



**School of History, Philosophy,  
Political Science and International Relations**

**Trimesters 1 & 2, 2008**

**INTP452 Special Topic  
International Politics and the Role of the European Union**

**Course Coordinator:** Dr Kennedy Graham

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**Office Hours:** Thursday 10 am -12 noon, MY511

**Course Description:**

This course examines the phenomenon of regionalism in contemporary international relations. The EU is studied in the comparative context of regional organizations, with a focus on 'effective multilateralism' as the doctrinal paradigm for nation-state behaviour in the 21st century. The course explores the global challenges faced by the international community and the EU's strategic approach and specific policies in response, including analyses of the EU-UN and EU-NZ partnerships. This is undertaken within the context of the dynamics between international law and politics at the global level

**Course Aims:**

- To impart knowledge and understanding of
- (i) the political and legal dynamics in international politics through the early 21<sup>st</sup> century; and
  - (ii) the current and potential role of the European Union in advancing its integration agenda and contributing to global cooperation.

**Seminar Meetings:** Thursday 12 noon – 2 pm, Murphy 103

<b>Assessment:</b> Class presentations	20%
Research paper (4,000 - 5,000 words)	40%
One two-hour examination (two questions)	40%

**Mandatory Course Requirements:**

- Attendance in this course is mandatory and active participation will be expected, through in-class discussion and individual presentations.
- Attaining a mark of at least 40% of the total marks for the examination (to be scheduled during the examination period 13 October - 9 November 2008)
- Submission of research paper due on October 6.

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's aegrotat regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Professor Stephen Levine) in advance of the deadline. In 2008 the deadline will be 5 p.m. on **Monday, 6 October**. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

### **Additional Information**

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in seminars.

### **Expected workload**

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 18 hours per week to reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes the 2 hours seminar per week.

### **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 students 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 penalized 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:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

### **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 hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/calendar\\_intro.html](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html)

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

### **Background to Course**

In the six decades of the current era (post-1945), the international community has undergone dynamic and far-reaching change. The development in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century of structures and norms for the avoidance of traditional inter-state warfare has metamorphosed into a more complex interaction between nation-states in the early-21<sup>st</sup>. Contemporary inter-governmental relations are supplemented by closely-associated phenomena – regional integration movements and non-state actors (corporations and civil society organizations), all of this occurring under the relentless influence of economic and technological globalisation.

Still at the epicentre of international politics nonetheless, national governments continuously strive to adapt to such change – structurally through the UN / Bretton Woods institutions, doctrinally through ensuring the continuing relevance of the UN Charter and related constitutional documents of international organizations.

- Doctrinally, new concepts and norms such as 'human security', 'global sustainability' and the development of individual personality and responsibility in international law combine to offer a vision of how a future global community might be.
- Institutionally, the UN reform exercise seeks to accord greater legitimacy to the Organization in its enforcement function and greater coherence and efficiency in its technical operations.

It has become clear, however, in the post-Cold War world that the United Nations is unable to cope alone with the myriad problems and challenges confronting the international community. The euphoric expectations and ambitious plans for the UN in the early 1990s have ceded to a more sobered realisation of the need to rely on other effective organizations as partners in the 'three pillars' of human endeavour – peace, development and human rights.

The main response to this recognised need for partnership has been the phenomenon of regionalism – the rapid development and strengthening of regional organizations. The traditional model of ‘regional cooperation’, envisaged in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, has been supplemented by the modern phenomenon of ‘regional integration’. And the far-reaching leader in this respect – *sui generis* in nature yet already being emulated elsewhere – is the European Union.

While the EU is rooted in the same mid-20<sup>th</sup> century aspiration of war-avoidance, its remarkable growth and sense of direction has resulted in a self-transformation into a unique regional phenomenon on the world stage. For its part, the UN has moved purposefully, especially in the past five years, to develop an increasingly close operational partnership with the EU in many areas of international endeavour – peace and security, sustainability and environmental protection, and development and humanitarian affairs. The relationship between New Zealand and the EU within this broad context will also be studied.

