

**"Trends in the Literature on European Community Foreign Policy"  
(draft only: comments welcome)**

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**Roundtable on Literature Trends in European Community Studies: The State of the Art  
Third Biennial International Conference  
European Community Studies Association**

Washington, DC, May 27-29, 1993

**Introduction**

This essay surveys trends in book and book chapter works on European Community (EC) foreign policy during 1987-93. Although the EC does not have a common foreign policy, it does have specific foreign policies and it takes foreign policy actions. Usage of the term "EC foreign policy" in this piece recognizes that the EC is not a state but is a foreign policy actor. Actions of the EC and its foreign policy forum, European Political Cooperation (EPC), are included under the umbrella of "EC foreign policy." The number of works covered is a floor, not a ceiling. The author apologizes if he left out any references and welcomes responses to his normative interpretations. With a few exceptions, periodical literature is not covered in this draft but will be covered in the final report. The essay's scope is also limited because it does not include non-English works. There is a rich body of literature in, for example, German to which most Americans will not enjoy access. More foreign language training and more translations are needed!

As the EC begins to develop a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), scholars will be expected to provide descriptions and explanations of how, when, and with what means the EC will act in new areas of international relations. A CFSP will build on and indeed subsume EPC. The subject of EC foreign policy is not new and readers have twenty years of several general works and numerous case studies to consult. However, the works on EC foreign policy have been choppy: spurts and dry spells of published works have resulted in gaps of knowledge. Theoretical concepts are not nearly as advanced as empirical studies. Weiler and Wessels (Pijpers, 1988) have criticized academics for their failure to provide a theory of EPC or at least to relate EPC to broader integration or international relations theories. Thus it is useful in 1993 to look back at the relevant literature to take stock, assess needs, and prepare for a new generation of students of EC foreign policy after Maastricht.

For both books and chapters, three classifications of the literature are suggested: general works; EC-U.S. relations; and EC relations with countries, organizations, and regions. Books on NATO and the Atlantic Alliance which do not have a substantial component on the EC and EC-U.S. relations are not included. NATO has been well covered in the scholarly literature whereas the EC and its relationship with the U.S. have not. In the 1987-1993 period, there were 22 secondary books on EC foreign policy, of which five were general works on EC foreign policy; eight were on EC-U.S. relations; and nine were on EC relations with countries, organizations, and regions. Thus specialty books greatly outnumbered general ones, no doubt a reflection of the popularity of case studies among scholars and the difficulty of bringing into one text the complexity of EC foreign policy. There were 46 chapters on EC foreign policy in books, of which seventeen were general works on EC foreign policy; six were on EC-U.S. relations; and 23 were on EC relations with countries, organizations, and regions. The large number of works in the latter category reflects the growth of EC foreign relationships with countries as distant from Europe as Japan and South Africa and regions as diverse as the Andean Pact, ASEAN, and Central America.

European writers dominate the field of inquiry. Only three general works have been identified which have been written by Americans in the last fifteen years: Taylor (1979); Feld (1976); and Ginsberg (1989). Europeans also dominate the literature on EC-U.S. relations and EC relations with other countries and regions. It may be that funding for this topic is more available to Europeans in Europe than for Americans in the U.S. It may also be the case that EC foreign policy, as an area of inquiry, is too new,

subtle, and unprecedented for many conventional political scientists to grasp. The EC defies easy categorization and conceptualization. The study of the EC often falls through the cracks of the conventional subfields in U.S. political science. Only recently is the field of "EC studies" beginning to take root, due in part to the work of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA), but whether this results in placing the study of EC foreign policy squarely into mainstream American political science remains to be seen. The problem with Europeans writing about European foreign policy for an American audience is that what and how they write may not be geared to American readers (as much as Europeans); and outside perspectives can be useful because there may be some needed distance and added objectivity.

