

Victoria University of Wellington



MASTER OF STRATEGIC STUDIES PROGRAMME

STRA 506

NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE POLICY

(Second Trimester Course – 15 points)

2005 COURSE OUTLINE

Co-ordinator:

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Course Dates, Times and Locations

This is an intensive course. It runs from Wednesday 7 to Thursday 8 September 2005 (inclusive).

The course will be run on the Turitea Campus, Massey University, Palmerston North (it will be held in conjunction with students enrolled in the Massey University MPhil course 149.702).

Room allocation will be advised to students by email from the Defence Studies Office, Room MB 2.36, Humanities Building, Turitea Campus, Massey University, closer to the date of the course.

Course Objectives

The overall objective of this course is to provide course members with the tools to conduct a critical examination of New Zealand defence policy, including a comparison with the policy approaches of Australia and other regional powers. Course members will be encouraged to think critically about the various assumptions, implicit and explicit, around which New Zealand Defence Policy has been written, both to understand the continuities and to appreciate the significance of new policy directions, where these arise.

Course Content

Ten Topic areas are covered in the course. These are:

- Topic One: Introduction to Defence Policy
- Topic Two: New Zealand Historical Context
- Topic Three: Current Defence Policy
- Topic Four: Commentaries on Defence Policy under the Clark Government
- Topic Five: Constitutional, Legal and structural issues in Defence
- Topic Six: Australia New Zealand Closer defence Relationship
- Topic Seven: Future Directions in Defence Policy
- Topic Eight: Strategic Choices for New Zealand
- Topic Nine: Conclusions
- Topic Ten: Supplementary Issues (see additional readings in the Administrative Guide)

Readings

The 2005 readings by topic area are set out below:

Topic One: Introduction to Defence Policy

Dillon, G. M. (1988), ed., *Defence Policy Making: A Comparative Analysis*. Leicester University Press. Ch. 1: 1-8.

John Garnett (1976). *Defence Policy Making*. In L. W. Martin, ed., *The Management of Defence*. London: Macmillan.

Edward Hallett Carr (1939), *Power in International Politics*, in *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919 – 1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. London: Macmillan.

Gerald Hensley (1993). *The Relationship Between Defence and Foreign Policy*. In A. Trotter, ed., *Fifty Years of Foreign Policy*. Papers from the 28th Foreign Policy School, 1993. Dunedin: University of Otago Press. Pp. 133 –145.

Gary Hawke (1993) *Improving Policy Advice*. Introduction from Institute of Policy Studies monograph (1993). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Topic Two: New Zealand Historical Context

Michael King (1981), *New Zealanders and War in New Zealanders At War*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Margaret MacMillan (2001), *Peacemakers: Six Months that Changed the World*. London: John Murray.

W. David McIntyre and W. J. Gardner (1971), ed., *Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History: The Diplomacy of a Small State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

F. L. W. Wood (1958), *Impact of a Labour Government and Defence Policy in The New Zealand People at War: Political and External Affairs*. Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. Reprinted by Reed 1971.

F. L. W. Wood (1972), *Defence Perspectives: Political and Strategic Background*. Papers read at the 1972 Otago Foreign Policy School. Ken Keith, ed., Price Milburn for the NZIIA.

R. M. Mullins (1972), *Defence Perspectives: Defence Outlook*, *ibid*.

W. David McIntyre (1972), *Defence Perspectives: Regional Collective Security: The Motives of New Zealand and Malaysia*, *ibid*.

Hedley Bull (1972), *Defence Perspectives: Australia-New Zealand Cooperation*, *ibid*.

John Henderson (1991), *Changes in New Zealand Defence Policy*. In R. Kennaway and J. Henderson, eds., *Beyond New Zealand II: Foreign Policy in the 1990s*, Auckland: Longman Paul. Ch. 7: 82 – 93.

Terence O'Brien (2005), *Facing the World the New Zealand Way*. New Zealand International Review VOL XXX, NO 1, Jan/Feb 2005.

