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**European Community Foreign Policy Actions in the 1980s**

**Presented to the Second Biennial International Conference  
of the European Community Studies Association**

**George Mason University**

**May 22-24, 1991**

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**Draft Paper Only  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPs	African, Caribbean, and Pacific states of the Lome Convention
Bilat	Bilateral
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (also known as COMECON)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIB	European Investment Bank
EPC	European Political Cooperation
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
Integ	Integration
Inter	Interdependence
Interreg	Interregional
Multi	Multilateral
MFN	Most-favored-nation treatment
PHARE	Poland-Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy
QRs	Quantitative Restrictions
SADCC	Southern African Development Cooperation Council
Secur	Security
STCs	State Trading Countries
Unil	Unilateral

## European Community Foreign Policy Actions in the 1980s

### Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to show—through empirical analysis—the widening scope of European Community (EC) foreign policy actions and to explain the causes of those actions. The premium is placed on development and interpretation of macropolitical data to gauge historical trends rather than on case study. These data show that the EC became an active foreign policy player many years before the events of 1989-90 in Eastern and Central Europe brought the world's attention to the leading position of the EC in the geometry of a post-cold war international system. The paper draws on, and expands upon, the author's work in Foreign Policy Actions of the European Community: The Politics of Scale (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989) and lectures given at the University of Miami, New York University, Columbia University, Lafayette College, and Northwestern University during Spring 1991.

The need to understand the behavior of the EC as a foreign policy actor—limits and reaches included—is made more pressing by the convening of the intergovernmental conference on political union last December in Rome and the security dilemma which faced the EC during the Gulf War in early 1991. Throughout 1991, members are considering changes in the way in which the EC makes foreign policy, not only to further integrate the foreign policy sector but to consider expansion of the European project to include defense policy.

Two central concepts are introduced in the paper: foreign policy action and politics of scale. An EC foreign policy action is a specific, conscious, goal-oriented undertaking putting forth a unified membership position toward nonmembers, international bodies, and international events and issues (Ginsberg, 1989, p. 2). Joint foreign policy activity refers to the process by which the EC and its members coordinate and implement joint civilian foreign policy actions to reap benefits from politics of scale. Politics of scale refers to the benefits of collective over individual action in the conduct of foreign policy, enabling members to conduct joint foreign policy actions at lower costs and risks than when they act on their own. Members—large and small—generally perceive that they carry more weight in certain areas when they act together as a bloc than when they act separately (Ginsberg, 1989, p. 3). Politics of scale is a driving force behind EC foreign policy actions.

This study inventories, classifies, and attempts to explain the 188 foreign policy actions taken from 1986-90. For the sake of comparison, the 1986-90 period is compared to two previous five-year periods, 1981-85 when 121 actions were taken and 1976-80 when 108 actions were taken (Ginsberg, 1989, p. 106). A total of 417 foreign policy actions were taken over the three periods: 45 percent of these were taken in 1986-90, 29 percent in 1981-85, and 26 percent in 1976-80. One other way to further ascertain growth, although outside the purview of this presentation, is to look at an even longer time series. There have been a total of 668 foreign policy actions from 1958-90 (Ginsberg, 1989) of which 62 percent (or 417 actions) were taken in the fifteen year period of 1975-90 and 38 percent (or 251 actions) were taken in the seventeen year period of 1958-74.

How do we explain this growth? Three explanatory logics are identified: the integration logic, the interdependence logic, and the self-styled logic (Ginsberg, 1989). The logic of integration emphasizes the negative effects of internal EC policies on outsiders, who in turn press the EC for compensation, forcing members to pull together to develop joint defensive responses. The existence of the customs union affects outsiders who press the EC for tariff preferences, development and technical assistance, humanitarian aid, loans, grants, association, membership, and diplomatic recognition. The logic of interdependence suggests

that the current of global politics influences the EC to respond with actions rooted not in the internal market but in the international system. The EC does not operate in an international power vacuum; it is, like a state actor, captive to the vicissitudes of global interdependence and must respond to survive even though it is just a "common market." The self-styled logic underscores the EC's own sense of mission and independence in the world, whereby foreign policy actions not taken in response to outside pressures are products of the EC's own internal negotiations, decisionmaking, and political dynamic. Self-styled actions are initiated by the EC, reflect EC interests, are implemented within the context of the EC's own style of diplomacy, and are driven by politics of scale.

### **How To Interpret the Data Base**

Foreign policy actions were chronicled from a wide variety of sources, including the EC's General Report on the Activities of the EC, the EC's Official Journal, other EC publications such as the Monthly Bulletins and Europe, Agence Europe, The Financial Times, The Economist, elite interviews, and scholarly articles and case studies. In understanding what data were included and excluded in the inventory, there are six words of caution:

- o The inventory provides a comprehensive, not exhaustive, list of EC actions—a floor rather than a ceiling;
- o Rather than closely study yearly fluctuations in foreign policy activity, it is more productive to view overall trends as they mitigate the effect of peculiar events and reflect a more normal pattern of behavior;
- o For the sake of parsimony, the data base only includes actions as earlier defined and thus excludes demarches, declarations, and resolutions of the EC institutions not activated;
- o The premium here is on the final outcomes of negotiations—actions—rather than on the negotiations themselves where case study is required;
- o Foreign policy actions are quantified in this inventory; no examination is made of the extent to which each action achieved its intended purpose; the effect of action must be submitted to case study;
- o Routine agreements with third countries regulating trade in a single product area are generally excluded as they are strictly commercial and too numerous to quantify. Two exceptions are made: single-product trade agreements with the Eastern European states during the Cold War are included because they helped to give body to the EC's adoption of *ostpolitik*; and actions pertaining to the EC becoming a signatory to an international commodity agreement are included, as they indicate a significant amount of prior consultation both on an international scale and within the EC. Antidumping and countervailing duties, routine food aid without evidence of political intent, and high-level bilateral and multilateral meetings subsequent to their inauguration are also excluded.

