partially results from the impact of market forces. It is mostly a consequence of the rampant, omnipresent and organizational corruption committed by government-appointed SOE directors and their collaborators in party-state apparatuses. The causal relationship with political corruption makes the growing economic inequality particularly threatening to the communist regime.

- Chevalerias, Philippe Chine-Taiwan : le poids des echanges economiques. POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 1, janvier - mars 2001, p. 69-81. Les relations economiques entre Taiwan et la Republique populaire de Chine ont pris un tour nouveau depuis l'election du President Chen Shui-bian, en mars 2000 : l'une des premieres decisions du nouveau pouvoir consista en effet a lever l'interdiction des liaisons 'directes' avec le continent, mettant fin a un principe affiche depuis plus de cinquante ans. Au-dela de sa portee symbolique, cette decision mettait en accord les realites et le discours economique des dirigeants taiwanais, car les annees 90 furent celles d'une progression geometrique des echanges economiques entre Pekin et Taipei, entrainant une interdependance croissante. Cette interdependance jointe a la perspective d'une entree prochaine dans l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC), pourrait conduire les deux gouvernements a mettre leurs divergences politiques en veilleuse. Dans ce cas, le parti taiwanais d'une separation des questions politiques et economiques serait en passe d'etre gagne pour le bien de la paix dans le detroit de Formose.

- Chourak, Mohamed Les relations Japon-Chine: a la recherche d' un nouvel equilibre. STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 50, no. 1, 1997, p. 79-98.

- Clark, Cal
 Growing Cross-Strait Economic Integration.
 ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 753-766.
 The author describes the growing web of informal commercial and social linkages that have sprung up since the early nineties that may be working a silent evolutionary transformation in cross-Strait relations. Business interests, he argues, are steadily creating interdependencies of a kind that invite comparisons with the EU.
- Couvert, F.
 La Chine sur le marche mondial de l'armement : un acteur atypique.
 ARMEMENT, no. 45, decembre 1994 janvier 1995, p. 151-155.
- Danjou, Francois
 La question de Taiwan.

 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 6, juin 2003, p. 175-185.
 Les tensions dans le detroit de Taiwan se sont progressivement apaisees.
 La Chine a tres nettement reduit ses menaces militaires directes, tandis que l'explosion des relations economiques et l'etablissement de liaisons directes avec les iles de Jinmen et Matsu ont commence a faire voler en eclat les tabous de la guerre civile chinoise. Il reste que la querelle de souverainete entre Pekin et Taipei est ravivee par l'avenement dans l'ile de dirigeants a tendance separatiste. Utilisee par les Etats-Unis comme un levier d'influence strategique, les tensions latentes continuent de peser sur l'equilibre de la region.
- Danjou, Francois
 Relations Chine-Taiwan : mythes et realites.
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 54eme annee, no. 8-9, aout septembre 1998, p.
 118-128.

- Dean, Sidney E. Urheberrechte oder Menschenrechte ? : der Ausverkauf westlicher Werte. EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 1996, S. 39-41. Western governments unanimously condemn the People's Republic of China for human rights abuses, the sale of missiles and nuclear technology to the Middle East, and a threatening posture towards Taiwan. These same democracies choose to take no action (e.g. economic sanctions or linkage of MFN status with political reforms), but tolerate China's policies in exchange for a share of the 'China Market'. This is a mistake. China needs Western technology transfer and money more than the West needs the PRC's business. Economic benefits of trade with China are not as great as frequently claimed. The argument that trade fosters liberalization in China is disproven by the trade and human rights records of the past 25 years. Furthermore, technology transfers inherent in China-trade (especially sale and production-licensing of military technology) endanger Western security. Politically, the Western posture signals weakness and disunity, encouraging further abuses and aggression by the PRC and other dictatorships. Finally, democracies which sell out their fundamental values undermine their own stability and legitimacy.

- Delage, Fernando China y la democracia en Taiwan. POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 75, mayo - junio 2000, p. 114-123. La victoria en las elecciones presidenciales de Taiwan del candidato de la oposicion abre una nueva fase en las relaciones de la isla con China, donde todavia no se descarta recurrir al uso de la fuerza. La consolidacion de la democracia taiwanesa y la prosperidad de su economia hacen aumentar su alejamiento del continente.

- deLisle, Jacques
 Law's Spectral Answers to the Cross-Strait Sovereignty Question.
 ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 733-752.
 The author describes the legal framework that has defined cross-Strait relations in the past. He surveys concepts of blended and hybrid forms of sovereignty from international law and finds them wanting in Taiwan's case.
- Deng, Yong
 Managing China's Hegemonic Ascension: Engagement from Southeast Asia.
 JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1998, p. 21-43.
 How to deal with China's hegemonic ascension is a matter of pressing policy concern and growing academic interest. With the premise that managing China's growing power is a security concern for other parties concerned and China itself, this article discusses how China and members of the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have taken care to manage an increasingly stronger China through a combination of bilateral diplomacy and multilateral networks. The evidence suggests that ASEAN's engagement policy has largely been successful. The article then delineates an ASEAN-style engagement strategy and draws some implications for the debate about how to cope with China in general.
- Domenach, Jean-Luc
 Pekin et l' Irak.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 100, ete 2003, p. 305-316.
 During the diplomatic crisis that preceded the war in Iraq, China adopted a novel stance which marks an important milestone in the history of the People's Republic. While discreetly disapproving of the US position, Beijing made conciliatory noises toward all of the key players: Iraq and its neighbors were offered warm words that were sufficiently vague to avoid antagonizing Israel; war skeptics France, Germany and Russia received declarations of support that stopped short of a threat to exercise China's veto on the UN Security Council; and the US was bombarded with a mix of principled condemnation and protestations of

friendship, delicately spiced up with pressure on North Korea to come back to the negotiating table. This array of tactics enabled Beijing to maintain a credible discourse while staying on good terms will all parties. But such a balancing act cannot be sustained indefinitely. China will eventually be asked to clarify its objectives and play a more active role in shaping the world scene.

- Dreyer, June Teufel Flashpoint in the Taiwan Strait. ORBIS, vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 615-629.
- Drifte, Reinhard
 US Impact on japanese-Chinese Security Relations.
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 4, December 2000, p. 449-462.
 http://www.swetswise.com

After analysing the complexities of the triangular Japan-US-China relationship and contradictions of engagement as the key policy towards China, this article concludes that asymmetries of power, interests and policy tools between Japan and the USA could lead to a serious alliance-splitting conflict and are bound to create an even sharper conflict between Japan and China. Changes to US policy towards Taiwan and to the US-led military alliance system in East Asia will be needed if current concerns about China are not to develop into self-fulfilling prophecies. In the long run, failure to carry out these changes will have negative implications not only for the China policies of both Japan and USA, but also for the Japan-US alliance in general.

- Dutton, Michael
 An All-Consuming Nationalism.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 629, September 1999, p. 276-280.
 http://www.currenthistory.com
 The West's focus on Tiananmen has blinded it to the rise of a nativist neoconservative nationalism fuelled by the same market forces that were supposed to channel democracy into the Chinese polity.
- Duval, Marcel
 Enquete sur une enigme: l'arme nucleaire chinoise.
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 50e annee, no. 10, octobre 1994, p. 93-109.
- Edmonds, Richard Louis The Environment in the People's Republic of China 50 Years on. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 159, September 1999, p. 640-649. This article describes and analyses changes in the environment and related policy developments in the People's Republic over the past 50 years. When discussing the quality of China's environment it must be remembered that the population of the country has doubled over the past half century and the economy has grown rapidly, particularly over the last two decades. Pessimists argue that the current population of over 1,200 million has exceeded the number which can be supported at a good living standard. Despite such views, there has been some ground for optimism in recent years, with China's greater environmental awareness and increased openness, its realization that the environment can be a tool in international diplomacy, and the increasing importation of environmental protection techniques. Yet overall, China has not done enough to maintain environmental quality and has not chosen to make many environmentally friendly transport investments.

- Feigenbaum, Evan A.
 China's Military Posture and the New Economic Geopolitics.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 71-87.
 http://www.swetswise.com

China's increasing energy needs have underscored four questions concerning Beijing's military posture and strategic intentions. How will China guarantee its most vital sources of energy supply, especially those that depend on the free flow of goods through international shipping routes? Does China possess the naval capability to secure sea-lines of communication? Is such a capability at the centre of its future naval planning? Can China's missile capabilities be used to intimidate international shipping? The link between China's historic use of force and resource considerations is tenuous. The particular case of the South China Sea has been inflated by many analysts into a more significant case study of Chinese strategic behaviour than it actually merits. Chinese strategic interests in resource supply are not incompatible with US hegemony. Indeed, an American draw-down in the Pacific is a greater threat to the stability of Asia's energy markets than any potential Chinese challenge to the status quo.

