

米中対立下における中国・ニュージーランド関係：国際秩序及び大洋州地域秩序の変化との連動

山崎 周

(東洋大学国際学部准教授)

大崎 祐馬

(同志社大学法学部助教)

【要約】

大洋州地域が再び国際政治の文脈で関心を集めている象徴として、本研究は日本において殆ど注目されてこなかった中国とニュージーランド (NZ) の関係に焦点を当てる。特に、米中対立激化の開始時期と重なった NZ のジャシンダ・アーダーン政権 (Jacinda Ardern) 以降を主な分析対象期間とし、揺らぐ国際秩序と大洋州の地域秩序の中における中 NZ 関係の変遷を考察する。それと同時に、中国と NZ の双方からの視点を交えた分析を行う。本稿は、中 NZ 関係は国際秩序や大洋州の地域秩序の変動といった構造的要因から免れることはできないと論じる。とりわけ、米中対立の余波を受けて両国間での共通性よりも異同の方が如実になりつつあり、米中対立以前には等閑視された諸問題が現下の情勢では摩擦の予兆として観察されるようになっている。現段階で中 NZ 関係は陰悪化する事態には至っていないものの、今後の展開によっては両国がそのような状況を迎える可能性もある。

キーワード：中国、ニュージーランド (NZ)、大洋州、米中対立、ジャシンダ・アーダーン政権

美中對立下的中國－紐西蘭關係： 與國際秩序及大洋洲地區秩序變化的互動

山崎周

(東洋大學國際學部副教授)

大崎祐馬

(同志社大學法學部助教)

【摘要】

大洋洲地區再次在國際政治脈絡中受到關注。本研究將焦點放在日本幾乎未曾重視的中國與紐西蘭(NZ)關係，並以紐國的傑辛達·阿爾登(Jacinda Ardern)政權作為主要的分析時期，因為這個政權的執政時間幾乎與美中對立開始惡化的時間重疊，觀察阿爾登政權在動盪的國際秩序與大洋洲地區秩序中，中紐關係的變遷。同時，本研究也從中紐雙方交替的視角，進行分析。本論文認為，中紐關係無法跳脫國際秩序與大洋洲地區秩序變動等結構性因素的影響。本論文特別觀察到，受到美中對立的波及，中紐兩國間越發顯示出更多的差異，而非共通性；在美中對立之前，兩國所忽視的諸多問題，如今成為摩擦的前兆。雖然現階段的中紐關係尚非達到惡化的地步，但未來局勢的發展，仍可能使兩國面臨此種情況。

關鍵字：中國、紐西蘭(NZ)、大洋洲、美中對立、傑辛達·阿爾登政權

China-New Zealand Relations Under the U.S.-China Rivalry: Interplay with the Shifting International Order and Regional Order in Oceania

Amane Yamazaki

Associate Professor, Faculty of Global and Regional Studies, Toyo University

Yuma Osaki

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, Doshisha University

【Abstract】

The Oceania region has once again become a focal point in the context of international politics. This paper examines the relationship between China and New Zealand (NZ), a subject that has received little attention in Japan. It primarily analyzes the period following the establishment of the Jacinda Ardern administration, which coincided with the escalation of the Sino-US strategic competition. This article also examines the evolution of China-NZ relations within the framework of the shifting international order and the regional order in Oceania. After reviewing the shifts in the relationship from the perspectives of both China and NZ, we argue that even the China-NZ relationship, which has not experienced a significant downturn, cannot escape the structural factors stemming from changes in the international order and the regional order in Oceania. In the context of escalating Sino-US tensions, the divergent interests and positions of these two countries are becoming increasingly evident, overshadowing previously overlooked issues that could potentially lead to future discord. Despite the fact that China-NZ relations

have not yet undergone a substantial deterioration, there is a possibility that the two countries could face such a situation in the future.