Tables 2-6 inventory foreign policy actions from 1986-90 and Tables 7-8 tabulate the results, classify the actions by type and explanatory logic, and compare the data for 1986-90 with the data for the two previous five-year periods drawn from earlier work.

Types of actions include multilateral, bilateral, security-related, unilateral, and interregional. Some actions may appear to fit more than one of these categories: parsimony

calls for careful selection of the type that primarily categorizes the action. Bilateral actions are those in which the EC deals as a unit with a nonmember state or a group of states. Multilateral actions are those in which the EC deals as a unit with international conferences, issues, and organizations. Security-related actions are those in which the EC deals as a unit with questions that affect its own physical and material security, the security of a closely associated state or group of states, or the security of the international system. Even as a civilian actor, the EC has a stake in promoting its own security and in responding to threats to international peace and security outside Europe. Interregional actions are those the EC takes as a unit when it deals with other regions of the world. A cornerstone of EC foreign policy activity is the promotion of regional cooperation elsewhere; the EC operates on the assumption that it is the world's leading example of what can be accomplished by interstate regional collaboration. Unilateral actions are those the EC takes that do not fit into the other categories, such as development of EPC, or when the EC takes an action that is not interactive but willed solely by the EC, such as imposing punitive sanctions.

Actions are also categorized by legal mandate. Table 1 lists the various articles in the ECSC, EEC, and EURATOM Treaties which give the EC the legal basis for operating in the international system. Establishment of EPC in the early 1970s, and its codification in the 1987 Single European Act, has provided the EC Foreign Ministers and their political directors and experts with a critical forum through which to coordinate foreign policy. A handful of actions are directly linked to EPC. However, since EPC outcomes to date have been more declaratory than action-oriented, the vast majority of EC foreign policy actions are still directly rooted in the Treaties and thus form the bulk of the data base.

Explanations of actions, as mentioned, are drawn from three logics. The logic of integration is the primary explanation of EC foreign policy actions. It shows that actions are based on the very existence of the EC as an emerging common market and explains its effects on countries outside the exclusive club. These outsiders press the EC to act in response to their needs, resulting in EC foreign policy action. During the EC's early years, from 1958-72, the logic of integration explained nearly all foreign policy actions (Ginsberg, 1989). Only after 1972, with the admission of the UK and the sea changes internationally, did the EC begin to take foreign policy actions beyond the confines of the European project. The EC had become more attuned to its place in the international system; as a result, it took actions in response to international stimuli or to influence international events. The interdependent international system of the 1970s-90s placed demands on the EC to act in ways that went beyond the confines of foreign policy traditions earlier established. An interdependent global system, unlike the preceding bipolar configuration, gave greater weight to EC presence in the world; power was no longer conceived in purely military terms but in economic and diplomatic terms as well. The two logics, however, do not capture explanations of all actions. A growing number of actions, rooted in the EC's own internal dynamic, provide evidence of a unique (unprecedented) style of regional diplomacy. These actions are not dependent on the need to respond to external stimuli but are the products of habits of working together; EC and member state initiatives; a sense of what Europeans want in foreign policy questions; and politics of scale.

In many instances, a single action may be explained by more than one logic. Parsimony and clarity call for careful selection of the logic that primarily explains the cause of the initial action, even though subsequent development of that action may be explained by another logic.

### **Review of Foreign Policy Actions by Year and Type**

Table 2 shows that the accession of Spain and Portugal, sanctions against Libya, Syria, South Africa, and countries backing terrorism, the lifting of sanctions against Turkey, and

special measures to help ease development of Israeli occupied territories and exports from those territories to the EC dominated foreign policy activity in 1986.

EC enlargement to include the two Iberian states was categorized as security-related. Given the previous political instability in the Iberian states, and the military importance to the EC of its "soft-underbelly," the geostrategic importance of bringing Spain and Portugal into the democratic EC fold cannot be given short-shrift. Indeed the most powerful foreign policy action the EC can take is the one that decides which countries may join the EC, which may become associated with the EC, which may develop other contractual relations with the EC, and which will remain far removed from the EC.

Use of EC diplomatic or economic sanctions to punish countries involved in terrorist activity (Libya, Syria) or suppressing the human rights of its own people (South Africa) showed how the EC has been drawn into participation in an interdependent world order which often demands the EC to take action. For example, sanctions were imposed against Syrian when that country was linked to an abortive attempt to bomb an Israeli plane at Heathrow Airport. The decision by the European Parliament to hold up an accord with Israel over Israeli policy in the West Bank and Gaza, and the EC's efforts to forge direct development links with these territories, showed the resolve of the EC to register its dissatisfaction with Israeli policy. Again to register some solidarity with the Palestinians living in the occupied territories and to distance itself from Israeli occupation policy, the EC reduced by as much as 80 percent its import duties on certain produce items from the occupied territories. The intent here was to give Palestinian farmers an alternative to the Israeli market. One cannot underestimate the symbolic effect of these kinds of actions on the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinians are being linked more directly to Europe and the Israelis are being further isolated: the actions are clustered around the EC's existing Middle East policy set forth in the 1980 Venice Declaration. An accord with the Southern African Development Cooperation Council (SADCC) reflected the EC's interests in southern Africa and in helping another regional group to develop.