Topic Three: Current Defence Policy

A. The Foundation Documents:

The Government's Defence Policy Framework (June 2000)

Government Defence Statement (May 2001)

Defence Long-Term Development Plan (Originally Issued June 2002 and Updated June 2003)

B. Underpinned by:

External Assessments Bureau *Strategic Assessment 2000* (updated 2001)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade *New Zealand's Foreign and Security Policy Challenges* (June 2000)

Report of the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee *Inquiry into Defence Beyond 2000* (August 1999)

Government Members' Minority Report (ibid)

Government Response to *The Inquiry into Defence Beyond 2000*. Presented to the House of Representatives in accordance with Standing Order 251 (October 1999).

C. Recent Supporting Papers:

Ministry of Defence Annual Report 2003 (*accessed 03/05/04 at www.defence.govt.nz*)

Ministry of Defence Statement of Intent 1 July 2003 – 30 June 2004 (ibid)

Graham Fortune (July 2002) *New Zealand Defence Policy and the Pacific*. Paper presented at an NZIIA conference on New Zealand and the Pacific. Gerald McGhie and Bruce Brown eds., NZIIA, Wellington.

Defence Capability and Resourcing Review (DCARR). Final Report. Feb 2005.

D. Immediate Antecedents:

Government White Paper on Defence (1997) *The Shape of New Zealand's Defence*

Government White Paper on Defence (1991) *The Defence of New Zealand*

Gerald Hensley (1992) *The Development of the 1991 Defence White Paper*. Address to the Military Studies Centre.

Topic Four: Commentaries on Defence Policy under the Clark Government

Hugh White (2003) *Refocusing the Dialogue on Strategic Cooperation*. In *New Zealand International Review* Vol XXVIII, No 1. Jan/Feb 2003.

Simon Upton (Nov 2002) *Sense From Across the Tasman*. In *Trans Tasman* 7/11/02.
www.transtasman.co.nz/free_content/article_beinghonest_print.html

Gerard Henderson (April 2003) *Neighbours are Now Just Friends*. The Sydney Institute. www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/04/21/1050777209289.html

Extract from Australian Parliamentary Report on visit to New Zealand sponsored under the 2003 New Zealand Parliamentary Committee Exchange Programme. *New Zealand Defence Policy and Maritime Strategy: Conclusions*

Colin James (2001) *An Unequal Matter*. In The Australian 20/11/2001. www.synopsis.co.nz/other_articles/Australian_Sep_20_01.htm

Richard Bolt, Gerald Hensley, Ewan Jamieson, Robin Klitscher, Denis McLean and Somerford Teagle (June 2002) *Choice or Chance? New Zealanders Thinking About Defence Policy: A Green Paper on Defence*. www.maxim.org.nz/defence/defence.rtf

Gerald Hensley (2003) *Will New Zealand Ever Rejoin ANZUS?* In Policy, Spring 2003. www.cis.org.au/Policy/spr03/polspr03-5.htm

David Dickens (September 2000) *New Zealand Defence: Stocktake and Prospects*. Address as the (then) Director, Centre for Strategic Studies, VUW to the Dunedin Branch, NZIIA. Retrieved from Defence Library vertical files on 03/05/04.

David Dickens (March 1999) *An Independent Review of the Select Committee's Interim Report: Inquiry into Defence Beyond 2000*. *ibid*

Stephen Hoadley (March 1999) *Submission to the Select Committee Responding to the Interim Report Defence Beyond 2000*. *ibid*

Stephen Hoadley (December 1999) *F-16 Diplomacy*. Press release. *Ibid*.

Terence O'Brien (2005). *God Defend New Zealand – from what and how?* New Zealand International Review VOL XXX, NO 2 March/April 2005.

Dick Gentles (2005). *New Zealand Defence Policy: has it been transformed?* New Zealand International Review VOL XXX, NO 4 July/August 2005.

