

# GLOBALIZATION AND THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF NATO

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## Introduction

*"It has been said that arguing against globalization is  
like arguing against the laws of gravity."*

Kofi Annan, 2021

Indeed, globalization has revolutionized the entire existence of the human species. From person to person contact to nations coming together under banner of common and shared interests, the phenomenon has impacted the core pillars of life in current times. Though it has evolved with expansion of regionalism, the latter has ceased to exist in isolation. Nevertheless, the clash of interests among nations does keep them divided but these divisions too, ultimately serve the same phenomenon of globalization by bringing along nations with common enemies and friends at other times.

Globalization has increased the interconnectedness so significantly that the physical distance is no longer a barrier in the movement and exchange of goods, people, ideas, culture, technology, and awareness. It is integrating the world and growing the linkages which have been made possible because of the developed transportation and communication means. In the ancient times it took months for people to travel from one state to another and travelling was not even that common. However, ever since globalization happened travelling has become one of the easiest things to do. All what is required is a plane ticket and a few hours of load off.

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All the economic, social, political, and cultural activities and processes that were limited to a smaller scale can now be experienced at a larger scale because of the development brought by globalization. Endorsing globalization does not necessarily mean that everything is happening at a global scale, or all the global processes are undergoing the same experience, but it does mean that the outlook on the international affairs and activities and the way they are examined and promoted is now very diverse.

One such outcome of globalization is the changing nature of NATO. On July 4th, 2012, the vision for NATO in the ever-globalizing world was addressed by Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and he proclaimed, “A NATO that derives its strength and vitality from engaging with partners. An alliance situated at the center of a wide-ranging security network, detecting risks and threats early on, and being capable of fighting these challenges cooperatively. To accomplish these goals, NATO has to work toward interoperability with partners, be they countries or institutions” (NATO 2012).

NATO has always been working in partnerships and it has been at the top of the agenda lately. This is because NATO partnerships in the past two decades have proven to be of a great utility in achieving its goals. However, as the world globalized NATO also transformed and so did its partnerships. Initially, NATO was more inclined towards a political role to enhance the prospects of a “Europe whole, free and at peace” (Mattelear 2017) nevertheless, with the change in dynamics NATO began to foster stability outside Europe. Its choices led to options where it could participate in burden sharing and sustain strategic reach.

Today, with the ease in interconnectedness NATO has created partnerships around the globe. This has enhanced the security for the North Atlantic Area and opened ways to ponder upon the issues faced in today’s globalized security environment. One such issue is the ever-growing trend of the phenomenon of “populism” in the Western nations. Ever since its emergence the idea has greatly impacted the nations that fall under NATO. However, perhaps this is leading member states to lack focus and purpose, running the risk of becoming a costly end in itself. Consequently, this might result in turning NATO from a security into a service provider.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an international organization, to be specific an intergovernmental military alliance between thirty European and North Atlantic states conjointly signed on 4th April 1949. It was formed back in 20th century to provide collective security against the threat posed by the Soviet Union. It has two official languages: English and French. NATO’s purpose is to guarantee freedom and security of its members through political and military means as security in our daily lives is a key to

well-being. NATO's headquarters are located in Brussels, Belgium, while the headquarters of Allied Command Operations is near Mons, Belgium. NATO always had certain aims and goals upon which it operated (NATO 2021). They are as follows,