As with previous and subsequent years, the EC participated actively in the annual Western Economic Summit, and addressed the United Nations General Assembly on the EC's UN policies and positions. The EC continued its annual program of fixing import quotas for the State Trading Countries (STCs) and making adjustments for the purpose of ostpolitik, and providing preferential tariff rates for the world's poorest states through its Generalized System of Preferences (GSP).

EC activity was spread somewhat evenly over all types of actions with the exception of interregional actions. Interregional actions along with security-related actions tend to be more sporadic. In the case of interregional actions, they appear periodically depending on when the EC negotiates accords with groups of states or states within a region that is supported by the EC. Security-related actions depend on the state of war and peace in the international system in any one given year.

Table 3 shows that the EC was involved across a wide mix of bilateral, multilateral, and interregional activities in 1987. Morocco's interest in becoming an EC member was not realized because the EC only accepts European states. It was a year of an unusually high number of interregional activities. There was in large part due to the need for the EC and the Mediterranean states to renegotiate existing cooperation and association accords given the accession of Spain and Portugal to the EC in 1986. The EC also concluded accords with the Central American states and the Andean Pact—evidence again of the EC's interest in working with other regional groupings. Entry into force of the Single European Act put EPC under the EC's legal rubric and codified EPC procedures that had developed by custom into practice since the early 1970s.

Table 4 shows the early effects of the opening up of Eastern Europe in 1988 on the EC. The EC adopted the policy of *ostpolitik* in the 1970s and continued to nurture political and commercial relations with the individual member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The EC intentionally would not recognize CMEA itself because of the Soviet dominance of that organization. However, all of this changed in 1988 with the establishment of diplomatic relations with CMEA due in large part to the "new thinking" of Mikhail Gorbachev. The EC and Cuba, Hungary, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Poland also established diplomatic relations. Trade accords with Hungary and Czechoslovakia were historically unprecedented and began to pave the way for a much expanded EC role in the development of Eastern Europe.

Israel was again signalled out for punitive action. First, the European Parliament held back approval for the upgrading of the EC's 1975 trade accord with and loan package for Israel to protest that country's policies in the occupied territories. Second, the European Parliament in a report on the issue called on the EC Commission to suspend Israel's preferential treatment on the EC market as a means to force the Israelis to stop setting up alleged barriers to trade between the occupied territories and the EC. Israel complied with the EC demand to permit direct shipments of Arab produce from the occupied territories to the EC.

Finally, the EC was occupied with a number of international negotiations and agreements ranging from saving the African elephant to protecting the Indian Ocean environment to protecting the ozone layer to combatting drug abuse to relations with the Inter-American Bank.

Table 5 further chronicles the rapid expansion in 1989 of EC relations with the USSR and former Soviet bloc states and the use of diplomatic and economic sanctions against targeted countries for behavior the EC deemed worthy of condemnation and punitive action. The EC normalized relations with Mongolia (very important if you are Mongolian!) and concluded cooperation accords with Poland and the USSR. Most-favored-nation treatment (MFN) was extended to the Soviet Union and European Investment Bank (EIB) loans were granted to Poland and Hungary. The EC banned ivory imports, politely but negatively responded to Turkey's membership bid (for the time being), tied development aid to Central America to political pluralism, banned exports of chemicals to belligerent states, and imposed a wide variety of political, economic, and/or diplomatic sanctions.

China was the recipient of political, economic, military, and diplomatic sanctions for the use of force to suppress the pro-democracy student demonstrations. The EC banned all military trade and cooperation, suspended all bilateral ministerial and high-level contracts, postponed all other cooperation projects, diminished cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation programs, and raised the issue of human rights violations in appropriate international fora. The EC also decided to prolong the visas of Chinese students wishing to remain longer in the member states and stated that it would advocate the postponement of consideration of new credits to China from the World Bank. Romania was the recipient of diplomatic and economic sanctions for the violations of human rights by the Ceausescu regime. The EC condemned Romania for refusing to disclose details of the welfare of 24 dissidents, claiming the Romanian Government was in violation of CSCE accords. In retaliation, the EC ended negotiations with Romania to upgrade the 1980 EC-Romanian trade accord and suspended GSP benefits. The EC cancelled a planned high-ranking mission to Israel to again register displeasure with Israeli occupation policies.

The most significant action in 1989 in terms of the long-term development of EC foreign policy was when the EC became the coordinator/leader of aid for Eastern Europe on behalf of twenty-four advanced industrialized states (Group-24). The decision to put the EC in

charge of this large international operation was made at the Paris Summit of the Group-7. The EC was ideally situated in terms of geography, financial resources, experience, and example to lead the western effort to help Eastern Europe develop and liberalize.

Table 6 shows the explosion of foreign policy actions taken in response to the collapse of Soviet power in Eastern Europe, the urgent development needs of the liberalizing Eastern European states, the charge to coordinate western financial and development aid to Eastern Europe on behalf of the Group-24, German reunification, and the Iraqi invasion, occupation, and annexation of Kuwait.

The EC opened delegations in four countries, expanded and upgraded institutional ties with the United States, restored diplomatic relations with Vietnam, expanded development assistance, loans, and trade accords with all Eastern European states (except Albania), participated as a single and recognized negotiating unit in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Summit, signed the CSCE "Paris Charter for a New Europe," and became a signatory to the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). After delays in response to Soviet actions in Lithuania and the general political instability in the Soviet Union, the EC, by year's end, provided 1.15 billion ecu worth of grants and credits, signalling European support for the besieged government of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The EC and 69 ACP states concluded the Lome Convention IV, the most far reaching North-South political, economic, and trade accord in the international system. As with previous Lome accords, LOME IV offered common institutional ties between the EC and ACP states and nonreciprocal EC tariffs cuts, guaranteed export earnings for selected products/minerals, and development assistance amounting to over 12 billion ecu in grants/loans. LOME IV also improved access for some ACP states' farm exports to the EC, prohibited exports of toxic waste to the ACPs, reinforced human rights commitments, and promoted private investment and industrial cooperation.

