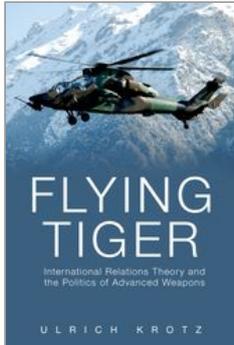


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Flying Tiger: International Relations Theory and the Politics of Advanced Weapons

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International Relations and National Interest

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter develops a constructivist-institutionalist model of national interest formation and foreign policy formulation. Focusing on variable constellations between the logic of institutionalization and construction at the interstate level on the one hand and domestic factors on the other, this model offers a number of general hypotheses about the potential, contingent, and uneven impact of institutionalized interstate relations on states' interests and policies. The chapter distinguishes among three main components of interstate institutionalization and construction: regularized intergovernmentalism, predominantly symbolic acts and practices, and parapublic underpinnings of interstate relations.

Keywords: constructivist-institutionalist model, national interest formation, foreign policy development, interstate institutionalization, interstate construction, regularized intergovernmentalism

La conduite des États ou des unités politiques militairement indépendantes, même si on la suppose rationnelle, ne se réfère pas à un seul objectif. Dire que les États agissent en fonction de leur intérêt national, c'est ne rien dire tant qu'on n'a pas défini le contenu de cet intérêt.

Raymond Aron¹

Je schärfer aber die Bedeutsamkeit einer Kulturercheinung zum klaren Bewußtsein gebracht werden soll, desto unabweislicher wird das Bedürfnis, mit klaren und nicht nur partikulär, sondern allseitig bestimmten Begriffen zu arbeiten.

Max Weber²

This chapter develops a constructivist-institutionalist model of national interest formation and foreign policy formulation. Focusing on variable constellations between the logic of institutionalization and construction at the interstate level on the one hand and domestic factors on the other, this model offers a number of general hypotheses about the potential, contingent, and uneven impact of institutionalized interstate relations on states' interests and policies. The chapter first distinguishes among three main components of interstate institutionalization and construction: regularized intergovernmentalism, predominantly symbolic acts and practices, and parapublic underpinnings of interstate relations. Institutionalized relations between states, thus conceived, are sets of regularized intergovernmental interactions that include elements of shared meanings and social purpose. Proper conceptualization allows us to empirically capture the distinctive effects that such interstate institutionalization and construction (p.29) may generate. It also enables us to connect interstate relations thus conceived to other presumed factors of state interests and foreign policy, notably from domestic politics. Thereby, this chapter generates a total of six empirically testable propositions regarding the potential and variable impact of interstate institutionalization on national interests and policymaking. This book's theoretical explorations thus consider interstate institutionalization and construction, domestic construction, and domestic political structures broadly as separate sources of national interest and foreign policy, treating them conceptually separately. Depending on different constellations between interstate logic, the domestic constructions of one or both of the states involved, or their domestic structures broadly, this chapter's model hypothesizes, the impact of an interstate relationship on the national interests and policies of the states involved may be strong, moderate, or absent. Three contrasting views drawn from the most established general theoretical perspectives in international relations theory offer potentially competing approaches to the origins of national interests and foreign policies and to how interstate institutionalization may or may not affect state goals and policymaking.

Institutionalization and Construction Between States

Empirically examining and analytically capturing the causal implications of the relations between states first requires careful conceptualization of what it is that makes up such relationships. In so doing, I distinguish among three building blocks or categories of interaction that together constitute interstate institutionalization and construction: regularized intergovernmentalism; largely symbolic acts and practices;

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and (possibly) a variety of parapublic underpinnings. Together, these sets of political practices, in their particular historical manifestations, define particular relationships between states in given periods. This conceptualization allows us to investigate the specific, overall impact of such relations on the interests and policies of those involved in them. The institutionalization and construction of Franco-German relations in the post-war period have been both wide ranging and dense, as well as distinctive.

Regularized Intergovernmentalism

Regularized intergovernmentalism consists of reiterated patterns of interaction and communication among governmental and administrative officials who act as representatives of their states or state entities. Such connections broadly include interstate institutionalization of all kinds and at a variety of levels. Regularized intergovernmentalism in given time periods may have particular rhythms and organizational shape.

(p.30) Such regularized intergovernmentalism helps to define “business as usual” among two or more states. In framing normal ways of handling things, it may channel why and how to solve problems and formulate policies in a wide range of policy domains. It keeps issues on the agenda that concern those states involved in the relationship. It may “bind personnel”—that is, groups of people who deal with one another professionally on a regular basis—whether in friendly or adversarial fashion. It makes states “keep in touch” regarding certain issues. Especially if the relations are constructive, regularized intergovernmentalism may generate pressures “to come up with something” or “something new.”

Regularized intergovernmentalism in particular pre-structures proceedings and contributes to standardizing the conduct between the states involved. Thereby it may generate routines and common codes of conduct. Thus, in all of these ways, regularized intergovernmentalism helps to shape standards of normality and normal expectations. The interaction and communication patterns that it implies may help to make some courses of action intuitive while making others implausible. They may help to legitimize some possible routes of policy and delegitimize others.³

Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism between the 1960s and the early twenty-first century has been wide-ranging, dense, and distinctive.⁴ At its core, the Elysée Treaty (or “Franco-German Treaty,” or “Treaty”), with its various extensions and additions, has constituted the main framework of the robust Franco-German bilateralism. The Treaty defined semiannual Franco-German summit meetings as regularized procedures. Initially, these meetings involved the German chancellor, the French president and prime minister, a handful of ministers from the key ministries, and their staff. Frequently they stretched over two days, to be concluded by joint press conferences on what had been achieved and what remained on the agenda ahead.

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These summit meetings grew quickly and massively after the Treaty's conclusion in 1963, expanding to include more ministers and increasingly larger delegations from the two states' ministerial bureaucracies. By the 1980s, the "summits" comprised all major foreign and security as well as domestic policy areas, often stretching across all levels of governmental and administrative hierarchies. Furthermore, through the addition of a number of protocols to the Treaty, France and Germany further increased the frequency and intensity of their bilateral regularized intergovernmentalism. Following the 1982 creation of the Franco-German Security and Defense Commission, for example, in 1988 they instituted the Franco-German Defense and Security Council that further bound together the two states in these policy areas.

In order to prevent political misunderstandings, exchange opinions and background information, and bind yet closer especially policy- and decision-making proceedings, in 2001 France and Germany decided to increase the frequency of (p.31) consultations on the highest political levels. Named after the Alsatian town in which the scheme was conceived, the "Blaesheim process" meant that the two states' foreign ministers or heads of state and government would hold informal and discreet talks every six to eight weeks. Since 2003, following the fortieth anniversary of the Elysée Treaty's conclusion, the semiannual Franco-German meetings took on the title "joint Ministerial Councils." Yet again expanded, they now include the two governments' entire cabinets as well as delegations from all or almost all of the two states' ministerial bureaucracies.

The Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism has developed a dynamic of its own, contributing significantly to the establishment of a particular kind of institutional fabric between these states. For almost half a century since its inception, this robust bilateral intergovernmentalism has helped to keep France and Germany hanging together in spite of a wide range of forces that might have promoted drift or rift. Potential domestic factors of rupture or instability have included, among others, changes of governments, presidents, prime ministers, chancellors, or other key personnel on one or both sides of the Rhine; the "chemistry" among French and German political leaders and the personal proclivities of the individuals in key positions in the French and German states; ideological differences among the political parties in power in Bonn or Berlin and Paris; changing and diverse coalition governments in Germany; and the rise of *cohabitation* in France.⁵ And potentially disruptive international factors have prominently included the end of the Cold War, the rise (and apparent decline) of American unipolarity, German unification, various rounds of European Union enlargement, and expanding and intensifying globalization.