- Ferguson, Charles Sparking a Buildup: US Missile Defense and China's Nuclear Arsenal. ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 30, no. 2, March 2000, p. 13-18.
- Foot, Rosemary
 Bush, China and Human Rights.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 167-185.
 http://www.swetswise.com

Has Sino-American cooperation after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 resulted in a reduction in the Bush administration's attention to China's human-rights record? The US designated the 'East Turkestan Islamic Movement', operating from Xinjiang, as a terrorist movement, and is said to have overlooked stepped-up Chinese oppression in the province. Washington also failed to sponsor a condemnatory human-rights resolution at the UN in April 2003. However, the administration will find it difficult - for reasons rooted in politics, legislation and values - to downgrade the human-rights issue. Using rhetoric rather than material sanctions, the US continues to press for certain specific improvements. The US message to China is that, while they already hold some interests in common, it will take a sharing of values to cement the relationship.

- Fouquoire-Brillet, Elisabeth Chine: droits de l' homme et democratie. DEFENSE NATIONALE, 51e annee, octobre 1995, p. 101-112.
- Fouquoire-Brillet, Elisabeth La Chine et le Gatt. DEFENSE NATIONALE, 49e annee, decembre 1993, p. 143-153.
- Fouquoire-Brillet, Elisabeth La strategie navale chinoise. STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, 4e trimestre 1990, p. 247-257.

- Gardet, Claudie Chine-Union Europeenne : vers un partenariat global. COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 435, decembre 1998, p. 3-17. Dans le cadre global des relations de l'Union europeenne (UE) avec l'Asie, une nouvelle politique se dessine notamment a l'egard de la Chine a travers la mise en oeuvre d'un 'partenariat global', selon les propres termes de la Commission. Cote chinois, cette initiative est bien accueillie, Pekin ayant toujours plaide pour la multipolarite et voyant dans l'euro le seul moyen de faire piece au dollar. L'UE a par ailleurs une attitude plus conciliante que les Etats Unis a son egard et plus portee au dialogue constructif. Les echanges sont en augmentation, mais l'UE continue a accuser un fort deficit commercial, du notamment aux importations du Royaume-Uni et de l'Allemagne et a des exportation faibles : la demande interieure chinoise s'adresse essentiellement a la production nationale, sur un marche en outre tres protege (barrieres, quotas, taxes), malgre certains assouplissements recents. Les investissements europeens demeurent faibles, compares a ceux des Etats-Unis ou du Japon. Dans ce contexte se pose le probleme central de l'adhesion de la Chine a l'Organisation mondiale du commerce qui a donne lieu jusque-la a des negociations fluctuantes et des compromis sino-europeens que l'auteur analyse en detail.
- Garrett, Banning N.
 Glaser, Bonnie S.
 Chinese Perspectives on Nuclear Arms Control.
 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 20, no. 3, Winter 1995 1996, p. 43-78.
- Genugten, Willem van
 China en de mensenrechten: een reactie in drieen.
 INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 52, nr. 1, januari 1998, p. 28-31.
 The author studies here the ways in which the Western world approaches the question of human rights violations by the Chinese government. Which approach would suit best the interests of the victims of these violations, the author wonders. The most important trump card the Western world can play at present in its relations with China seems to be the linking of improvement of Chinese respect of human rights with conditions of membership of the World Trade Organization, the Chinese so desperately want. This approach should be supplemented by political and legal debates on the violations in appropriate international fora.
- Geoffrey, Claude Taiwan : un statut a geometrie variable. POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 70, hiver 1995 - 1996, p. 277-285. In March 1996 Taiwan will hold its first direct presidential elections. These will mark the crowning achievement of the democratization process initiated in the early 1990s. This first election with universal suffrage will probably not result in a change in power. President Lee Tenghui has every chance of being re-elected. Despite the popular support which he would then be able to claim, the elected president should not adopt a new foreign policy stance regarding either China or the international community. While continuing their offensive towards the UN, the Taipei authorities are not expected to proclaim the existence of a sovereign Republic of China in the territory over which they will then have de facto control. For, it they were to do this, their goal of reuniting Greater China and Taiwan (albeit a very theoretical one for the time being) would be severely jeopardized.

- Gilks, A.
China's Space Policy: Review and Prospects.
SPACE POLICY, vol. 13, no. 3, August 1997, p. 215-227.
This article reviews the current status of the Chinese space programme, covering its military origins, launchers, applications satellites, manned spaceflight and exploration. It examines the growing commercialization of China's space activities and how far this is likely to be successful, especially in the light of MTCR constraints and other legal regulations, It is nonetheless concluded that commercialization, along with joint ventures with foreign companies, has been crucial to the development of China's space programme. However, the country still lacks the resources to become a first-rank space power.

- Gill, Bates Stephenson, Matthew Searching for Common Ground: Breaking the Sino-US Non-Proliferation Stalemate. ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 26, no. 7, September 1996, p. 15-20.

- Gill, Bates

Thompson, Andrew

A Test for Beijing: China and the North Korean Nuclear Quandary. ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 33, no. 4, May 2003, p. 12-14. http://www.armscontrol.org

Beijing's priorities with regard to North Korea derive from a complex and often contradictory mix of long-term geostrategic interests and near-term concerns over stability and proliferation.

- Godwin, Paul H. B. China's Nuclear Forces: An Assessment. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 629, September 1999, p. 260-265. http://www.currenthistory.com

The United States and China have emerged from the cold war with a reciprocal fear of each other's nuclear intentions. In this mutual perception is a classic security dilemma: defensive military programs undertaken by both sides are viewed by their counterpart as offensive and threatening. In the United States, the Cox committee's worst-case analysis of China's espionage has enhanced this perception.

- Godwin, Paul H. B.
Schulz, John J.
China and Arms Control: Transition in East Asia.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 24, no. 9, November 1994, p. 7-11.

- Grand, Camille Pettersson, Ann

La Chine, l' arme nucleaire et le desarmement.

RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 21, printemps 1996, p. 50-59.

The last country to join the official Nuclear Weapons States, China has developed a double-standarded nuclear policy. On the one hand, she has built a nuclear force, which enhances its great power status, and pursues its modernization. Yet, on the other hand, she has been since the early 1960s a strong promoter of nuclear disarmament. The inconsistencies between the actual nuclear policy and the official disarmament discourse are now clearly showing up.

- Green, Michael J. Self, Benjamin L.

Japan's Changing China Policy: From Commercial Liberalism to Reluctant

SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 35-58.

Beijing's recent nationalistic behaviour - over nuclear tests, territorial disputes and Taiwan - is only the proximate cause of Japan's changing posture towards China. More fundamentally, the components that shaped Tokyo's post-war China policy - security, domestic politics, history and economics - have all evolved significantly since the end of the Cold War. These changes have undermined Japan's traditional 'commercial liberalism' - accomodating China in the belief that close ties would lead to a stable, interdependent relationship - and induced many Japanese to advocate a more 'realist' approach. Integrating China through regional multilateralism and confidence-building measures is still Japan's goal. But Tokyo is also hedging against Chinese intractability by maintaining its economic leverage and its close ties to the United States.

- Guilbert, Francois

Defense: une proliferation tous azimuts. POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 64, ete 1994, supplement, p. 83-95.

- Gurtov, Mel

Swords into Market Shares: China's Conversion of Military Industry to Civilian Production.

CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 134, June 1993, p. 213-241.

This article traces and evaluates China's conversion of military industries since 1979, stressing its relationship to economic development planning.

- Hagerty, Devin T.

China and Pakistan: Strains in the Relationship. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 656, September 2002, p. 284-289. http://www.swetswise.com

Although the American war on terrorism has altered the regional landscape, China and Pakistan continue to derive substantial value from their close relationship. For Islamabad, Beijing remains its most steadfast friend in international affairs. United States interest in Pakistan waxes and wanes but China has proved itself to be in Pakistan's corner over the long haul.

- He, Baogang

Legitimation and Democratization in a Transitional China. JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 12, no. 3, September 1996, p. 315-342.

In China under Deng Xiaoping, since the crushing of the democracy movement in June 1989, the Communist party has attempted to modify the foundations of its legitimacy. The limits and the problems associated with the party's self-legitimation, in their turn, indicate a democratic direction, or lay a foundation for a move towards democracy in China. Of particular concern is elite legitimacy: whether the present conditions and circumstances in China will force, trick, lure or cajole the non-democrats into democratic behaviour in the process of their search for legitimacy in the coming succession struggle.