Much to Israel's chagrin, the EC Heads of Government at the Dublin Summit moved to appoint an EC representative to the occupied territories to oversee EC aid to the Palestinians. Elsewhere in the Middle East, the EC participated in the Gulf Crisis Financial Coordination Group which offered aid to countries adversely affected by the Persian Gulf conflict. The EC imposed full-scale sanctions against Iraq and occupied Kuwait (in advance of the UN sanctions) and provided emergency aid to the frontline states—Egypt, Jordan, and Turkey. Immediately following the Iraqi invasion, the EC banned oil imports from Iraq and occupied Kuwait, banned military equipment and arms exports to Iraq and occupied Kuwait, suspended trade and military cooperation agreements, took measures to protect all Kuwaiti assets in the EC, and froze Iraqi assets in the EC. Other sanctions followed during Fall 1990. The EC expelled all military staff from Iraqi embassies in the member states and restricted the movement of remaining Iraqi diplomats in the EC in response to the forced entry of Iraqi troops into the embassies of EC member states in Kuwait City. The EC widened the embargo of Iraq and Kuwait by banning trade in services.

The EC imposed sanctions against Iran over the Iranian death threat against author Salman Rushdie (for his book Satanic Verses) by recalling its Ambassadors from Tehran and banning all high-level EC visits to Iran. The EC also imposed sanctions on Romania—over the Government's use of force in suppressing protest demonstrations in Bucharest—by withholding economic assistance and a new cooperation accord (both granted to other Eastern European states). The EC's condemnation of the indiscriminate use of force and the punitive actions were tied to its policy of encouraging democratic reform in Eastern Europe.



By year's end, the EC lifted sanctions against China, Iran, Vietnam, and Romania. The EC lifted sanctions against China imposed in 1989, although it continued to ban arms sales and military cooperation. The lifting of EC sanctions against China was likely linked to China's support for the anti-Iraq coalition of states. EC members began to return their Ambassadors to Tehran but continued to ban all high-level visits to Iran. The EC and Vietnam resumed diplomatic relations (enabling the EC to finance development projects and to provide assistance to the boat people). Lastly, the EC and Romania finally concluded their long-delayed cooperation accord after the EC determined that the new government was acting with more restraint against protest demonstrators, that those detained in the June 1990 disturbances were released, that a mission of the International Red Cross be received, and that the Government was proposing wide-ranging economic reforms.

### **Numerical Trends in EC Foreign Policy Actions**

Table 7 totals the number of EC foreign policy actions from 1986-90 and then compares the aggregate data for that period with data from two previous five-year periods, 1981-85 and 1976-80, derived from earlier work. The aggregate data show a jump in the number of foreign policy actions from 30 in 1986 to 61 in 1990, although 1990 was an exceptional year given the changes in Europe and the war in the Persian Gulf. At most, 1990 may be a precursor of what is to follow: a vastly increased volume of actions in the 1990s over the 1980s because of the:

- o continuing demands of the EFTA and Eastern European states for closer association with or membership in the EC;
- o outcome of the intergovernmental conference on political union, which began in December 1990 and could lead to an expansion of EC foreign policy powers and the adoption of a security policy by 1993;
- o impact of the "1992 project" on the EC's many trading partners outside Europe;
- o pressures on the EC from Central and South America and South Asia for more equal attention in the distribution of tariff preferences and development aid; and
- o changing distribution of power in the international system which will continue to give greater weight to the EC's peculiar strengths: financial resources, market accessibility, development assistance, diplomatic involvement, and leadership by example for the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe.

At a minimum, the EC has sustained a high level of foreign policy activity during the last half of the 1980s even if 1990 was an exceptional year. The number of actions during the 1986-90 increased over two earlier five-year periods. Table 7 shows that there were 188 actions taken in 1986-90, up from 121 in 1981-85, and 108 in 1976-80 (Ginsberg, 1989).

### **Numerical Trends in Types of EC Foreign Policy Actions**

Table 7 depicts just how active the EC was during 1986-90 in multilateral and bilateral foreign policy actions. It took 54 multilateral and 63 bilateral actions which together accounted for 62 percent of all actions as shown in Table 8. Multilateral and bilateral actions have always grabbed the lion's share of total EC actions because they are the main areas of international politics and economics. The number of multilateral actions more than doubled and the number of bilateral actions quadrupled between 1986 and 1990. The increase in multilateral actions suggests that the EC is becoming more active in international issue areas

and organizations. The increase in bilateral actions points to the demands placed on the EC by nonmember states who have agendas of national interests in Brussels.

Table 8 reveals that multilateral actions as a percentage of total actions actually dropped from 44 percent in 1976-80 to 29 percent in 1986-90, suggesting the expansion of EC foreign policy actions to other types, especially bilateral and unilateral. Table 8 also depicts the jump in bilateral actions, which represented 24 percent of total actions in 1976-80 but grew to 34 percent in 1986-90. The jump in bilateral actions again suggests that nonmember states continue to pressure the EC to make trade-and-aid agreements given the importance of the EC market to their exports.