Hon Mark Burton (2005). *Defence White Papers, Transparency and Confidence Building*. Address to IISS 'Shangri La' seminar. Singapore June 05.

Topic Five: Constitutional, Legal and Structural Issues in Defence

Jim Rolfe (1993) *The Policy Environment*. In *Defending New Zealand: A Study of Structures, Processes and Relationships*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University. Ch 2: 20 – 55.

Lance Beath (1999) *Critical Assumptions Behind NZDF/MOD Reorganisation Proposals*. Presentation to Defence Working Group Meeting, University of Waikato, 1-2 May, 1999.

Lance Beath (1999) *Principal Features of the Agenda for Improved Organisational Performance in the New Zealand Public Sector (with special reference to the Defence organisations)*. Unpublished paper. VUW School of Government.

Lance Beath (1999) *The Separation of Policy Responsibility Between the NZDF and the MOD. A Case Study of Organisational and Other Issues Affecting the Quality and Delivery of Policy Advice from the Defence Organisations Together with Reflections on an Appropriate Intervention Strategy*. Unpublished paper. VUW School of Government.

Don Hunn (2002) *Review of Accountabilities and Structural Arrangements between the Ministry of Defence and the New Zealand Defence Force. Executive Summary. Ch 1: Introduction. Ch 2: Other Matters to be Taken Into Account. Annexes: Ministerial Press Release Announcing the Review; Terms of Reference; Summary Extracts from the Ansell/White Review; Legal Analysis of New Zealand's Defence Legislation; Summary of Legal Judgements Pertaining to an Attempt to Obtain a Judicial Review of the Decision to Disband the Air Combat Force; and, Culled Structural Options*.

Hon Mark Burton (2003) *Press Statement: Appointments Important Step for Defence*. Retrieved from www.beehive.govt.nz 03/05/04.

Topic Six: Australia New Zealand Closer Defence Relationship

Chris Pugsley (2004) *The ANZAC Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War*. Auckland: Reed Books.

Allan Behm (2001) *Defence and Security Across the Tasman*. Paper delivered to a conference organised by the Stout Research Centre/Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, to mark the 100th anniversary of Australia's Centenary of Federation. Paper published in *States of Mind: Australia and New Zealand 1901 – 2001*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies (2002).

Lance Beath (2001) *Imagination, Ambition, Vision and Realism: Moving Forward in the Defence Relationship with Australia, or, 'The Story of Little Babaji'*.

Robin Klitscher, Lance Beath, Brendan O'Loughlin, Jim Nockels (1993) *Making CDR Happen: The Views of the Practitioners*. Paper delivered to a conference organised by the Australian Defence Studies Centre on CDR. Published in *Australia New Zealand Closer Defence Relationships*. Robert Hall ed., ADSC 1993.

Cartoon acknowledgements: Ian Grant (2001) *The Other Side of the Ditch. A Cartoon Century in the New Zealand-Australia Relationship*. New Zealand Cartoon Archive, Alexander Turnbull Library. Auckland: Publishing Press.

Terence O'Brien (2004). *Address to Australian Defence College*. 9 August 2004.

Stuart McMillan (2005). *ANZAC Defence: Finding a Way Ahead*. New Zealand International Review VOL XXX, NO 4, July/August 2005.

Topic Seven: Future Directions in Defence Policy

Alan Stephens (1999) *Kosovo, or the Future of War*. Working Paper No. 54, August 1999.

Colin Gray (2002) *Thinking Asymmetrically in Times of Terror*. Parameters, Spring 2002, pp. 5 – 14.

Kenneth McKenzie (2000) *The Revenge of the Melians: What is Asymmetric Warfare?* McNair Paper 62. Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defence University, Washington, D.C. 2000.

Beatrice Heuser (2002) *Politics, the Trinity and Civil-Military Relations and Clausewitz's Relevance in the Twenty-First Century*. In *Reading Clausewitz*. London: Pimlico 2002.

