BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Burchill, Scott, and Jack Donnelly. "Realism." Essay. In *Theories of International Relations*, 5th ed., 34. Johanneshov: MTM, 2014.
- Hudson, Valerie M, and Tim Dunne. "The History and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis." Essay. In *Foreign Policy: Theories Actors Cases*, edited by Steve Smith and Amelia Hadfield, Thirded., 14. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Hudson, Valerie M. "Introduction: The Situation and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis." Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 7–8. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman et Littlefield, 2014.
- Morin, Jean-Frédéric, and Jonathan Paquin. Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, 3. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Pevehouse, Jon C., and Joshua S. Goldstein. "Liberal and Social Theories." Essay. In International Relations, Eleventhed., 74–75. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2017.
- Snyder, Richard C., Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton M. Sapin. Foreword. In *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Viotti, Paul R., and Mark V. Kauppi. "Realism: The State and Balance of Power." Essay. In *International Relations and World Politics: Fifth Edition*, 5th ed., 42. Upper saddle river: Pearson, 2013.
- W, Lawrence Neuman. Essay. In *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7th ed., 494. Edinburgh: Pearson, n.d.

Journal Articles

- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. "Changing Identities in Taiwan under Ma Ying-Jeou." Essay. In *Taiwan and China*, 42–57. University of California Press, 2017.
- Duchâtel, Mathieu. "Taiwan: The Security Policy of the Chen Government since 2000." China Perspectives, December 21, 2006. https://journals.openedition.org/chinaperspectives/610?lang=es.
- Firoozabadi, Jalal Dehghani, and Mojtaba Zare Ashkezari. "Neo-Classical Realism in International Relations." *Asian Social Science* 12, no. 6 (2016): 97–98. https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v12n6p95.

- "Foreign Policy Analysis in the Twenty-First Century: Back to Comparison, Forward to Identity and Ideas." Essay. In *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy*, 156–63. North Scituate, Mass: Duxbury Press, 1977.
- FU-LAN, Lee. "AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF TAIWAN." GDAŃSKIE STUDIA AZJI WSCHODNIEJ, May 2014, 100.
- Gelpern, Anna, Sebastian Horn, and Christoph Trebesch. "How China Lends: A Rare Look into 100 Debt Contracts with Foreign Governments." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, March 2021, 34–37. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3840991.
- Hairen, Zong. "Responding to the 'Two States Theory." *Chinese Law & Covernment* 35, no. 2 (April 2002): 18. https://doi.org/10.2753/clg0009-4609350214.
- Hermann, Margaret G., and Charles F. Hermann. "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1989): 361–87. https://doi.org/10.2307/2600518.
- Jacobs, J. Bruce, and I-Hao Ben Liu. "Lee Teng-Hui and the Idea of 'Taiwan." *The China Quarterly* 190 (2007): 381. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0305741007001245.
- Jie, C. "Legitimacy Quest of a New Taiwan." Essay. In Foreign Policy of the New Taiwan: Pragmatic Diplomacy in Southeast Asia, 7–8. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002.
- Kucera, Ondrej. "Is Taiwan a Presidential System?" *China Perspectives* 2006, no. 4 (2006): 3–4. https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.1036.
- Leng, Tse-Kang, and Nien-chung Chang Liao. "Hedging, Strategic Partnership, and Taiwan's Relations with Japan under the Ma Ying-Jeou Administration." *Pacific Focus* 31, no. 3 (2016): 357–82. https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12080.
- Liaw, Booker Ck. "State and Business in Taiwan's Economic Diplomacy under the Lee Teng-Hui Administration and the Implications for Current Cross-Strait Relations." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2016): 448. https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2016.1166476.
- Lippert, Barbara, and Volker Perthes. "Strategic Rivalry between United States and China." *SWP Research Paper* 4 (April 2020). https://doi.org/10.18449/2020RP04.

- Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy." Essay. In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy:* ***undertitel***, 25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press M.U.A, 2009.
- Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Colin Dueck. "Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military Interventions." Essay. In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, 144–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Matsuda, Yasuhiro. "Cross-Strait Relations under the Ma Ying-Jeou Administration: From Economic to Political Dependence?" *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 4, no. 2 (March 28, 2017): 3–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2015.11869083.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. "A Guide to Theory." Essay. In *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 1st ed., 93–108. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1948.
- MORIN, JEAN-FRE'DE'RIC. "The Life-Cycle of Transnational Issues: Lessons from the Access to Medicines Controversy." *Global Society* 25, no. 2 (2011): 227–47.
- Morin, Jean-Frédéric, and E. Richard Gold. "Consensus-Seeking, Distrust and Rhetorical Entrapment: The WTO Decision on Access to Medicines." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (2010): 563–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110366054.
- Muyard, Frank. "Taiwan-China Relations: Ma Ying-Jeou's New Chinese Policy." The Asian side of the world Taiwan-China relations: Ma Ying-jeou's new Chinese policy, November 2008. https://books.openedition.org/editionscnrs/12576?lang=en.
- Nakhatakyan, Ekaterina Oganesovna. "Political Economy of Cross-Strait Relations." *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations* 21, no. 1 (2021): 136–47. https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2021-21-1-136-147.
- Qingguo, Jia. "From Self-Imposed Isolation to Global Cooperation: The Evolution of Chinese Foreign Policy Since the 1980s." Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1999. https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ipg/ipg-1999-2/artjia.pdf.
- Rigger, Shelley, and Davidson College. Notes for the Conference on Taiwan and US Policy: Toward Stability or Crisis? The Role of Domestic Politics: Taiwan. Accessed November 6, 2023. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/rigger_paper_100902.pdf.

- Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (October 1998): 146. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887100007814.
- Schweller, Randall L. "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing." *International Security* 29, no. 2 (2004): 168–69. https://doi.org/10.1162/0162288042879913.
- Shih, Erich. "The Conduct of U.S.-Taiwan Relations, 2000-2004." Brookings, October 1, 2004. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-conduct-of-u-staiwan-relations-2000-2004/.
- Tamara, Tania Dwi, Ismah Rustam, and Zulkarnain. "Politik Luar Negeri Taiwan Terhadap China Di Bawah Kepemimpinan Ma Ying Jeou (2008-2012)." *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse* 2, no. 1 (2020): 22–24. https://doi.org/10.29303/ijgd.v2i1.13.
- Tessman, Brock, and Wojtek Wolfe. "Great Powers and Strategic Hedging: The Case of Chinese Energy Security Strategy." *International Studies Review* 13, no. 2 (2011): 214–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2011.01022.x.
- Tsai, Tung-chieh, and Tony Tai-ting Liu. "Cross-Strait Relations and Regional Integration: A Review of the Ma Ying-Jeou Era (2008–2016)." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 46, no. 1 (2017): 11–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261704600102.
- Van Vranken Hickey, Dennis, and Yitan Li. "Cross-Strait Relations in the Aftermath of the Election of Chen Shui-Bian." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 28, no. 4 (2002): 201–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/00927670209601501.
- Vranken, Hickey Dennis Van. "Taiwan's Foreign Policy." Essay. In *Foreign Policy Making in Taiwan: From Principle to Pragmatism*, 2. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Wang, Vincent Wei-cheng. The Chen Shui-Bian Administrations Mainland Policy: Toward a Modus Vivendi or Continued Stalemate?, October 1, 2002. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/217303413.pdf.
- Wang, Yu San. "Foundation of the Republic of China's Foreign Policy." Essay. In Foreign Policy of the Republic of China on Taiwan: An Unorthodox Approach, 2–3. New York: Praeger, 1990.

Wu, Yu-Shan. "Taiwan in 2000 Managing the Aftershocks from Power Transfer." Asian Survey 41, no. 1 (2001): 40–48. https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2001.41.1.40.

Government Publications

- Administration of Barack Obama. "Statement on Elections in Taiwan."

 Authenticated US Government Information, January 14, 2012.

 https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201200026/pdf/DCPD-201200026.pdf.
 https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201200026/pdf/DCPD-201200026.pdf.
- Consulate-General of the People's Republic of China in Auckland. Taiwan Province, November 19, 2003. http://auckland.china-consulate.gov.cn/eng/zt/zggk/xzqh/200311/t20031119_230018.htm.
- Mainland Affairs Council Republic of China (Taiwan). "President Ma's Remarks." Mainland Affairs Council, October 28, 2010.

 https://www.mac.gov.tw/en/News Content.aspx?n=FE07F9DA122E29D4

 &sms=3A4E63FA5107487D&s=5D692A984740DFAB.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). "Political System." Government Portal of Republic of China, Taiwan2023. https://www.taiwan.gov.tw/content_4.php.
- National Committee on US China Relations. "Ma Ying-Jeou Reflects on Cross-Strait and U.S.-China Relations." New York: National Committee on US China Relations, 2022. https://www.ncuscr.org/event/ma-ying-jeou/.
- Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). "Presidents since 1947." Ma Ying-jeou (12th 13th terms). Accessed November 15, 2023. https://english.president.gov.tw/Page/88.
- U.S. Department of State. "Chronology of U.S.-China Relations, 1784-2000."
 U.S. Department of State. Accessed November 1, 2023.
 https://history.state.gov/countries/issues/china-us-relations.
- U.S. Government. "Taiwan Arms Sales Notified to Congress 1990-2023." Taiwan Defense & National Security, June 29, 2023.

 https://www.ustaiwandefense.com/taiwan-arms-sales-notified-to-congress-1990-2023/.

