

A NATION WRIT LARGE?

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*Foreign-Policy Problems before
the European Community*

Edited by

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and

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Preface

The European Community Institute for University Studies presents in this volume a survey of the main problems in the realm of foreign policy which confront the nations now forming the European Community. Although its authors hope that within the present decade it will be possible to speak of the foreign policy of the European Community, they are under no illusion concerning the difficulties that have to be overcome before this can be the case.

But it seems to them that the Community cannot choose not to have a common foreign policy. As many chapters of this volume show, the distinction between internal and foreign affairs is becoming blurred. For this reason the internal progress of the Community, especially towards economic and monetary union – an objective accepted by all member states – will only be possible if progress is made at the same time towards common positions, and common policies, in what we still call ‘foreign affairs’.

Such progress cannot and should not be made without a public debate. For the past twenty years important decisions have been taken by the European Community without much debate outside the charmed circle of its institutions. This volume is intended as a contribution to what must become a continuous, informed, Community-wide debate on foreign policy issues which, however disguised in technicalities, involve fundamental political choices.

Our method of work reflects our interest in the process, the debate, as well as the product, the insights which resulted from it. The authors of the chapters, originating from different member states, had occasion to discuss successive drafts with equally multi-national discussion groups. The names of the participants can be found on p. 257. We are deeply grateful for the time and expertise they have contributed to this effort.

We did not, however, wish to produce a series of reports

reflecting a colourless consensus: the final responsibility for each chapter rests with its author.

One great advantage of the long preparation of each chapter in discussion groups was the opportunity it gave for confronting relevant chapters with each other, letting members of one discussion group take part in the discussion of another, etc. The result, we feel, is a unity of conception otherwise difficult to achieve in a work with several contributors. This unity was greatly helped by the fact that the discussions on the introductory chapter preceded most of the others.

To apply the method of international group discussion with different authors on this scale is relatively complicated and expensive. Only the very generous financial aid of the Volkswagen, Agnelli and Ford Foundations and the Royal Dutch Shell Group made possible the process of which this volume is the result. Needless to say, these donors are in no way responsible for its contents. That the effort could be made, however, was only possible thanks to their backing. Without the devotion of the small staff of the European Community Institute for University Studies this project would never have been carried out. To all of them, thanks.

Special thanks are also due to Richard Mayne, whose help and great experience were invaluable during the final review of the text.

The structure of this volume speaks for itself. The first chapter attempts to describe the general political framework in which the Community must operate and decide on its policy-choices. The second chapter does the same for the international economic context. Chapters 3–6 throw light on different aspects of the Community's foreign policy; they take a functional look at the problem. Chapters 7–10 bring the different aspects together in looking at countries and regions which are of special importance to the Community.

It would have been tempting to include chapters concerning Japan, China, India and Latin America in this book. However, a choice had to be made and the present one seemed the most relevant to Europe's present situation.

Finally a word about the European Community Institute for University Studies which took the initiative for the project.

The Institute is an independent organisation founded in 1958 and aimed originally at furthering university studies relating to the economic, social, political and legal aspects of European integration. During the first decade of its existence it assisted in the establishment of several university centres for European studies, and fostered contacts between those engaged in such studies through meetings and seminars and through the regular publication of bulletins concerning university research, courses and doctoral theses on various aspects of European integration.

After the Summit conference at The Hague, it was felt that new efforts were necessary to stimulate a Europe-wide debate on the many problems that must be solved to attain the objectives agreed upon on that occasion, a debate not confined to governments and civil servants, but involving men and women of different disciplines and walks of life.

In the United States, such debate is nourished and organised not only by many universities but also by many other independent institutes. These organisations all have one common characteristic: they take a continent-wide view of the question and they help, through research and public debate, to establish a basis for government action.

To stimulate such a continent-wide debate in the Community, Europe needs similar institutions. Those who are already studying and discussing European matters need better opportunities for regular and sustained work together.

In 1970, the European Community Institute for University Studies therefore decided to extend its activities and to develop gradually into an institute for European policy planning. The present volume is the result of the first major project undertaken by the Institute in this field.

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European Community Institute
for University Studies