Ivan Arreguin-Toft (2001) *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*. International Security Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 93-128.

Michael Howard (2001) *What's in a Name? How to Fight Terrorism*. Foreign Affairs, Jan-Feb 2002, pp. 8-13.

Peter Wilson, John Gordon, David Johnson (2003-04) *An Alternative Future Force: Building a Better Army*. Parameters Vol. XXXIII, No. 4. Winter 2003-04.

Colin Gray *History for Strategists: British Seapower as a Relevant Past*. In *Seapower: Theory and Practice*.

Eliot Cohen (1994) *The Mystique of U.S. Air Power*. Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 1994, pp. 109-124.

Eric Clemons and Jason Santamaria (2002) *Manoeuvre Warfare: Can Modern Military Strategy Lead You to Victory?* Harvard Business Review, April 2002, pp. 56-65

Colin Gray (2002) *High Concept*. In *Strategy for Chaos: Revolutions in Military Affairs and the Evidence of History*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.

Bruce Ferguson (2002) *Way Ahead for the New Zealand Defence Force*. Speech by Chief of the Defence Force Air Marshal Bruce Ferguson to the New Zealand Institute for International Affairs, Wellington, 22 August 2002.

Robyn Lim (2005). *Setting the Wider Strategic Context*. ASPI Scoping Studies: New Thinking on Security. January 2005.

Rod Lyon (2005). *Six Challenges*. Ibid.

Topic Eight: Strategic Choices for New Zealand

Colin James (1992) *The Push to Independence*. In *New Territory: The Transformation of New Zealand 1984-92*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Ramesh Thakur (1984) *Port Access and Alliance Management and Conclusion*. In *In Defence of New Zealand: Foreign Policy Choices in the Nuclear Age*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Stephen Hoadley (1989) *Defence*. In *The New Zealand Foreign Affairs Handbook*. Auckland : Oxford University Press. Contains text of relevant parts of the NZ Non-Nuclear Legislation, the ANZUS Treaty and other defence pacts.

David Lange (1993) *Transcript of Interview on ANZAC Ships 11 September 1993*.

Malcolm Templeton (1986) *What are the Choices? In Defence and Security: What New Zealand Needs*. Institute of Policy Studies. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Ian McGibbon (1999) *New Zealand Defence Policy from Vietnam to the Gulf*. In *New Zealand in World Affairs 1972-1990*. Bruce Brown ed., New Zealand Institute of International Affairs. Wellington: Victoria University Press 1999.

Hugh White (2002) *Australian Defence Policy and the Possibility of War*. Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 253-264, 2002.

Alan Dupont (2003) *Transformation or stagnation? Rethinking Australia's defence*. Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 57, No. 1, pp. 55-76, 2003.

Lance Beath (2001) *Why New Zealand Needs Another Defence White Paper*. New Zealand International Review, September/October 2001, VOL XXVI, No 5.

Topic Nine: Conclusions

Chris Pugsley (2004) *Epilogue: The Anzac Experience*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.

John Crawford and Glyn Harper (2001) *Planning and Preparation for Possible Operations in East Timor and Conclusion*. Operation East Timor: The New Zealand Defence Force in East Timor 1999-2001. Auckland: Reed Publishing.

Joel Hayward (2003) *Current and Future Challenges for New Zealand Commanders*. In *Born to Lead? Portraits of New Zealand Commanders*. Edited by Glyn Harper and Joel Hayward. Auckland: Exisle Publishing.

Paul Monk (2003) *Rethinking the Defence of Australia*. Defender. The Australian Defence Association Journal. Spring 2003.

Michael Ignatieff (2000) *Virtual War*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Barbara Tuchman (1984) *The March of Folly. From Troy to Vietnam*. Michael Joseph Ltd.

Colin S Gray (1999) *Strategy Eternal*. In *Modern Strategy*. Oxford University Press.