- Hirano, Mutsumi Sino-Japanese Relations at the Turn of the Century. INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 3, July - September 2001, p. 101-110

The aim of this article is to consider political divergence and convergences between China and Japan and the prospects for developing bilateral ties and for their cooperation in the regional framework. In the first section, the article reviews current key issues of bilateral relations that have been brought into focus in the last few years - namely, the issue of historical perceptions and the Taiwan question. With reference to some other ongoing issues, the second section considers how overall Sino-Japanese relations will unfold in the next ten years. Finally, an attempt will be made to gauge what assistance regional arrangements can offer for the development of cooperation between the two giants in the region, the focus being on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

- Ho, Szu-yin
 - Politique et rhetorique dans les relations entre la Chine et Taiwan. POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 1, janvier mars 2001, p. 55-68. L'election de Chen Shui-bian a la presidence de Taiwan en mars 2000 marque un tournant dans les relations entre Taipei et Pekin. Longtemps domine par le nationalisme ferme du Kuomintang, d'un cote, et par le recours repete a la demonstration de force, de l'autre, l'imbroglio sino-taiwanais devoile aujourd'hui un double visage : une rhetorique parfois enflammee et toujours complexe continue d'exprimer les incertitudes politiques quant a l'avenir de l'ile, tandis que les realites economiques semblent jouer en faveur d'une coexistence pacifique des deux regimes de part et d'autre du detroit. A terme, ce sont peut-etre les forces du marche et de la globalisation qui trouveront la solution du dilemme independance-reunification qui reste un element d'instabilite majeur en Asie du Nord-Est.
- Hoffmann, Nathalie L' Ansea et la politique chinoise envers les pays d' Asie du Sud-Est. DEFENSE NATIONALE, 54eme annee, no. 1, janvier 1998, p. 122-137.
- Hoffmann, Nathalie
 L' espace : nouvel echiquier pour la rivalite sino-occidentale ?
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 11, novembre 1999, p. 119-132.
- Hoffmann, Nathalie La politique spatiale de la republique populaire de Chine. DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, novembre 1996, p. 95-109.
- Holzman, Marie Chine : 1' hypothese democratique. POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 81, automne 1998, p. 393-414. Is the People's Republic of China embarking on the path to democracy ? Although it is too early to give a precise date, such a political revolution does seem increasingly plausible. There are signs of impatience among Chinese political and intellectual leaders, while a number of dissidents consider the reign of Jiang Zemin as a transitional period leading to a democratization of the regime. Certain intellectuals, such as Wei Jingsheng, hope to see a swift overthrow of the current government, whereas others, like Liu Binyan, are banking on reforms from within the system. In any case, the country has been badly hit by corruption, the loss of legitimacy of the Communist Party and the collapse of the so-called Asian model of development. Dismantling state-owned enterprises will trigger a chain reaction of social and political problems. The post-Deng era will no doubt be a transitional period.

- Holzman, Marie Chine : requiem pour les droits de l' homme. POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 75, printemps 1997, p. 369-383. While the memory of the massacre in Tiananmen Square fades in Western memories, the issue of human rights in China remains more pressing than ever. The basic precept put forth is simple : an improvement in the standard of living will naturally lead to greater democracy. Experience, however, has shown that things are rarely this simple. Wherever democracy has made inroads, it has been thanks to the courage of men and women ready to fight against the use of power. The Chinese regime is keenly aware of this and relentlessly hunts down the least sign of nascent political opposition. Obsessed with the specter of Poland, Beijing's leaders rush to destroy any seeds of religious or union activism before they can begin to grow. What stance, then, should Western powers take in the face of this barbarity, concealed behind the facade of 'Asian values' ? Dissidents should of course receive support. But above all, the West should address China in the only language it really understands - that of resolute firmness.
- Hooghe, Ingrid D'
 Gevolgen van '11 september' voor China's Centraal-Aziebeleid.
 INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 10, oktober 2002, p. 485-490.
 The author argues that 11 September has seriously affected China's foreign policy towards the Central Asian region. The War on Terrorism has led to a considerable American military presence in China's backyard and has thwarted Chinese plans to expand its influence in the region. The author looks at Chinese economic and security interests in the region and at the evolution of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the regional forum through which China wants to project its influence. She concludes that even though 11 September has demonstrated that the SCO is still in its infancy and China's role in Central Asia is rather limited, China's ambitions have been strengthened by the events.
- Horner, Charles The Other Orientalism: China's Islamist Problem. NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 67, Spring 2002, p. 37-45. Thirty years ago, China was exporting revolution; now it faces a rising tide of Islamism, both without and within. Xinjiang may become Beijing's Chechnya.
- Hughes, James H. China's Ballistic Missile Threat. JOURNAL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, vol. 27, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 3-22. The author examines in detail the on-going Chinese build-up of ballistic missile forces, and suggests the potential impact of this build-up on the balance of forces as against, in particular, Taiwan and the United States.
- Hughes, James H.
 Chinese Space Power of the United States?
 JOURNAL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, vol. 25, no. 2,
 Summer 2000, p. 231-240.
 The author notes the growth of Chinese military power and its extensive interest in missiles and space research. He takes the view that China may be planning to supplant the USA as the dominant world power, and examines the prospects for an adequate US defense in the event of a future military conflict with China.

- Hughes, James H. The Current Status of China's Military Space Program. JOURNAL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, vol. 27, no. 4, Winter 2002, p. 393-408.

This article analyses China's current military space program. Many of China's space programs are deemed to be civilian, but have dual use, especially with regard to military capabilities. The relevance of China's space assets to the military sphere is analyzed. China's distinctive path to space development that includes the military is highlighted with its international cooperation. Collaborating countries include the former Soviet Union, now Russia along with its republics, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany and Brazil. China's military space development relies heavily on cooperation with other countries, and in particular on the United States. When the latter became public knowledge, it caused a political dispute which led to a Congressional investigation, especially in connection with space launch market cooperation. China's prime interest at this time is in developing anti-satellite weapons as a leveller against a potential adversary's space assets.

- Hughes, James H. The People's Republic of China Confronts Taiwan. JOURNAL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, vol. 26, no. 2, Summer 2001, p. 401-442. The author examines the Chinese military threat to Taiwan and after a brief historical synopsis proceeds to assess PRC preparations for a possible invasion of Taiwan, detailing the technology and resources available for a PRC assault and Taiwanese resistance.

- Iriye, Akira Chinese-Japanese Relations, 1945-1990. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 124, December 1990, p. 624-638.
- Jaffe, Amy Myers Lewis, Steven W. Beijing's Oil Diplomacy. SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 115-133. http://www.swetswise.com

China's quiet shift to net oil importer status in 1993 marked a forced departure from the Communist's Party's three-decade experiment in self-sufficiency and opened the possibility that China could, some day, be as vulnerable as other industrial nations to unexpected events affecting global oil markets. Being a net oil-importer should, logically, bring China's interests closer to those of the oil-independent West. In 1990, China abstained when the US mobilised an international coalition to drive Iraqi troops from Kuwait. A future crisis, after China has become a major importer, might elicit a more supportive stance. But the change to Chinese interests and orientations also poses challenges for the West: in effect, the industrialised oil-consuming countries of the US, Europe and North-East Asia must convince an ambitious, energy-hungry China that secure supply for all requires a cooperative foreign policy. So far, unfortunately, China is taking a different tack.

- Ji, You

L' armee et le pouvoir en Chine : vers une nouvelle donne. POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 1, janvier - mars 2001, p. 41-54. Depuis 1949, les relations entre l'Armee populaire de liberation et le Parti communiste chinois ont considerablement evolue. Jadis gardienne de la revolution, l'armee est devenue la gardienne de la securite nationale du pays, affirmant avec force une nouvelle exigence : le professionalisme. Parallelement, l'armee a cesse d'etre placee sous le controle des hommes forts du regime, qu'il s'agisse de Mao ou de Deng Xiaoping, celui-ci ayant donne au pouvoir civil une assise institutionnelle dont Jiang Zemin, son successeur, a pu pleinement profiter. Mais la question de Taiwan semble encore diviser les dirigeants de l'armee et ceux du parti. Car si les premiers n'hesitent pas a envisager le recours a la force, les seconds sont plutot favorables au maintien pacifique du statu quo. Et il n'est pas certain qu'en cas de crise grave, le parti ne soit oblige de s'aligner sur les positions des militaires, pour ne pas etre accuse de trahir l'interet national.

