

NATO; From Regional Military Force to International “Peace keeping”

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Abstract— *This study addresses the collective phenomena as a post-war era and the converting form regional to international power. collective action is working together through a mandating agency solves some of the collective achievement. The convert from peacekeeping role to the international system in continuation. This paper will take North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO as the post -Cold War collective action's problems as a case study. The study is arguing that the role of international system in continuation for NATO after collapse of USSR as first point NATO as the post-Cold War collective action problems. To test our argument, we use only quantitative data. The study finds out that the only continuation for NATO after collapse of USSR is USA and some European countries as a tool for their own expansions in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.*

Keywords— NATO, Regional Military Force, International, Peacekeeping.

I. INTRODUCTION

This topic is one of the important periods in the age of global governance due to its sensitivity and the beginning of the collective phenomena as a post-war era. Moreover, converting form regional to international is another part of important issue of the topic. The most important point about collective action is working together through a mandating agency solves some of the collective action problems of peacekeeping, namely that states may be individually unwilling to act and bear costs for public goods such as international peace and security issues. To be illustrated, the multinational operations in Kuwait in 1991 and Korea in the 1950 this would be a collective security operation, as proposed by the UN Charter, carried out by an international army. NATO is one of the best examples global governances that involved in this problem. North Atlantic Treaty organization. NATO is a regional organization has been founded by USA and www.journal.canadian-ots.ca

European countries in 1949. Regular operation for NATO was only limited inside Europe and especially in Eastern Europe as an initial mission. It is obvious that NATO is a collective defense organization due to its military missions inside specific region in Europe. NATO has known for its missions as a military forces and regional organizations inside unstable European zone countries at that time. For example, in Balkans, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, and southeastern European countries in which they were the main aim for creating NATO in this region. The turning point in this organization was Korean War (Webber, M. 2009). It seems to be, from that time the reform for NATO, to be as international organization was starting by interest of the superpower, as t will be researching for proves in this paper. Thus, what is the problem; about the topic is that NATO's program is at present weigh down with issues and wracked with dilemma

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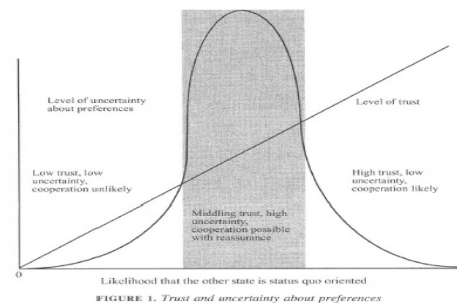
against many different issues. For example, NATO's operation in the "war on Terror". The North Atlantic Treaty invoked the alliance's Article 5 defense in less than 24 hours after the 9/11 attacks (Gordon, H., Ph., 2002). In this paper I am arguing that the role of international system in continuation for NATO after collapse of USSR as first point NATO as the post-Cold War collective action problems.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The first literature review is global public good theory. This theory has recently been accepted by global credit due to supporter consider to it offers a powerful structure. Moreover, it is developing arguments in good turn of more cooperation to react to more important global ills. "... Large, wealthy allies will shoulder the defense burdens for smaller, poorer allies ..." is known as the 'exploitation hypothesis' (e.g., Sandier and Murdoch, 2000) (Jones, Ph. 2007, p 319). In addition, global public goods have been spares to public goods due to discussion of core needs for international goods. "In any event, the defining characteristic of many public goods are not inherent and are often socially endogenous (Kaul and Menodoza 2003, p. 36)" (Burnell P. 2008). The second theory is Trust and Uncertainty about Preferences in which it is about the facts between two sides. Kydd describes the importance of certainty between each other's. For example, "The idea that mistrust causes conflict is a basic element of the security dilemma, the spiral model, and in a sense, structural realism (Kydd, A. 2001, p. 810). As a result, one of the main factors behind security dilemma, according to Kydd, is mistrust or uncertainty about the preferences. Moreover, he said, "If other states cannot be trusted, it may make sense to take advantage of temporary or wasting assets and subdue them while it is still possible, rather than waiting until the potential threat can no longer be defeated (Kydd, A. 2001, p 810). If potential threat had been increased, it would be defeated. Therefore, to avoid this result and to take advantage suppresses them and not wasting time. To be illustrated, the figure (1) is

showing the trust and uncertainty about preferences as follow: it depends on level of trust between states and level of uncertainty.

