

## Notes |

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3. International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1997–98* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998), p. 178.

4. Norris, Burrows, and Fieldhouse, 1994, pp. 365–368.

5. Rodney W. Jones and Mark G. McDonough, *Tracking Nuclear Proliferation: A Guide in Maps and Charts, 1998* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1998), p. 63.

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7. Avery Goldstein, “Great Expectations: Interpreting China’s Arrival,” *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 3, Winter 1997/98, p. 49.

8. Liu Hongji and Luo Haiyi, eds., *Guofang Lilun* (National Defense Theory) (Beijing: National Defense University Press, 1996).

9. Alastair Iain Johnston, “China’s New ‘Old Thinking’: The Concept of Limited Deterrence,” *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 3, Winter 1995/96, pp. 5–42; Hongxun Hua, “China’s Strategic Missile Programs: Limited Aims, Not ‘Limited Deterrence,’” *Nonproliferation Review*, Winter 1998, pp. 60–68.

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11. The concept referred to missiles capable of reaching a range of at least 300 kilometers (190 miles) with a payload of at least 500 kilograms.

12. Based on data compiled by the East Asia Nonproliferation Project, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies (Monterey, Calif., November 1997).

13. See database published on the Internet website of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies ([www.cns.miiis.edu](http://www.cns.miiis.edu)).

14. “The Issue of Nuclear Weapons,” *China’s National Defense* (Information Office of the State Council, People’s Republic of China), as published on the Internet website of the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the United States ([www.china-embassy.org/Cgi-Bin/Press.pl?wparms](http://www.china-embassy.org/Cgi-Bin/Press.pl?wparms)), July 1998.

15. Information Office of the State Council, People’s Republic of China, Internet website of the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the United States. (A negative security guarantee is a pledge made by nuclear-weapon powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon countries; a positive security guarantee is a promise by nuclear countries to provide active assistance to non-nuclear-weapon states if they are subject to aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.)

16. *Ibid.*

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19. Rodney W. Jones, “India,” in Jozef Goldbalt, ed., *Non-Proliferation: The Why and the Wherefore* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), pp. 101–123.

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paper (Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, 1998), pp. 201–204.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.

23. Raju G. C. Thomas, *South Asian Security in the 1990s* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Adelphi Paper* 278, July 1993), pp. 64, 70.

24. J. Mohan Malik, “China-India Relations in the Post-Soviet Era: The Continuing Rivalry,” *China Quarterly*, June 1995, p. 322.

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26. Krishnaswami Sundarji, “Proliferation of WMD and the Security Dimensions in South Asia: An Indian View,” in Stuart E. Johnson and William H. Lewis, eds., *Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Perspectives on Counterproliferation* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1995), p. 58.

27. *India Today*, May 18, 1998, p. 22.

28. *South China Morning Post*, Internet edition, May 4, 1998.

29. *India Today*, May 18, 1998, pp. 18, 22.

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32. *The Hindu*, Internet edition, May 15, 1998; *India Today*, May 18, 1998, p. 20.

33. *India Today*, May 18, 1998, p. 23.

34. *India Today*, May 18, 1998, p. 24.

35. Raj Chengappa and Manoj Joshi, “Hawkish India,” *India Today*, June 1, 1998, p. 30.

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38. M. G. Chitkara, *Toxic Tibet Under Nuclear China* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1996), p. 112.

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48. Barbara Crossette, "India Vetoes Pact to Forbid Testing of Nuclear Arms," *New York Times*, Internet edition, August 21, 1996.

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Dimon Liu, eds., *Chinese Military Modernization* (Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1996), p. 235.

