CHINA IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

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Paper outline

Aims and objectives

This paper provides an application of international relations and international political economy theories to the case study of China’s decline, isolation, and rise in global politics and market over the past century and half. Reassessing power transition, economic integration, and institution-building theories developed in the Western historical context, the paper prepares students to take a critical view on one of the most systemic shift of our time – the rise of China as the world’s largest economy with great power aspirations. Combining historical and theoretical perspectives, this course will examine major events and issues that have created pressures and opportunities for China’s foreign relations, market expansion, corporate internationalization, military modernization, and response to disruptions in global governance and multilateralism.

Mode of teaching

The paper consists of twenty lectures by KC Lin and two guest speakers: twelve lectures in Michaelmas term (one per week 1-4, and two per week 5-8) and eight lectures in Lent term (one per week). In addition, there will be one revision class in Easter term. All lectures are pre-recorded for Moodle and available by the day of the lecture.

Supervisions

The paper organiser will organise online supervisions. Students are expected to write six essays for this paper. Each essay is expected to represent 4-5 days of intense work on your chosen topic. Essays should be at least 2,000 words. They should be word-processed, double-spaced, paginated, and include a bibliography and references for citations and quotations. You must proof read your essays thoroughly before submitting them. Essays are due 24 hours before the supervision.

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Any student found plagiarising supervision essays will be reported to his or her college. Students are expected to have read the Faculty’s statement on plagiarism.

Unless announced by the instructor or the department, supervisions will take place online via MS Team. The schedule will be organized by the convenor.

Mode of assessment

There will be a three hour unseen examination paper in the Easter term, in which students will be required to answer three questions. The format of the exam will be announced in accordance with the department and university policies.

Readings

The readings under each lecture are divided into essential for understanding the lecture and for the supervision essay, and recommended for those who wish to explore the topic in greater depth.
When you go through the readings, do so with a critical eye. Always try to answer these (and similar) questions: What is the question that the author is trying to answer? What outcome is being explained? What factors cause the outcome? How do these factors cause the outcome? What type of evidence is used to support the argument? How good is that evidence? Have some important factors/considerations been left out? Are there alternative explanations that are just as plausible?

The SPS library will have most of the specified readings; others will be available at the UL. Many of the specified books are also available in the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies Library and the Department of History library on the Sidgwick site. Many articles can be accessed electronically through the course website on Moodle. It is also possible to get online access to articles by obtaining a password from the University Library (see www.lib.cam.ac.uk/electronicresources).

The following books provide helpful general introductions to the Chinese foreign policy history and contemporary issues in international affairs:

Shaun Breslin, ed., *Handbook of China’s International Relations*.


Kerry Brown, *The Future of UK-China Relations: The Search for a New Model*. Brown wrote a series of books on CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping over the past five years – well worth reading to get a sense of Chinese elite politics and worldview.

Gerald Chan, *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations: A Framework for Analysis*.


Robert S Ross and Jo Inge Bekkevold, *China in the Era of Xi Jinping Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges*.

Phillip Saunders and Andrew Scobell, *PLA Influence on China’s National Security Policymaking*.

David Shambaugh, *The China Reader Rising Power*.

Robert Sutter, *Chinese Foreign Relations*.

Reading list

China in the International Order

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, although students who have taken Pol 2 (International Relations) in Part I of the HSPS Tripos would revisit many theories and themes in a new empirical context. It would be helpful for you to read widely on Chinese history, political economy, diplomacy, and follow current debates. If you could use more background information, or would be interested in further in-depth analysis or an introduction to specialised topics, please alert Dr Lin as soon as possible and he will provide additional readings.

The course starts with two survey lectures on the applications of international relations theories to China’s ascendancy in global economy and politics. Thematically, the remaining eighteen lectures are divided into four parts: The Fall of the Traditional Order and Communist Experiment (Lectures 3-5), China’s Incorporation into the Western-centric World Order (Lectures 6-13), Fault Lines of Geopolitical Competition (Lectures 14-20).