According to figure 1, it can be seen that cooperation between both side to achieve the balance of trust is more advisable to middling trust and high uncertainty with reassurance. Moreover, as Kydd said, 'if you can persuade them to trust you, to believe that you are status quo oriented, then cooperation should be feasible since both sides would prefer to reciprocate cooperation '(Keyyd, A. 2001, p 811).



Another literature review is the Balance of Power in which is realist approaches. Doyle stated about this theory that if the state could not be better, they should at least achieve balance of power (Doyle, Michael W., 1997). Meaning and understanding the balance of power has different concept to people each according to circumstances and conditions. For example, in war the balance of power the survival to the country, state and people or the destiny of any nations is the major goal can be seen from this theory. Because of the top consideration will be achieved for that reason in which will be the main goals to the people or states. "The balance of power an arrangement of affairs so that no state shall be in a position to have absolute mastery and dominate over others" this is Vattel statement (Doyle, Michael W., 1997, p 162). Moreover, another approach that could be seen in balance of power is that considered as a defense to the state. For example, number of weak states unified as one part or coalition and they have one main goal in which it is prevent theirs an outside influence that threat them. After the collapse of USSR, the balance of power politics has internationally been influenced and in recent

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years, on the other hand, United State of America power been increased as an opposite to the USSR. The last theory is Democratic Peace theory, which is liberal democratic theory. The main characters behind this theory are that all democratic countries will be in peace with each other's. To be illustrated means those democratic countries, or the countries that have democracy systems are not fighting each other's. Historically, the term of 'democratic peace' is from Immanuel Kant point of view in 1795. Kant believes the reason behind non-fighting each other's between democratic countries system is that citizenry must consent, and they do not want to compensate the expenses of fighting each other's. The theory is mostly depending on dyadic peace. Furthermore, there are two main foundation stone of this theory; the first one, democracies countries are never gone to war against each other's as dyadic peace and second stone of the foundation is that democracies regularly go to war with non-democracies countries. On light of this theory Kydd's relationship between democracy and non-democracy countries is more about commitments. For example, "... whereas the United States may be more trusting of democracies out of a general experience that democracies keep their commitments more often than non-democracies and because policymakers buy into the democratic peace theory" (Kydd, A. 2001, p 814).

III. Theorizing NATO as a Global Governance

NATO's position is an incompatibility between a liberal community formation and reformation. The organization since been founded in 1946 until today gone through many formations changes and reshape according to diverse matters. Within the collapse of USSR, many expected that NATO alliance role is been demised. In this point NATO gone through many and different contentious issues that been suspected by many politicians and intellectuals. Many intellectuals have different opinion about the collective action problems. In addition, the Post-Cold War era is an endeavor to bring up to date collective security through new rules such as punishing human rights violators, humanitarian intervention, punishing terrorism,