Non-Government Publications

Hu, Zuliu, and Mohsin S. Khan. *Why is China growing so fast?* Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 1997.

Indian Institute of Legal Studies. "Subject: Political Science III - IILS India." Indian Institute of Legal Studies. Accessed July 6, 2023. https://www.iilsindia.com/study-material/595872 1596909701.

Internet Sources

- Academic Accelerator. "The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th Ed... Encyclopedia.Com. 19 Oct. 2023." Encyclopedia.com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/reference/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/ma-ying-jeou.
- Amstel, Adrian van. "Dutch History Has Lessons for China." Taipei Times, February 25, 2023.

 https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2023/02/26/200379
 5044.
- Arms Control Association. "Fact Sheets & Briefs." U.S. Conventional Arms Sales to Taiwan 1980-2010 | Arms Control Association, October 12, 2023. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/taiwanarms
- Auto, Hermes. "One-Minute Handshake Marks Historic Meeting between Xi Jinping and Ma Ying-Jeou." The Straits Times, January 19, 2016. https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/one-minute-handshake-marks-historic-meeting-between-xi-jinping-and-ma-ying-jeou.
- Blanchard, Ben, and John Ruwitch. "China Hikes Defense Budget, to Spend More on Internal Security." Reuters, March 5, 2013.

 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-parliament-defence/china-hikes-defense-budget-to-spend-more-on-internal-security-idINBRE92403620130305.
- Bradsher, Keith. "Discipline First for Taiwan's New Leader." The New York Times, March 24, 2008. https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/24/world/asia/24taiwan.html.
- Britannica. "Economic Policy Changes." Encyclopædia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/place/China/Economic-policy-changes.
- Britannica. "Educational and Cultural Policy Changes." Encyclopædia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/place/China/Educational-and-cultural-policy-changes.
- Britannica. "The Ma Ying-Jeou Presidency." Encyclopædia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/place/Taiwan/The-Ma-Ying-jeou-presidency.

- Cairns, Rebecca, and Jennifer Llewellyn. "The Chinese Civil War." Chinese Revolution, September 20, 2019. https://alphahistory.com/chineserevolution/chinese-civil-war/.
- Chan, Nicoco. "We Are All Chinese', Former Taiwan President Says While Visiting China." Reuters, March 28, 2023.

 https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/we-are-all-chinese-former-taiwan-president-says-while-visiting-china-2023-03-28/.
- Cody, Edward. "China Boosts Military Spending." The Washington Post, March 5, 2007. https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/04/AR2007030400401.html.
- Collins, Patrick. "Why Does the US Spend so Much on Defense?" Defense One, May 4, 2021. https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/01/why-does-us-spend-so-much-defense/162657/.
- Cooke, Merritt T. "Taiwan's Economy: Recovery with Chinese Characteristics." Brookings, November 11, 2009. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/taiwans-economy-recovery-with-chinese-characteristics/.
- Cossa, Ralph. "Looking behind Ma\'s \'Three Noes\'." Taipei Times, January 20, 2008.

 https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2008/01/21/200339
 8185.
- Council on Foreign Relations. "Strategic Ambiguity toward Taiwan." Council on Foreign Relations.

 https://modeldiplomacy.cfr.org/pop-up-cases/strategic-ambiguity-toward-taiwan.
- Council on Foreign Relations. "Timeline: U.s.-China Relations." Council on Foreign Relations, 2023. https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-china-relations.
- Da-Nien, Liu. "The Trading Relationship between Taiwan and the United States: Current Trends and the Outlook for the Future." Brookings, November 2016. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-trading-relationship-between-taiwan-and-the-united-states-current-trends-and-the-outlook-for-the-future/.
- Editors, The. "How a Rising China Has Remade Global Politics." World Politics Review, May 2019. https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/how-a-rising-china-has-remade-global-politics/.