- Ji, You

Nuclear Power in the Post-Cold War Era: The Development of China's Nuclear Strategy. COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 18, no. 3, 1999, p. 245-259. The end of the Cold War has led the five nuclear powers to reconsider their nuclear strategies against a changed security environment. Although none of them has slowed down their modernization efforts, nuclear arsenals in the United States, Russia, Britain and France have been scaled down. In contrast, China has stepped up its nuclear weapons programs. This may enlarge its current weapons stock. More importantly, with technological upgrading, the Strategic Missile Force of the People's Liberation Army seems to have moved one step closer to real battle preparation. In People's Liberation Army terminology this means the Strategic Missile Force units have set up full protocols to launch missiles at designated targets, immediately after they receive orders from the Central Military Commission of the Party. This sharpening of the nuclear sword is reflected by the efforts of the Strategic Missile Force to transform itself from a 'hiding force' into a 'fighting force'. In order to achieve better readiness for action, it has revised its nuclear combat guidelines, redeployed its combat units, and quickened research and development for new missiles. This article is an attempt to analyze the new developments of the Chinese nuclear force in the post-Cold War

- Jianzhong, Gong

era.

Taiwan's Future Lies in Reunification with the Motherland. RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 3, June 1998, p. 36-39. The status of Taiwan vis-a-vis China is one that has vexed the two communities for many years. While Taiwan insists on its own autonomous identity, the international community generally recognises the Government in Beijing as that of the whole of China. But in recent years, it appears to the Government of the People's Republic of China that this consensus has been muddied. Here Gong Jianzhong sets out the Chinese perspective that Taiwan is an irrevocable part of China, historically and in the eyes of the world. While Taiwan has had strong economic development, it has also been able to take advantage of the growth of the mainland economy, without which it would not be in so strong a position. The government in Beijing desires that Taiwan should come to the negotiating table, accepting the principle of 'one China' and negotiate on an equal basis to end the years of hostility which divides the people of the mainland and Taiwan.

- Johnson-Freese, Joan
China's Manned Space Program: Sun Tzu's or Apollo Redux?
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 51-71.
http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm
Sun Tzu's adage of 'bearing down on the enemy' seems to encapsulate the current approaches of both the United States and China to their space programs. China does not have to be an enemy of the United States, but it is certainly destined to be a competitor, if the United States continues to exploit the obvious military advantages of space and China feels compelled to respond.

- Johnson-Freese, Joan 'Houston, We Have a Problem': China and the Race to Space. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 665, September 2003, p. 259-265.

http://www.swetswise.com

behaviour.

If the United States continues to exploit the obvious military advantages of space and China feels compelled to respond, a space race seems inevitable. It is inevitable because both countries recognize that space can provide advantages, or at least avoid disadvantages, regarding the other. Space may inevitably make China the third man in the fourth battlefield.

- Johnston, Alastair Iain China's Militarized Interstate Dispute Behaviour 1949-1992: A First Cut at the Data. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 153, March 1998, p. 1-30. The focus of this study is on Chinese conflict and crisis management

- Johnston, Alastair Iain China's New 'Old Thinking' : The Concept of Limited Deterrence. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 20, no. 3, Winter 1995 - 1996, p. 5-42. In the last five to ten years, Chinese military strategists have developed a concept of limited deterrence that is now used to describe what China's nuclear forces ought to be able to do. Limited deterrence rests on a limited war-fighting capability aimed at communicating China's ability to inflict costly damage on the adversary at every rung on the escalation ladder and thus denying the adversary victory in a nuclear war. It is this capability, Chinese strategists argue, that will deter such a war in the first place. Limited deterrence therefore requires the development of a greater number of tactical, theater and strategic nuclear weapons that are accurate enough to hit counterforce targets, are mobile, can be used in the earliest stages of a nuclear crisis, and in a world of THAAD are capable of penetrating ballistic missile defense systems. Thes forces would thus require effective space-based early warning, and some configuration of BMD capabilities.
- Jousse, Claudie La Chine et l' Union europeenne. POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 4, hiver 1996 - 1997, p. 867-879.
- Karmel, Solomon M.
 The Chinese Military's Hunt for Profits.
 FOREIGN POLICY, no. 107, Summer 1997, p. 102-113.
 Increases in Chinese defense spending and other concessions to the military by the country's leadership have raised fears on both sides of the Pacific of a newly aggressive China. But rather than being the prelude to any grand strategy of expansion abroad, the changes in Chinese defense economics reflect weakness at home. An emerging leadership with comparatively weak ties to the armed forces has responded to tight budgets and its own shrinking relevance by encouraging the military to go into business. The results could backfire. While the policy may enrich

some leading military families, it is likely to weaken the force's capacity and limit its ability to promote any grand strategy for the future. Ultimately, it may even backfire economically.

- Kearsley, Harold J.

An Analysis of the Military Threats Across the Taiwan Strait : Fact or Fiction.

COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 19, no. 2, April - June 2000, p. 103-116. One of the world's hot spots is the Taiwan Strait. The two powers separated by this water have been antagonists since 1949; however, the situation recently was exacerbated by suggestions that Taiwan might seek 'statehood'. China may resort to military operations against the island if Taipei declares independence. For a threat to be real, there must be both motivation and hardware to carry it out. The military threats China might employ are invasion, limited invasion, blockade, and missile strikes. Clearly, China has both long- and short-term motivators to conduct such operations. A rational analysis, however, of China's capabilities suggests it does not have the hardware to carry out the threats. Even the nuclear capability open to Beijing is not usable if rational thinking is employed. Yet short-term internal pressures may undermine Beijing's desire to pursue a rational path.

- Khoo, Nicholas

Time for Action.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 7, July 2003, p. 14-15.

North Korea's declaration on June 9 that it may have no option but to develop a nuclear deterrent is as much a challenge to Beijing as to Washington. Pyongyang's actions in the escalating crisis are disrupting the regional stability that China's security policy aims for, and its economic development requires. From the Chinese perspective, the latest episode is the continuation of a trend rather than an aberration. China's prestige is at stake, its foreign policy unnecessarily paralysed.

 Kindalov, Vladimir Limanov, Oleg

Russia and China in Central Asia: Geopolitical Changes.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 3, 2003, p. 71-76.
Recently Central Asia has found itself once more in the center of events of world importance: it has become an arena of struggle for influence that reflects the old regional problems and new global realities.
Ambitions of the new players and rivalries of the old regional powers, Russia and China in the first place, are intertwined here. It is impossible either to assess the situation or predict its further development outside a very careful analysis of the Russian and Chinese factors, their role in antiterrorist struggle, the way Beijing and Moscow perceive the threats to their security, their interests, and their Central Asian policies. The 9/11 events and the antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan aimed against al-Qa'eda and the Taliban completely changed the local situation and confronted both states with a lot of problems. Another important rival, the United States, has come to the area where both China and Russia had already had definite interests.

- Kne, Thomas M.

Dragon or Dinosaur ? Nuclear Weapons in a Modernizing China.

PARAMETERS, vol. 33, no. 4, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 98-113.

http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters

The author explores China's long-term aspirations and the role nuclear

The author explores China's long-term aspirations and the role nuclear weapons play. He concludes that the Chinese intend to use their nuclear arsenal to influence relations with potential opponents in an ever-growing variety of global situations.

- Kolko, Gabriel Privatizing Communism: Politics and Market Economics in Russia and China. WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 14, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 23-34.

- Kuijper, Hans

Een voorstel tot oplossing van 'het probleem-Taiwan'. INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 11, november 2000, p. 542-547. The author deals with the relationship between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China following the change of government in Taipei earlier this year. The question is: will Jiang Zemin and Chen Shui-bian, who are both de facto heads of state, follow in the footsteps of the North-Korean leader Kim Jong-Il and the South-Korean President Kim Dae-Jung, and start a rapprochement? Will they break the deadlock of more than half a century? The author tries to answer this question by elaborating on the ways in which Jiang Zemin's and Shui-bian's direct predecessors have dealt with this delicate matter, and concludes that a possible solution may be found in a form of (con)federalism: the Chinese Union.

- Kurlantzick, Joshua China's Dubious Role in the War on Terror. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 668, December 2003, p. 432-438. http://www.swetswise.com

Although China has made some attempts to help the United States combat terrorist groups, its contributions have been limited and overpraised, and it has manipulated the war on terror for its own means.

- Lai, David

The Specter of War and Hope for Peace : Mainland China, Taiwan, and the

STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 28, no. 3, Summer 2000, p. 35-40. Earlier this year, an openly pro-independence candidate, Chen Shui-bian, won the general election to become the new president of Taiwan. This new development gave Taiwan's undeclared drive for independence a tremendous push. At the same time, it prompted the Mainland Chinese to step up pressure for reunification. As tension continues to increase, the specter of war over Taiwan looms large. The US, as a third party in the cross-Taiwan Strait conflict, holds the key to peace in this situation. A US policy of 'no ambiguity' is absolutely essential for maintaining stability along the Taiwan Strait. With the US holding the balance, the two sides of China would have time to reduce tension, find common ground, and eventually negotiate a gradual and peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue.