punishing WMD proliferation, and nation-building has been confirmed by Frederking, 2003. "In fact, it was argued, NATO was never only a military alliance held together by a sense of a common external threat; rather, it was and is a community of liberal democratic values and norms" (Sjursen, H. 2004, p 687). Helene in this point shows that from the beginning of the formation, the aim of NATO was not fear from USSR only, while it was building for community of liberal democracy either. Moreover, Helene went on and said, "NATO can be an organization governed at best by the principle of multilateralism, at worst by that of bilateralism; but neither of these 'isms' says anything about democracy" (Sjursen, H. 2004, p 688). According to Helene that this alliance been predicted from the reformation due to its liberal community in the provincial arrangements. In addition, Talbott claimed that "NATO is a force for the rule of law among European states" (Sjursen, H. 2004, p 694). As a result, the alliance is considered as legal liberal democracy community rather than anything else. Helene in her assess critically for liberal democracy community she said, "In fact, one should probably ask if the principle of democracy is at all relevant for a Conceptualization of NATO. Democracy is needed to control the law-making process and its application" (Sjursen, H. 2004, p 694). Therefore, it is seemed to be that NATO formation on liberal democracy structure is limited or been far away from the democracy term according to Helene and Talbott. In addition, it has opposite side with the idea of formation and reformation as a military alliance in liberal democracy system. Because of reconciling the idea of military with democracy, is difficult to be achieved. Eventually, "although NATO may have contributed to the process of democratization in Eastern Europe, we cannot on this basis conclude that NATO is a liberal-democratic value community (Sjursen, H. 2004, p 702). Moreover, Diehl 2010 is arguing that peacekeeping does not suitable for collective security model, as it is used for disputes between states and in civil wars in which it is a unique mode of conflict resolution. For example,

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peacekeeping or collective security each may involve military forces, all the rest being different; prevent fighting, act as a buffer, keep order, or maintain a cease-fire, hence it could be seen that NATO, theoretically, has contentious points within liberal democracy that been built on. As a result, NATO's main position it could be seen in both side as follow.

A. NATO as USA's foot in Europe

Decision that been made in IOs do not fall from heaven therefore this paragraph will investigate the decision-making process or anatomy of influence. One of the main features of existing NTO is what Peter W. Rodman, a senior foreign policy official in the last four Republican administrations, said: "The only potential great-power security problem in central Europe is the lengthening shadow of Russian strength (Mandelbaum, M. 1995, p10). The question that should be asked is that USSR is demised, as a result, why NATO? Mandelbaum believed that "... NATO still has the job of counterbalancing it"(Mandelbaum, M. 1995, Page 10). Therefore, it is the matter of trust game for uncertainty between both USA and Russia. "No one would deny the reality and significance of American dominance within NATO" (Webber, M. 2009), while the problem is this dominance would affect the NATO's future; it will have an effect of international relation between states, especially, Russia and BRIC countries. "The global agenda which US policy favours could well be NATO's undoing" (Webber, M. 2009). Hence it could be seen that USA's dominance and upshots on the alliance as a military force. To be illustrated, it is better to look on NATO as an international reform too.

One of the major and important issue about this organization is that since 1946 where this organization been found until today, NATO been justified for many issues that could be unreasonable factors for keeping, supporting, and reforming this organization regionally or globally. Having NATO after Cold War is one of the most puzzling (Kydd, A. 2001, p803), It seems to be fundamental factor behind holing, supporting, and reforming NATO as USA's interests in Europe. In

addition, "the Europeanization of the alliance is seen by many in Washington as the harbinger of transatlantic decoupling" (Croft, S., Howrth, J., Terriff, T., & Webber, M. 2000, p 496). NATO organization been created by European countries and the United State of America due needs during the Cold War periods. "NATO's fortunes have always been closely tied to the preferences and priorities of American foreign policy" (Webber, M. 2009). As a result, there is no doubt about that NATO is working according to the USA's foreign policy and interest according to what Webber said. Moreover, one of the main aspects for creating NATO was fighting for their lands and fears of further Communist expansion to the west of Europe (Daalder, I. Goldgeier, J. 2006, page 105), moreover, as Kaiser said; "NATO remains the most essential link between the United States and Europe" (Kaiser, K. 2003, p 68). Hence it could be seen the important link between NATO and USA in EU.

