

School of Government

STRA 504 NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN POLICY (15 Points)

Trimester Two 2006

COURSE OUTLINE

Contact Details

Course Co-ordinator:

Dr Roderic Alley

Room RH 506, Level 5, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus.
(Alternatively (Mondays and Thursdays) Room MU 501, Level 5, Murphy Building, Kelburn Campus)

Telephone: (04) 970-8341

Fax: (04) 463-5454

Email: roderic.alley@vuw.ac.nz

Individual consultation, in particular on projects, is encouraged. It is best to arrange these meetings by either email, or direct phone contact.

Administrator:

Darren Morgan

Room RH 802, Level 8, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus

Telephone: (04) 463-5458

Fax: (04) 463-5454

Email: darren.morgan@vuw.ac.nz

Course Dates, Times and Location

Module Four: Wednesday 30 August 2006 8.30am-6.00pm

Module Five: Wednesday 18 October 2006 8.30am-6.00pm

Module Six: Wednesday 22 November 2006 8.30am-6.00pm

Location:

The course will be held on the Pipitea Campus of Victoria University of Wellington. You will be advised of your classroom one week prior to the course by email.

Course Objectives

The brief course description for this paper stipulates: The theory and practice of strategic studies are used to examine how New Zealand and the states that it interacts with seek to maximise their advantages in an increasingly interdependent world. To this end, students are encouraged to explore established and alternative approaches to foreign policy formulation and implementation.

By the end of the course, students will have an understanding of the key concepts of New Zealand foreign policy and foreign policy formulation. Students will have compared and contrasted key modes of foreign policy delivery, how it is formulated, and substantive questions about the nature of strategic choice that is informed by a comparison of contemporary New Zealand foreign relations. An opportunity will have been provided to critically assess how New Zealand foreign policy and foreign policy formulation operates. Case study evaluations include New Zealand's relations with Pacific Island states, with China, its conduct at the United Nations, and its utilisation of multilateral settings.

Course Content

After an introduction to the field of foreign policy analysis, the class will evaluate a range of propositions of particular relevance to New Zealand's foreign relations. They include issues of asymmetry in New Zealand's relations with stronger states and entities; small state foreign policy conduct; altering conceptions of security; economic and resource determinants; multilateral and legal considerations; globalizations impacts; and issues of foreign policy management.

Expected Workload

The average workload per week for students studying in this course is approximately six hours. Depending on priorities, this will entail reading, note-taking, drafting of assignments, library search time and attendance at classes. Class attendance is vital, absences treated as unacceptable with the exception of serious illness, family bereavement or unforeseen travel difficulties.

Group Work

Formal group work does not comprise a component of this course, but a deliberate effort will be made to ensure students work closely with each other for purposes of joint class presentations, out of class contact over sources of information, and shared course-monitoring activities. Utilisation of the VUW Blackboard facility will assist in these objectives.

Readings

Students will receive a reader of STRA 504 Course Materials. Treat this collection as useful but supplementary to wider reading and eliciting of information. Recommended titles for purchase from VicBooks include Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, Palgrave MacMillan 2003; and Ralph Pettman (ed), *New Zealand in a Globalising world*, VUW Press, 2005.

Materials and Equipment

Students may bring back up computing equipment to class for downloads of course material when desired. The course will utilize Blackboard facilities where enrolled students have automatic access.

Assessment Requirements

Assessment for this course is based on the following: Two submitted briefing papers neither exceeding 800 words: 20 per cent; Assignment One: 30 per cent; Assignment Two: 50 per cent.

Due Dates

- Briefing paper One is due on 1 October.
- Briefing paper Two and Assignment One are due on or before 18 October.
- Assignment Two is due on or before 22 November.

On the first class day, some time is allocated to discussing assignment planning, management and completion.

Please post / 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.

ANZSOG candidates taking this course as an elective should note that they take it for 24 points, and not 15 points. Accordingly, the learning outcomes to be achieved by ANZSOG candidates are wider and deeper than those expected for non-ANZSOG candidates. The content of those learning outcomes, and the means whereby they will be assessed, will be negotiated and confirmed with the course co-ordinator at the start of the course.

Penalties

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 submitted by email, but MUST be followed by a hard copy.**

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal emergencies prevent you from meeting the deadline for submitting your assignments, you can apply for, and may be granted, an extension to the due date. **Note that this applies only to extreme unforeseen circumstances and is not necessarily awarded.** You should let your course co-ordinator/lecturer know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline if you are seeking an extension.