Navigating through times of such significant internal change and external transformations has not been without bouts of friction or crises between the two states. But France-Germany did not break. The regularization of their intergovernmentalism has helped them to hang together for almost half a century in a particular way that survived the great 1989 divide in Europe, and that has proven both resilient and adaptable during the frequently turbulent years of the post-Cold War era and early twenty-first-century world politics. During these decades of internal and external

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change, Franco-German bilateral intergovernmentalism has standardized Franco-German intergovernmental affairs, created routines, and outlined normal ways of handling things; it has bound together and, over time, helped to socialize cohorts of diplomatic and other governmental personnel; and, in a variety of ways, it has generated and perpetuated social meaning.⁶

The fabric and patterns of this bilateral intergovernmentalism with its manifold communication channels and regularized contacts have lastingly connected heads of states and governments, ministers, and ministries from both countries and compelled them to streamline and coordinate their policy- and (p.32) decision-making schedules. In particular, the semiannual summit meetings, with the preparations preceding and the agenda following them, have engendered their own rhythms. They have often taken on difficult issues not satisfactorily resolved on lower hierarchical levels, or set agendas for issues to be dealt with and resolved in the future. Frequently, they set up working groups with specific tasks to report back to the high and highest bilateral levels in a subsequent summit. Thus, even if only tenuously, they have intertwined processes of French and German national interest formation and policymaking. At the core of this bilateral regularized intergovernmentalism, “the Franco-German Treaty,” noted long-time French Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister de Murville at the Treaty’s twentieth anniversary, “has over time ... become an essential part of the life of our peoples”—“a basic element of the foreign policies of our two countries.”⁷ The Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism has become part of a bilateral polity that helped to define a particular international regional system.

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Symbolic Acts

Predominantly symbolic acts and practices are gestures, rituals, and ceremonies that do not directly aim at solving problems, formulating interests and positions, or making policies. Typically, such acts refer to a larger historical and cultural context that reaches beyond the time horizon of immediate daily politics. Symbolic acts are a distinct category of international political practices with their own tradition and reality. Such symbolic acts and practices are not primarily about cooperation in specific instances. Rather, more generally, they denote what it *means* to act together. They lend significance to a relationship, indicating what is “at stake,” or what it is “all about.” Representing a deeper and more general social purpose underlying specific instances of cooperation or difference, they are about the value and intrinsic importance that social relations incorporate. Typically, predominantly symbolic acts and practices are embedded in a broader historical and cultural context.⁸

Symbolic acts and practices generate, corroborate, and perpetuate meaning and purpose in the relations between states. They help to construct the standards of normality that shape expectations, conduct, and levels of harmony and conflict, contributing to predictability. Symbolic practices further provide relationships with reference points for success and failure of single actions or sets of policies, which may entail the success or failure of inimical policies in weakening the position of adversaries, as much as in cooperation with allies and friends. Finally, meaning and purpose created by symbols contribute to the shaping of collective identities at the international level: who belongs to whom, for what reason, and for what purpose. Conversely, they also make clear who does not belong together, who are “the others,” adversaries or enemies. They legitimize some goals (p.33) and actions and delegitimize others. Symbolic acts and practices construct social meaning and purpose well beyond the immediate ends of the short term. Such meaning and purpose cannot be reduced to other types of international activity or aspects of institutionalized interstate relations, such as regularized intergovernmentalism or others. They help to shape the stage on which much of daily politics unfolds.

The dominant Franco-German post-war meaning originates in a string of symbolic acts between 1958 and 1963. During this period, in a series of often stirring gestures, ceremonies, and speeches, French President Charles de Gaulle and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer generated and instituted new, transformed meaning and social purpose for an incipient era of Franco-German affiliation and proximity. These symbolic acts included their demonstrative private meetings, joint travels through the two countries, participation in the first joint parade of Franco-German troops, kneeling and praying next to each other in Reims, a list of speeches, and their hug and fraternal kiss after the signing of the Elysée Treaty.

A host of chiefly symbolic acts and practices has since reproduced, perpetuated, and corroborated the meaning and purpose of the Franco-German relationship that these two men instituted. Some of these practices are more or less regularized and recurrent, with dates marked on the calendar. Among many others, they have included the

commemorations and celebrations of the signing of the Elysée Treaty and the custom of first visits or first receptions of new personnel after changes in key public positions. A new French president or German chancellor, for example, traditionally takes his or her first trip abroad to the other's capital very soon after resumption of office. Outstanding among the single events in this category is Kohl and Mitterrand's 1984 standing hand in hand over the graves of French and German soldiers in Verdun, as well as de Gaulle and Adenauer's kneeling next to each other in Reims in 1962. But there are many more, including a joint troop parade in Paris on France's national holiday on July 14, 1994, and President Chirac's reception as the first foreigner to speak before the German Bundestag after the German parliament had returned to Berlin post-unification. As single events, these are meaningful integral threads of an overall fabric. Singular, they are part of a whole.⁹

The dominant Franco-German purpose of the past five decades has its characteristic normative justifications or explanations in the two countries' political discourses. For the most part, the appeals are historical, referring to the necessity to overcome a long history of anguish and suffering; allude to cultural affinity; or hint at the Franco-German role in providing stability or consolidation in European affairs. In the Franco-German example, symbolic acts endow this bilateral relationship with specific meaning and specific purpose. They help to institutionalize Franco-German relations as a value and, often, as an end in themselves.

(p.34) Parapublic Underpinnings

Parapublic underpinnings of international relations are cross-border interactions by individuals or collective actors belonging neither to the public world of states nor to the private world of societies. They escape the common binary distinctions of state-society or public-private, representing a third kind of international interaction that is "parapublic." Parapublic practices are not forms of public interaction among states, because participants do not relate to each other as representatives of their states or governments. Yet, these practices are also inadequately conceptualized as transnational links among private individual or collective actors, because they do not autonomously originate in private society and, critically, because they are largely state financed or organized. Without state funding or public organizational support, such activities would barely exist. Parapublic practices are a distinct and substantial type of international activity that underpins relations between or among specific states.

A proper conceptual grasp of the parapublic underpinnings of international relations enables us to comprehend how a multitude of diverse interactions and processes relate to one another and how they, in their entirety, constitute a particular type of international institutional structure. Parapublic institutionalization may best be characterized as "transpolity." It underpins and connects to interstate institutionalization and construction.¹⁰

The public funding or organization of international parapublic activity comes with the institutionalization of social purpose. For example, the Franco-German television channel ARTE presents world news and even weather from a “Franco-German” perspective. Publicly funded or publicly organized youth activities across borders virtually always embody social purpose. Parapublic underpinnings of interstate relations are normatively charged. They are not neutral or value free. Accordingly, those between France and Germany have helped to define a particular Franco-German meaning and social purpose.

Parapublic practices have at least three specific kinds of partially overlapping effects, which together construct international social purpose: First, they provide a great variety of resources for joint undertakings most broadly conceived. Second, through transpolity educational and training programs that are frequently part of the parapublic weave, they socialize their participants, thus cultivating a certain kind of personnel to later practice international affairs by staffing public (and private) offices. Thus parapublic institutionalization helps to produce and re-produce personnel immersed in the frame of value, signification, and social purpose of the particular interstate relationship that they underpin. And, finally, parapublic institutionalization generates and perpetuates social meaning by shaping standards of normal expectations, helping to define political success and failure, defining legitimate political ends, and contributing to the formation of the rudiments of international collective identity. In all of these (p.35) ways, parapublic underpinnings can stabilize public interstate institutionalization and construction, and supply interstate relations with themes, meaning, and personnel. Parapublic underpinnings may perpetuate and strengthen value and legitimate public goals. They may contribute to creating and maintaining a certain atmosphere.

Franco-German institutionalization and construction consists of much more than the relations between two states. It also comprises an encompassing variety of parapublic connections among the French and the Germans, which the governments of the neighboring states have helped to fund and organize, but which have evolved into something more. At the same time, at least the parapublic underpinnings of the Franco-German relationship face considerable limitations: Their impact is very indirect, as effects do not emerge mechanically and are not altogether assured. And in the Franco-German case, they have hardly brought about a true cross-border Franco-German public sphere, nor have they removed the enduring domestic cultural and social dissimilarities that often separate French and Germans.

The parapublic underpinnings of Franco-German relations comprise three main pillars:

1. Extensive youth and educational exchanges, with the Franco-German Youth Office alone involving some 7 million participants since 1963. This pillar further includes more than 100 fully integrated study programs between French and German universities, enrolling thousands of French and German students. They

are fully trained in both languages and receive university degrees from both countries.

2. More than 2,000 “twinships” between French and German towns and between various regional entities such as *départements* or *régions* and *Landkreise* or *Länder*. Although ranging widely in intensity of contact and exchange, such twinships have institutionalized massive Franco-German transpolity interaction through a great variety of programs and activities.

3. A host of institutes and associations concerned with Franco-German matters and committed to Franco-German affairs.

A variety of additional parapublic elements, including publicly supported mass media institutions and a multitude of prizes accorded for advancing Franco-German matters, complement these three main staples.