- Lardy, Nicholas R. China's New Economic Scenario: The Imperative of Financial Reform. ORBIS, vol. 43, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 181-191. Creation of a modern financial system is essential if China is to achieve the central goal of its economic reform program: improving the efficiency with which capital is allocated and utilized.

- Lee, David Tawei

The Growing Need for Further Integrating Taiwan into the International Community.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 1, February 1998, p. 46-50. Asia has had to face a severe financial crisis recently and Dr. Lee here suggests that, as a result, it is time to reconsider the premises, dating from the 1980s and 1990s, on which the world deals with the Asia Pacific. These premises are now outdated and among the most unrealistic is the

current status of Taiwan in the international community. The tacit acceptance by the international community of the myth engendered by the People's Republic of China that the PRC has sovereignty over Taiwan is

the major obstacle to an upgrading of Taiwan's status. Despite fulfilling the required qualifications Taiwan remains outside the UN, WTO, IMF and all UN-affiliated organisations. Dr. Lee warns that the marginalising of the ROC destabilises the Southeast Asian region, not least because the Chinese assumption that Taiwan is a part of the PRC legitimises to some the mainland authorities use of force against Taipei in 'an internal affair' such as the Taiwan Strait issue.

L'equilibre energetique de la Chine. COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 411, aout 1996, p. 3-10. La Chine est le troisieme producteur mondial d'energie (1140 millions de tonnes equivalent-charbon en 1994) et dispose de reserves enormes et seulement partiellement exploitees. Cependant, la croissance des productions energetiques s'est ralentie ces quinze dernieres annees - avec une augmentation de moins de 10 % de 1990 a 1994 - et ne suit pas la progression de la demande qui est portee par la rapide croissance economique d'ensemble que connait le pays depuis le debut des annees quatre-vingt. Ces evolutions imposent a la Chine des efforts d'investissement soutenus, pour maintenir les rythmes de production et ameliorer l'efficacite de l'utilisation des ressources. Ils ne suffiront sans doute pas a eviter un deficit energetique au cours des prochaines annees.

- Lewis, John W.
 Di, Hua
 Litai, Xue
 Beijing's Defense Establishment: Solving the Arms-Export Enigma.
 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 15, no. 4, Spring 1991, p. 87-109.
- Lewis, John Wilson China's Ballistic Missile Program: Technologies, Strategies, Goals. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 17, no. 2, Fall 1992, p. 5-40. This articles describes the technological and strategic background of China's current programs for the modernization of its ballistic missile forces.
- Lijun, Sheng China Eyes Taiwan : Why is a Breakthrough so Difficult ? JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1998, p. 65-78. The sharp response by Beijing to Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui's US visit in 1995 reflects a fundamental change in China's perception of Taiwan's true position on the issue of reunification and consequently a major change in its Taiwan policy. Based on the latest information, and through a detailed examination of the evolution of Beijing's perceptions of Taiwan's (especially its leaders') tendency toward independence, this article demonstrates that the current tussle between Lee Teng-hui and Beijing is on reunification or not rather than on democracy or not. It also illustrates some future trends in the development of Beijing-Taipei relations, and answers why a breakthrough is so difficult. For Beijing, so long as Lee Teng-hui is in power, it will always be on guard having played into his hands and does not harbor any extravagant expectation of a dramatic breakthrough. Cross-strait talks may eventually be resumed. However, with deep distrust on both sides, they are likely to be a marathon. No deal will be done soon.

- Lijun, Sheng
Peace over the Taiwan Strait ?
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 33, no. 1, March 2002, p. 93-106.
http://www.swetswise.com

A war across the Taiwan Strait is neither inevitable nor imminent, and is less likely in the future since China believes that it has time on its side. This Chinese confidence is enhanced by Taiwan's current political and economic deterioration. For China, the decision not to use force is based on assessments and strategies discussed in this article, as well as on its unswerving commitment to economic modernization, at home and its determination not to fall into what it suspects, rightly or wrongly, as being an international conspiracy to see China and Taiwan exhaust each other through war. China's military modernization, therefore, is aimed less at occupying Taiwan than at deterring its creeping independence and enhancing China's own future international status. The only thing that might disrupt this process would be a wave of political and economic chaos. Such a crisis, however, is not currently within sight.

- Ma, Ying-jeou
 Taipei-Beijing Relations and East Asian Stability: Implications for Europe.

 NATO REVIEW, vol. 41, no. 2, April 1993, p. 29-33.
- Malik, J. Mohan China's Policy Towards Nuclear Arms Control in the Post-Cold War Era. CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 16, no. 2, August 1995, p. 1-43.
- Malik, Mohan
 The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict.
 PARAMETERS, vol. 33, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 35-50.
 http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters
 The author assesses the regional implications of the recent
 Indian-Pakistan crisis on China's sphere of influence. He examines the
 religious, historical, and political roots of the India-Pakistan
 relationship to document Peking's growing involvement. He adroitly
 concludes that a certain degree of tension in Kashmir and Pakistan's
 ability to tie down Indian armed forces on the western frontiers are seen
 as enhancing China's sense of security. The author surmises that only
 time will tell whether the current war on terrorism will lead to another
 war, a clash of civilizations, or a nuclear jihad in South Asia. Either
 way, he predicts the next India-Pakistan war holds the potential for
 drawing the United States and China into a conflict neither desires.
- Manning, Robert A.
 Burdens of the Past, Dilemmas of the Future: Sino-Japanese Relations in the Emerging International System.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 17, no. 1, Winter 1994, p. 45-58.
- Manning, Robert A.
 Washington-Pekin-Taipei: le triangle de verre.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 88, ete 2000, p. 325-343.
 The independence candidate Chen Shui-bian has been elected to the
 Taiwanese presidency in a climate of high tension orchestrated by
 Beijing. This new development shed light on the dangers of a major
 conflict in East Asia, which could set China and the US both nuclear
 powers on collision paths. Bolstered by its remarkable economic success
 and a successful democratization, the nationalist outpost now aspires to
 international recognition, flying in the face of the official doctrine
 which has held sway on the mainland for the past fifty years. For
 Beijing, there is only one China and Taiwan remains a Chinese province.
 But mainland threats should not necessarily lead us to fear the worst.
 The Chinese Army has neither the human nor the military resources to

invade Taiwan, or at least not for another decade. Taiwanese leaders should capitalize on this ten-years 'window of opportunity' to engage constructive dialogue with their mainland counterparts.

- Martel, William C. Yoshihara, Toshi Averting a Sino-U.S. Space Race. WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 19-35. http://www.swetswise.com

The United States and China are on the threshold of a space race that could radically influence international security, yet the incentives to cooperate remain woefully limited. Given the stakes involved, both sides should seek to avert, or at least to manage, this looming competition.

- Mastel, Greg
China, Taiwan, and the World Trade Organization.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 45-56.
http://www.swetswise.com

Commercial ties have been the exception to the pessimistic forecast for cross-straight relations. Mutual WTO membership, expected in the near future, will likely force changes in the relationship between Taipei and Beijing that diplomacy cannot achieve.

- Menotti, Roberto
 European-Chinese Relations in the Nineties.
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 30, no. 4, October December 1995, p. 71-85.
- Metzger, Thomas A.
 Myers, Ramon H.
 Chinese Nationalism and American Policy.
 ORBIS, vol. 42, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 21-36.
- Miles, James Chinese Nationalism, US Policy and Asian Security. SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 51-68. http://www.swetswise.com

The eruption of nationalist demonstrations in China after the May 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade suggested a changing relationship between government and ordinary citizens that could have long-term implications for the conduct of the country's foreign and security policies. Confronted by enormous public anger over the NATO attack, the Chinese government felt it had no choice but to risk its foreign policy goals by allowing demonstrators to assault Western diplomatic missions. As Communist Party control over the behaviour of Chinese citizens weakens - a result of quickening economic reforms - there is a growing danger that the leadership's efforts to prevent aggressive nationalist sentiment from affecting policy will be undermined.

- Mirsky, Jonathan Democratic Prospects: China and Taiwan. RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 3, June 2001, p. 69-72. - Moller, Kay
Zwischen Abschreckung und strategischer Offensive: die
Nuklearstrategie der Volksrepublik China.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 1996, S. 37-42.
Chinas Einhaltung einschlagiger Konventionen und die jungste Mitwirkung an neuen Abrustungsvertragen mussen mit Vorbehalt betrachtet werden.
Vielmehr bewegt sich die Volksrepublik in einer Grauzone, um sich den USA als Partner empfehlen zu konnen.