During the 1986-90 period, the EC took 13 security-related, 33 unilateral, and 25 interregional actions which together accounted for 38 percent of all actions. Security-related actions are few and far between, but they reflect the way in which a traditional "low politics" international actor--like the EC--must cope with the increasing politicization of trade flows. The accession of the Iberian states was designed in large part to stabilize the EC's southern flank. The use of sanctions against states supporting international terrorism was the EC's response to another kind of security problem. The EC's sanctions against Iraqi aggression, peace initiatives in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, and ban on chemical exports to belligerent states also helped to define the EC as a nonmilitary actor involved with security-related actions. The trend in security-related actions as a percentage of total actions is depicted in Table 8. No clear trend emerges from the data, which suggests that security-related actions tend to be ad hoc depending on the state of international peace and security and the willingness of the EC members to act in unison in any given year.

Unilateral actions are those that most clearly show the ability of the EC to act decisively and independently. When the EC takes unilateral actions, it is not being pressed by an outsider to act; instead it is acting on its own volition to alter the behavior of another actor or to influence the outcome of an international issue. Codification of EPC was a unilateral internal action that had major implications for the conduct of EC foreign policy actions. Unilateral actions were taken to influence Israeli policy in the occupied lands, South Africa's policy of apartheid, and Romania's human rights record. The EC acted unilaterally to reward the behavior of states who changed their policy (and thus met EC expectations) by lifting previous sanctions (e.g., Turkey and Vietnam). Unilateral actions as a percentage of total actions are depicted in Table 8. Whereas in 1976-80, unilateral actions accounted for just 11 percent of total EC actions, that percentage increased to 17 in the 1986-90 period, suggesting that the EC has gained more confidence in its ability to act independently.

Interregional actions were taken to offer support to other regions and regional groupings from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf to Central America to southern Africa. The EC treats the Mediterranean Basin as a region strategically and commercially vital to its interests and offers tariff preferences, industrial free trade, and development assistance in exchange for market access, good will, and regional stability (or the hopes thereof). The EC offers economic and commercial incentives to other regional integration movements because of its own experience in regional cooperation. Table 8 shows that interregional actions as a percentage of total actions has remained at 13 percent for the 1976-80 and 1986-90 periods. During the 1981-85 period, interregional actions accounted for just 7 percent of total actions.

### **Trends in Explanations of EC Foreign Policy Actions**

During the 1986-90 period, the number of foreign policy actions explained by the logic of integration doubled from 16 to 31 as shown in Table 7. This suggests that the effects of the customs union on outsiders continued to prompt the latter to press the former to make accommodation. However, that observation must be made against the data depicted in Table 8.

Table 8 shows that actions explained by the integration logic as a percentage of total actions during 1986-90 fluctuated between a low of 47 percent and a high of 72 percent with no clear trend or direction. Indeed the rise in the number of actions explained by the integration logic was not reflected in the number of actions explained by the integration logic as a percentage of total actions. This suggests that other logics have expanded their explanatory power.

Despite the rise in the number of actions explained by the integration logic between 1986-90, the integration logic as an explanation of total actions over time shows a somewhat different picture. Table 8 shows that the integration logic as an explanation of total actions in 1986-90 was 57 percent, down from 73 percent in 1976-80. This suggests that the integration logic has declined in its explanatory power as the EC strikes out in new foreign policy directions. As it expands into international activities rooted in the international interdependent system and develops its own style of foreign policy actions, the integration logic explains fewer actions. The net effect is a more internationally active EC whose foreign policy personality is less influenced by the effect of the customs union on the outside world than by other factors.

During the 1986-90 period, the number of foreign policy actions explained by the interdependence logic increased from seven to 13, as shown in Table 7. However, that growth also mirrored the growth in total number of actions. Actions explained by the interdependence logic grew from 18 in 1976-80 to 25 in 1981-85 to 37 in 1986-90. Table 8 shows that the interdependence logic as an explanation of foreign policy actions changed little from 1986 to 1990. The longer-term trend is more revealing. The interdependence logic as an explanation of total actions rose from 17 percent in 1976-80 to 20 percent in 1986-90, which suggests a small but meaningful increase in EC actions in response to pressures from participation in the international system. Certainly the decline of the integration logic as an explanation of total actions from 1976 to 1990 is partially attributed to the rise in the explanatory power of the interdependence logic. What is perhaps more telling is the jump in actions explained by the self-styled logic in numerical terms and as a percentage of total.

During the 1986-90 period, the number of foreign policy actions explained by the self-styled logic jumped from seven to 16. There were 42 foreign policy actions explained by the self-styled logic during 1986-90 up substantially from 19 in 1981-85, and 11 in 1976-80. The expansion of actions accounted for by this logic is perhaps the most stunning finding of this analysis. If the EC is to become an influential and permanent actor in international affairs it must develop its own style and content of foreign policy. By taking actions rooted neither in the existence and effect of the customs union nor in response to pressures of participation in the international system but in the EC's own sense of self-interest and internal political dynamic, the EC is likely to play a more independent and influential role in international relations in the years ahead. The rest test of the expansion of the self-styled logic as an explanation of actions is depicted in Table 8.

Table 8 shows that the self-styled logic as an explanation of action rose from just 10 percent in the 1976-80 period up to 15 percent in 1981-85 and then up to 22 percent in 1986-90. As the integration logic decreased in explanatory power during the 1976-90 years, the power of the self-styled logic to explain action increased.

## Conclusions

Trends in EC foreign policy actions show that the frequency of action has been increasing for some time. Yet this does not mean that the EC has developed or is going to develop a common foreign policy likened to that of a single nation-state. Member states pursue their own foreign policy actions and will continue to do so in those areas where they are not bound by treaty commitment.