Keywords: China, New Zealand, Oceania, the U.S.-China Rivalry, the Jacinda Ardern Administration

〈参考文献〉

- 上村直樹、2011「対米同盟と非核・核軍縮政策のジレンマ：オーストラリア、ニュージーランド、日本の事例から」『国際政治』（163）：96-109。
- Kamimura, Naoki. 2011. “Taibei doumei to hikaku/kakugunshyuku seisaku no jirenma: Osutoraria, Nyujirand, Nihon no jirei kara” [The Dilemma of the US Alliance and Non-Nuclear/Nuclear Disarmament Policy: The Cases of Australia, New Zealand and Japan]. *International Relations*, (163): 96-109.
- 外務省、2022「オーストラリア、日本、ニュージーランド、英国、米国による『ブルーパシフィックにおけるパートナー (Partners in the Blue Pacific)』の設立に関する声明」6月23日、<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100362855.pdf>（閲覧日：2025/3/25）。
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2022. “Osutoraria, Nihon, Nyujirand, Eikoku, Beikoku niyoru ‘Buru Pashifikku ni okeru patona’ no seturitsu ni kansuru seimei” [Statement by Australia, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States on the Establishment of the Partners in the Blue Pacific (PBP) A new initiative for more effective and efficient cooperation in support of Pacific Island priorities]. June 23 (Accessed on March 25, 2025).
- 外務省、2024「ニュージーランド (New Zealand) : 基礎データ」11月26日、<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/nz/data.html#05>（閲覧日：2025/3/25）。
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2024. “Nyujirand: Kisodeta” [Japan-New Zealand Relations]. November 26 (Accessed on March 25, 2025).
- 外務省、2025「大洋州」3月12日、<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/pacific.html>（閲覧日：2025/5/2）。
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2025. “Taiyoshu” [Japan-Oceania Relations]. March 12 (Accessed on May 2, 2025).
- 佐竹知彦、2022『日豪の安全保障協力：「距離の専制」を越えて』勁草書房。
- Satake, Tomohiko. 2022. *Nichigo no anzen hosyo kyoryoku: 'kyori no sensei' wo koete [Japan-Australia Security Cooperation: Overcoming the “Tyranny of Distance”]*. Keiso hobo.
- 杉田弘也編、2025『現代オーストラリア政治』法律文化社。
- Sugita, Hiroya, ed. 2025. *Gendai Osutoraria seiji [Contemporary Australian Politics]*. Horitsu bunka sha.
- 竹田いさみ、永野隆行、2023『物語 オーストラリアの歴史 新版：イギリス植民地から多民族国家への200年』中央公論新社。
- Takeda, Isami, and Takayuki Nagano. 2023. *Monogatari Osutoraria no rekishi, shinpan: Igirisu shyokuminchi kara taminzoku kokka heno 200 nen [The Story of Australia: A New Edition-Two Hundred Years from British Colony to Multicultural Nation]*. Chuo koron shinsha.
- 永田伸吾、2019「5カ国防衛取極 (FPDA) とアジア太平洋の海洋安全保障：防衛装備・