Just as theory of EC integration has fared very poorly in the past twenty years, so has theory of EC foreign policy. This has had to do with: (a) how EC foreign policy activity defies conventional explanations which are geared to the nation-state; (b) the exodus from integration theory to case study since the 1970s, reflecting disenchantment with the limits of theory when applied to reality and of reality applied to theory; (c) the virtual complexity of the EC's external dimension which defies grand theory; (d) the absorption of integration theory into broader concepts related to global interdependence and international political economy; (e) heightened interest in the domestic politics of the major member governments and in intergovernmentalism as an explanation and reality of EC decisionmaking; and (f) the concerns of European authors who tend to be less theoretically-oriented than their U.S. counterparts.

Case studies enrich empirical understanding of EC foreign policy; yet if they are not linked to theoretical examination, students will be buried under the weight of detail without ascertaining recurring patterns of behavior or testing concepts. Holland (1991) wrote that "only by careful linking can theory and empirical research be mutually beneficial. A difficult process undoubtedly, but nonetheless a prerequisite for the enhancement of our understanding of EPC." Indeed the intent of ECSA's Third Biennial International Conference is to attempt to marry the empirical with conceptual works for a more rounded understanding. Another way of putting it is that the ideal task is to "marry the explanations that derive from American conceptual enterprise on the EC of the 1960s--offering breadth--with the European case studies of the 1970s-80s--offering depth" (Featherstone and Ginsberg, 1993). The author also has no gripe with EC foreign policy being explained in part by broader concepts of international political economy and interdependence, again so long as those concepts are tested against the record of EC foreign policy activity and decisionmaking. Concepts such as Keohane's and Nye's "complex interdependence" in Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition (1977, revised 1987) and Keohane's "hegemonic cooperation" in After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy (1984) were not exclusively focussed on the EC but are nonetheless applicable.

### Overview of Key Earlier Works

Published works on EC foreign policy have gone through cycles of active and inactive phases, depending on the course of EC integration and how it is perceived by writers. When the EC was actively engaged in the creation of the customs union in the 1960s, foreign policy development was embryonic, so there was only a handful of works dealing with the EC's external relations--mostly with the U.S. and the Yaounde countries. Integration theories, richly descriptive, provided explanations for the EC's internal developments but largely ignored the external environment. In his article in International Organization, Winter 1969, Philippe Schmitter elaborated his "externalization hypothesis" which attempted to fill this large gap in the theoretical literature. Schmitter sought to explain why outsiders press a common market to act as a unit and how the unit must organize itself to respond to external stimuli. The hypothesis was further examined in subsequent journal articles (e.g., by Schmitter himself in International Organization, Spring 1969 and by Ernst Haas and Edward Rowe in International Studies Quarterly, March 1973) and books (Feld, 1976; Taylor, 1979; and Ginsberg, 1989). However, beyond the abovementioned works, theoretical enterprise suffered in the 1970s as integration theories were discredited, subsumed by broader analytic frameworks, or replaced by case studies. Some efforts have been made in the 1980s and 1990s to revive interest in theories of EC foreign policy activity but nothing as powerful as Schmitter's pioneering explanations has materialized.

In the 1970s, just when the EC's internal dynamic seemed lost, works on the EC's foreign relations skyrocketed, perhaps because this was one of the few growth areas of the European project. Among the works of the time, two were landmark volumes: Feld (1976) and Taylor (1979). Feld's tour de force analyzed the inputs and outputs of EC foreign policymaking including law and decisionmaking structure. Taylor demonstrated that, while internal integration stagnated, the EC's external relations accounted for nearly all continued integration during the 1970s. He concluded that continued successful integration in the EC's external affairs can be explained by Schmitter's "encapsulation" (responding to a crisis by marginal modifications within a zone of indifference) or Schmitter's "spillaround" (increasing the scope of authority while holding the level of authority constant or maintaining it). Space here limits mention of all the books on the topic published in the 1970s, but a few examples give the reader a sense of the active scholarship of the time: Weil's A Foreign Policy for Europe? The External Relations of the European Community, 1970; Kohnstamm's and Hager's A Nation Writ Large?: Foreign Policy Problems Before the European Community, 1973; Bailey's The European Community in the World, 1973; and Twitchett's Europe and the World: The External Relations of the Common Market, 1976.