In their entirety, these parapublic interactions compose distinct historical formations. They are part of a bilateral institutional order. They have undergirded the “special” relationship between France and Germany over the past half century and have helped to endow it with a particular value, meaning, and purpose.¹¹ (p.36) (p.37)

(p.38) Institutional Logics

Thus conceived, institutionalized relations between states are sets of regularized interaction, meaning, and social purpose. They may imply elements of interstate and (as in the case of parapublic connections) transpolity institutionalization and construction. Their institutionalization of patterns of interaction and meaning gives them their historical significance and political relevance. Relations change when interaction patterns and the meaning that they incorporate are reproduced differently over time. A fundamental change of their interactions and meaning will transform them. Rupture will terminate them.

Each of the components of institutionalized interstate relations—regularized intergovernmentalism, symbolic acts and practices, and parapublic underpinnings—contributes distinct aspects to the relationship between states. Each may exert separate influences on the states involved. However, this book explores the total impact of interstate institutionalization and construction on national interests and foreign policy, looking at the combined influence of these relations between states. Thus chapters 3–6 scrutinize the overall effects of the particular relations between France and Germany rather than testing for the separate causal effects of the single components that together make up the relationship.¹² In combination, the components of interstate institutionalization and construction generate a variety of general effects: (1) Institutionalized relations standardize conduct. They pre-structure proceedings and help to shape normalities and normal expectations. (2) They generate and perpetuate social meanings and purpose. Thereby they legitimize and make intuitive some courses of action, delegitimize and make implausible others. They also provide reasons to want and to do some things, and not to do others—alone or with others. (3) They may engender rudiments of collective identity or co-define otherness. By doing so, in a

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broad sense, they help to stabilize order in international affairs—not understood as the absence of conflict but as regularization. These political effects and causal implications may overlap and are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Table 2.1 Institutionalization and Construction Between States

components	manifestation in Franco-German affairs	overall effects
regularized inter-governmentalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elysée Treaty w/ extensions and additions across policy areas; • semiannual summits w/preparations and homework • reg. intergovt. below and beyond the Elysée Treaty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>standardize conduct of states involved</i>; pre-structure proceedings; shape standards of normality as well as deviation from normality; construct normal expectations, from cooperation to conflict • <i>generate and perpetuate social meanings and purpose</i>: legitimize and make intuitive some course of action, delegitimize and make implausible others; provide reasons to want and to do some things, and not to do others—alone or with others
predominantly symbolic acts and practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • originating in de Gaulle-Adenauer’s symbolic acts: Colombey, Reims, travels, etc. • recurrent symbolic practices: Treaty anniversaries; tradition of “symbolic firsts” • single events as part of a whole: Verdun 1984; parades (Champs-Elysées 1994 etc.); and many more 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>engender rudiments of collective identity</i> or co-define otherness; stabilize order in international affairs, understood not as absence of conflict, but as regularization
(potentially) parapublic underpinnings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • massive youth exchanges (7 million participants) • some 2000 city and regional partnerships 	

components	manifestation in Franco-German affairs	overall effects
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• host of institutes and associations• other parapublic elements (media; prizes)	

This conceptualization allows us to empirically research the possible autonomous impact of such relations as a whole on the interests and actions of the state-actors involved. It should further enable us to connect “interstate institutionalization and construction” with other potential factors of national interest and foreign policy and to theorize generally about the formation of interests and policy. The conceptualization should also allow us to pursue specific hypotheses on the contingent, apparently variable impact of interstate institutionalization and construction on state interests and policies in particular political settings, historical periods, or points in time. If particular kinds of interstate relations indeed affect the state-actors involved, this conceptualization should make their empirical implications observable and accessible in both specific political processes (p.39) and historical outcomes. It thus should lay the groundwork for within-case process tracing and explanation as well as cross-case analysis.¹³

Interstate Relations and Domestic Construction: Propositions 1–3

Historically rooted domestic construction refers to national historical experiences and to dominant interpretations of their meaning and implications. Central elements of such domestic-level construction can vary widely across otherwise similar states. Core components of French and German domestic construction have differed significantly between the late 1950s and the mid-1990s. Generally, connecting external interstate institutionalization with internal historically rooted domestic construction generates empirically testable hypotheses as to why institutionalized interstate relations apparently vary in their impact on what states want and do.

Domestic Construction

Historically rooted domestic constructions are internally shared views and understandings regarding the proper and suitable role and purpose of one’s own state as a social collectivity in the international arena. Here, they refer specifically to self-views of a country’s proper place and role in the world, including foreign and security policy. They are products of history, memory, and interpretation. They may be broken down into a few core components, centrally defining such self-views and their implications. They typically come with characteristic vocabulary that both reflects and substantiates these core elements of domestic construction. Their main historical reference points are rooted in national historical experiences.

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Such domestic role constructions cannot be reduced to the interests or ideologies of dominant groups, parties, or single persons in or near power, or to organizational features of state and society. Nor is such domestic construction merely the sum or the overlapping consensus of individual or group interests. As an analytic concept, historically rooted domestic construction encapsulates “what we want and what we do as a result of who we think we are, want to be, and should be,” in light of national historical experiences and dominant interpretations of their meaning. As internal reference systems, such domestic constructions affect national interests and foreign policies.¹⁴

At a minimum, these historically rooted domestic constructions are shared among the national political and administrative elites, across a variety of publicly organizational units of the state, and among the relevant foreign policy community, which includes advisors and researchers as well as academic and journalistic commentators and observers. A strong elite consensus and wider (p.40) public appreciation of the core elements of such domestic construction will increase the concept’s analytic leverage.

Such domestic role constructions are internally anchored historical creations. They may be contested, but they tend to endure. They are neither invariably fixed nor necessarily immutable across time. They appear, develop, and become dominant during one period of time; change, decay, or recede into history during another. Yet, neither are they purely transient phenomena. Often they display astounding temporal tenacity. As factors of interest and policy, they can be captured by empirically extracting their core elements and the characteristic set of prevailing vocabulary at a given time and place.¹⁵

Domestic constructions of self and proper role and purpose in the international arena are a major source of influence on what state governments define as national interests and cast into policy.¹⁶ Their varying causal effects on national interests and policy may complement the effects of other sources of national interests (such as interstate institutionalization and construction, or the impact of domestic interest groups), or they may be in various degrees of tension with them. Domestic constructions affect national interests and foreign policies in different ways: They both *prescribe* and *proscribe*. They prescribe in that they induce interests and policies. They may motivate certain wills, goals, and actions, and they may make plausible and intuitive certain objectives but not others. Yet domestic constructions also proscribe in that they rule out or subdue options. They make some interests and policy options intuitively implausible, categorically exclude them as wrong or unacceptable, or make them unthinkable by putting them outside realistic consideration.¹⁷ Frequently, interests and policies that derive from historically rooted domestic construction are viewed as normal, right, and intuitively plausible and appropriate within the respective country.

France and Germany

Between the late 1950s and the second half of the 1990s, central elements of French and German historically rooted domestic construction differed sharply. Sets of French and German vocabulary, terminology, and notions associated with such elements of domestic construction both express and substantiate these differences. Delineating domestic construction elements comparatively also brings to light more clearly what a particular role and purpose is *not*. Germany's and France's domestic constructions of role and purpose, like any country's, are also the sum of momentous absences.¹⁸

Legal Framing, Rule of Law, Regularized Conduct (“Verrechtlichng”; “Verregelung”)

The first core element of the German self-cultivated self-view encompasses the propensity that it befits Germany to promote and consolidate an increasingly precise legal framing of international affairs; to support broadening the legitimacy of (p.41) the international order; and generally to advance the international rule of law, legally codified procedures, and regularized conduct.¹⁹ Substantively and processually, this component encourages formulating one's wants and policies in conformity with already existing international rules. It promotes the advancement, deepening, and consolidation of international law and rule as a general policy goal in itself. It also channels interests toward specific international policy issue areas such as human rights and the environment.

“Never-On-Our-Own”

A second main German domestic construction component comprises a general dislike for “going alone” or “doing it alone”: unilateralism as unsuitable for oneself, especially in security affairs. “[T]ogether with our friends and partners” is one standard way to state the matter—“[o]nly together with our partners, not against them, can we win the future,” as then Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel elaborated programmatically. It suits Germany, in the words of then Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, to “avoid any type of ‘showing off’ and any unnecessary ‘going alone.’”²⁰

Military Force as Last Resort Toward Non-Selfish Ends

The third German role element incorporates great skepticism and a very restrictive attitude toward the use of force. The self-view consensus strongly embraces non-military instruments as both normal and fundamentally preferable for achieving one's goals.²¹ A peculiar mix of ends, functions, and implementation characterizes Germany's acceptance of the potential use of military power only as a last resort. Self-defense aside, the ends cannot be narrowly national-selfish, and a broad international consensus must justify them. The function of force is to (re)channel conflict into non-military forms as quickly as possible. Its implementation must be legitimized by broadly supported international decisions and realized by a broad international coalition, ideally under the aegis of an international organization.