B- NATO and International System

North Atlantic Treaty Organization been formatted as regional military power in the beginning and reformatted as international organization and as peace keeping later. The beginning of the collective phenomena as a post-war era was due to international system between two main powers in which they were USA and USSR. Alternatively, as international organization, this alliance from the beginning knew as a military alliance to protect Europe as a collective defense. Furthermore, the main strategy that been used by this organization at that time was the use of force or as a military operation more than any other practices. For example, in Balkan and Kosovo conflicts are participated. The most contradict with name of NATO, which is regional, to be international and been a magnate for problems. "NATO's basic problem is the mismatch between its old mission and Europe's new strategic challenges" (Asmus, R. D., Kugler, R. L., & Larrabee, F. 1993, p.38). The problem with that is sometimes NATO rule as old mission, which means military and regionally, while other times it rules as international and peacemaking. For example, its mission to Afghanistan as ISAF

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against Taliban was military, although, supposed to be peacemaking. Following the collapse of the USSR, NATO's functions have been less clear and more debatable due to some ambiguous circumstances, depends on USA's interest. "The dividing line between "in area" and "out of area" crises, so clearly drawn during the Cold War, has become ambiguous and artificial" (Asmus, R. D., Kugler, R. L., & Larrabee, F. 1993, p38). In addition, NATO has been reformed in both theoretically and pragmatically approaches. For example, theoretically, NATO has been changed from military force to "peace keeping" organizational and pragmatically has been changed from regional organizational to international. What is more, the geographic issues became unlimited in case of NATO's recent missions and especially post 9/11 as a reaction to avoid the USA from another attack.

In very general term, after the Cold War, peace becomes the first demands for common states and as international cooperation's for public goods objectives. Thus, NATO is demeaned too as teamwork flanked by its members. "The key characteristic of NATO as a political organization continues to seem to be, not robustness, but on the contrary, political fragility" (Croft, S., Howrth, J., Terriff, T., & Webber, M. 2000, p 496). Moreover, "Created to protect postwar Western Europe from the Soviet Union, the alliance is now seeking to bring stability to other parts of the world" (Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. 2006, page 105). Hence it could be seen the vulnerability in its reformation because it is not done on basic of public good, but it is just for the USA and some European countries.

Although, many scholars claim that the main purpose of NATO's mandate is three main reasons; nuclear protection, conventional protection (prevent war in Europe) and how the introduction of new members can work to pacify an over widening swath of Eurasia, but others are not agreeing about these points. USA and European strategic bargaining are another issue about NATO as some scholars are approving with. "A new U.S.-European strategic bargain is needed, one that extends NATO'S collective

defense and security arrangements to those areas where the seeds for future conflict in Europe lie: the Atlantic alliance's eastern and southern borders" (Asmus, R. D., Kugler, R. L., & Larrabee, F. 1993, p28). Due to what scholars saying on the formation of NATO is that this organization been formed according to strategic bargain by both USA and European countries. It seems to be that USA's interest to keep foot in Europe renewed NATO as a strategic bargain and not as a need by international demands for this alliance. Moreover, As Hunter E.R.1999, Page 191said; "This renaissance of NATO's has depended on an American commitment to remain strategically engaged in Europe and, at each critical juncture, to lead". In addition, after the collapse of USSR the reformation of NATO are going in both two sides: international and peace keeping facade. As a result, it could be seen the international system that been changed from unipolar to bipolar has impact on NATO's reformation.

NATO's expansion as vagueness steps

After the collapse of USSR and bipolarity in the international system, NATO's steps to expansions are doubtful. Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. (2006; p105) is claiming that; "It is extending both its geographic reach and the range of its operations". That it can be seen due to NATO operations in out of its own era. For example, the role of the alliance in Afghanistan, Iraq and recently in Libya and the Middle East countries where facing Arab spring, is proving the matter. Its roles are training solders, military, and security forces and logistical support for African Union in Darfur. There is no doubt that by these steps in which take in by NATO, and supported by USA, will lead to raise the troop numbers and asking for logistic, politic, and military supports more and more. For example, "NATO airlifted 3,500 tons of supplies donated by alliance members and other countries into the earthquake-stricken region of Kashmir and provided medical and other relief" (Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. 2006). Likewise, NATO's responding to Tsunami is also another example for out era as expansion. Logistic support as another issue that this organization been involved in, in