- Mora, Frank O.

A Comparative Study of Civil-Military Relations in Cuba and China : The Effects of Bingshang.

ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 28, no. 2, Winter 2002, p. 185-209. http://www.ingentaselect.com

This article attempts to fill a methodological and analytical void in the study of civil-military relations in Cuba. Specifically, it examines the impact of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR)'s growing role in the economy on civilian/party control. The case of China and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) offers an interesting comparison because of the breadth and depth of economic reforms and military participation in the economy. The PLA's involvement in profit-making activities has had an eroding effect on professionalism, preparedness, and civilian/party control. Cuba has so far contained the dangers of bingshang (soldiers in business) by limiting and closely monitoring the military's role in the country's vacillating economic reforms. The comparison also demonstrates the importance of the generation of leadership attempting to readjust patterns of civil-military relations.

- Morphet, Sally

China as a Permanent Member of the Security Council: October 1971-December 1999.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 2, June 2000, p. 151-166.

http://www.swetswise.com

This looks at the four phases in which China has acted as one of the five Permanent Members (P-5) of the UN Security Council (UNSC) since it succeeded Taiwan in October 1971. Between November 1971 and the end of 1981, China learned its role, balancing its own interests with those of the Third World and the other P-5. During 1982-85 it became more at ease with this, and between 1986 and July 1990 worked more closely with the other P-5 as it adjusted to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. In the last phase, it has had to work out its strategies with the USA as the dominant power and the other P-5, especially in relation to policies of humanitarian intervention and the use of force. Two tables illustrate UNSC voting records with special reference to China's tactics of non-participation and abstention. China has used its votes sensibly and with caution.

- Murawiec, Laurent

Chine : la guerre en face.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 88, ete 2000, p. 361-376. The increasingly strident tone of Beijing's declarations during the Taiwanese presidential elections should surprise no one. For the past 2,000 years, China has been gradually expanding its influence. The imperialist ideology which the communist regime adopted after 1949 inspires a desire for hegemony of which Taiwan might well be the next victim. Faced with economic pressures and the growing risk of a social explosion, Beijing has relentlessly pursued nationalist and xenophobic policies, including a massive military build-up. This constitutes a very clear threat to which the West and in particular the US have not responded with the firmness required. It is nonetheless essential to check the expansionism of this regime if the foundations for fruitful coexistence with China are to be set in place.

- Murray, William S.
 Antonellis, Robert
 China's Space Program : The Dragon Eyes the Moon (and Us).
 ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 4, Fall 2003, p. 645-652.
- Nathan, Andrew
 China: Getting Human Rights Right.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 2, Spring 1997, p. 135-151.
- Nathan, Andrew J. Human Rights in Chinese Foreign Policy. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 139, September 1994, p. 622-643.

- Niquet, Valerie

- La question energetique en Chine. REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 29, printemps 1998, p. 164-175. En 1979, apres des decennies de stagnation et de sous-developpement, Deng Xiaoping lancait une ambitieuse politique de reformes economiques et d'ouverture qui a rencontre un succes fulgurant. Depuis 1980, la consommation d'energie en Chine a augmente de plus de 5 % par an et, pour simplement maintenir le taux de croissance actuel, l'augmentation de la production d'energie ne devrait pas etre inferieure a 4 % par an. La poursuite de l'industrialisation, le developpement des transports, qui n'absorbent aujourd'hui que 7 % de la consommation energetique, les projets d'electrification de l'ensemble des campagnes chinoises, alors que plus de 20 % de la population n'est pas reliee a un reseau electrique, ne pourront que tirer la consommation d'energie vers le haut. Le mythe de l'autosuffisance, caracteristique de l'epoque maoiste, a desormais disparu. En s'ouvrant au monde exterieur, la Chine, y compris en termes d'approvisionnement energetique, glisse progressivement dans une situation de dependance qu'elle n'avait jamais connue.
- Niquet, Valerie Le Vietnam face au monde chinois. DEFENSE NATIONALE, 50e annee, janvier 1994, p. 131-144.
- Nolan, Peter Democratization, Human Rights and Economic Reform: The Case of China and Russia. DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1994, p. 73-99. This article analyses the dramatic contrast in outcomes from the reform process in China and Russia. This experience sheds new light on the old debate about the relationship between political institutions, economic progress and human rights. It examines the political setting within which the economic reforms were enacted in China and Russia. It argues that in large reforming communist countries democratization of politics may damage economic performance and hence, have a deleterious effect upon a range of human rights other than the right to vote in elections. In such countries the link between political democratization and human welfare seems to have been inverse.
- O'Hanlon, Michael
 Why China Cannot Conquer Taiwan ?
 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 25, no. 2, Fall 2000, p. 51-86.
 http://www.swetswise.com

- Okhotnikiv, Sergei
China and Central Asia after the Beginning of the Antiterrorist
Operation in Afghanistan.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2002, p. 19-29.
For the last twelve months the situation in Central Asia as seen from
Beijing changed considerably. China can no longer carry on its
traditional strategic course: 'even if the situation in the East is
tense, everything is calm in the West'. Its rear has become the second
frontline, which forced China to seek new ways of ensuring its security
and promoting its interests. One can expect more active foreign policy
measures, and diplomatic steps very much different from Beijing's foreign
policy of the past. One thing is absolutely clear: China will continue
to do its best to play an important role in Central Asian developments by
opposing the increasing influence of 'players' from other regions. From

the point of view of Russia the new balance of forces in Central Asia and

- Opitz, Peter J. Changing Alliances: Chinese and Soviet Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula. AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 41, no. 3, 1990, p. 247-257.

the Chinese political line which is corrected to fit the changing realities offer obvious advantages. The most important of them is Beijing's interest in close cooperation with Moscow on the bilateral basis and within the SOC, which will survive in the foreseeable future.

- Owen, John M.

Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism : China and the Diaoyu Islands.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 23, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 114-116. The authors begin by exploring the meaning of legitimacy, nationalism, and economic performance in the Chinese context. They then seek to explain how domestic legitimacy concerns and relative power constraints influence China's foreign policy choices. Next they examine how Chinese leaders responded when right wing Japanese groups reasserted claims to the Diaoyu Islands in 1990 and 1996. By choosing two similar cases separated over time, they can assess the impact of rising nationalism and improvements in China's relative power position while holding other variables constant. They then consider whether this pattern of restrained behavior is likely to apply to the cases of Taiwan and the Spratly Islands and assess the future effectiveness of the CCP's legitimation strategies.

- Pakulski, Jan He, Baogang

National Integrity, Elites and Democracy: Russia and China Compared. JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 2, June 1999, p. 69-87.

Russia faces problems of democratic consolidation, that is, strengthening the democratic institutions and practices that have already been introduced. China faces the prospect of democratic transition and 'creeping democratization'. Both processes are dependent on the same set of factors and conditions. The prospects of securing democracy in Russia and initiating democratic transition in China depend, first, on the solution of national boundary and identity problems; second, on the control of ethno-national fissions; and third, on elites in both countries achieving a consensus that will facilitate the effective management of conflicts and reforms. While the political developments in Russia illustrate the 'paradox of democratization', whereby initial democratic reforms encourage ethnic separatism and trigger an anti-democratic backlash, the Chinese developments illustrate the 'paradox of partocracy'. Elite unification in China has paved the way for economic reforms essential to the communist elite's security and credibility. These very reforms, however, undermine the partocratic regimes by speeding up elite differentiation, eroding ideological unity

and encouraging consensus seeking, thereby paving the way for 'creeping ${\tt democratization'}$.

- Paltiel, Jeremy T.
PLA Allegiance on Parade: Civil-Military Relations in Transition.
CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 143, September 1995, p. 784-800.

- Pei, Minxin

Is China Democratizing? FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 1, January - February 1998, p. 68-82. Critics of the Clinton administration's engagement policy toward China are largely unaware of the last two decades' profound political changes in the Middle Kingdom. Deng Xiaoping received his due for his economic reforms, but not for the kinder, gentler politics that helped reduce elite backstabbing, broaden the backgrounds and outlook of government officials, strengthen the legislature, and improve the legal system. But even if the pace picks up, Washington should not expect a rapid expansion of democratic participation.

- Pollack, Jonathan D.
The Sino-Japanese Relationship and East Asian Security: Patterns and Implications.
CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 124, December 1990, p. 714-729.