1. Political and Military Alliance
  - Politically: NATO promotes democratic values and enables members to cooperate and consult on defence and security-related issues as to effectively and efficiently solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict.
  - Militarily: NATO is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes via diplomacy however in case of deteriorating situations they have the authority to go for military undertake crisis-management carried out under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, by a mandate provided by the UN, alone, or in cooperation with other states.
2. Collective Defence: This is the core motive, goal, or aim of NATO. It is a commitment of a block to protect their fellow state from an aggressive attack. It is like all for one and one for all. Collective defense is primarily a military related agreement or a set of actions between / by nations on mutually agreed terms. Collective defense is a phenomenon of strategic studies which surfaced in twentieth century as mankind suffered immense losses in absence of a system that could have guarded against the same. Millions perished, states were reduced to rubble and states had to either surrender or be reduced to ashes as no strong allies were there to ensure their defense against military might of aggressors. Hence, collective defense emerged as a concept that has already yielded phenomenal results. It ensures that all the member states / signatories of the pact of NATO are bound to fight for other members which may be threatened. Although theoretically collective defense was perceived as an action that shall be triggered once a threat starts to manifest itself, but its implications have been different too. Preemption being a war tool has led to the annihilation of basic structures as we have seen in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan where aggressors are using offensive for a defense supported by their own reasoning. This principle enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty has been invoked once, in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001. The attack of 9/11 was on the US, and it occurred on US' soil but the latter invasion of Afghanistan that took place involved all the signatory states of NATO. This is so because the attack on

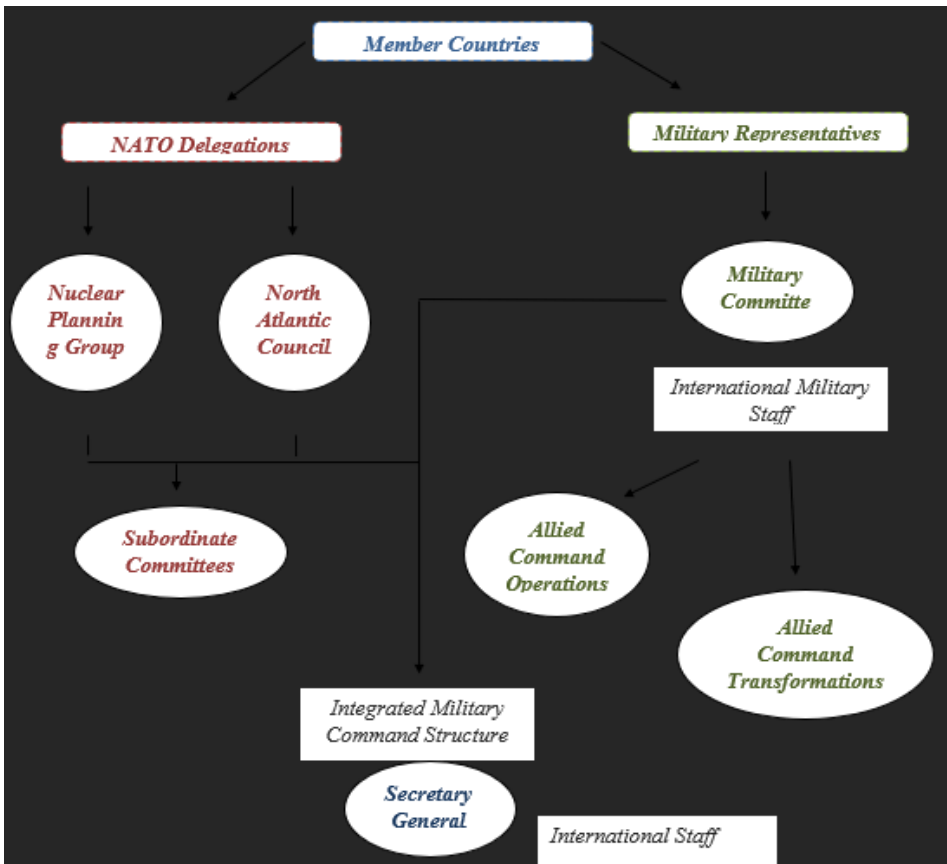
the US meant an attack on all the states who have bonded together for collectively defending each other under the umbrella of NATO.

3. Formation and Maintenance of the Transatlantic Link: NATO is an alliance of countries from Europe and North America providing a uniquely exclusive link between the two continents. This enables consultation and cooperation between them in various fields i.e., defence, security, multinational crisis-management, and operations.
4. Strategic Concepts: Provision of a framework of core tasks, principles, values and evolution of the security environment amongst the alliance members i.e., collective defence, crisis-management and cooperative security.