### **Seminar Topics**

**Thursday, 13 March,**

#### **1. International politics: introduction to past & present developments (institutions, doctrines and law)**

This session gives a broad overview of the development of political institutions, international organizations and international law throughout our five millennia of recorded history. It sets the scene of the subsequent course analysis of modern global and regional structures, focusing on the themes of universalism and nationalism.

#### ***Required Reading***

Thomas Smith, *History and International Relations* (Routledge, London; 1999)  
Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8

#### ***Reading:***

Barry Buzan & Richard Little, *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations* (Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2000)

B.H. Liddell Hart, *Why Don't We Learn from History?* (Allen & Unwin, London; 1944)

Herbert Butterfield, *The Discontinuities between the Generations in History: Their Effect on the Transmission of Political Experience* (CUP, Cambridge; 1972)

Joseph Needham, *History and Human Values: A Chinese Perspective for World Science and Technology* (University of London SOAS; 1975)

**Thursday, 20 March,**

**2. The global scene (I): the ‘Westphalian’ nation-state era and the modern ‘hybrid’ era**

This session reviews the nodal point in international politics that created and reinforced the modern national era (Westphalia, 1648; Vienna, 1815) and the nodal points that created the early multilateral era (Versailles, 1919), bequeathing a ‘hybrid system’ of international politics. Attention will be given to regionalism as a dimension of that political system.

***Required Reading***

James Caporaso, *Continuity and Change in the Westphalian Order* Blackwell, Oxford; 2000)  
Chapters

***Reading:***

Jeremy Black, *European International Relations 1648-1815* (Palgrave, NY; 2002)

Derek Croxton, *Peacemaking in Early Westphalia: Cardinal Mazarin and the Congress of Westphalia* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press; 1999)

**Thursday, 3 April,**

**3. The global scene (II): The United Nations & Bretton Woods system**

This session explores the creation and the nature of the United Nations and Bretton Woods systems (San Francisco, 1945), their development over the past 60 years, and their contemporary inter-relationship. It reviews the UN Charter and the extent to which it acts as the foundation of contemporary international relations.

***Required Reading***

Bruno Simma, (Ed.) *The United Nations Charter: A Commentary* (OUP; 2004)  
Chapters: History, Interpretation

***Reading:***

Stephen Schlesinger. *Act of Creation: The Untold Story of the Founding of the United Nations*. (Boulder; Westview Press, 2003)

Ann Keller & Laura Klein, *Global Perspectives: A Handbook for Understanding Global Issues* (Prentice Hall, NJ; 1999)

**Thursday, 10 April,**

**4. The global scene (III): Current dynamic change and development in international politics & law**

This session explores the factual and doctrinal changes that have occurred in international politics over the past two decades and the manner these have affected the United Nations and its Member States’ perception of the global scene.

**Required Reading**

Kennedy Graham (Ed.), *The Planetary Interest: A New Concept for the Global Age* (Taylor & Francis, London & Rutgers University Press, New Jersey; 1999)  
Chapters 1, 2, 3, 16

Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* (United Nations, New York; 2004)

World Summit Outcome Document: UN Doc A/RES/60/1

**Reading:**

Sten Ask & Anna Mark-Jungkvist, *The Adventure of Peace: Dag Hammarskjöld and the Future of the UN* (Regeringskansliet (Swedish Government Offices) Atlantis, Stockholm; 2005)

Manuel Frölich, *Political Ethics and the United Nations: Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General* (Oxford, Routledge; 2008)

**Thursday, 1 May,**

**5. The regional scene (I): the historical development and contemporary nature of regionalism**

This session considers the rise of regionalism within the 20<sup>th</sup>-century 'hybrid' multilateral era. It briefly reviews the attention to regionalism within the League of Nations system, before analysing in depth the treatment of regionalism in the UN Charter (with particular focus on Charter VIII).

**Required Reading**

Kennedy Graham & Tania Felicio, *Regional Security and Global Governance* (VUB Press, Brussels; 2006)  
Chapters 1, 2, 3

**Thursday, 8 May,**

**6. The regional scene (II): modern regional organizations – 'cooperative' & 'integrative' models**

This session looks at the various models of regional organization around the world in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. It considers the European Union in the comparative context of other regional organizations and reflects on whether the EU is a regional organization in the context of the UN Charter.