- 技術面での日英協力の視点から『海洋安全保障情報季報』（18）：95-104。
- Nagata, Shingo. 2019. “5 kakoku boei torikime (FPDA) to ajia taiheiyo no kaiyo anzenhosho: boei sobi/gijutsu men deno Nichiei kyoryoku no shiten kara” [The Five-Nation Defence Arrangement (FPDA) and Maritime Security in the Asia-Pacific: Perspectives on UK-Japan Defence Equipment and Technology Cooperation]. *Quarterly Report on Maritime Security Information*, (18): 95-104.
- 平川幸子、2017「台湾の通商戦略：TPP への期待」『平成 28 年度外務省外交・安全保障調査研究事業 ポスト TPP におけるアジア太平洋の経済秩序の新展開』：149-162、日本国際問題研究所。
- Hirakawa, Sachiko. 2017. “Taiwan no tsusho senryaku: TPP heno kitai” [Taiwan’s Trade Strategy: Expectations for the TPP]. *Heisei 28 nendo gaimusho gaiko/anzenshosyo chosa kenkyu jigyo posto TPP ni okeru ajia taiheiyo no keizai chitsujo no shin tenkai [Ministry of Foreign Affairs Research Project on Diplomacy and Security, Fiscal Year 2016 New Developments in the Asia-Pacific Economic Order Post-TPP]*, pp. 149-162. The Japan Institute of International Affairs.
- 山崎周、2019「中国の周辺外交におけるミドル・パワーとしての豪州：中豪関係の進展と米豪同盟への余波」『問題と研究』48（2）：145-187。
- Yamazaki, Amane. 2019. “Chugoku no shuhen gaiko ni okeru midoru pawa to shitenogogyu: Chugo kankei no shinten to Beigo doumei heno yoha” [Australia as a Middle Power in China’s Neighbourhood Diplomacy: Developments in Sino-Australian Relations and Their Repercussions on the US-Australia Alliance]. *Issues and Studies*, 48(2): 145-187.
- 山崎周、2025「中豪関係の中の SARS と新型コロナウイルス感染症：中国の対豪政策における『アメ』から『ムチ』への転換とその要因」加茂具樹編著『感染症と国家能力：中国は新型コロナウイルス感染症とどう向き合ったのか』：173-203、一藝社。
- Yamazaki, Amane. 2025. “Chugo kankei no naka no SARS to shingata korona uirusu kansensho: Chugoku no taigo seisaku ni okeru ‘ame’ kara ‘muchi’ heno tenkan to sono yoin” [SARS and COVID-19 within China-Australia Relations: The Shift from Carrot to Stick in China’s Policy Towards Australia and Its Underlying Factors]. Tomoki Kamo, ed., *Kansensho to kokka noryoku: Chugoku ha shingata korona uirusu kansensho to dou mukiatta noka [Infectious Diseases and State Capacity: How China Confronted the Novel Coronavirus Disease]*, pp. 173-203. Ichigeisya.
- 王偉光、汪正嫻、2024「2022 年中國與新西蘭關係回顧與展望」費晟、徐桑奕主編『大洋洲發展報告（2022～2023）』：176-193、社会科学文献出版社。
- Wang, Wei-guang, and Zheng-xian Wang. 2024. “2022 nian zhongguo yu Xinxilan guanxi huigu yu zhanwang” [Review and Prospect of China-New Zealand Relations in 2022]. Sheng Fei and Sang-yi Xu, eds., *Dayangzhou fazhan baogao (2022-2023) [Development Report of Oceania (2022-2023)]*, pp. 176-193. Social Sciences Academic Press.
- 中華人民共和國外交部、2024「中國同新西蘭的關係」10 月、<https://www.mfa.gov>。

- cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/dyz_681240/1206_681940/sbgx_681944/ (閲覧日 : 2025/4/22) 。
- Zhonghua renmin gongheguo waijiaobu [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China]. 2024. "Zhongguo tong Xinxilan de guanxi" [China-New Zealand Relations]. October (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- 中華人民共和國外交部、2025「王毅同新西蘭副總理兼外長彼得斯舉行會談」2月26日、https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/dyz_681240/1206_681940/xgxw_681946/202502/t20250226_11562883.shtml (閲覧日 : 2025/4/22) 。
- Zhonghua renmin gongheguo waijiaobu [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China]. 2025. "Wang yi tong Xinxilan fu zongli jian waizhang bidesi juxing huitan" [Wang yi Holds Talks with New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Winston Peters]. February 26 (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- 中華人民共和國駐澳大利亞聯邦大使館、2025「肖千大使接受澳大利亞廣播公司專訪」2月27日、http://au.china-embassy.gov.cn/dshd/202502/t20250227_11565318.htm (閲覧日 : 2025/5/11) 。
- Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhu aodaliya lianbang dashiguan [Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Commonwealth of Australia]. 2025. "Xiao qian dashi jieshou Aodaliya guangbo gongsi zhuanfang" [Chinese Ambassador to Australia Xiao Qian Receives an Exclusive Interview by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation]. February 27 (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- 宋亦然、申孟哲、2024「習近平會見新西蘭總理拉克森」『人民日報』11月17日、1-2。
- Song, Yi-ran, and Meng-zhe Shen. 2024. "Xi jingping huijian Xinxilan zongli lakesen" [Xi Jinping Meets New Zealand Prime Minister Luxon]. *People's Daily*. November 17, pp. 1-2.
- 徐桑奕、費晟、2024「2022年大洋洲地區發展形勢回顧與展望」費晟、徐桑奕主編『大洋洲發展報告(2022~2023)』: 1-19、社会科学文献出版社。
- Xu, Sang-yi, and Sheng Fei. 2022. "2022 nian dayangzhou diqu fazhan xingshi huigu yu zhanwang" [Review and Outlook of Development in the Oceania Region in 2022]. Sheng Fei and Sang-yi Xu, eds., *Dayangzhou fazhan baogao (2022-2023)* [Oceania Development Report (2022-2023)], pp. 1-19. Social Sciences Academic Press.
- 張志文、2022「習近平會見新西蘭總理阿德恩」『人民日報』11月19日、2。
- Zhang, Zhi-wen. 2022. "Xi jingping huijian Xinxilan zongli aden" [Xi Jinping Meets New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern]. *People's Daily*. November 19, p. 2.
- 張穎、2016「中國在南太平洋地區的戰略選擇：視角、動因與路徑」『當代世界與社會主義』6: 131-139。
- Zhang, Ying. 2016. "Zhongguo zai nan taipingyang diqu de zhanlue xuanze: shijiao, dongyin yu lujing" [China's Strategic Choice in the South Pacific: Perspectives, Motivations and Paths]. *Contemporary World & Socialism*, 6: 131-139.
- 楊依軍、2023「習近平會見新西蘭總理希普金斯」『人民日報』6月28日、1-2。
- Yang, Yi-jun. 2023. "Xi jingping huijian Xinxilan zongli xipukins" [Xi Jinping Meets New

- Zealand Prime Minister Chris Hipkins]. *People's Daily*. June 28, pp. 1-2.
- 董雪、2025「習近平會見新西蘭總理拉克森」『人民日報』6月21日、1。
- Dong, Xue. 2025. "Xi Jinping huijian Xinxilan zongli lakesen" [Xi Jinping Meets New Zealand Prime Minister Luxon]. *People's Daily*. June 21, p. 1.
- 新華網、2023「新華時評：對華交往、新西蘭有三點值得講」6月29日、http://www.news.cn/world/2023-06/29/c_1129723463.htm (閲覧日：2025/4/28)。
- Xinhua Wang. 2023. "Xinhua shiping: dui Hua jiaowang, Xinxilan you san dian zhide jiang" [Xinhua Commentary: Three Points Worth Mentioning for New Zealand's Engagement with China]. June 29 (Accessed on April 28, 2025).
- ABC News. 2021a. "New Zealand Trade Minister Advises Australia to Show China more 'Respect'." January 28. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-01-28/nz-trade-minister-advises-australia-to-show-china-more-respect/13098674> (Accessed on April 8, 2025).
- ABC News. 2021b. "China Trying to Drive a Wedge between Australia and NZ, Scott Morrison Says." May 31. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-05-31/morrison-ardern-press-conference-new-zealand-china-tasman-bubble/100178224> (Accessed on April 27, 2025).
- Ardern, Jacinda. 2022. "PM Speech to China Business Summit." *Beehive.govt.nz*. August 1. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/pm-speech-china-business-summit> (Accessed on March 19, 2025).
- Ardern, Jacinda, and Scott Morrison. 2021. "Joint Statement: Prime Ministers Jacinda Ardern and Scott Morrison." May 31. *Beehive.govt.nz*. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/joint-statement-prime-ministers-jacinda-ardern-and-scott-morrison> (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- Beal, Tim, and Yuanfei Kang. 2016. *China, New Zealand, and the Complexities of Globalization: Asymmetry, Complementarity, and Competition*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beehive.govt.nz. 2024. "Joint Statement of Outcomes of the New Zealand-China Leaders' Meeting." June 13. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2024-06/Joint%20Statement%20of%20Outcomes%20of%20the%20New%20Zealand-China%20Leaders%E2%80%99%20Meeting%20-%202013%20June%202024.pdf> (Accessed on April 27, 2025).
- Brady, Anne-Marie. 2008. "New Zealand-China Relations: Common Points and Differences." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 10(2): 1-20.
- Chase, Michael. S., and Jennifer D. P. Moroney. 2020. *Regional Responses to U.S.-China Competition in the Indo-Pacific: Australia and New Zealand*. RAND.
- Cooke, Henry. 2021. "Jacinda Ardern Says New Zealand's New Stance on Five Eyes Isn't a Backdown to China." *Stuff*. April 20. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/300281578/jacinda-ardern-says-new-zealands-new-stance-on-five-eyes-isnt-a-backdown-to-china> (Accessed on May 3, 2025).
- Craymer, Lucy. 2024. "New Zealand Prime Minister Luxon Intends Visit to China." *Reuters*. March 19. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/new-zealand-prime-minister-luxon-intends-visit-china-2024-03-18/> (Accessed on May 4, 2025).