Mandatory Course Requirements

To pass this course, students must have completed at least one Briefing Paper, completed attendance at least two of the full-day sessions and averaged at least a pass from the total grading allocated for the two assignments submitted for the course.

Communication of Additional Information

This course outline is accompanied by a STRA 504 Bibliography and an Assignment List. A programme agenda outlining each day's activities will be circulated in advance via Blackboard. Students will be notified in advance of class venue locations at the Pipitea Campus.

Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices

Railway West Wing (RWW) - FCA Student and Academic Services Office

The Faculty's Student and Academic Services 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. To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463-5376.

Easterfield (EA) - FCA/Education/Law Kelburn Office

The Kelburn Campus Office for the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, Education 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 is available for the following:

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

To check for opening hours call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463-5376.

General University Policies and Statutes

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied. See the Victoria University Calendar available in hard copy or under 'About Victoria' on the VUW home page at www.vuw.ac.nz.

Student 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 are to be taken if there is a complaint. For information about complaint procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct, contact the Facilitator and Disputes Advisor or refer to the statute on the VUW policy 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; class representatives may be able to help you in this. If you are not satisfied with the result of that meeting, see the Head of School or the relevant Associate Dean; VUWSA Education Co-ordinators are available to assist in 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. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other student or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is, however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalised severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

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

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 Impairments

The University has a policy of reasonable accommodation of the needs of students with disabilities. The policy aims to give students with disabilities the same opportunity as 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, please contact the Course Co-ordinator as early in the course as possible. Alternatively, you may wish to approach a Student Adviser from Disability Support Services (DSS) to discuss your individual needs and the available options and support on a confidential basis. DSS are located on Level 1, Robert Stout Building, telephone (04) 463-6070, email disability@vuw.ac.nz. The name of your School's Disability Liaison Person is in the relevant prospectus or can be obtained from the School Office or DSS.

Student Support

Staff at Victoria want students to have positive learning experiences at the University. Each Faculty has a designated staff member who can either help you directly if your academic progress is causing you concern, or quickly put you in contact with someone who can. Assistance for specific groups is also available from the Kaiwawao Māori, Manaaki Pihipihinga or Victoria International.

In addition, the Student Services Group (email student-services@vuw.ac.nz) is available to provide a variety of support and services. Find out more at www.vuw.ac.nz/st_services/.

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

Manaaki Pihipihinga - Maori and Pacific Mentoring Programme (Faculty of Commerce and Administration)

This is a mentoring service for Maori and Pacific students studying at all levels. Weekly one hour sessions are held at the Kelburn and Pipitea Campuses in the Mentoring Rooms, 14 Kelburn Parade, and Room 210 and 211, Level 2, Railway West Wing. Sessions cover drafting and discussing assignments, essay writing, and any questions that may arise from tutorials and/or lectures. A computer suite networked to Cyber Commons is available for student use.

To register with Manaaki Pihipihinga, please contact one of the following:

Puawai Wereta
Room 210, Level 2
Railway West Wing
Tel. (04) 463-8997

Email: puawai.wereta@vuw.ac.nz

Fa'afai Seiuli
Room 109 B
14 Kelburn Parade
Tel. (04) 463-5842

Email: faafoi.seiuli@vuw.ac.nz

STRA 504 Written Assignments

Briefing Papers

Two briefing papers are required for this course. The briefing paper length must not exceed 800 words and needs to concentrate on essential points. These papers are graded against criteria of clarity, coherence and pertinence to the question being addressed. You need to briefly list key sources consulted. These contributions may be used to provide the basis for individual presentations for class discussion. The first briefing paper is due on or before October 1. The second is due on or before October 16. Papers can be submitted either by electronic means or as hard copy to Francine McGee, Reception 8th Floor Rutherford House (for further details see Course Outline).

Briefing paper One

Choose any one of the following:

1. Write a pilot outline for the major written assignment for this course. This needs to include the following:
 - student name
 - topic chosen
 - abstract outlining project objectives, and indicating what is being attempted (up to 300 words)
 - method of approach being utilised and why chosen (up to 200 words)
 - relevant theory or theories applied and why this matters (up to 200 words)
 - key sources (up to 100 words).
2. What were the major foreign policy considerations and implications of New Zealand's close involvement in the Bougainville peace process?
3. Assess and evaluate the foreign policy implications of New Zealand's engagement in the formulation and development of the Pacific Plan, authorized in 2004 by the Pacific Islands Forum.
4. What has the politics of whaling meant for New Zealand's relations with its Pacific Island Forum partners?
5. What difficulties has New Zealand faced over the issue of China and Taiwan competing for influence among member states of the Pacific Islands Forum, and how has it attempted to overcome those difficulties?
6. Regarding development assistance for post-conflict situations, what are the policy considerations that the New Zealand government needs to address?