These elements of domestic construction come with a set of characteristic vocabulary that reflects and underscores their meaning. Key German notions notably comprise responsibility, stability, and predictability (*Verantwortung, Stabilität, Berechenbarkeit*), as well as reliability, calculability, accountability, and continuity. Standard formulas

establish that Germany, “due to its history,” has a “special (co-)responsibility,” or that Germany must be a predictable partner in the quest for regional and global stability. Frequently, role and purpose terms come as compounds or in combinations —“responsibility politics/policies” (*Verantwortungspolitik*) or Germany as a “reliable friend and partner as anchor for stability and peace.”²² During the period covered here, Germany’s domestic construction discourse was characteristic and bounded.²³

(p.42) The substance of France’s domestic construction elements differs in kind from Germany’s, with vocabulary and notions mirroring these differences. Similarly, the historical roots of constructions of France’s proper role in the world differ radically.

Independence

This chief French role-component implies a view of self as standing alone, able to act in as many foreign policy fields as possible “on one’s own terms and without endangering a dependent relationship with any other country.” This role element encompasses France’s “full foreign policy independence in the world of states.” It includes a “dogged interest in maintaining ... national separateness,” and the “ideal of autonomy of decisions.” “[I]nsisting on independence and autonomy has remained a firm dogma of French parties: communists, socialists, and Gaullists alike.”²⁴ Some consider “‘independence’ the leading notion” of the Fifth Republic’s foreign policy.²⁵

Activism

This second French role component refers to shaping world politics and participating in the management of international affairs—including the use of military force. Charles de Gaulle crystallized the activism element succinctly in rehearsing what he considered France’s appropriate role and purpose in all world regions and key international institutions: “In each of these areas, I want France to play an active part”—elaborating that “it is essential that that which we say and do be independent of others.”²⁶ Some four decades later, Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine, long-time diplomatic advisor and Elysée secretary general under President François Mitterrand, describes a “French will to will.”²⁷ Together, “independence” and “activism” lead to an “interest in participating in the international community but on one’s own terms and without endangering a dependent relationship with any other country.”²⁸

(Potential) Presence

“France, the only West European nuclear power along with Great Britain, present on five oceans and four continents,” the 1990–1993 *Loi de Programmation Militaire* prototypically formulates, “has chosen to ensure her security by herself to guarantee her independence and maintain her identity.” “France has always understood itself as a globally acting middle power.” It intends to pursue “an active foreign policy in every part of the world and every sphere of international life.”²⁹ France’s overseas *départements* (DOM), integral parts of the “motherland,” and its other territorial holdings of varying political-administrative status (TOM) corroborate this (potential) presence role component.³⁰ “Confetti of the empire,” they are leftovers of another institutional time.³¹ Yet, it is not the material tenure (p.43) of these quite costly

territorial splinters that matters but the role conception to which they contribute. “The French continue to produce their history as the accomplishment of a universal mission.”³²

France’s domestic construction terminology, too, relates intimately to a historically shaped and domestically anchored conception of self in international affairs. Yet it diverges sharply from Germany’s. It is the vocabulary of another normality. Standard French role terms include “greatness,” “rank,” and “glory” (*grandeur, rang, gloire*), and a few related terms like “dignity,” “prestige,” and “pride.” *Grandeur* is perhaps the key term denoting historically shaped French self-views.³³ The notion of *rang* typically comes in such formulations as: France has to “take its rank,” live up to its rank, or “keep its rank”; France must occupy “a place in the front rank,” “its traditional place in Europe and the world as a nation”; the “impossibility of being satisfied with a second role for France.”³⁴ In a passage that became part of a national canon, de Gaulle delineates a conceptual abstract that is in its own way a condensation of a national self-categorization and role: “France cannot really be herself but in the first rank.... France cannot be France without greatness.”³⁵

Origins: Historical Raw Materials, Reference Points, and Dominant Interpretations

Crucial elements of proper national role and purpose in the world evolve domestically, in relation to or against one’s own collective past and interpretations of its meaning and implications. The emergence and consolidation of such historically rooted construction seems to involve three key components: a broad and typically amorphous set of historical raw materials; a selective focus on a number of central historical reference points; and some dominant, more or less widely shared interpretations of the meaning and political implications of these reference points for one’s role and purpose in the international arena. The histories of France and Germany surely provided the two countries with quite different assortments of historical raw materials after World War II. And indeed, the French and the Germans chose markedly dissimilar historical reference points, which they endowed with distinct meanings and political significance, and to which they referred when thinking about themselves and their foreign policy roles. After the dust of the war had settled, by the late 1950s, their respective historical reference points had fully crystallized and the key meanings and implications they associated with them had consolidated.³⁶

In the German case, the historical legacies of World War II and the Holocaust, with the conception of a democratic Germany as a counterdesign to the barbaric Third Reich regime, are constitutive.³⁷ Dominant interpretations of the meaning and implications of “no more war” and “never again Holocaust” are at the core of Germany’s historically shaped domestic constructions of the country’s proper (p.44) international role and foreign policy in the post-war decades. It may be trivial to state that two disastrous world wars, the moral devastation of the Holocaust, scorched earth, mass slaughtering, and miles of barbed wire have left their traces on Germany’s collective psyche in the decades to follow. It is also true.

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The historical reference points of French domestic construction differ fundamentally from Germany's. Here, it is the indivisible model-republic, the first nation with a *grande armée*, conquering and ordering Europe via a civil code and Cartesian clarity. It is a self-view of a collectivity always at the forefront of political, social, scientific, technical, cultural, and moral progress. De Gaulle succeeded in fusing an assortment of basic orientations into a more or less coherent self-view of a social collectivity, providing "links between ... the nation's inner life, its *essence* as France, and its place in the politics of nations." He "set the terms of discourse about French foreign policy in ways that have persisted"³⁸—"both for public perceptions of France's proper role in the world and for the working of policy-making processes at elite level."³⁹

But the General did not invent a new French self-view. Similar themes have stretched from before to after his tenure. Already during the World War II, for example, the national council of the *Résistance* defined "defending the nation's political independence, restoring France to its power and greatness and its universal mission" as proper French purpose, post-liberation. Some of the materials and motives from which de Gaulle drew long predate him, with deep roots in French history and from deep layers of historical time. For instance, traces of "the striving for national independence" as "a quasi-natural law like maxim for all foreign and security political action," today an "untouchable component of French reason of state," reach back a thousand years. This Capetian heritage has been handed over to Richelieu, Louis XIV, the Jacobins, and Napoleon Bonaparte, finally arriving at Mitterrand.⁴⁰

Table 2.2 Historically Rooted Domestic Construction for France and Germany (late 1950s-late 1990s)

	Germany	France
core components	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "never on our own" • legal framing, rule of law, regularized conduct (<i>Verrechtlichung, Verregelung</i>) • military force as last resort toward non-selfish ends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • independence (standing alone, proud, independently) • activism ("will to will") • (potential) presence (universal mission; <i>rayonnement</i>)
representative terminology	responsibility, stability; reliability, predictability; calculability, accountability; continuity	greatness, rank, glory; dignity, pride, prestige
historical reference points	World War II; Holocaust	indivisible model-republic; <i>grande armée</i> ; as collectivity at forefront of political, social, scientific, and cultural progress and sophistication

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Hypotheses 1-3

Whether and how strongly interstate institutionalization and construction will affect state interests and policies in specific political contexts or situations, we may now hypothesize, will depend on constellations between the effects of institutionalized interstate relations and those of historically rooted domestic construction. One can think of three basic constellations between these two sets of effects: There can be no conflict between them; there can be tension; and they can directly clash. If there is no conflict, the effects from these two sources will be additive. Unencumbered by the influence of domestic construction, in this constellation the effects of institutionalized relations should be strong. This is the first hypothesis that I derive from the model.

The stronger the tension between the effects of externally institutionalized relations and internal domestic construction becomes, the weaker I expect the (p.45) impact of institutionalized relations on interests and policies to be. To be sure, in a bilateral relationship, for example, tension may stem from the domestic construction of either one or both of the states involved and the logic of their institutionalized relationship (the hypothesis here is not about possible tensions between the two countries' domestic constructions themselves). In the Franco-German case, for example, for very different reasons, either domestic construction (or both) may not fit together well with the logic of their institutionalized bilateral relationship. The second hypothesis that I suggest thus holds that if the effects of institutionalized relations and domestic construction are in tension, the impact of the institutionalized relationship will be weaker. Institutionalized relations might still be effective; but their effects will be encumbered.