- Rashid, Ahmed

Ein neuer globaler Olmulti: Chinas strategische Rolle in Zentralasien. INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 3, Marz 1998, S. 29-36. Asien wird im kommenden Jahrhundert den am starksten wachsenden Bedarf an Ol und Gas besitzen. China, derzeit sechstgrosster Olproduzent der Welt, wird eine Hauptkomponente dieses Bedarfs sein. Der 'Hauptakteur im neuen Great Game Zentralasiens' baut seine potentiellen Olreserven in einem Tempo auf, das von keinem anderen asiatischen Land ubertroffen wird.

- Rethinaraj, T. S. Gopi China's Energy and Regional Security Perspectives. DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 19, no. 4, December 2003, p. 377-388

http://www.ingentaselect.com

This article addresses the following issues: China's indigenous energy resources and its demand-supply profile; initiatives taken by China to address its current and potential future energy problems; implications of Chinese energy security strategies for international security; and China's relationship with the United States and other neighboring countries in the context of energy and regional security.

- Roberts, Brad
Manning, Robert A.
Montaperto, Ronald N.
China: The Forgotten Nuclear Power.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 4, July - August 2000, p. 53-63.
Washington is leaving a crucial piece out of the nuclear puzzle. It will be China, not Russia or any rogue, whose nuclear policy will concern America most in the years ahead. The People's Republic has started to modernize its arsenal, and Western actions will help determine just what form China's force ultimately takes. Before rushing to deploy missile defenses, Washington should consider whether they would solve a problem or create one.

- Ross, Robert S.

The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 25, no. 2, Fall 2000, p. 87-123.

http://www.swetswise.com

Many scholars have argued that China's use of force in 1996 coerced the Clinton administration into reversing the trend toward improving US-Taiwan relations and into opposing Taiwan independence. They also have argued that the US needs to adopt a stronger posture against Chinese policy toward Taiwan. This article challenges these views. It argues that both China and the US achieved their strategic objectives as a result of the confrontation.

- Russell, Richard L.
What if...'China Attacks Taiwan !'.
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 76-91.
http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters
The author takes a hypothetical view of the future relationship between China and Taiwan to ask, What if China attacks Taiwan? The author examines those issues and actions that might 'cross China's political re

China and Taiwan to ask, What if China attacks Taiwan? The author examines those issues and actions that might 'cross China's political red line,' and precipitate such an attack. He concludes that to simply sit back and assume that the status quo will continue in perpetuity is not prudent statecraft on America's part.

- Scobell, Andrew

China and North Korea: The Close but Uncomfortable Relationship. CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 656, September 2002, p. 278-283. http://www.swetswise.com

Many in Beijing would like to see the Pyongyang regime survive indefinitely, and the Chinese are doing what they can to prop it up. But China would also like to see gradual (not dramatic) change in North Korea. It hopes to nurture the emergence of a reform-minded North Korea. How realistic this goal is and how far Beijing is willing to pursue it remain unclear.

- Scobell, Andrew

China and North Korea: The Limits of Influence.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 665, September 2003, p. 274-278.
http://www.swetswise.com

The Bush administration should recognize that on North Korea, only limited support will be forthcoming from Beijing. The best Washington can expect is a China actively pressing the United States and North Korea to talk and willing to host or participate in further meetings. But this presumes that both Pyongyang and Washington are ready to sit down in the first place.

- Scobell, Andrew

Taiwan as Macedonia ? : Strait Tensions as a Syndrome. STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 21, no. 2, 1998, p. 181-216. In June 1995 a private visit to the United States by Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui generated a wave of acrimonious rhetoric and bellicose activity by China. Tensions in the Taiwan Strait, which by the early 1990s appeared to be at a four-decade low, suddenly escalated. In mid 1995 and early 1996 China conducted missile tests in the waters around Taiwan and conducted large scale military exercises off the Chinese coast in the vicinity of the island. But just as suddenly as tensions had heightened, they dissipated following the conclusion of Taiwan's first-ever direct presidential election in March 1996. China acknowledged the result, the reelection of President Lee, and urged Taipei to resume a dialogue with Beijing. The recent confrontation between China and Taiwan is one that is not easily explained or predicted. This article contends that the recent China-Taiwan tensions can best be explained by factoring in ethnicity and irredentism.

- Segal, Gerald China: Arms Transfer Policies and Practices. CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 15, no. 2, August 1994, Special Issue, p. 156-173.
- Self, Benjamin China and Japan: A Facade of Friendship. WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 77-88 http://www.swetswise.com Continuing to rely on the friendship diplomacy framework is more likely to hurt the relationship between China and Japan. By easing the frustration of faking a friendship and focusing on more realistic common interests, sound ties would become possible.
- Seymour, James D.
 Human Rights, Repression, and 'Stability'.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 629, September 1999, p. 281-285.
 http://www.currenthistory.com
 A broad survey of China's human rights practices finds, unsurprisingly, that the government's rhetoric about human rights is not matched by its actions. 'Stability' still reigns over personal freedoms.
- Shambaugh, David
 China and the Korean Peninsula: Playing for the Long Term.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 43-56.
 http://www.swetswise.com
 Halting North Korea's nuclear program is not the ultimate end that China hopes to achieve. China's calculations, interests, and goals are more long term and complicated, comprising a hierarchy of these six objectives.
- Shichor, Yitzhak China and the Gulf Crisis. PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, vol. 40, no. 6, November - December 1991, p. 80-90.
- Shihmin, Chen

La dissuasion nucleaire et les rapports sino-japonais : l' interaction entre une puissance nucleaire et une puissance non-nucleaire en Asie de l' Est.

ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 28, no. 4, decembre 1997, p. 685-707. Since the end of the 1950s, the Japanese nuclear policy has consisted in keeping the legal option open for the development of the 'defensive' nuclear weapons and maintaining a nuclear potential. The motivation of this 'open nuclear option' of Japan would be mainly the development of the nuclear force of China. The US retreat of all the ground-launched and submarine-launched tactical nuclear weapons in 1991 implied the end of the age of dependence on tactical nuclear weapons for 'war-fighting' in Asia. The conventional deterrence would already be sufficient for maintaining the stability of the East Asia. The mission of the extended nuclear deterrence of the United States could be reduced to its vital role for countering only the nuclear attack of another country, not for any conventional attack. The controversies about the 'antimissile defense' have influenced the security relationship between China and Japan. The important strategic significance of the antimissile defense for Beijing would be that a strategy of the first strike against China would be easier to consider. A theater missile defense in Japan would be less challenging for China and would be useful against the threat of missiles from North Korea. Nonetheless, a strategic missile defense could have a destabilizing impact on Sino-Japanese security relations. The Japanese nuclear policy would be a kind of 'recessive deterrence' which operates by the potential and the possibility of developing nuclear

weapons. The nuclear crisis in Korea provides a chance to observe the working dynamic of this deterrence. Owing to the worry about the nuclear proliferation of Japan, Tokyo finds it appropriate to ask Beijing to prevent the nuclear development of North Korea and to maintain the credibility of the extended deterrence of the United States.

- Stanzel, Volker
The Reshaping of Socialism in China.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 45, no. 4, 1994, p. 364-373.

- Storey, Ian James

Living with the Colossus : How Southeast Asian Countries Cope with China.

PARAMETERS, vol. 24, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 111-125. This article examines how the 10 members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which includes some of America's closest allies in Asia, plan to cope with the rise of China, and how many of them look to the United States to balance the growing military power of the PRC.

- Sun, John

Challenges and Opportunities in the Taiwan Strait : A Potential Common Ground to Peace.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 11-15.

- Tompkins, Joanne

How US Strategic Policy Is Changing China's Nuclear Plans. ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 33, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 11-15. http://www.armscontrol.org

Changes in the global security environment could significantly alter the scope and direction of China's nuclear efforts, and developments in 2002 caught the attention of Chinese experts.

- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf

China-Taiwan: US Debates and Policy Choices. SURVIVAL, vol. 40, no. 4, Winter 1998 - 1999, p. 150-167.

http://www.swetswise.com

Confrontation between China and Taiwan comprises the single most dangerous dispute for the US in the world today. Although the Taiwan Strait is peaceful again, and relations appear to be improving between Washington and Beijing as well as between Beijing and Taipei, all the problems that prompted the 1996 confrontation persist. For China, the aim is simple: to prevent Taiwan's independence and all policies that promote it. For Taiwan, the question is more complicated, involving efforts to increase its international status, preserve its prosperity and nurture its fledgling democracy. For the US, relations between China and Taiwan pose a dilemma that reaches to the heart of its Asian posture. While US policy should be cautious and even-handed, Washington should not assume that unification is the only possible future.

- Wachman, Alan M.

A Cold War of Words ?

ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 695-711.