NATO membership is open to, “Any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area.” (NATO 2021)

It also has what it calls the ‘*Membership Action Plan*’ which intends to help aspiring members prepare for membership by meeting key requirements via providing practical advice and targeted assistance. Since its founding, the admission of new member states has increased the alliance from being 12 to 30 states. The most recent member state to be added to NATO was North Macedonia on 27th March 2020 (NATO 2020). NATO currently recognizes Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Ukraine as aspiring members (NATO News 2020). An additional 20 states participate in NATO’s Partnership for Peace program, with 15 others involved in Institutionalized Dialogue Programs. The reported joint military spending of all NATO members constitutes over 70% of the global total. The members agreed to reach their aim or maintain the target defence spending of at least 2% of GDP by 2024 (The Economist 2019).

## Working Structure



NATO was initially conceived as a deterrent to the rising power of the USSR and as a contentious opponent to the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, no military operations were conducted by NATO during the Cold War because it had to act as a powerful deterrent against military aggression. However, after the termination of Cold War, the first operations, *Anchor Guard* in 1990 and *Ace Guard* in 1991, were prompted by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Airborne early warning aircraft were sent to provide coverage of south-eastern Turkey, and later a quick-reaction force was deployed to the area (NATO 2005).

Since then, it has played a significant part in the Bosnia and Herzegovina intervention, Kosovo intervention, war in Afghanistan, Iraq training mission, Gulf of Aden anti-piracy, Libya intervention and much more. Recently it held the biggest cyber defence exercise virtually due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Began on November 16th, 2020, the Cyber Coalition exercise aimed to train cyber defenders in their ability to defend

NATO and national networks and will test decision making processes and procedures (NATO News 2020).

Nevertheless, in leading times NATO's power and influence have been brought into question due to its turbulent relations with Turkey. The peculiar question of uncertainty of its ally Turkey arose due to Turkey's tempestuous relations with its NATO allies who Greece and France, mainly. Turkey and Greece had strained relations and they are deteriorating due to Aegean dispute which caused a surge in controversies between the two states. Since both the states claim the region of Aegean Sea so it is a matter of right of sovereignty (Ortolland 2009).

Nonetheless, the clash between Turkey and France is the most recent case of infighting among NATO allies. This started off with NATO ordering to inspect the suspicious cargo ship where Turkish sailors could be seen in combat positions and at a certain point one of the Turkish frigates flashed its radar lights onto the French vessel three times, effectively threatening to shoot which led to retaliation. However, the authenticity of this argument could be challenged because it is proposed by France and Turkey says otherwise. This also led to miscommunication and escalation of rivalry between the two states (Politico 2020).

Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in a two-day visit to Turkey and Greece on 5th October 2020 emphasised on Turkey being a valued ally of NATO. The Secretary General praised Turkey's contributions to NATO missions, including in Afghanistan, Iraq and Kosovo, and its support to other Allies and partners during the pandemic. Mr Stoltenberg also highlighted NATO's strong commitment to Turkey's security by augmenting its air defence against missile attacks from Syria, and by increasing the Alliance's air and naval presence (Independent Balkan News Agency 2020).

The recent shift in power from Trump to Biden is also a shift of populism to multilateralism, apparently. It has also shown a shift in NATO-US partnership which even though threatened to impact relations in the North Atlantic region. Biden's pre-election rhetoric about U.S. trading of armaments with Russia perhaps will meddle with the association with Turkey. However, there is a possibility that to maintain stability in NATO Biden may try to be more interconnected with Turkey.

## New Challenges to NATO

Ever since World War One and World War Two, U.S. has been crossing Atlantic in order to help liberate Europe and even rebuild it. This pretty much

proves that the security of U.S. and Europe is indivisible. Secretary General of NATO, Anders Fogh Rasmussen said in a speech,

“Instability and insecurity on one side of the Atlantic will inevitably affect the other side of the ‘big pond’.” (NATO 2010).