Briefing paper Two

Choose any one of the following:

1. What foreign policy and international legal considerations help to explain why New Zealand policy on refugees differs from that of Australia?
2. What foreign policy and international security considerations help to explain why New Zealand policy on nuclear disarmament differs from that of Australia?
3. How and why do asymmetrical considerations affect New Zealand's bargaining position in its attempts to negotiate a bilateral free trade agreement with China?

4. Assess migration from Asia into New Zealand as a factor affecting New Zealand's relations with East and Southeast Asia.
5. What foreign policy implications for New Zealand are contained in the notion of states having "A Responsibility to Protect"?
6. How has New Zealand handled the issue of human rights in its relations with China?
7. In reviewing Hill's book, Rosati finds the study of foreign policy frustrating (see Course Bibliography). In considering the analysis of New Zealand's external relations, how well grounded are such frustrations?

Assignment One (due on or before 16 October)

(Expected length of assignment including footnotes and references, 4-5000 words).

1. In assessing New Zealand's foreign relations over the last two decades, explain why the role of the New Zealand Prime Minister in that activity has varied to the extent that it has.
2. What is the impact of domestic public opinion and the news media on New Zealand foreign policy, and vice versa?
3. "If we expect our government to pursue it, our soldiers to die for it, and our foreign policies to conform to it, then we surely ought to know what, precisely, the *national interest* is." Does a clear statement identifying New Zealand's national interest exist? If so, why does it contain what it does? If not, what does this suggest about the content and conduct of New Zealand's foreign relations?
4. Compare and evaluate the strategies that New Zealand has followed in pursuit of its objectives at the Doha Round of trade liberalization.
5. Compare and evaluate the strategies that New Zealand has followed in pursuit of its partnership and cooperation objectives in East and Southeast Asia.
6. Compare and assess costs and advantages encountered by New Zealand in its pursuit of international litigation over trade and resource management disputes since 1990.

Assignment Two (due on or before 22 November)

(Subject to consultation and agreement with the supervisor, students have an opportunity to devise a topic of their choosing or to reformulate a question listed).

(Expected length of assignment including footnotes and references, 6-7000 words).

1. Compare and evaluate problems with opportunities in an assessment of what an effective 'whole of government' approach to the formulation, conduct and implementation of New Zealand's foreign relations might mean.
2. To what extent have tensions between the imperatives of sovereignty, and the values comprising national identity, impacted on the priorities and conduct of New Zealand's foreign relations?
3. How and why have forces of globalization affected the development and current state of the Australia/New Zealand relationship?

4. Assess the following claim: 'Institutions matter because they do more than just reflect power (as neo-realists argue) or solve collective action problems (as institutionalists suggest). They also matter because they help explain how new norms emerge and are diffused across the international system and how state interests change and evolve'. Compare nuclear disarmament with international environmental management for the extent to which New Zealand has engaged in the process quoted.
5. Assess and evaluate feasible international strategies designed to foster stability, cooperation, prosperity, equity, and accountable governance throughout Oceania. To what extent are such strategies being pursued by New Zealand?
6. How and why are New Zealand's relations with China affected by the policies and posture of the United States towards multilateral institutions, international law, and nuclear proliferation?

STRA 504 Bibliography

Readings

Students will receive a compendium of course readings. Recommended titles (designated by an asterisk on the reading list) are available at VicBooks, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus.

Recommended Readings and Reference Works

(Guidance for some material locations is provided at the first session of the course).

Buzan, Barry Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

Carlsnaes, Walter 'Foreign Policy', in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds), *Handbook of International Relations*, London: Sage, 2000, pp. 331-50.

Goldstein, Judith and Robert Keohane (eds), *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

*Hill, Christopher *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Hudson, Valerie (ed), *Culture and Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997.

Janis, Irving *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982.

Katzenstein, Peter (ed), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Renshon, S. A. and Deborah Larson (eds), *Good Judgment in Foreign Policy*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Neak, Laura, Jeanne Hey and Patrick Haney (eds), *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995.

Rosati, Jerel, Joel Hagan and Martin Sampson (eds), *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia SC: University South Carolina Press, 1994.

Rosati, Jerel 'The Frustrating Study of Foreign Policy Analysis', *International Studies Review*, 6, 1, 2004, pp. 109-11. (review of Christopher Hill, 2003).