What is clear is that EC and individual member state foreign policy actions now coexist. It may be that--given the benefits reaped by politics of scale--members will continue to find it in their own interests to coordinate joint responses to external stimuli because the weight of the EC is heavier, more cost-effective, and more influential than that of their own individual weight. The outcome of EC foreign policy activity is still uncertain in terms of where it will eventually lead. Since that is too conjectural for the social scientist to grasp, it seems reasonable to conclude that the EC will continue to take foreign policy actions with more frequency and across wide areas of international relations given (A) historical trends revealed in this study and; (B) the momentum for further political union that now exists. It also seems judicious to conclude that over time the members will use the EC as a conduit for their particular foreign policy interests. At times, members will succeed in funneling their particular foreign policy interest into EC action or will be forced to compromise with other members to reach a consensus. Still, there will times when member governments fail to persuade the EC to adopt their foreign policy interests. At that time, the individual member government is free to pursue its own action independently of the EC (so long as there is no violation of EC law or custom) or accepts the defeat and takes no further action. Membership entails a series of trade-offs. So far, no members have permanently left the EC because of differences concerning foreign policy actions.

As shown in this study, three logics are at work in explaining what triggers foreign policy actions. The majority of foreign policy actions can be explained by the integration logic. However, the explanatory power of the logic of integration has declined substantially as the EC has taken actions in response to the current of international interdependence and to its own internal dynamic and sense of mission in the world. It seems reasonable to predict that as EC foreign policy activity continues to mature, the integration logic as an explanation of action will continue to decline as a percentage of total actions. This is not to say that the customs union will no longer spur outsiders to pressure the EC for action, but that the EC will take actions that manage the effects of global interdependence and those that take into account European interests. What will continue to make the integration logic quite relevant is the expansion of the EC itself. As the EC expands in membership and into new policy areas, new external pressures will emerge from adversely affected outsiders. The integration logic will continue to remain an important explanation of what catalyzes action.

The global interdependence logic has helped us to explain EC actions designed to respond to outside pressures that bear on European and international peace and security. When one examines foreign policy actions charged neither by the customs union's existence nor by participation in an interdependent global order, a view of the future course of foreign policy activity may be surmised. Self-styled actions substantiate one of the original intents of European unification--that, although the destroyed powers of Europe in 1945 might not alone regain influence they had had before World War II, they could together regain some of this influence. To the extent that politics of scale are at work in the making of EC foreign policy activity, self-styled actions can be expected to increase in number as the EC states gain confidence in the benefits of foreign policy cooperation. As the EC reaches beyond the confines of the original treaty into the Single European Act, EPC, and monetary/economic and political union, self-styled actions provide a basis for growth of independent foreign policy.

Table 1: The Law of EC Foreign Policy Actions

Treaty/Articles	Abstract
<b>ECSC Treaty</b>	
Article 6	Gives ECSC the legal capacity to act in diplomatic relations and international organizations
<b>EEC Treaty</b>	
Article 110	Provides for participation in the GATT and other international trade organizations
Article 113	Gives the EC the power to conduct relations and make agreements with third countries on all questions pertaining to import/export trade; implements the CET
Article 131	Permits members to associate with non-European states
Article 228	Provides for EC accords with third states and international organizations where the Treaty provides for their conclusion
Article 229	Empowers the Commission to ensure maintenance of all relations with all appropriate international bodies, e.g., the United Nations, GATT
Article 230	Authorizes the EC to establish relations with the Council of Europe
Article 231	Authorizes the EC to establish relations with the OECD
Article 237	Provides for the enlargement of the EC to include new members
Article 238	Provides for association agreements with nonmembers involving reciprocal rights, obligations, common action, and special procedures
<b>EURATOM Treaty</b>	
Article 101	Empowers the EC to conclude accords or contracts with third states and international bodies.



Table 2: Inventory of EC Foreign Policy Actions, 1986

Joint Action	Type	Treaty Basis	Logic
Scientific Cooperation Accords with EFTA States	Bilateral x5	113, 228, 238	Integrationx5
Diplomatic Relations Established with Kuwait	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Accord with U.S. on controlled thermonuclear fusion	Bilateral	EURATOM 101	Integration
First Quadripartite Meeting of EC, U.S., Japan, Canada	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Lome Convention III	Multilateral	113, 131, 228, 238	Integration
UN General Assembly Address on EC Positions	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
Signatory to International Cocoa Pact	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Became Negotiating Partner in UN Olive Oil Conference	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
First Meeting of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly	Multilateral	113, 131, 228, 238	Integration
Tokyo Economic Summit	Multilateral	229	Interdependence
Annual GSP Program	Multilateral	113, 228	Integration
Accord with SADC on Regional Resource Planning	Interregional	113, 229	Self-styled
Accession of Spain	Security-related	237	Integration
Accession of Portugal	Security-related	237	Integration
Diplomatic Sanctions Against Libya	Security-related	EPC	Interdependence
Arms Embargo Against Countries Backing Terrorism	Security-related	EPC	Interdependence
Diplomatic and Economic Sanctions Against Syria	Security-related	EPC, 113	Interdependence
Tariff Preferences on Exports from Gaza, West Bank	Unilateral	113	Self-styled
Development Scheme for West Bank, Gaza	Unilateral	113	Self-styled
Relief Measures for Victims of Apartheid	Unilateral	EPC, 113	Self-styled
Approval for Accord with Israel Held Up by Parliament	Unilateral	Parliament action	Self-styled
Increase in EC Commission Powers to Raise Food Aid	Unilateral	113, 228	Integration
Fixation of Import Quotas for STCs	Unilateral	113, 228	Integration
Drought Plan for Rehabilitation of Affected African States	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Trade Sanctions Against South Africa	Unilateral	113, 228, ECSC 6	Interdependence
Economic Sanctions Against Turkey Lifted	Unilateral	EPC, 113, 228	Self-styled