In contrast to the wealth of published works in the 1970s, there were only a few (but select) works in the 1980s, no doubt a reflection of the EC's self-inflicted "Eurosclerosis." Graduate students were not necessarily encouraged to do doctoral dissertations on the EC. Two leading exceptions were the works of Allen et al. (1982) and Hill (1983). Neither volume professed to advance a theory of EC foreign policy, but both were richly descriptive and provided both primary data and systematic coverage of EPC. Whereas Allen covered the gamut of EPC's inputs and outputs and offered essential case studies, Hill's more specialized approach broke new ground by focussing solely on the similarities and differences among the attitudes and actions of national governments in EPC. Both books showed that despite continuing hesitations, the value of EPC to all member governments was clearly established. Hill and collaborators are currently writing a new edition of the 1983 volume which will permit much needed comparisons between historical and contemporary national perspectives. Scholarship on EC foreign policy was not very active until the end of the decade when the Single European Act entered into law (with its beefed up provisions for EPC) and when democratic revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe made EC foreign policy a much more visible and active undertaking.

### **General Works on EC Foreign Policy**

Five general secondary works on EC foreign policy appeared during the period under review: Ifestos, Pijpers, and Ginsberg in the 1980s and Rummel and Holland in the 1990s. Ifestos (1987) and Pijpers (1988) were the first two books on EPC after passage of the Single European Act and its inclusion of EPC into Treaty form for the first time. In his 636-page magnum opus, Ifestos reviews but does not substantively advance theoretical concepts applicable to EC foreign policy; chronicles the historical development of EPC; and concludes with a single case study on the Middle East.

Pijpers et al focus on the contemporary workings and decisionmaking processes of EPC. A chapter on theory by Weiler and Wessels summarizes the plight of theory of EC foreign policy. They suggest that, although many have "studiously" avoided theory, total abandonment of theory would be an overreaction. While they are not surprised that a general theory of EPC has not been satisfactorily proposed, they do suggest a number of partial theoretical explanations worthy of further attention. For example, the consociational model may be relevant as an explanation of EPC as it stresses how a framework for cooperation, such as EPC, fulfills two key functions. It reflects differences among members yet provides a framework for stability, consensus-building, and cooperation which "somehow...manages to transcend...(immobility)." That framework then takes on a life of its own perpetuated by elites. EPC actions are package deals which result from elite bargaining. Elites realize that EPC is neither "a zero sum game nor a winner take all situation." That EPC has had limited success despite the odds testifies to the consociational model. Hill's chapter on new research into EPC is also of moment. While Hill maintains that a new paradigm of EPC is not needed, he does suggest five major areas where questions need to be

asked, refined, and backed up by empirical research. What is the relative weight of domestic and external pressures affecting EPC? To what extent does the external environment hinder or help the development of EPC? To what extent have the EC and EPC been interlinked? What is the impact of the Single European Act on EPC? How does EPC affect the European and global balances of power?