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which it means from regional military forces to international peacekeeping and now to logistic supporter during the natural problem among the countries. The third missions for NATO are very ambiguous. These out era roles done but the problem is more than this. "Key part of this effort is the proposal by the United States and the United Kingdom to forge a "global partnership" between NATO and non-European states that will provide a forum for expanded dialogue with other major democratic countries" (Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. 2006, page 110). Thus, this kind of roles is a counterfeits and inclination. In general, NATO's dream for growth, it seems to be more than major democratic countries. For instance, what Schaffer suggested; "He suggested that NATO become "an alliance with global partners»" (Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. 2006 ,p 109). Due to what Secretary-General said, it is not only about democratic system rather than about whole the world supremacy, because not all the world has the democratic system. Due to some evidence above, we can agree with what Kydd A. (2001: p 803) said, "The enlargement of NATO is one of the most important developments in international affairs after the Cold War; it is also one of the most puzzling". On the other hand, not only "peace keeping" is instrument for growth by NATO, but it is also military and logistic supporter too. As Diehl is arguing geographic space of operations has expanded as well, now including operations in the former superpower upholders of Eastern Europe and the Western Hemisphere. For example, NATO is better armed than other organizations for such missions but may be subject to political constraints. In August 2003, NATO as ISAF, which is tasked with helping to provide security in post-Taliban Afghanistan in which it means another mission. As a result, the expansion was not only as a peacemaker, while, as a forces and supporting for security issues. Moreover, Iraq and Libya, Turkey (know days), are a good example out of era to prove that military intervention. The question that should be asked is what if Russia or any other multipolar countries such as BRIC countries have a reaction for this expansion by NATO in which it is on

interest by the USA only within multipolar system. For example, "This expansion certainly touched upon Russia's political, military and economic interests and hence, Russia might have to change its already declared policy of unilaterally demilitarizing the zone around the Baltic states" (Gidadhubli, R.G.2004, p,1885). According to Layne: 2006, NTO throughout 60 years in its old, was always for the USA's enduring benefits (Webber, M. 2009). Hence, we can see the mystifying about the expansion of NATO also due to the USA's interests as a superpower and international bipolar system.

Rising Membership as instrument in "War on Terror"

Post 24 houses after the 9/11, the role on NATO were seen as a good reactor against War on Terror. The War on Terror that been declared by the USA are gave the NATO's more role in the international arena. Hunter, E.R. (1999: p198) said that "To reassure aspirants, NATO is adopting a Membership Action Plan, including special arrangements possibly limited to the aspirant countries". Considering what Hunter said it was something they want to achieve in which it is membership to the alliance as a part of reforming NATO. The allies invited many Europeans countries in 1997 summit in Madrid to shoulder NATO as a membership (Hunter, E.R.1999, p190), in which is the alliance desire for having members. "Yet though all NATO allies agreed in 1994 to the idea of new members, most remained uncertain about the pace, timing, direction, and extent of the new admissions, and they continued to temporize" (Hunter, E.R.1999, Page 193). According to same source, having membership under two main conditions; "The partnership must do double duty, helping aspirants to membership prepare to pass military muster? To become "producers and not just consumers of security"(Hunter, E.R.1999,p193).Therefore, it could be seen that this procedure was a part of the plan. Moreover, this plan should be done as soon as possible, in which it is considering as fear from something that could be as obstacle to their plan. Thus, it was ad hoc coalitions (Daalder, I. &Goldgeier, J. 2006, p.110). The second part of

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duty it is “also reassuring any partner country that it could form a deep, permanent association with NATO, more or less of its own choosing, short of membership itself” (Hunter, E.R.1999, Page 194). The non-NATO member is against NATO’s protocol as a regional power or military forces. Nevertheless, it seems to be the supporter countries for the alliance insist on the plan. “NATO operations in the Balkans and Afghanistan have benefited greatly from contributions made by non-NATO members” (Daalder, I. & Goldgeier, J. 2006, page 109). There is no doubt about benefit from this step. “On May 1, 2004, 10 European states including three Baltic states have joined this organization taking the total membership to 25 and thus making EU as a strong economic organization in the world” (Gidadhubli, R.G.2004, p,1887). Many researchers are claiming that NATO members do not want to involve in disputes that does not relate to its members such as Combined Joint Task Forces / CJTF, has been confirmed by Lepgold. Lepgold is arguing more about role of NATO and its members will likely be unwilling to use force to manage or settle disputes that do not involve its members’ territories on the other hand, Kaiser, K. (2003:68) said that; “NATO members made most valuable external contributions to the American Effort”.