Table 3: Inventory of EC Foreign Policy Actions, 1987

Joint Action	Type	Treaty Basis	Logic
Conventions with EFTA States on Flow of Goods	Bilateral x5	113, 228, 238	Integrationx5
Accord with Canada on Reserch, Environment	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Accord with China on Biotechnology Reserch Center	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration





Industrial Cooperation Program With India	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Rejection of Morocco's Bid For Membership	Bilateral	237	Integration
Annual GSP Program	Multilateral	113, 228	Integration
Adoption of IAEA Accord on Early Notification of Accident	Multilateral	EURATOM 101	Integration
UN General Assembly Address on EC Positions	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
Vienna Economic Summit	Multilateral	229	Interdependence
Participation in Council of Europe Accord/Disaster Relief	Multilateral	113, 228	Interdependence
Signatory to Animal Protection Convention	Multilateral	229	Self-styled
Participant/UN Conference on Disarmament/Development	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Signatory to the Multi-Fiber Agreement	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
Adoption of Harmonized System of Customs Classification	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
Cooperation Accord with Central America States and Contadora Group	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Mediterranean Policy Updated	Interregional	113, 228, 238	Integration
Association Accord with Cyprus Revised	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Association Accord with Turkey Revised	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Aid for South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation	Interregional	113, 228	Self-styled
Cooperation Accord with Andean Pact (Cartegena Pact)	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Adoption of Strategy for Relations with Latin America	Interregional	113, 228	Self-styled
Backing for Contadora Peace Process	Interregional	113, 228	Self-styled
EC-Rio Group Ministerial Dialogue	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Cooperation Accord with Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan Lebanon, and Israel Revised	Interregionalx6	113, 228	Integrationx6
Fixation of Import Quotas for STCs	Unilateral	113, 228	Integration
Entry Into Force of the Single European Act codifying EPC	Unilateral	EPC	Self-styled
Set Up Working Group on Human Rights	Unilateral	EPC	Self-styled

Table 4: Inventory of EC Foreign Policy Actions, 1988

Joint Action	Type	Treaty Basis	Logic
Cooperation Accord with Hungary	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Trade Accord with Czechoslovakia	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Adoption of Annual Ministerial Dialogue with Canada	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Amendment of Trade Accord with Romania	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Accord with Canada on Controlled Thermonuclear Fusion	Bilateral	EURATOM 101	Integration
Diplomatic Relations with Cuba, Hungary, CMEA, USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Poland	Bilateralx8	113, 228	Integrationx8



Ratification of Vienna Convention to Protect Ozone Layer	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Accord with Indian Ocean Commission	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
UN General Assembly Address on EC Positions	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
Toronto Economic Summit	Multilateral	229	Interdependence
Agreement to Cooperate with Inter-American Bank	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
Annual GSP Program	Multilateral	113, 228	Integration
Became Member in UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Member of Elephant Conservation Coordinating Group	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Interdependence
Participation in European Convention on Transfrontier Television under the Council of Europe	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
Aid Program for Central America	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Cooperation Accord with Gulf Cooperation Council	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Trade Accord with Yugoslavia	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Peace Initiative on Israel-Palestinian Dispute	Security-related	EPC	Self-styled
Threat of Economic Sanctions Against Israel	Unilateral	EPC, 113, 228	Self-styled
Update on Trade Accord with and Loans to Israel Held Up	Unilateral	Parliament action	Self-styled
Fixation of Import Quotas for STCs	Unilateral	113, 228	Integration

Table 5: Inventory of EC Foreign Policy Actions, 1989

Joint Action	Type	Treaty Basis	Logic
Diplomatic Relations with Mongolia	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Cooperation Accord with Poland	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Accord with United States on Standards Setting Procedure	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
EIB Loans for Poland, Hungary	Bilateralx2	EIB	Integrationx2
Cooperation Accord with USSR	Bilateral	113, 228, EURATOM	Integration
MFN Granted to USSR	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Signatory to International Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs	Multilateral	229	Integration
Euro-Arab Dialogue Revived	Multilateral	113, 228, EPC	Interdependence
First-time Participation in Human Rights Debate at UN	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
UN General Assembly Address on EC Positions	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
Paris Economic Summit	Multilateral	229	Interdependence
Support of Peace Movement in Angola, Mozambique	Multilateral	EPC	Interdependence
Annual GSP Program	Multilateral	113, 228	Integration
Ivory Imports Banned to Save Elephant under UN accord	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Self-styled
Decision to End Chlorofluorocarbon Production	Multilateral	113	Self-styled



EC Accepted Request of the Paris Group-7 Summit to Aid to Eastern Europe on behalf of Group-24	Multilateral	229	Self-styled
Response to Turkish Membership Bid	Interregional	237	Integration
EC Accord with EFTA on Product Standards Consultations	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Aid to Central America Tied to Political Pluralism	Interregional	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Association Accords with Cyprus and Malta Updated	Interregionalx2	113, 131	Integrationx2
Ban on Chemical Exports to Belligerents, tension areas	Security-related	113, EPC	Interdependence
Political/Economic/Diplomatic Sanctions Against China	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Diplomatic Sanctions Against Romania	Unilateral	EPC	Self-styled
Economic Sanctions Against Romania	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Emergency Medical/Food Aid to Romania	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Cancellation of High-Ranking EC Mission to Israel	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Emergency Food Aid to Poland	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Fixation of Import Quotas for STCs	Unilateral	113, 228	Integration
Emergency Aid to Lebanon/Fact-Finding Team Dispatched	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Interdependence
Common Strategy for Easing Restrictions on Hi-Tech Exports to Eastern Europe	Unilateral	113, EPC	Integration