This is the third hypothesis: If the effects on national interests and foreign policies induced by institutionalized relations directly clash with effects originating from core components of domestic construction, then the impact of interstate institutionalization and construction on national interests and foreign policies will decline. In this constellation, I hypothesize, domestic construction effects will generally be preponderant, trumping the interstate institutionalization effects. The latter effects will be feeble or recede.⁴¹

Thus viewed, depending on the constellation, domestic construction may function as facilitator (or permittor), inhibitor, or overrider of the effects of institutionalized interstate relations.

Table 2.3 Interstate Relations and Domestic Construction

		effects of institutionalized relations and domestic construction on national interest and foreign policy
effects of institutionalized relations vs. domestic construction-effects	no conflict	additive effects of institutionalized relations strong (H 1)

	effects of institutionalized relations and domestic construction on national interest and foreign policy
tension	mixed effects of institutionalized relations weaker (H 2)
clash	domestic construction-effects preponderant effects of institutionalized relations decline (H 3)

(p.46) Interstate Relations and Domestic Institutional Structures: Propositions 4–6

“Domestic institutional structures” are historically grown or politically negotiated features of domestic institutional orders. They comprise aspects of the political system, organized society, and state-society relations. Domestic structures are a grand reservoir for investigating the formation of national interest and the shaping of public policies.⁴² For analytic purposes here, however, this study focuses on two confined features that characterize national polities: (1) the centralization of political authority to define interests and formulate policies in the domestic political system and (2) the degree of state autonomy from the influence of the particularistic interests of organized society. Both authority centralization and state autonomy may vary overall across states and their political systems. But both features also vary across policy domains and potentially over time within domestic political systems. Within the French and German political systems, degrees of both political authority centralization and state autonomy vary and are empirically identifiable in given policy contexts and periods or points in time. Hypothesizing about variable constellations between the logic of institutionalized interstate relationships and authority centralization or state autonomy at the domestic level generates three more propositions regarding the variable impact of interstate institutionalization and construction on the interests and policies of the states involved.

(p.47) Authority Centralization and State Autonomy

Political authority centralization and state autonomy affect how states define interests and formulate policies. Together, they condition the likelihood that single state or governmental entities have enough leverage to affect or to block national or public interest definition and policy formulation—either from their own positions in the political system or as agents of societal groups.

The *degree of political authority (or power) centralization* determines the hierarchic level at which interests are authoritatively defined, policies fixed, and decisions taken for the entire social collectivity in a given political system. The higher the hierarchic level at which this takes place, and the less consideration that must be given to the voices or demands of other public entities of equal or subsidiary rank, the more centralized the organization of a political system. Political authority centralization decreases as single governmental or state entities (*staatliche Teileinheiten*)—such as military leaderships, parliamentary committees, or sub-federal territorial units like *régions* or *Länder*—become more important with their respective “particularistic interests” in the overall formation of interests and policies.

The strength or weakness of a coalition government composed of two or more parties—whether government is streamlined or, for example, *cohabitation*-divided, or whether executive and legislative branches of government competitively check and balance each other with fragmentary effects and authority dispersion—also contributes to the degree of authority centralization in a system. The more units contributing to the formulation of positions, the more political authority or power is dispersed in the system. Fragmentation and dispersion are not only the result of the number of entities participating in or constructively co-formulating interests and policies. They also relate to the number of government or state entities that can block or veto such decisions. Thus, high degrees of authority centralization can also mean few “veto points” to block or undermine state or governmental position fixation and policy formulation.⁴³ Degrees of authority centralization help to determine the difficulty of arriving at positions and policies and the number of different entities of state governments that contribute to the formulation of interests and policies, as well as how many entities are capable of “vetoing” positions or policies.

A high degree of *state autonomy* means that a government may develop and fix interests and policies with little or no influence from the particularistic interests of domestic or transnational organized society. The easier the access of organized society to the political power centers where public positions are authoritatively fixed, and the greater the influence of certain groups on what the government or administration adopts in a given policy issue area and time, the lower the degree of state autonomy. State autonomy shapes the role and influence of organized domestic or transnational society in determining national interests and foreign (p.48) policies. It conditions whether, where, and how organized society can access the political process that brings about interests and policies.

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Degrees of political authority centralization, along with degrees of state autonomy from society's influence and pressure, together define "state strength." High degrees of authority centralization and state autonomy give rise to high degrees of state strength. In a strong state, governments define interests on a high level of centralization with a high degree of autonomy from society. In reverse, fragmentation or dissipation of political authority among state and governmental entities and little autonomy from the influence of private societal interests mean low degrees of state strength.

France and Germany

Overall, during the time period relevant for this study, the French state is stronger than the German state: It is more centralized and has, in many policy domains, more autonomy from its society. However, degrees of centralization and autonomy vary significantly across policy domains and contexts for both France and Germany.

Labeled "*monarchie républicaine*"⁴⁴ and "the institutionalization of leadership,"⁴⁵ Fifth Republic France has frequently been cited as close to the ideal type of a strong state: a system with a strong president and a government and administration highly centralized in many fields.⁴⁶ During much of the Fifth Republic, the French state has enjoyed high degrees of autonomy from organized society in many policy domains—sometimes actively taking control of aspects of French society. For example, the state has controlled economic activity in many industrial sectors. In many areas of production, far into the 1990s, the French state has cultivated one or two national champions that it has owned or controlled in various legal forms. In industrial areas of concern to national security, not only has the state been autonomous from industry, but it has more or less run it. Both centralization of political authority and state autonomy are very high in arenas such as foreign affairs and defense, even in times of *cohabitation*.

However, with the arrival of *cohabitation*, political authority has, in a number of policy areas, been split among president, prime minister, and government. In sectors such as agriculture, education, and transport, the French state has proven quite vulnerable to the pressures of a sometimes seemingly anarchic society. Features that determine the strength of the French state in a particular policy area and time period include whether or not France is *cohabitation*-ruled, and if so how the respective policy area is divided among president, prime minister, and government; how much influence the national assembly can exert; how much impact the French *régions* have; and how much pressure society is able to mobilize.

(p.49) In democratic Germany, as a counterdesign to the *Führerstaat* of the Third Reich, political authority has generally been decentralized. This includes horizontal features of decentralization as well as vertical ones among federal and *Länder* levels. At the federal level, the executive branch of government shares political power with an influential judiciary branch, including a fully independent and often very influential supreme court. Political authority of the federal executive is intricately intertwined with a comparatively powerful *Bundestag* as federal legislature. Within the federal executive, single ministries frequently enjoy considerable independence from the

chancellor and his or her office. This is often pronounced, because at the federal level Germany is typically ruled by coalition governments composed of different parties. Federal coalitions, in turn, must work out positions and policies with *Länder* governments of various partisan compositions in many policy areas. For good reasons, Germany has been described as “the grand coalition state.”⁴⁷ In addition, and with further authority-decentralizing effects, numerous public tasks performed by the state in other systems have been transferred to domestic “parapublic institutions.”⁴⁸ The autonomy of the German state is constricted in many policy domains by an efficiently organized society.⁴⁹

However, in some policy areas—notably foreign relations and defense—political authority is much more centralized at the federal level than in others (e.g., education). In several domains, again including those having to do with foreign affairs, the German state also enjoys comparatively higher levels of autonomy. In these policy areas, centralization of political authority may be high when a strong chancellor is in charge of his coalition and in control of his party, with a sufficient majority in the *Bundestag* and its committees. This situation, in combination with elevated degrees of state autonomy, can lead to high degrees of state strength regarding the “political will-building process (*politischer Willensbildungsprozess*).” Other features affecting degree of political authority centralization and state autonomy include the allocation of authority among federal and sub-federal levels; the number of ministries involved; the relations among those ministries; the role of the chancellor’s office; the distribution of power within the respective coalition government (the strength of the chancellor and the majorities in the *Bundestag* and its committees); the strength of domestic parapublic institutions; and the organizational mode of societal interests and their access to the power centers.

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Hypotheses 4-6

Connecting interstate institutionalization and construction with features of the domestic institutional structures of the states involved generates three more testable propositions to answer the questions presented here. It appears plausible that variable constellations between “state strength”—the degree of authority centralization in the political system and state autonomy from organized (p.50) society—and institutionalized interstate relations help to determine whether and how strongly the latter affects interests and policies. Generally, I expect that the higher the degrees of authority centralization and state autonomy, the more likely it is that institutionalized relations will have powerful influence.