Theoretical Perspectives on China as a Rising Power

Lectures 1 & 2: Introduction & IR Theories on Rising China

Essential


Recommended


Peter Katzenstein, “China’s Rise: Return, Rupture or Recombination?” in Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi, eds., *Beyond Japan, the Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (Cornell University 2006).


**Essay**

Identify the premises of two variants of power transition theories on China’s rise since the end of the Cold War, and propose some evidence that may refute these theories.

**PART I: The Fall of the Traditional Order and Communist Experiment**

**Lecture 3: From the Tributary System to the Great Divergence**

**Essential**


**Recommended**

Warren Cohen, *East Asia at the Center, Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World*, (Columbia 2000), Chapters 1-7.


R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Cornell 2000).


**Essay**

Chinese leaders in recent years have argued that imperial China had typically pursued peaceful diplomacy with its neighbours. Assess this historical generalization by examining the elite philosophy, strategy, and structural relationships of the Middle Kingdom to other suzerainties in the region.

**Lecture 4: Adaptations under Imperialism**

**Essential**
• Shogo Suzuki, *Civilization and Empire: China and Japan's encounter with European international society* (Routledge 2009), Chapters 4, 6.
• Suisheng Zhao, “Failed Multilateralism in the Age of Imperialism”, in *Power Competition in East Asia: From the Old Chinese World Order to Post-Cold War Regional Multipolarity* (St. Martin’s Press 1998)

**Recommended**


**Essay**
How were the limitations in the political will and means of Chinese policymakers’ “learning” from foreign technology, corporate and political institutional models from the late-1800s to 1949?

Lecture 5: From “Leaning to One Side” to “Ping Pong Diplomacy” in the Cold War

Essential


Recommended


Zhihua Shen and Danhui Li, *After Leaning to One Side: China and Its Allies in the Cold War* (Stanford 2011).


Suisheng Zhao, “The Deterioration of the Bipolar System” and “The Dynamics of the Strategic Triangle”, in *Power Competition in East Asia: From the Old Chinese World Order to Post-Cold War Regional Multipolarity* (St. Martin’s Press 1998).

**Essay**

Was the Sino-Soviet split a necessary precondition for the restoration of Sino-American relations in the early 1970s?

**PART II: China’s Incorporation into the Western-centric World Order**

**Lecture 6: Embedding the Chinese Communist Party and State Capitalism in the World Market**

**Essential**

**Recommended**


Essay

What are the structural vulnerabilities of Chinese export-led industrialization strategy, and how do they shape the strategic approach to foreign policy of the PRC?

Lecture 7: Peaceful Coexistence vs. Peaceful Evolution: Communist China in the Liberal Institutional Order

Essential

- Eric Helleiner and Jonathan Kirshner, ed., The Great Wall of Money: Power and Politics in China's International Monetary Relations (Cornell 2014), Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8.

Recommended


Essay

Has China thus far largely conformed to the norms and practices of international organizations led by the US and its allies? Discuss with respect to at least one global economic governance institution.

Lecture 8: Coping with Regional and Global Financial Crises

Essential

- Andrew Sheng, From Asian to Global Financial Crisis (CUP 2009), Chapter 11.
- Julian Gruin, Peter Knaack, and Jiajun Xu, “Tailoring for Development: China's Post‐crisis...


**Recommended**


Gregory Chow, *China as a Leader of the World Economy* (World Scientific 2011), chap 13


Essay

How had China’s domestic policy responses to global and regional financial crises affected the stability of global goods and financial markets?

Lecture 9: US-China Relations – Far from the “End of History”

Essential


Recommended


James MacDouhll, Review Essay on Graham T. Allison, Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap? (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), [https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b9ad/5c29be85e8e95a3a344e945394e5998f8.pdf](https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b9ad/5c29be85e8e95a3a344e945394e5998f8.pdf).


Helen Thompson, *China and the Mortgaging of America: Economic Interdependence and Domestic Politics* (Palgrave 2010).


Yongnian Zheng, Liang Fook Lye, Gang Chen, et al., *China's Foreign Policy in 2012: Responding to the US Pivot to Asia and Territorial Disputes with its Neighbours* (Singapore, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, 2012).