The attack on one as an attack on all pretty much portrays the basic concept of globalization, integration. This organization is a transatlantic security cooperation and under its security umbrella they work on Europe integration because the US believes that if they can transform from a breeding ground of nationalism, war and rivalries to pluralism, democracy, and peace then so can their partnership through NATO.

However, the threshold has changed, and a new era has emerged. Globalization has a pretty side as well as a dark side. Moreover, although attack on one is an attack on all exists under article 5 but there is also an article 4 which talks about an informal consultation among the allies about their territorial integrity, political independence, and most of all their security (Kitchen 2014) before a joint and collective response is initiated. This is where the dark side of globalization intervenes, and populism is one of it.

The perfect quintessential of it is the Trump’s administration. Although the US by far has been the most devoted NATO ally but ever since Trump came into office it has marked a tumultuous time for the organization. During his campaign, Trump said,

“We will no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down.” (Hirsch 2016).

Moreover, Trump considered NATO an irrelevant organization and even called it ‘obsolete’ (Kirby 2017). He often berated other leaders for not spending enough budget on defense. Not only that but he also scrapped the Trans-Pacific partnership, criticized the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and pulled out of most of the US bilateral and security agreements that the other NATO allies considered important for their security for example Iran Nuclear Deal, and Open Skies aerial Surveillance pact.

Trump’s populist approach was so much so that the former presidential candidate of Netherlands, Geeret Wilders aimed to liberate Netherlands from NATO (Wilders 2016). The French President Emmanuel Macron also claimed that ‘NATO was suffering from “brain death” (AP News 2020) because of the lack of leadership from the part of the US. Furthermore, Germany also opposed the Trump’s Afghan troop withdrawal because they claim that the

US appears to have forgotten about the “in together, out together” motto of NATO in its mission in Afghanistan (Werkhäuser and Petersmann 2020).

Although the current Biden administration aims to opt for a more multilateral approach which portrays the positive side of globalization however, the damage caused during the Trump’s administration had led each ally to think of its own security and their issues first which was not the case before the era of populism. Ever since the Trump’s era, generally the role of the US as a global policeman is decreasing and Americans are also more tilted towards, “Make America Great Again” even if it’s for the sake of “Dump Trump”.

Furthermore, Southern European Countries and the Mediterranean perceive threat from the Middle East and North African countries especially due to the high influx of migrants and refugees. On the other hand, Eastern European countries view Russia’s resurgence as a threat (Galeotti 2017).

Russia’s resurgence is itself a big challenge to NATO. For some globalization is not a uniform phenomenon rather it is an opportunity for the developed to develop even more however, it also depends on the states who make the most of it and Russia is one of them. Although crumbled after the disintegration but Russia managed to reassert itself again especially militarily. NATO’s supreme allied commander for Europe, U.S. General Curtis Scaparrotti specially mentioned about the modernizing of NATO, he said,

“I certainly have concerns with respect to Russia. I think that, as an alliance, we are dominant. There are domains within this that were challenged. I think cyber is one of those. They are very competent in that,” he said, referring to Russia. “There are others where because of the modernization you noted, while we are dominant, we will not be in five years per se if we aren’t adapting like this to include our structure but also within the nations, our capabilities, across the military functional areas as well as our domains.” (Jozwiak 2018)

NATO’s constitution is because of former USSR or to contain it. Although after the cold war ended, the role organization played changed into a different scenario like fighting ethnic conflicts or anchoring new democracies. However, now that Russia is resurging this leaves NATO with a strategic quandary of returning to its roots for the old time’s sake. Perhaps that may not be possible because the state NATO contained was USSR and the state that is a challenge today is not USSR but Russia.

