

# Palgrave Studies in International Relations

Series Editors

Mai'a K. Davis Cross  
Northeastern University  
Boston, MA, USA

Benjamin de Carvalho  
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs  
Oslo, Norway

Shahar Hameiri  
University of Queensland  
St. Lucia, QLD, Australia

Knud Erik Jørgensen  
University of Aarhus  
Aarhus, Denmark

Ole Jacob Sending  
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs  
Oslo, Norway

Ayşe Zarakol  
University of Cambridge  
Cambridge, UK

Palgrave Studies in International Relations (the EISA book series), published in association with European International Studies Association, provides scholars with the best theoretically-informed scholarship on the global issues of our time. The series includes cutting-edge monographs and edited collections which bridge schools of thought and cross the boundaries of conventional fields of study. EISA members can access a 50% discount to PSIR, the EISA book series, here <http://www.eisa-net.org/sitecore/content/be-bruga/mci-registrations/eisa/login/landing.aspx>. Mai'a K. Davis Cross is the Edward W. Brooke Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University, USA, and Senior Researcher at the ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway. Benjamin de Carvalho is a Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Norway. Shahar Hameiri is Associate Professor of International Politics and Associate Director of the Graduate Centre in Governance and International Affairs, School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland, Australia. Knud Erik Jørgensen is Professor of International Relations at Aarhus University, Denmark, and at Yaşar University, Izmir, Turkey. Ole Jacob Sending is the Research Director at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Norway. Ayşe Zarakol is Reader in International Relations at the University of Cambridge and a fellow at Emmanuel College, UK.

More information about this series at  
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14619>

Julie Garey

The US Role in  
NATO's Survival After  
the Cold War

palgrave  
macmillan

Julie Garey  
Department of Political Science  
Northeastern University  
Boston, MA, USA

Palgrave Studies in International Relations

ISBN 978-3-030-13674-1

ISBN 978-3-030-13675-8 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13675-8>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover Image © 501 collection / Alamy Stock Photo

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

*To Ella Grace, Garrett, Liam, and Noah, because everything I do is out of love for them, and to Brandon, who made this possible with his love for me.*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The hardest task of preparing this manuscript was without question remembering all of the incredible people who made this work possible, but the compiled list would undoubtedly fill a manuscript-length document. I have never possessed the ability to make my prose jump off the page like a melodic dance of words, or an ability to fully express the depths of my gratitude on paper, so simple thank-yous will have to suffice. None of this would be in print, let alone decipherable, if it were not for my incredible mentor, colleague, and friend Mai'a Davis Cross. David Schmitt was the second person I met as a prospective student, but the first I went to with any and every problem with the project, the discipline, and everything in between. Stephen Flynn was instrumental in guiding me toward a meaningful yet exceptionally policy-relevant project. These amazing scholars and wonderful people deserve all of the credit for what is good about this manuscript, and none of the blame for its errors. I'm not sure anyone is as lucky as I am when it comes to leadership, as my department chair Thomas Vicino has been one of my biggest supporters. John Portz took so many chances on me, and I hope he has seen at least a marginal return on investment. To my wonderful colleagues: please know I am incredibly grateful for your mentorship, guidance, support, and friendship. Thank you also to the department staff, as well as the countless graduate teaching assistants and undergraduate work study students who made both direct and indirect contributions to the project through their support of my work. No good research is possible without the continued pursuit of knowledge and truth, and the time I have spent with hundreds of students I have had the pleasure of teaching and advising consistently

reminded me of why teaching, research, and mentorship must go hand-in-hand and also made this project exponentially more rewarding.

I am also tremendously appreciative of those who agreed to be interviewed for this project, including Admiral James Stavridis (U.S. Navy—Ret.), Lieutenant General Michael Barbero (U.S. Army—Ret.), and General Carter Ham (U.S. Army—Ret.), and those who provided their NATO expertise, especially Lawrence Chalmer from the Center for Transatlantic Security Studies at National Defense University.

And to my first mentors, Barry Tadlock, Michelle Frasher, and Patricia Weitsman. When I finished my doctoral work, I wrote that Patty's memory never leaves my mind, and the same is true today. The 3 × 5 index card with a joke about knowing something about alliance cohesion still hangs in my office, reminding me not only how far I've come but how much further there is to go.