- De Jong, Marco. 2024. "Losing the Pacific to the Anglosphere: AUKUS and New Zealand's Regional Engagement." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 78(5): 644-651.
- Defence Force. 2025. "Chinese Naval Task Group." <https://www.nzdf.mil.nz/media-centre/story-collections/chinese-naval-task-group/> (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Eckstein, Megan. 2016. "U.S. Navy Destroyer, P-3 Responding to Earthquake in New Zealand." *USNI News*. November 15. <https://news.usni.org/2016/11/15/u-s-navy-destroyer-p-3-responding-to-earthquake-in-new-zealand> (Accessed on May 15, 2025).
- Fraenkel, Jon, and Graeme Smith. 2022. "The Solomons-China 2022 Security Deal: Extraterritoriality and the Perils of Militarisation in the Pacific Islands." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 76(5): 473-485.
- Hart, Clifford A. Jr. 2024. "New Zealand and the Indo-Pacific: Adaptation to Changing Geopolitics." Robert G. Patman et al., eds. *New Zealand's Foreign Policy under the Jacinda Ardern Government: Facing the Challenge of a Disrupted World*, pp. 23-41. World Scientific.
- Hawkins, Koroi. 2025. "Cook Islands PM Flying to China without Consulting NZ-Government." *RNZ*. February 9. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/541337/cook-islands-pm-flying-to-china-without-consulting-nz-government> (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- Hipkins, Chris. 2023. "Prime Minister's Speech to the China Business Summit." *Beehive.govt.nz*. July 17. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/prime-minister%E2%80%99s-speech-china-business-summit> (Accessed on May 3, 2025).
- Iati, Iati. 2021. "China's Impact on New Zealand Foreign Policy in the Pacific: The Pacific Reset." Graeme Smith and Terence Wesley-Smith, eds. *The China Alternative: Changing Regional Order in the Pacific Islands*, pp. 143-166. ANU Press.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2024. "Three Worlds: The West, East and South and the Competition to Shape Global Order." *International Affairs*, 100(1): 121-138.
- Köllner, Patrick. 2019. "Australia and New Zealand Recalibrate their China Policies: Convergence and Divergence." *The Pacific Review*, 34(3): 405-436.
- Lariosa, Aaron M. 2024. "Warships from the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, U.S. and Japan Sail in Joint South China Sea Patrol." *USNI News*. September 29. https://news.usni.org/2024/09/29/warships-from-the-philippines-australia-new-zealand-u-s-and-japan-sail-in-joint-south-china-sea-patrol?utm_source=chatgpt.com (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Lawson, Stephanie. 2024. *Regional Politics in Oceania*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, Darren J., and Walter B. Colnaghi. 2024. "Strategically (in)Secure and Economically (in) Vulnerable: Australia, New Zealand, and their Relations with China." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 78(5): 600-613.
- Lin, Ying Y., and Thomas He. 2025. "The PLAN's Tasman Sea Drill: A Military Response to AUKUS." *The Jamestown Foundation*. March 11. <https://jamestown.org/program/the-plans-tasman-sea-drill-a-military-response-to-aukus/#:~:text=The%20Tasman%20Sea%20drill%20serves,deeper%20alignment%20with%20the%20alliance.&text=The%20>