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Table 6: Inventory of EC Foreign Policy Actions, 1990

Joint Action	Type	Treaty Basis	Logic
EC Delegation Opened in Warsaw, Budapest, Nicosia, Manila	Bilateralx4	113, 228	Integrationx4
Expanded/Upgraded Institutional Ties with United States	Bilateral	113, EPC	Integration
Trade Accord with Argentina	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Cooperation Accord with Chile	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Diplomatic Relations with Vietnam Restored	Bilateral	113, EPC	Self-styled
GSP Granted to Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia	Bilateralx3	113, 228	Integrationx3
Loans to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia	Bilateralx4	EIB	Integrationx4
Approval of Financial Aid Package to USSR	Bilateral	113, 228	Interdependence
MFN Treatment Granted to Bulgaria	Bilateral	113, 228	Integration
Emergency Food Aid Granted to USSR, Bulgaria, Romania	Bilateralx3	113, 228	Integrationx3
Elimination of QRs on Polish and Hungarian imports	Bilateralx2	113, 228	Integrationx2
Cooperation Accords with Bulgaria, East Germany, Romania, and Czechoslovakia	Bilateralx4	113, 228, EURATOM	Integrationx4
Expansion of PHARE assistance to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and East Germany	Multilateralx4	228, 229	Interdependencex4
Participation as a Single Unit in the CSDP Paris Summit	Multilateral	228, 229, EPC	Interdependence



Signatory to the Paris Charter	Multilateral	228, 229, EPC	Interdependence
Signatory to the EBRD	Multilateral	228, 229, EIB	Interdependence
EC Sought/Received Single Entity Status at CSCE	Multilateral	228, 229	Self-styled
EC Signed CSCE's Charter of Paris for a New Europe	Multilateral	228, 229	Interdependence
Lome Convention IV enacted	Multilateral	113, 131, 228, 229	Integration
Imposition of United Nations Sanctions Against Iraq	Multilateral	113, EPC	Interdependence
UN General Assembly Address on EC Positions	Multilateral	229, EPC	Interdependence
Houston Economic Summit	Multilateral	229	Interdependence
Annual GSP Program	Multilateral	113, 228	Integration
Participation in Gulf Crisis Financial Coordination Group	Multilateral	228, 229	Interdependence
Signatory to International Jute Agreement	Multilateral	113, 228, 229	Integration
Accession of Namibia, Haiti, and Dominican Republic to Lome Convention	Multilateralx3	113, 131, 228, 229	Integrationx3
Cooperation Accord with Gulf Cooperation Council	Interregional	113, 228	Integration
Agreement to Protect Nationals Whose Embassies Were Forcibly Closed in Kuwait City by the Iraqis	Security-related	EPC	Self-styled
Economic Sanctions Against Iraq	Security-related	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Diplomatic Sanctions Against Iraq	Security-related	113, EPC	Self-styled
Emergency Aid to Frontline States (Egypt, Jordan, and Turkey) in Conflict with Iraq	Security-relatedx3	113, 228, EPC	Self-styledx3
Economic Sanctions Against Israel	Unilateral	113, 228, EPC	Self-styled
Withholding of PHARE assistance to Romania	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Denial of GSP for Romania	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Withholding of Trade/Economic Accord with Romania	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Resumption of Diplomatic Relations with Romania	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Economic Sanctions on China Lifted	Unilateral	113, 228	Self-styled
Move to Appoint EC representative to Occupied Territories	Unilateral	113, EPC	Self-styled
Diplomatic Sanctions Against Iran	Unilateral	EPC	Self-styled
Defiance of Iraqi Demand that EC Members' Embassies be Moved From Kuwait to Baghdad	Unilateral	EPC	Interdependence





Table 7:  
Summary of EC Foreign Policy Actions by Type and Explanation, 1986-90, 1981-85, 1976-80

Year	Total	Multi	Bilat	Secur	Unil	Interreg	Integ	Inter	Self-styled
1986	30	8	7	5	9	1	16	7	7
1987	36	9	9	0	3	15	26	4	6
1988	29	9	13	1	3	3	20	6	3
1989	32	10	7	1	9	5	15	7	10
1990	61	18	27	6	9	1	31	14	16
Total, 86-90	188	54	63	13	33	25	108	38	42
Total, 81-85	121	53	30	14	15	9	77	25	19
Total, 76-80	108	48	26	8	12	14	79	18	11

Table 8:  
Summary of EC Foreign Policy Actions by Type and Explanation, 1986-90, 1981-85, 1976-80,  
As a Percentage of Total

Year	Total	Multi	Bilat	Secur	Unil	Interreg	Integ	Inter	Self-styled
1986	30	27	23	17	30	3	53	23	23
1987	36	25	25	0	8	42	72	11	17
1988	29	31	45	3	10	10	69	21	10
1989	32	31	22	3	28	16	47	22	31
1990	61	30	44	10	15	1	51	23	26
Total, 86-90	188	29	34	7	17	13	57	20	22
Total, 81-85	121	43	25	12	12	7	64	21	15
Total, 76-80	108	44	24	7	11	13	73	17	10