The fourth hypothesis proposes that high degrees of both authority centralization and state autonomy are most conducive to institutionalized relations taking effect upon national interests and foreign policies. High degrees of state strength will increase the likelihood that institutionalized relations will matter. In this constellation, domestic structures are an underlying permissive cause, allowing institutionalized external relations to become most effective. The fewer governmental or state entities with the power either to influence or to block potential effects of external relations, the more likely it is that the latter will have influence. The fewer veto points, the less likely it is that potential effects of institutionalized external relations will get “swallowed,” or vetoed, from within the polity. In other words, fewer domestic cooks make it more likely that the pot will be (at least partially) internationally prepared. Institutionalized external relations may still have effects upon interests and policies even in the presence of veto points, if the institutionalized external relations’ effects do not collide with the goals of those entities with veto power, perhaps under the influence of societal pressure. But if there are fewer veto points, the veto likelihood is lower.

Fifth, I hypothesize that “medium” degrees of state strength will tend to negatively affect the relevance of institutionalized external interstate relations. Fragmentation and dissipation of authority in the domestic system and lower levels of state autonomy will generally undermine their potential effects. If state strength is declining, either because authority centralization or state autonomy or both are decreasing, the “particularistic interests” of single governmental units (such as military leaderships, parliamentary committees, or sub-federal territorial units) or the particularistic interests of organized society will become more relevant for the substantive formation of the national interest or policy in a given policy area and time period. That shift, in turn, will increase the likelihood of incompatibilities or frictions with effects on interests and policies as induced by institutionalized external relations. Lower degrees of autonomy might not *necessarily* oppose the effects of institutionalized relations, if domestic societal interests happen to pull in the same causal direction as their state’s institutionalized relations with other states. But the likelihood that subsidiary governmental entities and particularistic societal interests *can* undermine will increase.

The sixth and last hypothesis holds that decentralization and dissipation of political authority in the system, as well as low state autonomy, will undermine the relevance of institutionalized relations as a factor of national interest and policy. The weaker the state, the more domestic societal interests and “particularistic interests” of single, often subsidiary governmental entities will affect interests (p.51) and policies. Consequently and concomitantly, in this constellation the interaction and meaning of interstate institutionalization and construction will matter the least.

Table 2.4 Interstate Relations and Domestic Institutional Structures (here: authority centralization and state autonomy)

		effects of institutionalized relations on national interest and foreign policy
authority centralization and state autonomy	high	effects of institutionalized relations potentially strong domestic structures most permissive (H 4)
	medium	institutionalized relations weaker yet still effective (H 5)
	low	effects of institutionalized relations generally decline (H 6)

Other Perspectives and Competing Views

This section presents three theoretical perspectives that contrast with the constructivist-institutionalist explanation developed so far. Each of these views offers a different position on the origins of national interests and foreign policies, implying different answers to explain the varying impact of interstate institutionalization on interests and policies. I focus on three of the most established perspectives in international relations: realism (which I present in two versions with slightly different yet compatible emphases); neoliberal institutionalism (stressing efficiency yet sharing several assumptions with neorealism); and a society-rooted domestic politics version of liberalism. These general international relations perspectives differ significantly in their intellectual core tenets and main assumptions as well as on most of these issues that this study raises. Each of them offers a distinct view of the particular historical context that situates this book’s empirical inquiries, and each entails empirically identifiable implications in specific political contexts and situations. On the one hand, the factors and forces emphasized by each perspective—together with those put forth by the constructivist-institutionalist model—may be complementary in achieving the fullest explanation possible of the processes and outcomes that chapters 3–6 scrutinize. On the other hand, these perspectives as well as the constructivist-institutionalist view may be competitive in their relative merit in explaining these (p.52) outcomes and in

illuminating whether and to what degree interstate institutionalization may have played a role in the shaping of interests and policies.

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Realism

Realist views on the origins of national interests closely intertwine with central realist tenets on the nature of international affairs and the defining features of the international condition. Realists stress the importance and underlying implications of formal anarchy of the international system—that is, the absence of regional or world governmental structures with credible means of enforcement beyond the state, making the international system a self-help system. States, frequently presumed unitary and instrumentally rational in realist thinking, are the key actors in world politics. They seek security and influence. The global or regional distribution of power and threat—including the capacity to harm or influence others—are the key historical variable features driving world politics. Core national interests derive from the enduring and variable features of the external security context thus defined. States desire to safeguard their security, political independence, and decision-making autonomy, and to defend their overall position in the system; armament policies tie in closely to these objectives. States arm in response to security pressures, power imbalances, and military threats. They arm in order to secure their capacity to defend their territorial integrity, their national independence, and their political autonomy.⁵⁰

Political realism is no uniform theoretical monolith but comprises various currents and versions. How much emphasis is put on structural imperatives and how much room there may be for other sources of national interests will depend on the specific version of realism and the historical context.⁵¹ However, the characterization above formulates an overlap among the major contemporary versions of realism on the key sources of national interests as bases for policy. In this book's historical investigations in chapters 3–6, I usually focus on the strategic-security orientation of realism that dwells on external security contexts and security pressures broadly. However, whenever appropriate, I include the expectations of a political economy version of realism, mercantilism or economic nationalism, which further emphasizes striving for national economic strength, independence in strategic industries, and industrial developmentalism especially in key strategic and defense industries as sources of state interests that guide policymaking.⁵²

Interstate institutionalization has not been a key focus of realist analyses of world politics, and realists have questioned the relevance of international institutionalization for the most important questions in that realm.⁵³ International institutionalization, in general realist terms, means tools to further the preconfigured interests of the powerful states in the system. Alliances, for example, are temporary associations among atomized state-actors for specific instrumental purposes such as the balancing of power or threat.⁵⁴ Realists will not expect that such (p.53) institutionalization would autonomously affect, modify, or reconstitute the interests of those states involved. The most important forces to shape French and German national interests, during the time period and geostrategic situation of this study's empirical inquiries, should be rooted primarily in the Cold War security context, implying truly existential threats to the physical survival of both countries. French and German security and armament policies

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should be formulated in response to it. In reverse, the structural rupture of 1989–1991 should have significant and identifiable implications for French and German security and arms policies.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberal (rationalist microeconomic) institutionalism, in contrast, places great emphasis on the role of international institutions.⁵⁵ Such institutions, in this view, are “persistent and connected sets of formal and informal behavioral rules that constrain activity, shape expectations, and prescribe roles.”⁵⁶ They may take the form of formal organizations, regimes, or informal conventions. While stressing the role of institutionalization, neoliberal institutionalism shares many of its precepts with realism: States are the key actors; they are assumed to be unitary and instrumentally rational; they interact in a formally anarchic system; and their interests are exogenous to interaction and institutionalization. International institutions are arrangements motivated by national self-interest.

In the neoliberal view, international institutions allow states to realize gains that they otherwise could not. International institutionalization thus affects state policymaking but not the underlying state interests. In fact, rationalist institutionalists view minimally mutual or overlapping state interests as a fundamental precondition for the endurance and viability of international institutions. For states working through them, these institutions must imply the promise of otherwise unattainable gains.⁵⁷ Thereby, however, neoliberal institutionalism does not imply specific views on the origins of national interests, which are exogenous to analysis and presumed as given or described in given political contexts. They may have a great variety of sources, including those stressed by realists; but they may also originate in domestic politics, domestic construction, or elsewhere.

International institutions thus perform functions that are beneficial for states with preconfigured interests. They allow states to overcome coordination problems and provide fora for repeated interaction. “Rationalist theories of institutions view institutions as affecting patterns of costs. Specifically, institutions reduce certain forms of uncertainty and alter transaction costs: that is, the costs of specifying and enforcing the contracts that underlie exchange. Even in the absence of hierarchical authority institutions provide information (through monitoring) and stabilize expectations. They also make decentralized enforcement feasible, for example by creating conditions under which reciprocity can operate.”⁵⁸ Along the same lines, international institutions help to monitor compliance; inhibit (p.54) cheating and free riding; resolve distribution problems; provide or collect information; make commitments more credible; and establish focal points of coordination. Since rationalist institutionalists consider transaction costs in international affairs to be high and world politics to be characterized by high degrees of uncertainty, in the neoliberal view, these functions matter a great deal.⁵⁹ Thus the institutionalization of the Franco-German relationship, on the basis of some preconfigured separate yet overlapping national interests or

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preferences of the two states, should above all help France and Germany to realize gains that they were unable to obtain in its absence. Institutionalized Franco-German relations are a means to increase efficiency.