- PRC's demonstration of long, drilled signaled its regional ambitions (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Luxon, Christopher. 2025. "PM Luxon Concludes Successful China Visit." *Beehive.govt.nz*. June 20. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/pm-luxon-concludes-successful-china-visit> (Accessed on November 9, 2025).
- Mahuta, Nanaia. 2024. "Foreign Policy of Jacinda Ardern's Government in the Era of COVID-19: Minister Mahuta's Vision for Aotearoa New Zealand's Foreign Policy." Robert G. Patman et al., eds. *New Zealand's Foreign Policy under the Jacinda Ardern Government: Facing the Challenge of a Disrupted World*. pp. 3-20. World Scientific.
- Mahuta, Nanaia. 2022a. "Hong Kong National Security Law." *Beehive.govt.nz*. July 1. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/hong-kong-national-security-law> (Accessed on April 16, 2025).
- Mahuta, Nanaia. 2022b. "Deep Concern at UN Report on Human Rights in Xinjiang." *Beehive.govt.nz*. September 1. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/deep-concern-un-report-human-rights-xinjiang> (Accessed on April 16, 2025).
- Mahuta, Nanaia. 2021. "Joint Statement on Human Rights Abuses in Xinjiang." *Beehive.govt.nz*. March 23. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/joint-statement-human-rights-abuses-xinjiang> (Accessed on May 3, 2025).
- McCully, Murray. 2016. "NZ Comment on South China Sea Tribunal Ruling." *Beehive.govt.nz*. July 13. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-comment-south-china-sea-tribunal-ruling> (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Miller, Geoffrey. 2022. "New Zealand's Australia-friendly Response to China-Solomon Islands Security Deal." *RNZ*. March 30. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/464311/new-zealand-s-australia-friendly-response-to-china-solomon-islands-security-deal> (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). 2021. "Brussels Summit Communiqué." June 14. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_185000.htm (Accessed on March 14, 2025).
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). 2024. "Relations with Partners in the Indo-Pacific Region." July 16. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_183254.htm (Accessed on March 14, 2025).
- New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade. n.d.-a. "United States of America." <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/americas/united-states-of-america#bookmark1> (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade. n.d.-b. "Cook Islands." <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/australia-and-pacific/cook-islands#:~:text=PDF%204.4%20MB%5D-,About%20Cook%20Islands,of%20State%2C%20King%20Charles%20III> (Accessed on May 9, 2025).
- New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade. 2023. *Navigating a Shifting World*. New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade.