Alan Wachman provides an important overview of cross-Strait relations characterized by what he calls a 'cold war of words' centering on the PRC's policy of 'one country, two systems' and on Taiwan's 'creeping independence'. The author painstakingly describes the impasse, a state of affaires in which no negotiations or actions seem possible.

- Wallerstein, Mitchel B.
 China and Proliferation: A Path Not Taken?
 SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 58-66.
 China increasingly faces a critical choice regarding its policy and behaviour concerning the proliferation of technologies associated with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and missile-delivery systems.
 Down one policy path lies improved political and economic relations with the US and other world powers. Down the other lies increased Chinese political isolation and possible economic sanctions. China and the US have been in dispute on these issues for many years without much evidence of progress. China must now choose between accepting the burdens and responsibilities of helping to maintain world peace and regional stability associated with great-power status, or continuing to pursue short-term economic gain and other national interests.
- Wan, Ming Chinese Opinion on Human Rights. ORBIS, vol. 42, no. 3, Summer 1998, p. 361-374.
- Wanandi, Jusuf
 ASEAN's China Strategy: Towards a Deeper Engagement.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 117-128.
 Relations between China and South-east Asia are improving. The improvement is mainly due to China's willingness to listen to ASEAN's worries about overlapping claims on the South China Sea and to the increased transparency of Chinese defence policies, including the defence budget. But some difficulties between the two remain. Observers in ASEAN are unsure whether or not China will become a status-quo-oriented country and will abide by international and regional norms. The region must be patient with China, however, and give it the chance to participate fully in regional institutions such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, as well as the ARF and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia Pacific.
- Weatherley, Robert The Evolution of Chinese Thinking on Human Rights in the Post-Mao Era. JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 17, no. 2, June 2001, p. 19-42. In the post-Mao era, the evolution of an orthodox Chinese line on human rights has taken place. The past decade or so has seen a considerable increase in Chinese academic literature on the subject. In an effort to fortify the government position and thereby silence its numerous foreign critics, Beijing has carefully expanded the boundaries of legitimate debate to encompass scholarly discussion of this notoriously sensitive area. Although most Chinese academics have duly endorsed and in many areas elaborated upon the government stance on rights, a handful of scholars have published ideas that are indifferent and even hostile to the official approach. This bears testimony both to the changes in official policy, and to the influence in shaping a new, more subtle and complex official line on human rights.
- Weng, Byron S.
 'One Country, Two Systems' From a Taiwan Perspective.
 ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 713-731.
 Byron Weng examines cross-Strait relations from his vantage point in Taiwan. Like Macao and Hong Kong, Taiwan is being offered the status of a Special Autonomous Region, and so Weng looks to Hong Kong and Macao, according to SAR status in the late nineties, to evaluate the prospect. Hong Kong remains a great place to do business. In practice, China has avoided meddling except in the political sphere. Weng is sceptical that SAR status would suit Taiwan's particular situation, impressed by the unavoidable fact that SAR status does mean full Chinese sovereignty and the ultimate right to interpret all bargains that define Taiwan's status.

In assessing the obstacles, Weng does not rule out reunification in the future, though he is impressed with the difficulties and the hazards of unification from the Taiwanese perspective.

- Whiting, Allen S. Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy after Deng. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 142, June 1995, p. 295-316. Might a beleaguered post-Deng leadership seek to strengthen its legitimacy through exploitation of Chinese nationalism and if so, how would this manifest itself in foreign relations?
- Whiting, Allen S.
 Jianfei, Xin
 Sino-Japanese Relations.
 WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1990 1991, p. 107-135.
- Wiemers, Serv Internet en democratisering in China. INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 10, oktober 2002, p. 471-474. The author examines the development of Internet and its role in democratisation in China. The recent explosion of the use of Internet by Chinese citizens is unprecedented, but it is questionable whether Internet can fulfill its role of bringing openness and democracy to the People's Republic. The Chinese government is doing the splits. On the one hand it stimulates the spread of Internet to reach the next phase of economic growth. On the other hand the government fears to let in the Trojan Horse. Therefore Internet contents and use are strictly monitored. Nevertheless the author holds that Internet in China functions as a way to gather more impartial information than through traditional media and that Internet bulletin boards provide a, previously non-existent, forum to discuss issues of common concern. In this way, Internet takes the role of a rudimentary civil society. Although real democracy is still far away, Internet is the strongest engine for democracy the Chinese citizens have at hand.
- Wood, Piers M.
 Ferguson, Charles D.
 How China Might Invade Taiwan.
 NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 54, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 55-68.
 http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm
 A determined China could launch an invasion sooner than the five, ten, or twenty years that some have projected, though it would be unlikely to succeed if it made the attempt today. A phased, stepping-stone invasion would force Taiwan to decide whether to absorb casualties fighting in preliminary invasions or to conserve resources for a final stand on the main island.
- Xiang, Lanxin
 An EU Common Strategy for China?
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 3, July September 2001, p. 89-99.
 The author develops an number of arguments in favour of the adoption by the EU of a common strategy towards China. He suggests that this would provide Sino-European relations with a more solid foundation.
- Yahuda, Michael The Foreign Relations of Greater China. CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 136, December 1993, p. 687-710.

- Yahuda, Michael

Taipei-Beijing Negotiations : the Battle for Political Ascendancy in

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 3, June 2001, p. 73-77.

- Yu, Peter Kien-Hong

The Dialectical Relationship of the Chinese Communist Party and the PLA.

DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 16, no. 2, August 2000, p. 203-217. http://www.ingentaselect.com

In recent months, a number of crises have captured attention, among them the conflict in Chechnya, NATO operations in Kosovo and the bitter civil war raging in Central Africa. In March however, the issue of the future of Taiwan resurfaced with the publication of the Chinese White Paper on Reunification with Taiwan. Whether this is mere rhetoric to coincide with Taiwan's elections, or a signal that China is becoming more hawkish over the future of Taiwan, remains to be seen. What it does warrant, however, is a re-examination of the power relationship between the PLA and the Chinese political leadership, one that many believe is moving more in the former's favour. There are grounds for concern in the West, not to mention Taiwan itself; the more so as China and the Russian Federation appear to be moving closer to one another. This article on the dialectical relationship between the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of China is therefore extremely relevant. The author analyzes the philosophical underpinning of the Maoist framework of the 'Party controlling the Army' and the methods that have, in the past, ensured that this has been the case. Whether or not the framework can survive, the information age and the penetration of the Chinese economy by external commercial values still have to be determined, though it could prompt a situation whereby the Army is tempted to assume the political initiative.

- Yuan, Jing-Dong

Culture Matters : Chinese Approaches to Arms Control and Disarmament. CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 19, no. 1, April 1998, p. 85-128. This piece examines the strategic cultural dimensions of contemporary Chinese security policy and the specific approaches to non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament issues. It seeks to demonstrate how Chinese perceptions of threats and security have over the millenniums been influenced by two distinct yet closely related strategic cultural paradigms : the Confucian-Mencian belief in morality and non-violence, and the parabellum, realpolitik emphasis on the use of force. These general perspectives provide the broader context within which specific strategies, tactics, and negotiating styles inform and shape both the contours and content of Chinese NACD policies. It is argued that the way in which China's national security interests are conceptualized, defined, and constructed has been influenced by its unique cultural/historical experiences (Sino-centrism and recent humiliation). This may explain the post-Cold War Chinese realpolitik thinking and much of the rationale behind its arms control and disarmament policies.

- Zhang, Ming

The New Mission of the Chinese Communist Party: A Revisit to Communist International Relations.

JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 13, no. 4, December 1997, p. 79-98.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) plays a secondary role in supporting China's national goals and interests. The communist ideology no longer dominates Chinese political behaviour and foreign policy; nationalism and national interests are the main determinants of China's foreign relations with other communist states. More important, it is evident that the CCP plays a secondary role in foreign relations with North Korea and Vietnam in three dimensions: political, economic and military. In all three aspects, the CCP supported but did not dominate Chinese foreign behaviour

: communist ideology always played a role secondary to national interests.

- Zhang, Yongjin

China and UN Peacekeeping: From Condemnation to Participation. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 1-15. China's position on UN peacekeeping has seen fundamental changes in the last 45 years. Bitter condemnation in the 1950s and the 1960s has evolved into active participation in the 1980s and the 1990s. This article examines the process of evolution and its limitations. It argues that China has eventually opted to accept peacekeeping as a function of the universal values inherent in the UN. China's acceptance of such values best illustrates its perception of the contemporary international order and its responsibility for that order. Such acceptance contributes to the emergence of what the UN Secretary-General observed as the 'greater unity' and 'collegiality' of the permanent Security Council members, which is an indispensable condition that gives a better chance for international peace and security in the post-Cold War era.

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