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Liberalism

Both as a political ideology and a perspective of social analysis, liberal approaches represent a major tradition of thinking about world politics. As a generic outlook and unified approach to international affairs and foreign policy, society-rooted liberal “inside-out” explanations have recently enjoyed systematization and integration.⁶⁰ Rather than focusing on the state as the single most important actor in world politics, liberals consider a multiplicity of actors. They particularly prioritize domestic and transnational societal groups, assumed to be instrumentally rational, as the primordial units of social and political life. These include a great variety of interest groups, domestic and multinational corporations, unions, political parties, national and international nongovernmental organizations, social movements and other coalitions, foundations, and various others. Such “voluntary associations with autonomous interests ... are the most fundamental actors in politics,”⁶¹ made up of private utility-maximizing individuals. And rather than assuming states as unitary actors, liberals view states as arenas for politicking, interest representation, and coalition building. Governments are responsive to societal interests and pressures; ultimately, they represent conglomerates of coalitions and interests of groups and individuals. The most fundamental (although note single) forces driving history, and the ultimate causes of state behavior, liberals believe, derive from social pressures.

Society-rooted inside-out liberalism offers a crystalline perspective on the formation of national interests or state preferences. They derive, most importantly, from coalitions of powerful domestic and transnational social actors. Domestic politics means translating private group interests into “state preferences.” State goals stem from domestic societal pressures, notably from organized group interests, whereby the economic interests of societal actors are primary.⁶² They “reflect the objectives of those domestic groups which influence the state apparatus.”⁶³ While societal groups articulate preferences, governments aggregate them and represent them in a principal-agent relationship. Thus, national interests result from domestic interests that governments bring to international negotiations. (p.55) “The prospect for international agreement will depend almost entirely on the configuration of societal preferences; in negotiations, governments have little flexibility in making concessions, proposing linkages, managing adjustment or otherwise settling on the ‘lowest common denominator.’ International agreement requires that the interests of dominant domestic groups in different countries converge; where they diverge, coordination is precluded.” Thus, “[t]he configuration of domestically determined national preferences defines a ‘bargaining space’ of potentially viable agreements.”⁶⁴

Interstate institutionalization and construction is not central to society-rooted inside-out liberal approaches. However, governments may set up, nourish, or work through interstate institutionalization if it suits and furthers dominant societal interests. International institutionalization and its political relevance, in this view, should be tied to the preferences of domestic and transnational actors. According to liberal expectations, thus, Franco-German relations should rest upon and be driven by French

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and German domestic societal interests. Franco-German security and armament affairs, in particular, should reflect material domestic or transnational French and German group interests.

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Sources of National Interest and Policy, and Role of Interstate Institutionalization in Selected International Relations Perspectives

	realism: strategic-security orientations	realism: mercantilism and economic nationalism	neoliberal institutionalism	liberalism
national interest as basis	external security context; external threats; security pressures; power imbalances	national economic strength; independence in strategic industries; developmentalism	various (presumed or inferred; no explicit theory)	domestic and transnational group interests
interstate institutionalization	subsidiary or irrelevant	subsidiary or irrelevant	important for policymaking, if otherwise unattainable gains realizable	secondary, yet potentially furthering societal interests

(p.56) Summary

Investigating interstate institutionalization's potential causal relevance for the shaping of national interests and foreign policies first requires careful conceptualization. Such conceptualization allows us to empirically capture the possible effects of certain relations between states. It also enables us to hypothesize about variable constellations between the logic of interstate institutionalization and construction and other presumed factors shaping national interests and policymaking, notably from domestic politics. This book's constructivist-institutionalist model integrates the three major sources of national interests and foreign policy—the external relations of states at the level of the international system; domestic constructions of self, role, and purpose in the world; and domestic features of the political system broadly, along with state-society relations. The model offers empirically testable hypotheses (or theoretical propositions) regarding the possibility, contingency, and limits with which interstate institutionalization may affect those involved. Other established perspectives in international relations offer diverse and potentially competing views on the origins of national interests as the bases on which states formulate policies, as well as on the role of interstate institutionalization and construction in shaping national interests and foreign policies. These views, too, imply empirically observable implications in specific political contexts and historical situations.

Notes:

- (1.) "The conduct of states or of militarily independent political units, even if one assumes them rational, does not refer to a single objective. To say that states act on the basis of their national interest is to say nothing, as long as one has not defined the content of that interest." Aron 1983, 454-455.
- (2.) "However, the more sharply the significance of a cultural phenomenon is to be brought to cognizance, the more imperative the desire becomes to operate with unambiguous concepts that are not only particularistically, but generally defined." Weber 1988 (1922), 194. For this translation, I have partially relied on Edward Shils and Henry Finch's translation of Weber's essay. Weber 1949, 93.
- (3.) For a more comprehensive discussion of the concept, its usefulness and implications, see Krotz 2010.
- (4.) For a historical overview of Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism across policy areas, see Krotz 2010. See also there for additional Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism beyond and below the Elysée Treaty as a main framework. For additional views, particularly focusing on regularized Franco-German intergovernmentalism in security and defense, see Gareis 2008; Pajon 2006.

(5.) *Cohabitation* denotes a governmental configuration in which the president on the one hand and prime minister and ministers on the other are from different political camps. The Fifth Republic's political system permits this constellation, and, since the mid-1980s, electoral results intermittently have produced it.

(6.) For a more extended discussion of the historical significance of the Franco-German regularized intergovernmentalism and its political implications, see Krotz 2010, especially 168-177.

(7.) de Murville, 1983, 1, 12.

(8.) For a more extensive discussion of "predominantly symbolic acts and practices" in world politics, see Krotz 2002a.

(9.) For a history and analysis of Franco-German symbolic acts and practices, see Krotz 2002a.

(10.) On parapublic underpinnings of international relations generally, see Krotz 2007.

(11.) On the history and make-up of the parapublic underpinnings of Franco-German relations in greater detail, see Krotz 2007.

(12.) The latter is a different undertaking, and perhaps a continuation or extension of this book's inquiries. For some hypotheses and initial findings with respect to regularized intergovernmentalism, see Krotz 2010, 151-155 and 168-177; with respect to parapublic underpinnings, see Krotz 2007, 389-390 and 400-404.

(13.) On process tracing, causal mechanisms, within-case analysis, and cross-case analysis, see Checkel 2008; George and Bennett 2005, chapters 3, 4, 8, 10; Gerring 2007, chapters 3 and 7; Hall 2003. On the view that concepts "embed" causal hypotheses or imply causal mechanisms, see Goertz 2006.

(14.) This formulation of "historically rooted domestic construction" resembles the concept of "national role conceptions." Notably, see Harnisch and Maull 2001; Holsti 1970; Krotz 2002b; Maull 1990; Walker 1987. However, here the focus is entirely on the domestic level and the internal aspects of national role views as rooted in national historical experience. Similar and compatible conceptualizations of domestic construction for political analysis include Abdelal 2001; Hopf 2002; Johnston 1995; Katzenstein 1996b; Kier 1997; Krotz forthcoming; Ruggie 1997; Walker 2004.

(15.) Domestically anchored historical constructions must be extracted from *general* statements of proper role and purpose in the world from as broad a range of empirical materials as possible (e.g., speeches of policymakers across parties and offices, various government documents from offices involved in foreign and security affairs, or statements of political parties). Thus they are concentrations of role and purpose broadly shared across persons and offices during particular periods of time. On various

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conceptual and methodological aspects underlying this notion of domestic historical construction as well as its usage within international relations theory and comparative foreign policy generally, see Krotz forthcoming, chapters 1 and 2.

(16.) For comparative studies on the impact of such historically rooted domestic constructions on national interests and foreign policy over extended periods of time, see Krotz forthcoming, chapters 5–8; Krotz and Sperling 2011.

(17.) In addition to prescription and proscription, historically rooted domestic constructions may affect preferences of a certain procedural style of interest formation and policy formulation. See Krotz forthcoming, chapters 1, 5, and 6. However, the potential impact on process and style is of subsidiary relevance for the institutionalist-constructivist model formulated here.