Roy Jenkins (2001) *Churchill*. London: Macmillan Books.

Ian McGibbon (1981) *Blue-Water Rationale. The Naval Defence of New Zealand 1914-1942. Introduction and Background.* At Annex copy of Memorandum Berendsen to Savage October 1938 commenting on the particular salience of the European theatre for the defence of the New Zealand dominion. Historical Publications Branch. Wellington.

Colin S Gray (2005). *How has War Changed Since the End of the Cold War?* Parameters. Spring 2005.

Colin S Gray (2005). *Transformation and Strategic Surprise.* Monograph for US Army Strategic Studies Institute. Available at www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/.

Richard K Betts (2000). *Is Strategy an Illusion?* International Security, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall 2000), pp 5-50.

Topic Ten: Supplementary Readings

See Administration Guide and Supplementary Readings Pack.

Assessment

The assessment criteria are as set out in the main text of the accompanying Administrative Guide and Course Outline issued to both sets of students (Massey and Victoria). These are repeated in summary form below:

Three assignments of 1,500, 2,000 and 2,500 words worth 10%, 15% and 25% of the final grade, attendance at a contact course worth 10% of the final grade and an end-of-year open book 3 hour examination worth 40% of the final grade.

Dates for the completion of the assignments and the end of year examination are as follows (note that some of these dates have been revised since the Administrative Guide was published):

- **Assignment One:** 1,500 words. 10% of final grade. **Due 5.00pm Tuesday 30 August 2005**
- **Assignment Two:** 2,000 words. 15% of final grade. **Due 5.00pm Tuesday 20 September 2005**
- **Assignment Three:** 2,500 words. 25% of final exam. **Due 5.00pm Tuesday 11 October 2005**
- **Open Book Final Exam:** 40% of final grade. **Sat on Saturday 5 November (am).** Time and place to be advised

Assessment topics and choices of topics are set out in the accompanying Administrative Guide. Students should refer to the guide in choosing their assignment topics.

Please send / hand-in all assignments to:

Francine McGee,
School of Government,
Victoria University of Wellington,
Level 8 Reception,
Rutherford House,
23 Lambton Quay,
P.O. Box 600,
Wellington.

Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.

Deadlines

The ability to plan for and meet deadlines is a core competency of both advanced study and public management. Failure to meet deadlines disrupts course planning and is unfair on students who do submit their work on time. It is expected therefore that you will complete and hand in assignments by the due date. Marks will be deducted at the rate of five for every working day by which the assignment is late (weekends and public holidays excluded) and no assignments will be accepted after five working days beyond the date they are due. For out of town students, two calendar days' grace is given to allow for time in the post. Electronic versions of assignments may be emailed to your course coordinator, but should be followed by hard copy.

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal emergencies prevent you from meeting the deadline for submitting a piece of written work or from attending class to make a presentation, you can apply for and may be granted an extension to the due date. You should let your course coordinator know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline if you are seeking an extension.

Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices

Railway West Wing (RWW) - FCA Student Administration Office

The Student Administration Office is located on the ground and first floors of the Railway West Wing. The ground floor counter is the first point of contact for general enquiries and FCA forms. Student Administration Advisers are available to discuss course status and give further advice about FCA qualifications.

Easterfield (EA) - FCA/Law Kelburn Office

The Kelburn Campus Office for the Faculties of Commerce & Administration and Law is situated in the Easterfield Building - it includes the ground floor reception desk (EA 005) and offices 125a to 131 (Level 1). The office, will be open from 9:00am to 5:00pm during Trimester 2, offers the following:

- Duty tutors for student contact and advice.
- Information concerning administrative and academic matters.
- FCA Student Administration forms (e.g. application for academic transcripts, requests for degree audit, COP requests).
- Examinations-related information during the examination period.

Please note:

There will be a Student Administration Adviser, from the RWW office, based in EA 005 from Monday 27 June to Friday 1 July (9:00am to 5:00pm) and from Monday 4 July to Friday 22 July (11:00am to 1:00pm).