**Essay**

How has the global financial and economic crisis since 2008 changed the core interests, contentious issues, and relative bargaining positions of the US and China? Discuss with reference to two specific issues.

**Lecture 10: Back to the Basics: Technological Frontiers, Market Rules, and the Trade War in US–PRC Rivalry**

**Essential**


Recommended


Check youtube or State Department websites for a series of public speech on American response to the global China threat by top Trump Administration officials, starting with Mike Pence at the Hudson Institute (10-2018), and Christopher Wray, Robert O’Brien, Anthony Barr, and Mike Pompeo in 2020.

Essay
Why does a company like Huawei pose a major security threat to America? Can the threat be adequately handled by protectionist national policies, or does it require multilateral coordination and fundamental revisions in the global trading order?


Essential

- Francis Fukuyama, “The Thing That Determines a Country’s Resistance to the Coronavirus - The major dividing line in effective crisis response will not place autocracies on one side and democracies on the other.” The Atlantic, 30 March 2020.
- Richard Haass, “The Pandemic Will Accelerate History Rather Than Reshape It: Not Every Crisis Is a Turning Point”, Foreign Affairs, 7 April 2020
- Joseph S. Nye Jr, “No, the Coronavirus Will Not Change the Global Order”, Foreign Policy. 16 April 2020.

Recommended


Christian Enemark, Disease and Security: Natural Plagues and Biological Weapons in East Asia (Routledge 2007).


**Essay**

Does China’s increasing influence in international organisations such as the WHO tend to control or proliferate trans-border risks such as the Covid-19 pandemic?

**Lecture 12: Sino-Russian Relations since the end of the Cold War (Guest lecture by Mr Tim Reilly, Scott Polar Research Institute and founding director of the Arctic Advisory)**

**Essential**


**Recommended**


Rosemary Foot and Amy King, “China’s world view in the Xi Jinping Era: Where do Japan, Russia and the USA fit?” *BJPIR* 00(0): 1-18.


**Essay**

Can Russia support China’s continuing economic and military rise in the geopolitical context of US-PRC decoupling in global value chain and techno-nationalism?

**Lecture 13: China-Southeast Asia Relations**

**Essential**


**Recommended**


CSIS, *Power and Order in Asia*, and *Decoding China’s Emerging “Great Power” Stratgy in Asia*. 2014.


Akira Suehiro, “China’s offensive in Southeast Asia: regional architecture and the process of Sinicization”, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 6:2 (2017): 107-131,


**Essay**

What is the role of narratives in international relations? How do regional responses affect China’s rising to great power status and power competition (i.e. US-China relations) in the Asia-Pacific?

**PART III: Fault Lines of Geopolitical Competition**

**Lecture 14: “The China Model” as Global Discourse**

**Essential**

- The China Model debate in *Journal of Contemporary China* Volume 26, Issue 1, Jan 2017

**Recommended**


Daniel Slater and Joseph Wong, “The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11/3 (September 2013:717-733


**Essay**

Why is the China Model or Beijing Consensus a threat to the West? Does the model/consensus need to be coherent and sustainable to provide a challenge to Western liberalism?

**Lecture 15: “Going Out” – Internationalizing Chinese Companies**

**Essential**

**Recommended**


Ian Taylor, *China’s New Role in Africa* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 2009).


**Essay**

What are domestic market and policy causes for Chinese firms to invest abroad? How important is Beijing’s economic and security diplomacy in affecting firm investment and operational decisions?
Lecture 16: The New Silk Road - Energy Security and Transport Connectivity

Essential

- Aaron L. Friedberg, “‘Going Out’: China’s Pursuit of Natural Resources and Implications for the PRC’s Grand Strategy”, *NBR Analysis* 17(3), September 2006.
- BRI updates: IFIs have regular project-based reports. Also see:

Recommended


Francois Godement, “One Belt, One Road, China’s Great Leap Outward”, China Analysis, ECFR June 2015.


Xing Li, ed. *Mapping China’s "One Belt One Road” Initiative* (Palgrave 2019).