(18.) In the following paragraphs, I draw from Krotz 2002b; and Krotz forthcoming, chapter 4. For more extended discussions of French and German domestic constructions and their implications, see there. During the time period covered here, the key components of France's and Germany's domestic constructions of their proper international role were fairly robust. If contested, it was along their fringes, not at their cores. Infrequent deeper contestation came only from isolated political outsiders and proved neither viable nor successful. The depiction here focuses on the most basic elements of domestic construction over the decades in question; it does not aim at an exhaustive historical characterization and therefore does not include a range of other, less basic or less enduring elements of national role and purpose construction that might have emerged alongside, complementary to, or in specification of those portrayed here.

(19.) See, for example, Genschler 1981, 1995; Maull 1992b; Schmidt 1994; Schweigler 1985, 1996.

(20.) Kinkel 1998; von Weizsäcker 1992, 111. Further, for example, see Hacke 1996, 4; Haftendorn 1993; Schweigler 1996.

(21.) See, for example, Maull 1992b; Maull 1992a; Schweigler 1985.

(22.) As in the diction of Hans-Dietrich Genschler, German foreign minister from 1974 to 1992. Genschler 1995; similarly, Genschler 1981.

(23.) See, for example, Baring 1997; Hacke 1996; Hellmann 1996, 1997; Kinkel 1998; Vernet 1998a. From the mid-1990s on, the German foreign policy discourse and its vocabulary began to evolve and modify, while in many respects still carrying the flavor of the preceding decades. On evolution, modification, and continuity, see Hellmann et al. 2008; Krotz forthcoming chapter 8.

(24.) Quotes, in this order, are from Walker 1987, 270 (appendices); Becker 1983; Walker 1987, 270; Gordon 1993, XV; Nonnenmacher 1986.

(25.) Rouget 1989, 68. See also Hermann 1987, 136; Holsti 1970, 262; Sampson and Walker 1987, 117.

(26.) de Gaulle 1970, 177.

(27.) Védrine 1996, 7.

(28.) Walker 1987, 270 (appendices).

(29.) Quotes, in this order, are from Gordon 1993, 1; Vernet 1997; DePorte 1991, 253.

(30.) Compare, for example, de Montbrial 1989, 288–290; Savignac 1995, 210–216.

(31.) Scholl-Latour 1988, 88–99.

(32.) von Weizsäcker 1998. On “France’s right and duty to act on a world scale,” see also de Gaulle 1970, 177–180.

(33.) Compare, for example, Cerny 1986; Vaïsse 1998; Vernet 1998b.

(34.) Quotes, in this order, are from Frank 1991, 68–69; DePorte 1991, 254; Kramer 1991, 962.

(35.) de Gaulle 1954, 5. For further terms that became standard reference vocabulary, see *ibid.* 5–7. On the same theme, note Malraux 1971, especially 21–23; and, three presidents later, Kramer 1991, 962. For continuity and evolution of basic aspects of French domestic construction and its impact on national interest and policy from the mid-1990s on, see Krotz forthcoming chapter 7; for translating some major elements of such domestic construction into national foreign policy, security, and defense strategies in the emerging twenty-first century, note the two White Books: *Défense et Sécurité Nationale: Le Livre Blanc* 2008; Juppé and Schweitzer 2008.

(36.) For a grand outline of the historical raw materials from which France and Germany selected, see Krotz, forthcoming, chapter 3.

(37.) For similar views on the period relevant here, see Banchoff 1996; Berger 1998; Duffield 1999; Katzenstein 1997; Krotz forthcoming, chapters 3–6; Schweigler 1996.

(38.) DePorte 1991, 251–252, emphasis in the original.

(39.) Cerny 1994, 99. On the chief constituents of this “national consensus” Frank 1991, 92 and its endurance, see further, for example, Aron 1983, chapter 16; Gordon 1993; Nonnenmacher 1999; Rouget 1989, 67.

(40.) Baums 1992, 259. Further, for example, Rémond 1982; Sauder 1995, chapters 7 and 8.

(41.) Why should we expect domestic construction to “trump” interstate institutionalization and construction? This proposition is deductively plausible because, overall, we expect the strength and the density of constructions of meaning in domestic settings to be greater than institutionalization and construction at the interstate or international level. General systems theory and cybernetics, as adapted by Karl Deutsch and his followers and applied to the analysis of nationalism, internationalism, and collective identity formation, provides a theoretical footing for this expectation. See Deutsch 1953, 1963, 1969; Deutsch et al. 1957. Stephen Krasner echoes the point, in line with his own observations regarding the matter in Krasner 1999, chapters 1 and 2.

(42.) “Domestic structures” in particular have been the turf of historical institutionalist scholars of comparative politics and comparative foreign policy. Standard works in these veins of inquiry include Evangelista 1999; Evans et al. 1985; Hall 1986; Huntington 1968; Katzenstein 1978, 1985; March and Olsen 1984, 1989; Steinmo et al. 1992. For reviews of the literature, note Evangelista 1997; Gourevitch 2002; Hall and Taylor 1996; Pierson and Skocpol 2002; Thelen and Steinmo 1992.

(43.) On “veto points” and “veto players,” see Immergut 1990, 1992; Tsebelis 2002.

(44.) Duverger 1974.

(45.) Mény 1996.

(46.) Among the standard texts on the French political system are Culpepper et al. 2006; Duhamel 2009; Flynn 1995; Hoffmann 1963; Mény 2008; Savignac 1995. Texts on France of particular relevance for the issues of authority centralization and state autonomy include Dunn 1995; Duverger 1974; Lüger 1996; Mény 1996; 1998, chapters 5 and 6; Rémond 1982; Wilsford 1988.

(47.) Schmidt 1996.

(48.) Katzenstein 1987, 58–80.

(49.) Among the standard texts on the German political system are Ellwein and Hesse 1987; Rudzio 1991; Schmidt 1992. Works on Germany of particular relevance for the issues of authority centralization and state autonomy include Haftendorn et al. 1978; Katzenstein 1987; Lehmbruch 1987; Niclauss 1988; Schmidt 1996. For comparisons of France and Germany regarding the issues discussed here, see especially Gladstone 1986; Kriesi 1994, chapters 11 and 12; Sauder 1995, chapters 8 and 9; Trefz 1989, 97–115.

(50.) The most influential realist texts of the past three decades include Mearsheimer 2001; Posen 1984; Van Evera 1999; Walt 1987; Waltz 1979. Good overviews and reviews

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of realist thought include Doyle 1997, Part One; Guzzini 2004; Jervis 1998; Smith 1986; Wohlforth 2008.

(51.) For varieties of contemporary realist thought in international relations, including, among others, defensive realism, offensive realism, balance-of-power realism, balance-of-threat realism, neoclassical realism, state-centered realism, see Kapstein and Mastanduno 1999; Lobell et al. 2009; Mearsheimer 2001, chapters 1 and 2; Rose 1998; Zakaria 1998.

(52.) On political-economic views of realism, see Abdelal 2001; Abdelal and Kirshner 1999/2000; Brooks 2005; Drezner 2007; Gilpin 1987, 2001; Kirshner 1999; Mastanduno 2008.

(53.) Mearsheimer 1994/1995; Mearsheimer 1995.

(54.) Snyder 1997; Walt 1987.

(55.) Key neoliberal institutionalist formulations, frequently with applications to Cold War-and post-Cold War European politics, include Haftendorn et al. 1999; Keohane 1984; Keohane 1989a; Koremenos et al. 2004; Martin and Simmons 2001; Wallander 1999. Other significant works on international institutionalization and organization importantly informed by liberal international thought, notably include Deudney and Ikenberry 1999; Ikenberry 2001, 2009.

(56.) Keohane 1989c, 3-4; Keohane 1989b, 164.

(57.) For basic outlines, see Keohane 1984, 14; Keohane 1989c, 2.

(58.) Keohane 1989b, 166.

(59.) Keohane 1983.

(60.) In my remarks here and in the following chapters, I focus on this recent social science systematization, “liberal intergovernmentalism” or “new liberalism,” as propounded in the work of Andrew Moravcsik. For basic outlines, see Moravcsik 1993; 1997; 1998, chapters 1 and 2; 2003; 2008. For general overviews of liberal thought in international affairs, note Doyle 1997, Part Two; Hoffmann 1987; Zacher and Matthew 1995. For an interesting blend between liberalism and constructivism in analyzing foreign-and security policymaking in Western democracies in the post-World War II era, see Risse-Kappen 1995.

(61.) Moravcsik 1993, 483; see also Moravcsik 1997, 516-517; 2008.

(62.) Moravcsik 1993, 474; 1997, 518-520.

(63.) Moravcsik 1998, 24.

(64.) Moravcsik 1993, quotes from 487, 496-497.