The state of Russia has now gotten its claws into some European countries for instance making Germany and Italy dependent on it for oil and gas (Cladi 2021). The world order has changed and previously it just used to



be military superiority, but now military power has to collide with economy as well. As the Joseph Nye's concept of complex interdependence explains it, states are economically interdependent on each other so complexly, that it is hard to initiate a war.

Therefore, Putin's Russia is a threat to the bond of NATO. Not only that but Putin's intentions to strategically strengthen itself in the immediate neighborhood and beyond with this modernized military will, if nothing more, intimidate the neighbors and weaken NATO's solidarity (Daalder 2017).

On the other hand, China is on a rise. It is an example of the promotion of geo-economics from internal to external. It began its journey around 1960's and till 9/11 China was only a threat to NATO members. However, 2010 onwards China started to make alliances and trade deals with the Southeast Asian countries and that is how China firmed its roots in the region. Recently, NATO declared China as a global security challenge (DAWN News 2021). The members refrained from calling her a rival but China's increasing vertical proliferation, her assertive behavior, coercive policies, and debatable goals are worrying NATO.

Unlike the US's manifest destiny China has a shared destiny (Beeson 2020) where in global governance they are building themselves as well as investing elsewhere like Africa and Latin America. It is a clear demonstration of interconnectedness under the phenomenon of globalization. They promote soft power unlike the US, and this helps them to maintain international relations. For example, China is taking zinc from Cambodia and in return gives them train infrastructure resulting in Cambodia supporting China on the platform of ASEAN (Haider 2021). Another example is the RCEP and the fact that the US was not even a part of it speaks volumes. The US-China-Huawei collaboration is another representation of complex interdependence.

China is expanding through String of Pearls and the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) (Ashraf 2021), and even got European countries hooked to it. This is to counter the US policy of containing China and reasserting itself seeking influence by avoiding chances of blockade being planned by the US and India. China needed material and labor for accumulation of surplus, so it underwent a domestic policy change. Now China is increasingly becoming a visible security actor in the European periphery. It views NATO as a US-centric organization that may be used to contain it. Therefore, China has attempted to sway individual NATO member's decisions in order to undermine the alliance's cohesiveness.

NATO members have been concerned about close connections between China and Russia, particularly in the sphere of security and military. Apart from the joint exercises held between Chinese and Russian navies in

the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, there exists a potential for the two sides to further coordinate or align their behavior on issues collectively important to both of them, such as hybrid warfare and cyber espionage, arms control, and their approach to Arctic governance, among other things (Wilson Center 2021).

China made use of the dialectical globalization process the most. Deng Xiaoping coined the term 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' (Wilson Center 2021) under which there is a total control for the communist party in a capitalist economy. China knew that the world is globalized so it built its own type of economy. This is being done through OBOR and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and China's discourses are changed in Southeast Asia, South Asia, African countries, and Europe. It has infrastructure plans which increases connectivity and enhances trade and economic ties.

China is making all the states utilize the perks of globalization because they claim that everyone has the right to improve however, China will still have dominance. So, it provides platforms of diplomatic initiatives and comprehensive economic cooperation in the form of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Indian Ocean, and Pacific Ocean etc. China's collaborative yet authoritative behavior is complicated for NATO to contemplate. She has her own terms of governance on its own vocabulary. China joins the WTO and then violates the rule, when U.S. challenges they bring in their jurisdiction and constitution into the equation claiming that they are following their own rules (New Learning Online 2021).

China is slowly and steadily inserting itself. They plan out the whole infrastructure and along with it provide a bank in the shape of AIIB. It does joint investment projects with the World Bank so if AIIB faces a loss so will the World Bank since they both are together (Dollar 2015). In Chinese theory, the basic level of analysis is the family and in western it is the State, so their epistemologies differ making it even more challenging for NATO to find out a way to contain China. Although their theory is not a new concept, but their governance is as old as 2100 B.C.