Although Ginsberg (1989), Rummel (1990) and Holland (1991) were diverse in their coverage, they together offer readers a broad understanding of the nature of the beast. Holland reconfirmed an earlier thesis of Allen (1982) and Hill (1983): "despite its partial operation and public cries, consensus and cooperation have become the established norm for the EC in its foreign relations." Rummel and collaborators provided an excellent collection of essays which captured two unifying themes: (a) the new assertiveness of the EC in foreign trade, foreign policy, and security policy; and (b) the extent to which the EC balances its members' needs with global responsibilities. As with the case of Hill (1983) and Holland (1991), the Rummel volume was the outgrowth of an international conference of specialists. Whereas Ginsberg stressed foreign policy actions closely linked to the Treaty of Rome and the logic of integration, Holland et. al. stressed actions related more closely to EPC and the logic of intergovernmentalism. Both were concerned with theory. Ginsberg found that a "politics of scale" (the effectiveness of collective or unilateral action) was at work in explaining the nearly 500 inventoried EC foreign policy actions taken during 1958-85. A majority of actions were explained by Schmitter's concept of externalization and the broader logic of integration. However, a growing number of joint actions were also explained by the logic of global interdependence in which the EC must respond to pressures from international politics and by a new "self-styled logic" in which the EC is developing its own external interests and distinct style of European diplomacy independently of the internal market and the current of global politics. Case studies on EC-U.S. relations, EC-Mediterranean Basin relations, and EC enlargement were used to test explanatory powers of the three logics.

Holland laments the plight of theory of EPC and criticizes the absence of comparative empirical studies within the EPC literature. Each case study has produced a wealth of analysis but little in the way of systematic comparative examination of the components on EPC. Essays by Pijpers, Allen and Smith, George, and Bulmer show that no single EPC theory has been promulgated and that indeed it "would be inappropriate and foolhardy to do so." Different conceptual approaches will be appropriate for different theoretical questions and illuminate a different set of empirical facts. These alternative conceptual lenses add to the quality of our own analysis of EPC even if the time and costs in terms of this panoramic vision seem exorbitant. The contributors anguish not only over the state of EPC theory but over the existing case study literature. Holland writes "empiricism without a sound theoretical base is bad enough; an absence of data per se is much worse." EPC scholars have produced an "indispensable treasure of information about the foreign policy efforts by the Twelve... (yet) the development of a comparative framework for recording and analyzing EPC activity (must be) a priority for EPC scholars."

Finally, the list of sources shows that there were 17 book chapters on EC foreign policy published during the period in review. Most of these dealt with decisionmaking and institutions involved in EPC and general overviews of EPC's development and activities and offer the reader a wide variety of analyses and views.

### **EC-U.S. Relations**

During the 1980s there was a dearth of published books on EC-U.S. relations despite the massive interdependence which exists between the EC and the U.S. Books on the Atlantic Alliance and NATO and on relations between individual European states and the United States dominated the literature on European-American relations with inadequate coverage given to EC-U.S. relations. Books on political economy capture most of the scholarly work on EC-U.S. relations, but they too are limited because they underemphasize the political and security dimensions of EC-U.S. relations. During the early 1990s, however, there has been a sudden jump in books on EC-U.S. relations, perhaps a response to the paucity of previous works. Eight books have appeared between 1989-93 which either deal exclusively with EC-U.S. relations or cover the EC-U.S. relationship in a substantive way: Gill (1989); Schwok (1991); Brandon

(1992); Harrison (1992); Cromwell (1992); Featherstone and Ginsberg (1993); Haftendorn and Tuschhoff (1993); and Smith and Woolcock (1993). The sudden jump in coverage no doubt testifies to the increased salience of EC-U.S. relations at the end of and after the Cold War. Most of the works describe and explain the impact of change on EC-U.S. relations and examine specific areas of concern to both sides, but do not set out to theorize or conceptualize those relations. This lack of theoretical concern reflects the broader problem, mentioned earlier, of the poor condition of theoretical works on the EC in general and EC foreign policy behavior in particular. A common theme runs through these new works, especially in Harrison, Smith and Woolcock, and Featherstone and Ginsberg: cooperation and competition will characterize relations in the 1990s and better management of complex interdependence will be beneficial not only bilaterally but also multilaterally.