While professional mentorship was absolutely pivotal to developing the manuscript, I would be nowhere without the small but fierce group of colleagues and friends. Thank you to Katharine Petrich, Saskia van Wees, Andrew Goodhart, Summer Marion, and the many others who always offered whatever they could—which was always more than I needed or deserved. Amy Mullen and Courtney Grimm are truly the most wonderful friends and I'd be lost without them. From donuts to draft feedback and everything in between, they have always been there for me.

Finally, my family, who supported and persevered not only this project but also years of my idiosyncrasies, deserve the highest honors that could be bestowed, and then some. My parents, sister, and grandparents have fully supported anything and everything I've done since day one, even when it meant countless hours in schools and libraries, hundreds of miles away, during birthdays and holidays and many more. Ella Grace, Garrett, Liam, and Noah are absolutely the best niece and nephews someone could ask for, and the centers of my universe. And my partner Brandon (and puppy Max), who redefined what love means in an immeasurably positive way and whose never-ending encouragement is the reason I'm still here.

To all of you: I'll never be able to thank you enough.

# CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
	<i>NATO Persistence: The Sum of Unequal Parts</i>	2
	<i>An Argument in Support of US-Centric Analyses</i>	4
	<i>Hypotheses on NATO's Persistence: Value Maximization</i>	6
	<i>Hypotheses on NATO's Persistence: Alliance Utility</i>	9
	<i>Case Selection and Research Contributions</i>	10
	<i>What's at Stake for the United States and NATO</i>	12
	<i>Book Outline</i>	15
	<i>References</i>	16
<b>2</b>	<b>Alliances, NATO, and the Post-Cold War Era</b>	<b>19</b>
	<i>Explaining NATO's Persistence</i>	21
	<i>Creating a New Framework for NATO Persistence: The US-NATO Relationship</i>	27
	<i>Case Selection</i>	32
	<i>Conclusion</i>	38
	<i>References</i>	39
<b>3</b>	<b>The 1999 Kosovo Intervention</b>	<b>43</b>
	<i>Background: Operation Deliberate Force and Preparing for Intervention in Kosovo</i>	44
	<i>Return to the Balkans: Pre-War Planning</i>	51
	<i>Operation Allied Force</i>	63

	<i>The KFOR Mission</i>	72
	<i>Conclusion</i>	76
	<i>References</i>	78
<b>4</b>	<b>September 11, 2001, and the War in Afghanistan</b>	<b>83</b>
	<i>Background: Understanding the United States, Afghanistan, and NATO Before 9/11</i>	87
	<i>The September 11 Attacks</i>	91
	<i>Operation Enduring Freedom</i>	98
	<i>International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)</i>	106
	<i>Conclusion</i>	113
	<i>References</i>	116
<b>5</b>	<b>The 2003 Iraq War</b>	<b>123</b>
	<i>The United States Prepares for War, and the International Community Responds</i>	124
	<i>Legitimacy and Multilateralism</i>	134
	<i>Conclusion</i>	147
	<i>References</i>	152
<b>6</b>	<b>The 2011 Libyan Intervention</b>	<b>157</b>
	<i>Background: Setting the Stage for Revolution—And Intervention</i>	160
	<i>The Arab Spring Reaches Libya, and the United States Responds</i>	162
	<i>Operation Odyssey Dawn</i>	169
	<i>Operation Unified Protector</i>	174
	<i>Conclusion</i>	183
	<i>References</i>	186
<b>7</b>	<b>The Evolution and Persistence of NATO</b>	<b>191</b>
	<i>NATO's Inter-conflict Evolution</i>	192
	<i>An American Ally</i>	201
	<i>Conclusion</i>	204
	<i>References</i>	206

<b>8 The United States and Multilateralism</b>	209
<i>US Incentives for NATO Persistence</i>	210
<i>Conclusion: The United States, NATO, and the Future of US     Multilateralism</i>	216
<i>References</i>	220
<b>Bibliography</b>	223
<b>Index</b>	245