They use the term "Tianxia" or "All under heaven" which simply means 'Earth, People's heart and a world institution' (Por 2020). In China, the points of the compass are always listed in the order east-south-west-north so basically they are building facts on the ground on the roof of the world. It is complicated to understand China because they have a grand bargain with the world – "we'll make the stuff for cheap – you buy it for cheap" or how U.S. puts it 'dumping' (Marshall 2015).

NATO's alliance is also threatened because where at one hand Russia

and China are rising then on the other EU is facing multiple domestic crisis. One of them is BREXIT and the other is Europe's demographic situation. NATO is ring-fenced from the impact of it. UK wants to remain involved in the European initiatives but Europe on the other than considers it to be an obstacle in the union's decision-making autonomy. Moreover, Trump rhetorically supported BREXIT which caused a discord especially in the transatlantic relationship which is never helpful.

Meanwhile, the United Kingdom is no longer able to serve as a transatlantic bridge between the United States and the European Union, risking significant divergence in the coming years. The threat of a British exit has prompted the EU to seek for 'strategic autonomy,' resulting in a slew of new projects, including the European Defense Fund (EDF), Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), and a shared headquarters for EU military deployments (Martill 2019).

Moreover, ever since BREXIT started happening the cooperation between NATO and the European Union began to deepen. This is resulting in a shift of key players to those with influence in both the parties while UK is losing its significance in collaborative decisions. EU also iterated a global strategy emphasizing that NATO will remain at the center of Euro-Atlantic relationship. The increasing removal of UK from the decision-making process will have an impact on the security issues that are tied with Europe.

Although the UK introduced the initiative of 'Global Britain' (GOV. UK 2021) in the shifting global context and a new relationship with Europe, it seems delusional. Be it the Russian threat, international terrorism or illegal migrations, the EU's decision is in tune with its institutional framework, and it will have a strong influence on the UK especially when the UK is not going to have an autonomous part in it. Furthermore, it will not be able to play an effective role in the collective security agenda of NATO as well (McAllister 2021).

The EU is also focusing on deepening the alliance with NATO after BREXIT because they lost a significant military support that was given by the UK. However, the non-EU members of NATO especially US, Canada, Norway, and Iceland also have valuable capabilities and locations ranging from intelligence gathering to the Arctic circle access. So, although the UK does not act anymore as a bridge between Europe and the US, the EU is finding alternatives to maintain the alliance. Moreover, after BREXIT these non-EU members of NATO will become responsible for around 80% (CNBC 2019) of the defense spending therefore, both the organizations are focusing on cooperation especially in areas related to cyber security and maritime capabilities.

Due to the increasingly transnational and fast developing nature of global threats like hybrid warfare, the EU's choice to emphasize security and defense should be considered as a valuable complement to NATO. The EU and NATO should pool their resources to handle such concerns, and each should establish a presence in areas where the other cannot. Furthermore, several EU Member States anticipated that an increase in defense spending will help them reach NATO's 2% defense expenditure goal, strengthening NATO and reducing the US accusations of unequal burden sharing (Gocek 2019).

The second domestic issue is of Europe's declining demography. NATO was designed according to the Cold War era population, but the member states need to realize that as the world is globalizing Europe is also ageing. In the 1950's the Atlantic alliance had a population of 13.7% of the world's total population. However, it started declining and in 2015 accounted for 12.5% of the world total and as per predictions the quota is set to fall around 10.3% in 2050. Back in the 1950's NATO members were the most populated with France holding the 12th place. Until 2050 Europe's population will continue to decline (Ceccorulli, Fassi and Lucarelli 2017).

NATO's share of global GDP is bound to follow a similar trajectory, falling from roughly 60% in 1950 to 50% in 2000 and finally 38% now. This loss of relative weight, on the other hand, is not necessarily a direct danger to the NATO's security, but rather a background condition that may affect other challenges. Moreover, immigration and declining birth rates has become a characteristic of modern societies especially inspired by U.S. globalization trend consequently resulting in whole villages hollowing out with only pensioners left behind (Lane 2019).