- New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade. 2024. “Prime Minister Luxon-President Xi Meeting: 15 November 2024.” November 16. <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/media-and-resources/pm-luxon-president-xi-meeting-15-nov-2024> (Accessed on May 9, 2025).
- Office of the Prime Minister Cook Islands. 2025. “Media Release: Cook Islands and China Strengthen Bilateral Partnership to Secure Sustainable Growth.” February 14. <https://www.pmooffice.gov.ck/2025/02/14/media-release-cook-islands-and-china-strengthen-bilateral-partnership-to-secure-sustainable-growth/> (Accessed on May 15, 2025).
- Patterson, Jane. 2022. “Regional Security Weighs on Ardern’s Asia Trade Trip.” *RNZ*. April 23. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/focusonpolitics/audio/2018839135/regional-security-weighs-on-ardern-s-asia-trade-trip> (Accessed on April 22, 2025).
- Pennington, Phil. 2024. “AUKUS Pillar Two: Defence Minister Judith Collins Meets with Top US Military Contractor.” *RNZ*. April 5. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/513458/aukus-pillar-two-defence-minister-judith-collins-meets-with-top-us-military-contractor?utm_source=chatgpt.com (Accessed on May 5, 2025).
- Persico, Christina, Caleb Fotheringham, and Don Wiseman. 2025. “Explainer: Why Has New Zealand Paused Funding to the Cook Islands over China Deal?” *RNZ*. June 19. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/pacific/564618/explainer-why-has-new-zealand-paused-funding-to-the-cook-islands-over-china-deal> (Accessed on November 8, 2025).
- Peters, Winston. 2025. “New Zealand and China Foreign Ministers Meet in Beijing.” *Beehive.govt.nz*. February 27. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-zealand-and-china-foreign-ministers-meet-beijing> (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Reuters. 2025. “Philippines, New Zealand Strengthen Defence Ties with Troop Pact.” April 30. https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/philippines-new-zealand-strengthen-defence-ties-with-troop-pact-2025-04-30/?utm_source=chatgpt.com (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Rice, Condoleezza. 2008. “Remarks with New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark.” *U.S. Department of State*. July 26. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/07/107512.htm> (Accessed on May 15, 2025).
- Steff, Reuben. 2024. “‘Our Region Is Now a Strategic Theatre’: New Zealand’s Balancing Response to China.” *The Pacific Review*, 37(6): 1120-1151.
- Smith, Nicholas. R. 2022. “New Zealand’s Grand Strategic Options as the Room for Hedging Continues to Shrink.” *Comparative Strategy*, 41(3): 314-327.
- Stats NZ. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/> (Accessed on May 16).
- The Guardian. 2021. “NZ Opposition Leader Says US and UK ‘Left Door Open’ for China in Indo-Pacific.” October 2. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/02/nz-opposition-leader-says-us-and-uk-left-door-open-for-china-in-indo-pacific> (Accessed on April 8, 2025).
- The White House. 2022. *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*. The White House.
- Walls, Jason. 2025. “Christopher Luxon Floats Sending Royal New Zealand Navy Ship into South China Sea.” *The New Zealand Herald*. February 27. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/politics/christopher-luxon-floats-sending-royal-new-zealand-navy-ship-into-south-china->

- sea/MZ4Y23WSW5FU5NTQ63R7CAVYZQ/ (Accessed on May 11, 2025).
- Wang, Yushen. 2019. "Five 'Firsts' in Nearly Half a Century of China-New Zealand Ties." *CGTN*. April 2. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d514f78677a4e33457a6333566d54/index.html> (Accessed on May 2, 2025).
- Wesley-Smith, Terence. 2010. "China's Pacific Engagement." Terence Wesley-Smith and Edgar A. Porter, eds. *China in Oceania: Reshaping the Pacific?* pp. 27-48. Berghahn Books.
- Wesley-Smith, Terence, and Edgar A. Porter, eds. 2010. *China in Oceania: Reshaping the Pacific?* Berghahn Books.
- White, Hugh. 2024. "Learning from New Zealand." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 78(5): 582-586.
- White, Nicole, Jieming Chu, and Kaelyn Lowmaster. 2013. "ANZTEC and Taiwan's Quest for Economic Integration." *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. August 1. https://www.csis.org/analysis/anztec-and-taiwans-quest-economic-integration?utm_source=chatgpt.com (Accessed on November 14, 2025).
- Yang, Jian. 2011. *The Pacific Islands in China's Grand Strategy: Small States, Big Games*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Young, Jason. 2024. "China and the Australia-New Zealand Alliance: The Importance of Loyal Opposition." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 78(5): 614-621.
- Zhang, Yongjin. 2010. "A Regional Power by Default." Terence Wesley-Smith and Edgar A. Porter, eds. *China in Oceania: Reshaping the Pacific?* pp. 49-66. Berghahn Books.