Works by Gill, Brandon, and Haftendorn and Tuschhoff were not exclusively on the EC-U.S. relationship but dealt with many of the key issues in EC-U.S. relations: perceptions, the future of the Atlantic Alliance, and economic conflicts. Cromwell concludes that relations are evolving closer to the partnership of equals that Kennedy dramatized thirty years earlier. Schwok focusses on the economic aspects of EC-U.S. relations. Harrison's edited set of study papers for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, is the most thorough examination of all major current aspects of EC-U.S. relations to date. Twenty-six specialists contributed papers on the following topics: economic policy and decisionmaking; the path to European Union; foreign policymaking in the EC; trade policy and the European market; industrial, investment, standards, research/development, and environmental policies and issues; and the EC in the international economy.

Smith and Woolcock explore the evidence for radical structural change affecting EC-U.S. relations and for the impact of new policy and issue linkages on the EC and the U.S.; the problem of policy consistency in conditions of complex interdependence and multidimensional linkages as they affect the definition and pursuit of common interests; and the problems of burden sharing in a transformed context and of managing institutional diversity in the Atlantic and global arenas. Placing EC-U.S. relations in an appropriate conceptual framework was the main thrust of Featherstone and Ginsberg. A post-hegemonic, complex interdependent relationship is the most suitable characterization of EC-U.S. relations in the 1990s. The authors show empirically how EC-U.S. relations meet most of the conditions of Keohane's and Nye's 1977 concept of "complex interdependence" and Keohane's 1984 notion of "post-hegemonic cooperation." Other concepts and theories, e.g., neorealism and neomercantilism, are shown to have much more limited explanatory application to EC-U.S. relations. The authors include empirical chapters on the political, economic, and social dimensions of relations and conclude with policy scenarios for the 1990s. Lastly, there were six chapters in books on the topic of EC-U.S. relations, all dealing with various aspects of trade, foreign policy, and security relations.

### **EC Relations with Countries, Organizations, and Regions**

Perhaps the richest, most active aspects of the foreign policy literature are found under this category, no doubt a reflection of the expansion of EC foreign policy actions from the North Atlantic, Mediterranean, and African regions to Central and South America, Southeast Asia, and Southern Africa. Eight books in this category were published since 1988: Anarita (1988) on the Andean Pact; Holland (1988) on South Africa; Edwards and Regelsberger (1990) on case studies of EPC cooperation with different regions; Tovias (1990) on the Mediterranean and Lome states; Wallace (1991) on EFTA; Pinder (1991) on Eastern Europe; Roy (1992) on Central America; and Zartman (1993) on Africa. The literature survey also shows that 23 chapters in books have been published in this category. These have covered the EC relations with Japan, the ACP states, Central/Eastern Europe, Central and South America, South-East Asia, the Arab League, and the GATT. Several chapters dealt with EPC decisionmaking and EC institutions.

Edwards and Regelsberger have published the only book-length work known to this writer on the links between EPC and different regional groupings outside Europe. Their central question is: given the dialogue of the EC with other regional groups, is a new European identity in the international system

emerging? Indeed if one were to ask if the EC had a common foreign policy one could point to the policy of the EC to support regional integration elsewhere in the world. After all, who else but the EC is best able to convert others to the idea of regional integration? The volume offers some explanations on the motives behind such an approach and other determining factors such as economic and political interests and institutional prerequisites. They also show how the EC and EPC define and implement a consistent external posture as required under Article 30.6 of the Single European Act. In her chapter, Regelsberger shows that group to group relations: (a) make up an impressive list of activities undertaken by Europe toward the world; (b) are a link between trading partners; (c) are a natural answer of the EC to managing global interdependence; (d) are the result of the EC's internal logic--what Ginsberg (1989) called the EC's self-styled logic; (e) are the products of complex and cumbersome intra-EC bargaining processes; (f) are a promising strategy to bring about consistency in the EC's international profile; (g) help to reduce uncertainty for third countries about the power of the EC; (h) are not free from power politics; and (i) are an interesting feature of, but not a key element in, power politics.

### **Literature Survey**

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