On the other hand, NATO been used as an instrument in “war on Terror” (Kaiser, K. 2003, p 68). The 9/11 for this alliance was as international gate, in which stated new missions, and this would be as undoing for the alliance. Bacevich urges that “Europe to take control of NATO to stop America’s attempted conversion of it from a defense alliance into an instrument of power projection” (Cohn, W. A. 2010, p65). “.... the potential military structures for future intervention are being organized” (Aguirre, M. & Fischer, P. 1992, P. 31). As a result, the evidence above that the power of the USA through NATO on Europe is unambiguous could see it. Moreover, the USA uses expansion of NATO to build up its leadership role in the world (Staar, Richard F. 1998, P. 31). In addition, NATO did not win the Cold War (Mastny, V. (1999), and what about the "war on

Terror". Furthermore, "As with previous crises in its 60-year history, NATO will no doubt live to fight another day, but where and how it does so remain open questions" (Webber, M. 2009). "It is impossible, to predict what the future political course of that NATO member will be, even if an actual Communist takeover has been averted" (Levine, S., H., 1975). In light of Levine perspective, it is not easy knowing the future of NATO because it is changeable according to the USA's interest and foreign policy as it has been proven by this research due to evidence in both theoretically and pragmatically. Finally, as Gordon said; “The alliance remains the primary vehicle for keeping the United States engaged in European security affairs” (Gordon, H., Ph., 2002). Hence, it could be seen in memberships main benefits is for the USA, and ‘war on terror’ is a good example of that.

IV. Conclusion

To sum up, NATO is one of the real examples of collective action problems in post-Cold War era. Global public good, Trust and Uncertainty (cooperation between both sides to achieve the balance of trust is more advisable to middling trust and high uncertainty with reassurance), the balance of power in which is realist approaches, democratic peace theory are framing the NATO as one of the important organization post- Cold War era. NATO formation on liberal democracy structure is limited or been far away from the democracy term; as a result, it is not a liberal-democratic value community. NATO organization had been created by European countries and the United State of America due to needs during the Cold War periods. Moreover, no one would refute the realism and implication of American dominance within NATO, while the problem is this dominance would affect the NATO's future; it will have an effect of international relation between states, exclusively, Russia and BRIC countries. In addition, the essential link between the United States and Europe, it could find due to NATO’s reformation. As a result, there is vulnerability in its

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reformation, due to non-basic of public good, but it is just for the USA and some European countries reimbursements. Besides, U.S.-European strategic bargain is another side of extending NATO as a collective defense and security arrangements. The mysterious about the expansion of NATO also due to the USA's interests as a superpower and international bipolar system, particularly, after the collapse of USSR. Regional, international, military alliance, peace keeping, and logistic supporter is most frameworks by NATO's missions as an international organization in which it is started from Eastern countries to Asia, to Africa and today to deep of the Southeast Asia. In post 9/11, War on Terror was another inducement for expansion of NATO and getting more support internationally. To encourage candidates to organization, they are adopting a Membership Action Plan / MAP, with superior preparations possibly limited to the candidate countries. Hence, it could be seen and due to above discussion, that the only continuation for NATO after collapse of USSR is USA and some European countries as a tool for their own expansions in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. Moreover, NATO is one of the problematic global governances in the world due to the name, the organization geopolitics structure, mismatch between regional, international, military, peacekeeping, security and as a logistic supporter to other far away countries.

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Furthermore Notes ;

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