The ever-declining population means that economically the growth required for expansive labor force will be hindered. Militarily, member states who will have a small Armed forces effective cannot prove to be an efficient NATO ally. And politically, it promotes and energizes populism probably the reason why BREXIT enjoyed most of its support from areas rapidly declining in demography.

NATO's political cohesion is being challenged by the internal as well as external actors. Another most pronounced case of this political fracture is Turkey's role in NATO. Turkey is not the same country as it was during the Cold War era, and this is probably the reason why their relations are straining. NATO claims that President Erdogan's policies are turning their back on democracy, press freedom, and civic society in Turkey. Many NATO members claim that Turkey has been keeping NATO agenda hostage to its domestic concerns and repeatedly played unilateral incursions in Northern Syria.

However, many southern flank allies as well as Turkey argue that NATO has never acknowledged or addressed Turkey's legitimate security concerns in the ever increasing globalization (Aybet 2020). Turkey is one of the countries that suffered the most from terrorism particularly from DAESH (Islamic State) attacks and Turkey is also one of those countries that more than any other ally did its best to eliminate the threat without any external help. Turkey does not have a contention with the concept of alliance in NATO but some of the member states policies are troublesome as the environment is changing and the neighborhood is tough. There have been times when Turkey was left on its own by NATO to fend for itself that is when Turkey learned to become a self-help state. It was not out of choice but rather necessity. So, the changing nature of Turkey might be threatening some of the NATO members especially EU states however part of it is the intention to isolate Turkey too.

Recently, in NATO, mutual distrust has been at its peak, with many allies doubting if Turkey still shares NATO's interests and values while on the other hand Turkey was failing to understand the benefits of NATO membership or a resurrected EU accession process. Both parties appear to have forgotten the historical links and common goals that drove Turkey to join NATO in 1952, including opposing the former Soviet Union (now Russia) dominance in Central Asia and the Middle East and sustaining Middle Eastern stability.

Nevertheless, Turkey's geopolitical position is still an attraction to NATO as it is at a crossroad of Europe, Asia, and Africa (Ellehuus 2019). NATO needs this position for political and operational reach. Therefore, in order to acquire that, in return NATO's allows Turkey to be able to benefit from the military power of NATO. Therefore, NATO and the EU collectively should take measures to recognize Turkey's active role and significance before exploiters like Russia take advantage of the fissures between Turkey and NATO.

Furthermore, Turkey has offered to secure the Hamid Karzai Airport of Kabul after the withdrawal of the NATO forces from Afghanistan. The President of Turkey and the new US premier had agreed on this plan, but details are yet to be followed. Ankara already has its military personnel in Afghanistan under the umbrella of NATO but wants financial and logistic support from the NATO members to take the important responsibility of securing the airport. Turkey has also asked the support from Pakistan and Hungary for this mission, but, so far, both had not yet agreed. This renewed cooperation between Turkey and NATO could pave the way for important NATO members to rethink their strained relations with Turkey.

The latest meeting of NATO in Brussels in June 2021 had tried to address the new challenges including the hybrid threats emanating from

different state and non-state actors. The role of Russia has been criticized at different instances by the US for using the cyber-attacks to undermine the sovereignty of the US as Russia intervened in the elections of US. The new Biden administration, though wants to reassert the American role in the world, still shares bitter memories with Russia's Putin, as Biden himself called Putin a "killer" in one of his interviews. Russia, on the other hand, is all set to challenge the US hegemony in international politics so, this surely is posing a serious clash of interests and will likely harm the NATO's efficiency. The alliance also has a covert feeling for Iran and North Korea to use nuclear weapons for undermining global security.

The joint statement at the end of the meeting further pronounced Chinese military rise as a "systematic challenge" to the alliance (BBC 2021). China in its response has made it clear that the peaceful development of China is being perceived in a wrong way. Anyhow, the heads of the member states of NATO alliance asserted that they don't want a cold war with the China though the acts of America in recent years like increasing trade tariffs, diplomatic stiff on COVID and blaming China as the country responsible for the pandemic is not helping NATO's rhetoric of avoiding a new Cold War with the rising global power.