*Essay*
China’s pursuit of energy security abroad and its strategic approach to great power competitions are two foreign policy objectives in tension. Discuss with reference to at least one Asian region.

Lecture 17: Sovereignty at Sea - Regionalism and Maritime Disputes (Guest lecture by Commander Ian Park of the Royal Navy)

Essential

- Bernard D. Cole, China’s Quest for Great Power Ships, Oil, and Foreign Policy (Naval Institute Press 2016).

Recommended

Jo Inge Bekkevold & Geoffrey Till, eds. International Order at Sea: How it is challenged. How it is maintained (Palgrave 2016).

Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, Chinas Maritime Silk Road Initiative and Southeast Asia Dilemmas, Doubts, and Determination (Palgrave 2019).

Leszek Buszynski and Christopher Roberts, ed., The South China Sea Maritime Dispute: Political, Legal and Regional Perspectives (Routledge 2014).


Steve Chan, China’s Troubled Waters Maritime Disputes in Theoretical Perspective (Cambridge UP 2016).


Renata Cruz de Castro, “The ASEAN Regional Forum in the Face of Great-Power Competition in the South China Sea,” KAS Working Paper Available at: https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=43dafd95-a5cc-e07e-6d14-73ac2d12cda6&groupId=288143


Min Gyo Koo, Island Disputes and Maritime Regime Building in East Asia Between a Rock and a Hard Place (Springer 2005).


Chung-In Moon and Chaesung Chun. “Sovereignty: Dominance of the Westphalian Concept and

Nie Wenjuan, “China’s Domestic Strategic Debate and Confusion over the South China Sea Issue“, *The Pacific Review* 31:2 (2018), 188-204,


Wu Shicun and Nong Hong, ed., *Recent Developments in the South China Sea Dispute* (Ashgate 2014).


Essay

What are the fundamental interests driving China and its neighbours to attempt cooperation over maritime issues?

Lecture 18: Being a Responsible Power – Peacekeeping

Essential


• Miwa Hirono, “Impact of China’s decision-making processes on international cooperation: cases of peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance/disaster relief”, Australian Journal of International Affairs 74:1(2020), 54-71


Recommended


International Crisis Group, China’s Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping, Asia Report No. 166 (April


**Essay**

What soft power and military-strategic benefits have the Chinese taken away from China’s participation in multilateral peacekeeping missions?

**Lecture 19: Being a Responsible Power – Climate Change**

**Essential**


Recommended


UNDP – China – Energy and Environment:


**Essay**

Is there any evidence that China is capable of global leadership in moving forward collective climate change mitigation if the US remains disengaged from the COP 21 Paris Agreement?

**Lecture 20: Concluding Reflections - Defining a Great Power in the 21st Century**

**Essential**

- Yan Xuetong, “From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7:2 (Summer 2014).

**Recommended**


Yong Deng, *China’s Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations* (Cambridge 2008).


Kai He, *China’s Crisis Behavior: Political Survival and Foreign Policy after the Cold War*. CUP 2016.


David Kang, *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia* (Columbia 2007).


Essay

Does China have a grand strategy for overtaking the US?

End of Lectures

One Revision Class

Past Exam Papers and Reports

2020

1) How would realist theories in international relations explain an apparent absence of Asian countries’ collective balancing against the PRC in the face of Chinese assertiveness since 2010?

2) Did imperial China misunderstand the nature of the threat of Western powers in the late 19th century?

3) Explain how Nationalists and Communists adapted Western ideology and institutions in governing China.

4) Did trust play a role in Communist China’s changing relations with the USSR and USA in the 1960s and 1970s?

5) Has China gone from a rule-taker to a rule-maker in international regimes over the past three decades? Answer with reference to specific institutions such as the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations peacekeeping missions.

6) Has American foreign policy unilateralism been the primary threat to bilateral relations with China since 1972?

7) Are China’s track records on human rights, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and means of domestic governance as an authoritarian state major sticking points in its foreign relations?

8) Is China currently the leader of international climate change cooperation?

9) What does China hope to achieve by increasing militarisation of the South China Sea?

