COOPERATION AMONG DEMOCRACIES

THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Thomas Risse-Kappen

a

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

CONTENTS

Preface vii

ABBREVIATIONS ix

⊀ one

Introduction and Overview 3

≯ TWO

Cooperation among Allies: Power Bargaining or Democratic Community? 12

Structural Realism: Who Pays the Piper (Ultimately) Calls the Tune 14 Traditional Realism: The "Big Influence of Small Allies" 17 Liberalism: Cooperation among Democracies 24

THREE

"Outposts of Our National Defense": Consultation Norms and the Moderation of U.S. Policies during the Korean War, 1950–1953 42

Preventing War with China 45 Preventing the Use of Nuclear Weapons 57 Pushing and Pulling the U.S. toward a Cease-Fire 66 Conclusions 75

(X) FOUR

"Unworthy and Unreliable" Allies: Violation of Alliance Norms during the 1956 Suez Crisis 83

The Origins of the Interallied Conflict: Diverging Interests and Preferences 84 Allied Perceptions of American Words and Deeds: Duplicity 87 American Perceptions of Allied Behavior: "Unworthy" 91 U.S. Coercion and the Restoration of the Transatlantic Relationship 96 Conclusions 99

FIVE

"A Game of Golf and a Little Talk": Transnational Coalitions and the 1958–1963 Test Ban Negotiations 105

> Setting the Agenda: Transnational Coalitions among Scientists and Peace Activists 107

VI CONTENTS

Pushing and Pulling: The British Impact on Eisenhower's Nuclear Testing Policies 112 Keeping the Pressure Up: British Efforts during the Kennedy Administration 126 U.S. Attempts at Bribery: Dealing with French and German Opposition 134 Conclusions 140

SIX

A "Strike on Cuba which May Lose Berlin": The Europeans and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis 146

Allied Consultation during the Crisis 148 The British Response: Support for a "Deal" 152 The French and German Reactions: Support 157 Symbol of Allied Community I: Berlin 159 Symbol of Allied Community II: The Jupiter Missiles 162 Conclusions 176

(x SEVEN

Blowing Up New York to Save Berlin? Norms, Transnational Relations, and NATO's Nuclear Decisions 183

The Debate about "Flexible Response" 184 The "Neutron Bomb" Controversy 187 INF, the "Dual-Track" Decision and the Zero Option 188 Conclusions 191

⊁ EIGHT

Conclusions: The Transatlantic Community and the European Impact on American Foreign Policy 194

Summary of the Findings: Collective Identity, Norms, and the Big Influence of the European Allies 195 Variation in Allied Influence: The British and Germans versus the French 210

Suggestions for Further Research 215 The End of the Cold War and the Future

of the Transatlantic Relationship 218

BIBLIOGRAPHY 227

INDEX 243