Sylvan, Donald A. and James F. Voss (eds), *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

New Zealand related materials

Asia-New Zealand Foundation, 'A Stocktake of Research on New Zealand Asia Engagement', (PDF) at: www.asianz.org.nz/research.

Ayson, Robert 'New Zealand and East Asia's Security Future', *Asia New Zealand Foundation Outlook Series*, April 2006 at: www.asianz.org.nz/research/outlook.

Brown, Bruce (ed), *New Zealand in World Affairs III, 1972-1990*. Wellington: VUW Press/NZIIA, 1999.

Dupont, Alan 'Transformation or stagnation? Rethinking Australia's Defence', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 57, 1, 2003, pp. 55-76.

Foot, Rosemary 'Chinese Strategies in a US Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging', *International Affairs*, 82, 1, 2006, pp. 77-94, (available VUW Library electronic journal access).

- Greenpeace* (2006), 'Japanese Whaling', at: www.greenpeace.org/international/campaigns/save-our-seas-2.
- Gyngell, Alan and Michael Wesley *Making Australian Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Henderson, J. and Greg Watson (eds), *Securing a Peaceful Pacific*, Canterbury University Press, 2005.
- Henderson, J. 'The International Setting', in J. Henderson and Greg Watson (eds), op. cit., pp. 510-15
- Hoadley, Stephen *Pacific Island Security Management by New Zealand and Australia: Towards a New Paradigm*. Centre for Strategic Studies, VUW, 20/05, 2005.
- Huntley, Wade 'The Kiwi That Roared: Nuclear Free New Zealand in Nuclear Armed World', *The Nonproliferation Review*, Fall, 1996, at: www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/vol04/41/huntle41.pdf
- Law Commission. *A New Zealand Guide to International Law and its Sources*. Wellington: Law Commission, 1996.
- McCraw, David J. "New Zealand's foreign policy in the 1990s: In the National Tradition?" *The Pacific Review*, 23, 4, 2000.
- McKinnon, Malcolm *Independence and Foreign Policy. New Zealand in the World Since 1935*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993.
- Mossop, Joanna 'When is a Whale Sanctuary not a Whale Sanctuary?', *VUW Law Review*, 36, 4, 2005.
- New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Statement of Intent 2003*. Wellington: MFAT: 2003.
- New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Trade Matters: Trade Rules and Dispute Settlement*, at: www.mfat.govt.nz.
- New Zealand Handbook on International Human Rights*. Wellington: MFAT 1998.
- Pacific Magazine*, 'Pacific Nations have Opportunity to end Whaling', June 1 2006, at: www.pacificislands.cc/pina/.
- The Pacific Plan*, Pacific Islands Forum at: <http://www.pacificplan.org/tiki-page.php?pageName=The+Pacific+Plan>.
- Patman, Robert and Chris Rudd (eds), *Sovereignty Under Siege? Globalisation and New Zealand*, Ashgate, 2005.
- * Pettman, Ralph (ed), *New Zealand in a Globalising World*, Victoria University Press, 2005.
- Serdy, Andrew 'the Paradoxical Success of UNCLOS Part XV', *VUW Law Review*, 36, 4, 2005.
- UNHCR, *Country Operations Plan: Australia New Zealand and the South Pacific 2006*, at: www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/telex/vtx/home/opendoc.pdf?tbl=RSDCOI&id=4332c5fa2.
- Ware, Alyn Kate Dewes and Michael Powles *Snaring the Sun: Opportunities to Prevent Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and Advance Nuclear Disarmament through an Abolition Framework*, at: (www.disarmsecure.org/publications/papers).
- Wainwright, Elsin (2003), 'Responding to state failure – the case of Australia and Solomon Islands', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 57, 3, pp. 485-98.

Useful Websites

Amnesty International	www.amnesty.org
Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies	www.apcss.org
Australia Strategic Policy Institute	www.aspi.org.au/
Australian Institute for International Affairs	www.aia.asn.au
CSIS Jakarta	www.csis.or.id/
International Alert	www.international-alert.org/
International Crisis Group	www.crisisweb.org
International Institute for Strategic Studies	www.iiss.org/
New Zealand Institute of International Affairs	www.vuw.ac.nz/nziia/
Royal Institute of International Affairs / Chatham House	www.chathamhouse.org.uk
Royal Institute for International Relations	www.irri-kiib.be/about.htm
Scholarly Articles Research Alerting	www.tandf.co.uk/sara
United Nations	www.un.org
The WWW Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources	http://www2.etown.edu/vl/