10) Has Chinese economic diplomacy through policy frameworks such as the ‘Going Out Policy’ and ‘Belt and Road Initiative’ enhanced or hindered South-South cooperation on major issues in global affairs?

11) How have Asian powers attempted to shape China’s behavior in the region through institutions? Discuss with reference to one of the following: 1) Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and related trade and security agreements, 2) the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI), 3) the Greater Mekong Sub-regional Economic Cooperation (GMS), 4) Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP); and 5) the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the Quad).

12) How accurate is the underlying assumption of the China Model in President Donald Trump’s response to the Chinese technationalist threat?
2019

1) How might different schools of international relations theory explain the current trade war between the United States and China?

2) How did the Sinocentric worldview of the Qing elite shape their reactions to the European imperialist threat in the 19th Century?

3) What caused the critical change in Beijing’s perception of threat from the US and USSR in the 1960s?

4) Describe American strategies to integrate China into the Western-centric international global order in the 1980s and 1990s, and offer your assessment of the outcome.

5) How closely does China conform to the post-World War II experience of economic development in the East Asian developmental state?

6) What are the economic and political logic behind renminbi (Chinese yuan) internationalization?

7) Why has China become more assertive of its maritime sovereignty and territorial claims since 2009?

8) It has been argued that the US has undermined international organisations and agreements on trade, climate change, and weapons proliferation through unilateral actions. Evaluate this view and explain the impact on China’s rise in global politics.

9) Has China been a constructive partner in Asian regionalism? Discuss with reference to specific issue areas.

10) Is more outward direct investment always good for China’s national interest?

11) Is China’s increasing commitment to UN peacekeeping consistent with its core principles in international relations? Discuss with reference to either non-interventionism or anti-hegemony.

12) Can China be a credible leader of a political bloc of less developed countries in global affairs?

2017

1) Suggest how the United States could accommodate China’s military modernization in the Asian region with reference to realist or international society theories of International Relations.

2) Assess China’s approach to regional economic governance and diplomatic relations around the middle of the 19th century.

3) Identify two important lessons of Western imperialism and ‘one hundred years of humiliation’ for China’s long-term state-building and economic development.
4) How did US-USSR relations during the Cold War shape Mao Zedong’s options in international affairs in the 1950s and 1960s?

5) Who benefited the most strategically from the Sino-American rapprochement?

6) How was China’s rapid economic development in the 1980s and 1990s seen by its neighbours in Asia?

7) How did the 2008 global financial and economic crisis affect China’s assessment of its own developmental model?

8) Are interest group conflicts within the US and China destabilising US-China trade relations?

9) To what extent are political conflicts and military build-ups in the South China Sea since 2011 a direct consequence of President Obama’s policy of the ‘US pivot to Asia’?

10) Is the concept of ‘revisionism’ applicable to China’s approach to multilateral agreements on trade and finance? Analyse with reference to ONE of the following regimes: 1) the World Trade Organisation; 2) the World Bank; 3) the International Monetary Fund; 4) the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and the ASEAN–China Free Trade Area (ACFTA).

11) How closely do increasing economic ties align with China’s national interests in EITHER African, OR Latin American, OR South Asian developing countries in the 21st century?

12) To what extent and why has China’s approach and commitment to global climate change mitigation negotiation changed over the past two decades?

2016

1. Discuss how the different schools of realism inform the foreign policy of the United States towards China.

2. How did the tributary system up to the 19th Century structure China’s diplomatic and external economic relations?

3. What is the legacy of Western imperialism on Chinese national interests in the 20th century? Discuss with reference to one or two of the following areas: a) economic development, b) sovereignty and territorial integrity, c) legal and political development, and d) international cooperation?

4. Was being a Communist country a major constraint on China’s foreign policy from 1949 to 1972?

5. Analyse the strategic objectives of Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon, respectively, in entering into the US-USSR-PRC “strategic triangle”.
6. How did the first Gulf War (1990-1) and 9/11 (2001) affect China’s strategic interests and military doctrines?

7. Discuss developmental and political problems with China’s increasing dependence of economic growth on exports since the late 1990s.