- Gitter, David, and Robert Sutter. "Evaluating Taiwan's National Power." The Diplomat, January 7, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/01/evaluating-taiwans-national-power/.
- Gordon, Susan M, and Michael G Mullen. "Introduction | u.s.-Taiwan Relations in a New Era: Responding to a More Assertive China." Council on Foreign Relations, June 2023. https://www.cfr.org/task-force-report/us-taiwan-Relations-in-a-new-era/introduction.
- Hollar, Sherman. "Ma Ying-Jeou." Encyclopædia Britannica, October 17, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ma-Ying-jeou.
- Horwitz, Josh. "The Charts That Show How Trump's 'One China' Statements Could Jeopardize Taiwan's Economy." Quartz, December 16, 2016. https://qz.com/861507/charted-taiwans-economy-is-more-dependent-on-china-than-ever-before-making-trumps-threats-dangerous.
- Kuo, Raymond. "strategic Ambiguity' Has the U.S. and Taiwan Trapped." Foreign Policy, January 18, 2023. https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/18/taiwan-us-china-strategic-ambiguity-military-strategy-asymmetric-defense-invasion/.
- Landler, Mark. "Taiwan Ends Construction of Its 4th Nuclear Plant." The New York Times, October 28, 2000.

 https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/28/world/taiwan-ends-construction-of-its-4th-nuclear-plant.html.
- MacroTrends. "China Military Spending/Defense Budget 1989-2023."

 MacroTrends, 2023.

 https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/CHN/china/military-spending-defense-budget.
- Maizland, Lindsay. "U.S. Military Support for Taiwan: What's Changed under Trump?" Council on Foreign Relations, April 3, 2019.

 https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/us-military-support-taiwan-whats-changed-under-trump.
- Maizland, Lindsay. "Why China-Taiwan Relations Are so Tense." Council on Foreign Relations, April 18, 2023.

 https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-taiwan-relations-tension-us-policy-biden.
- McBride, James, Noah Berman, and Andrew Chatzky. "China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative." Council on Foreign Relations, February 2, 2023. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative.

- Morrison, Wayne M. "China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States." EveryCRSReport.com, June 25, 2019. https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL33534.html
- NYU Law Magazine. "The Law School Magazine The New York University School of Law." NYU Law Magazine, 2008. https://blogs.law.nyu.edu/magazine/2008/a-chat-with-ma-ying-jeou/.
- Shushen, Wang. "Adjustments in U.S. Arms Sales Policy toward Taiwan: Characteristics ..." Center for Strategic & International Studies, January 1, 2022. https://interpret.csis.org/translations/adjustments-in-u-s-arms-sales-policy-toward-taiwan-characteristics-trends-and-implications/.
- Smith, Phil, and Lee Chyen Yee. "Taiwan's Ma Urges China to Scrap Missiles." Reuters, October 19, 2009. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-president-exclusive-idUSTRE59I0NV20091019/.
- South China Morning Post. "Taiwan Has Benefited from Ma Ying-Jeou's Leadership." South China Morning Post, October 15, 2020. https://www.scmp.com/comment/letters/article/1901149/taiwan-has-benefited-ma-ying-jeous-leadership.
- Spacey, John. "16 Examples of Economic Relations." Simplicable, April 22, 2021. https://simplicable.com/economics/economic-relations#:~:text=Economic%20relations%20are%20the%20economic,economic%20inefficiencies%2C%20stagnation%20and%20instability.
- Statista Research Department. "Military Spending U.S. 2022." Statista, June 15, 2023. https://www.statista.com/statistics/272473/us-military-spending-from-2000-to-2012/.
- The Guardian. "China's Warplane Incursions into Taiwan Air Defence Zone Doubled in 2022." The Guardian, January 2, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/02/chinas-warplane-incursions-into-taiwan-air-defence-zone-doubled-in-2022.
- Turton, Michael A. "Ma Ying-Jeou's Legendary (Trade) Millions." The Diplomat, May 24, 2016. https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/ma-ying-jeous-legendary-trade-millions/.
- USNI News. "Overview of Reagan's 6 Assurances to Taiwan." USNI News, June 15, 2023. https://news.usni.org/2023/06/15/overview-of-reagans-6-assurances-to-taiwan.

- Wright, George. "China Discusses Military Budget While Warning of Escalating Threats." BBC News, March 6, 2023. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-64857194.
- Yan-chih, Mo. "Newsmaker: Chow Mei-Ching: The Career-Minded First Lady." Taipei Times, March 29, 2008.

 https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2008/03/30/20034076
 35.
- Young, Julie. "18 Major Companies Tied to the Apple Supply Chain That You Didn't Know About." Investopedia, August 25, 2023.

 https://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/090315/10-major-companies-tied-apple-supply-

chain.asp#:~:text=Known%20as%20TSMC%2C%20the%20Taiwan,%2C%20Taiwan%2C%20and%20Washington%20state.