General University Policies and Statutes

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly those regarding assessment and course of study requirements, and formal academic grievance procedures.

Student Conduct and Staff Conduct

The Statute on Student Conduct together with the Policy on Staff Conduct ensure that members of the University community are able to work, learn, study and participate in the academic and social aspects of the University's life in an atmosphere of safety and respect. The Statute on Student Conduct contains information on what conduct is prohibited and what steps can be taken if there is a complaint. For queries about complaint procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct, contact the Facilitator and Disputes Advisor. This Statute is available in the Faculty Student Administration Office or on the website at www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/StudentConduct. The policy on Staff Conduct can be found on the VUW website at www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/StaffConduct.

Academic Grievances

If you have any academic problems with your course you should talk to the tutor or lecturer concerned or, if you are not satisfied with the result of that meeting, see the Head of School or the Associate Dean (Students) of your Faculty. Class representatives are available to assist you with

this process. If, after trying the above channels, you are still unsatisfied, formal grievance procedures can be invoked. These are set out in the Academic Grievances Policy which is published on the VUW website at www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/AcademicGrievances.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means **no cheating**. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. Plagiarism is **prohibited** at Victoria.

The University defines plagiarism as follows:

Plagiarism is presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not.

'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea, even if it is presented in your own style. It includes material from books, journals or any other printed source, the work of other students or staff, information from the Internet, software programmes and other electronic material, designs and ideas. It also includes the organization or structuring of any such material.

Plagiarism is not worth the risk.

Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct (www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/studentconduct) and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- suspension from class or university
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course.

Find out more about plagiarism and how to avoid it, on the University's website at www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html.

Students with Disabilities

The University has a policy of reasonable accommodation of the needs of students with disabilities. The policy aims to give students with disabilities an equal opportunity with all other students to demonstrate their abilities. If you have a disability, impairment or chronic medical condition (temporary, permanent or recurring) that may impact on your ability to participate, learn and/or achieve in lectures and tutorials or in meeting the course requirements, then please contact the Course Coordinator as early in the course as possible. Alternatively you may wish to approach a

Student Adviser from Disability Support Services to confidentially discuss your individual needs and the options and support that are available. Disability Support Services are located on Level 1, Robert Stout Building, telephone 463-6070 or email disability@vuw.ac.nz. The name of your School's Disability Liaison Person can be obtained from the Administrative Assistant or the School Prospectus.

Student Support

Staff at Victoria want students' learning experiences at the University to be positive. If your academic progress is causing you concern, please contact the relevant Course Co-ordinator, or Associate Dean who will either help you directly or put you in contact with someone who can.

The Student Services Group is also available to provide a variety of support and services. Find out more at www.vuw.ac.nz/st_services/ or email student-services@vuw.ac.nz.

VUWSA employs two Education Coordinators who deal with academic problems and provide support, advice and advocacy services, as well as organising class representatives and faculty delegates. The Education Office is located on the ground floor, Student Union Building, telephone (04) 463 - 6983 or (04) 463 – 6984 or email education@vuwsa.org.nz.

Maori and Pacific Mentoring programme (Manaaki Pihipihinga)

This is a free programme of mentoring for Maori and Pacific students doing first year courses within the Faculty of Commerce and Administration. Weekly one hour mentoring sessions: drafting and editing assignments/discussing any questions that you might have from tutorials or lectures and going over every aspect of essay writing, either in small group sessions or on a one-to-one basis.

This includes:

- A computer suite hooked up to cyber commons for students to use to produce their assignments.
- Regular skill-based workshops with a learning adviser from Student Learning Support Services.
- Networking with other Maori and Pacific support groups throughout the university.

For more information please contact:

Melissa Dunlop, Programme Coordinator

Telephone (04) 463 - 6015 or email Maori-Pacific-Mentoring@vuw.ac.nz