8. Is China playing by the existing “rules of the game” in participating in international society? Discuss with reference to one or two of the following multilateral regimes: a) the World Trade Organisation, b) the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, c) UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, and d) UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

9. Is China’s economic development after 1978 characterised by exceptionalism or can parallels be drawn with the developmental experience of other nations?

10. Are the motivations of the Chinese government and firms different in investing in developed and developing countries?

11. Explain China’s contribution to UN peacekeeping through realist and/or liberal institutionalist theories.

12. According to power transition and/or international society theories, is the United States likely to be accommodating of China’s rise? If so, how would accommodation be achieved?

Examiner’s Report 2020

POL21 - Due to the disruptions of the Covid-19 pandemic, seventeen students out of the class took the final exam. Overall they performed very well, averaging to 68.8, which falls within the range of expected average for HSPS Part II modules. Students showed strong interests on questions of historical order in Asia, the PRC’s bilateral relations, and China’s impact on specific issues such as maritime order, climate change, trade and investment, and peacekeeping. There were impressive demonstrations of empirical knowledge and critical reflections of relevance for current events in 2020. The highest mark was 74, and around a third of the exam takers received a score of 70 or higher. The main issues on many papers were under-utilization of key theories, imprecise definitions of norms and institutions that PRC seeks to challenge, and neglect to address counter-arguments and evidence mentioned in lectures and readings.

Examiner’s Report 2019

Pol 21 – The nineteen exam takers as a whole performed admirably well for a course that covers historical and contemporary issues, and spans regional and theoretical perspectives. Students averaged 66.96 on their final exam, which falls within the range of expected average for HSPS Part II modules. The highest mark was 75; lowest was 56. Five students received First Class marks. Students in the 2.1 cohort demonstrated strong empirical knowledge and aptitude in reference to theories and authors. The main issue for them was incomplete arguments, neglecting to cover important aspects of the topic raised in lectures. Two questions out of twelve were answered by a majority of students, and two received no response, other responses reflected the diverse interests of students in the topics and approaches in the syllabus.
Examiner’s Report 2017

Pol 19 – The twenty-two students as a whole performed admirably well for a course that required them to develop regional expertise and apply theories of international relations and political economy. Responding to changes in the syllabus and examination requirements from the first/last year of the course, students averaged 68 on their final exam with six of them scoring over 70. The standard deviation is low at 4.5 reflecting a relatively equally motivated student body and quality of supervision. The examiner and assessor were largely in agreement over marks, which is an encouraging sign that the students are tested on core knowledge that can be validated by non-China specialists. There remains some unevenness in the distribution of questions answered, with Q6 showing no taker – however, again, it shows an improvement over last year’s distribution.

Examiner’s Report 2016

We marked thirty (30) scripts. Students were free to choose four out of twelve questions on the exam. This is the inaugural year of this module and the final exam. The average mark was around 66. Eight scripts received an agreed mark of 70 or above, and no one failed. The standard deviation was initially below the expectation of 6, due to what we perceive to be a fairly uniform level of general competence of the answers. Questions 5, 9 and 10 received disproportional numbers of answers, while question 6 had no taker. The scripts were stronger in the historical analysis of Chinese foreign policy orientation during the Cold War, China’s recent positions in international regimes, and in determinants of Chinese overseas direct investment and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations. While generally capable of relating to international relations theories, most students seemed to have avoided questions that directly asked for applications of main schools of IR theories to a specific issue (Q1 on US-China relations and Q12 on hegemonic power transition). The most common criticisms for the exam scripts centered on two problems: 1) a superficial understanding of realist, liberal-institutional, and constructivist theories and associated hypotheses. We sense that students have forgotten quite a bit of the fundamentals of Pol 2 despite reminders in lectures. 2) A lack of specificity in identifying foreign policy actors and their interests in relations to the context of the questions. As a result the explanations veered toward being static and oversimplified. This problem was found in the 2.2 exams, and may derive from a lack of attention to the required readings, or inadequate reflections on how countries’ strategic calculus and policy options evolve over time.