53. FBIS-CHI-97-159 *Daily Report*, June 10, 1997.

54. Personal interviews, Washington and Beijing, July 1996 and October 1998.

55. Michael Swaine, *The Role of the Chinese Military in National Security Policymaking* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1996), pp. 69–70.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

57. FBIS-CHI-98-132 *Daily Report*, May 13, 1998.

58. FBIS-CHI-98-132 *Daily Report*, May 13, 1998.

59. FBIS-CHI-98-133 *Daily Report*, May 15, 1998.

60. FBIS-CHI-98-141 *Daily Report*, May 23, 1998.

61. *South China Morning Post*, June 2, 1998; *Hong Kong Standard*, June 3, 1998.

62. FBIS-CHI-98-154 *Daily Report*, June 4, 1998.

63. FBIS-CHI-98-187 *Daily Report*, July 7, 1998.

64. FBIS-CHI-98-190 *Daily Report*, July 10, 1998.

65. FBIS-CHI-98-191 *Daily Report*, July 13, 1998.

66. FBIS-CHI-98-142 *Daily Report*, May 26, 1998.

67. FBIS-CHI-98-209 *Daily Report*, July 29, 1998.

68. FBIS-CHI-98-155 *Daily Report*, June 5, 1998.

69. FBIS-CHI-98-156 *Daily Report*, June 8, 1998.

70. FBIS-CHI-98-206 *Daily Report*, July 28, 1998.

71. FBIS-CHI-98-191 *Daily Report*, July 13, 1998.

72. FBIS-CHI-98-207 *Daily Report*, July 28, 1998.

73. FBIS-CHI-98-220 *Daily Report*, August 11, 1998.

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76. Liu Yang and Guo Feng, "What Is the Intention of Wantonly Engaging in Military Ventures—India's Military Development Should Be Watched Out For," *Liberation Army Daily*, May 19, 1998, p. 5; FBIS-CHI-98-141 *Daily Report*, May 23, 1998.

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78. "Interview with Yang Haisheng," *Liberation Army Daily*, May 25, 1998, p. 5; FBIS-CHI-98-152 *Daily Report*, June 2, 1998.

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80. *The Hindu*, Internet edition, June 18, 1998.
81. *Washington Times*, Internet edition, May 18, 1998.
82. John Ward Anderson and Kamran Khan, "Pakistan Sets Off Nuclear Blasts," *Washington Post*, May 29, 1998, p. A1.
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100. *Ibid.*

101. *FBIS-CHI-98-243 Daily Report*, September 1, 1998.

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104. Bill Gertz, "China Conducted Missile Test During Clinton Visit," *Washington Times*, Internet edition, July 22, 1998.

105. Jones and McDonough, 1998, pp. 55, 63.

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107. Jones and McDonough, 1998, pp. 55-64.

108. Patrick J. Garrity, "Nuclear Weapons and Asia-Pacific Security: Issues, Trends, and Uncertainties," *National Security Studies Quarterly*, vol. IV, issue 1, Winter 1998, p. 46.

109. *FBIS-CHI-98-110 Daily Report*, April 21, 1998.

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111. *FBIS-CHI-98-102 Daily Report*, April 15, 1998.

112. *FBIS-CHI-98-176 Daily Report*, June 26, 1998.

113. PLA officers and analysts openly discuss issues such as the revolution in military affairs, information warfare, the security environment, and military theory in *Liberation Army Daily*, *China National Defense Daily*, and other professional journals.

114. *China's National Defense* (Information Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China, on website [www.china-embassy.org/Cgi-Bin/Press.pl?wparms](http://www.china-embassy.org/Cgi-Bin/Press.pl?wparms)). It should be pointed out that the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party still has the final say on all major security policies.

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117. *FBIS-CHI-98-114 Daily Report*, April 28, 1998.

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134. *FBIS-NES-98-225 Daily Report*, August 14, 1998.
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all nuclear-capable and would be useful in a border war with India. See Norris, Burrows, and Fieldhouse, 1994, pp. 370–371.

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145. *Executive Summary of the Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States*, as published on the Internet website of the U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services ([www.house.gov/hasc/testimony/105thcongress/BMThreat.htm](http://www.house.gov/hasc/testimony/105thcongress/BMThreat.htm)), July 15, 1998.

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