**Required Reading:**

Kennedy Graham & Tania Felicio, *Regional Security and Global Governance* (VUB Press, Brussels; 2006)  
Chapters 9, 10

Kennedy Graham, Ed, *Models of Regional Governance* (Canterbury University Press, Christchurch; 2008)

Chapters 1, 11

**Thursday, 15 May,**

**7. The European Union (I): antecedents, origins and growth**

This session reviews the antecedents, origins and early growth of the EU, from the 1950s to the 1990s.

***Required Reading:***

Kennedy Graham & Tania Felicio, *Regional Security and Global Governance* (VUB Press, Brussels; 2006)  
Chapter 5

**Thursday, 22 May,**

**8. The European Union (II): analysis and challenges (the Constitution and the Reform Treaty)**

This session continues the review of the development of the EU, from the 2001 Treaty of Nice through to the Lisbon Treaties of 2007. It explores the fundamental changes underway within the EU as a result of the reform treaties, how these will be manifest over the next few years, and their implications for regionalism elsewhere in the world.

***Required Reading:***

[http://europa.eu/abc/treaties/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/treaties/index_en.htm)

**Thursday, 29 May,**

**9. The European Union (III): the Common Foreign & Security Policy (CFSP)**

This session focuses on the origin, development, challenges and recent strengthening of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. It considers in particular the challenges of policy coordination among the 27 Member States, to ensure that the EU 'speaks with one voice' and acts accordingly.

***Required Reading:***

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 2, 3

**Thursday, 10 July,**

**10. The European Union (IV): the EU & the UN – 'An Ever-Stronger Partnership'**

This session introduces the relationship between the EU and the UN, in a general sense. It reviews the early entry of the EU in the world of international politics and the early relationship with the UN. It then traces the gradual strengthening of that relationship which has quickened remarkably within the past five years.

**Required Reading:**

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 1, 19-22

**Thursday, 17 July,**

**11. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (I): Peace & security – use of force**

Sessions 11 through 17 focus in on specific thematic issues in the EU – UN partnership, assessing how, in each case, that partnership has affected the nature of international politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Required Reading:**

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 13 – 16, 18

**Thursday, 24 July,**

**12. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (II): Peace & security – weapons of mass destruction****Reading:**

Kennedy Graham & Tania Felicio, *Regional Security and Global Governance* (VUB Press, Brussels; 2006)  
Chapter 6 (pp. 201-214 on NATO)

**Thursday, 31 July,**

**13. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (III): Criminal jurisdiction – ICC & regional courts****Required Reading:**

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapter 17

**Thursday, 7 August,**

**14. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (IV): Social development – democracy promotion****Required Reading:**

Gonzalo Jorro Martinez, *Observing the Observers – The EU's Electoral Observation Missions* (Master's Thesis in International Relations, College of Europe, Bruges; 2007)



**Thursday, 14 August,**

**15. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (V): Social development – human rights, humanitarian & refugee assistance**

***Required Reading:***

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 9, 10

**Thursday, 4 September,**

**16. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (VI): Sustainability – footprints and climate change**

***Required Reading:***

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 11, 12

**Thursday, 11 September,**

**17. Selected Issues of the EU-UN Partnership (VII): Development– trade & finance**

***Required Reading:***

Wouters, B. et al, Eds., *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, (TMC Asser Press, The Hague; 2006)  
Chapters 4, 5, 6,

**Thursday, 18 September,**

**18. New Zealand, the EU and the UN – where do we fit?**

This session explores the NZ relationship with the EU, with particular focus on security and trade issues. It raises also the relationship between the EU with the Pacific (including the Pacific Islands Forum) and considers the importance, or otherwise, of this region in the EU's world-view.

***Required Reading:***

NZ Institute for International Affairs, *New Zealand in World Affairs*, Vol. IV (2007)  
Chapter

Kennedy Graham, Ed, *Models of Regional Governance* (Canterbury University Press, Christchurch; 2008)  
Chapter 2