The comprehensive communique has mentioned various steps to be taken for the effectiveness of the alliance in the coming future but still, we consider few recommendations to be included at the end of the paper for the purpose of opening further options to the researchers.

## Recommendations

1. Biden administration must work on building trust with its European partners as the strong bridge between the US and Europe, i.e., UK is out of the EU.
2. The US must focus on leading the alliance if it must contain the increasing influence of China and Russia globally.
3. The EU should pool in 2% of their GDP to NATO by 2024 as being agreed upon so that the dependence of NATO on the US decreases.
4. NATO must resolve the conflict between its member states like that of Turkey, Greece, France, and the Netherlands.
5. NATO member states must focus on Cyber security as it poses a serious challenge to their institutions and security by both rogue states and non-state actors.

6. What remains a confrontational point between different member states of NATO is the Migration Crisis. The EU must share the burden of the refugees and the alliance should help weaker states in Middle East and Europe to be politically stable so that the migration crisis does not get worse.
7. The threats from China, Iran, Russia, and North Korea are recognized but a comprehensive plan should be implemented to deal with new challenges.
8. The populist wave across the continents is one of the core challenges that is disturbing the globalization project. The alliance and specifically the US and the EU must focus on exporting the democratic values across the globe or else the populist regimes may lead member states to take a solo flight.
9. The withdrawal from Afghanistan should be a joint decision of all the NATO members and its timing is what matters the most. The possible civil war in Afghanistan will directly influence the NATO's morale and reputation as a successful military alliance.
10. The 2030 agenda should be implemented with full force or NATO will be short of achieving its goals at the end of this decade.

## Final Remarks

NATO is an important alliance of thirty nations and will continue to contribute to shaping the global political and security environment. The damage done to the alliance by the last US administration is on reverse and the Biden administration wants to take the lead to make the alliance more effective in coming time. The new challenges posed to the alliance like China's rise, Russia's resurgence in global politics, growing populism, migration issues, cyber-security and rifts between different member states are well recognized by the member states and if NATO's 2030 plan is implemented in its letter and spirit, the alliance will surely be more strengthened at the end of the following decade. Member states need to cooperate with each other and specifically the contributions of individual states are to be recognized as of Turkey if the alliance is avoiding becoming obsolete in the coming future.



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## ABSTRACT

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been the most important and successful multilateral military political organization, pursuing the agenda of exporting democracy globally and ensuring the mutual defense of its allies. Historically, NATO was formed against the threat of communism emanating from USSR (Russia). The alliance did not use military option till the end of the cold war between the west and USSR, but post-cold war, it transformed and operated in Balkans, South Asia, Horn of Africa, and Middle East. The 9/11 incident further enhanced the military role of the organization and gave it ample reason to act internationally for ensuring the global security. America, being the leader of the alliance used it for fighting the so-called global war on terrorism and its adventures in Middle East. Nevertheless, in the last two decades the organization went through various changes and is now continuously in the state of transformation. The wave of populism which had influenced the very concept of globalization has posed serious challenges for the alliance. The Trump rhetoric of “America first”, BREXIT, challenges of migration, changing demography of Europe, assertion of Russia in global politics, confrontation between the NATO allies like Turkey and France, and rise of China are few factors which may affect the future of the so-called intergovernmental military alliance. This article concurrently discusses the new challenges for the NATO and sheds light on the possible options to the strategy of Biden administration to reverse the policies of its predecessor which have influenced the cooperation of different allies of NATO. In the end, the researcher has tried to put forth few recommendations which may help the policy makers to cope with the challenges NATO is facing. The study is qualitative and analytical in nature whereas primary as well as secondary sources are used for data collection.

## KEYWORDS

NATO; Globalization; Populism; New Challenges.

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