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TRANSFORMATION OF NATO AFTER 2010

(abstract)

1. Aim of the dissertation

The subject matter of this dissertation is constituted by the analysis of internal and external transformation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The term transformation implicates changes in the character of actions taken by the organization, extension of its scope of interest, as well as decisive procedures on the political level in the North Atlantic Council, Committees: Military and Civil, and Working Groups. External transformation relates to reputational issues of NATO – how it is perceived at the global arena and its qualification as an international organization or an international system. Furthermore, the external transformation concerns also the „open doors” policy of NATO and the submission process of subsequent countries of the European region. NATO has been also depicted as an international actor, which implements the foundations of selected geopolitical theories, in aim to show that determinants related to geopolitics are still valid and that the actions of the treaty can fit into some of the geopolitical theories.

The groundwork for establishing conclusions and answers to the given questions will be based on a variety of geopolitical theories, foreign policies of NATO’s member countries and a thorough analysis of the decisive procedures, abiding in the Treaty. Despite the fact that the topic is being often the subject of various scientific publications, as well it is present in popular science and media, its papers lack such vital issues as geopolitics. In the primary sources there is a deficit of works concerning NATO issues within the prism of geopolitics. With the use of selected geopolitical theories the author will try to indicate NATO’s development directions, trying to distinguish the most probable ones. The analysis of particular countries’ foreign policies shall aim to show which countries and to what extent are interested in long-term cooperation in NATO’s structures, how they perceive this cooperation and the chances for its lasting. The work aims to prove that NATO has the potential and abilities, based on the will of member countries and geopolitical foundations, to evolve towards a dynamically operating international organization, working on the international security’s effective assurance. The term “Transformation of NATO” shall be understood twofold: firstly (internally) as the development of decisive procedures in the organization, their unification, enhancement or separation from temporary interests of its country members. Secondly (internally) it shall be understood as

evolution of its image and identity of NATO. It is commonly believed that the subject of NATO's actions shall develop and spread towards subsequent security sectors. Therefore, it is related to reputational changes of NATO, which has to determine the direction of its development in the nearest future, so as that this stance shall finally have its chance to consolidate and crystalize.

The following doctoral dissertation is based on the thesis that NATO underwent a visible transformation after the year 2010 and that this transformation still proceeds, adjusting NATO to act in a new security environment. Within the following research thesis two hypothesis will be distinguished, referring to external and internal transformation in NATO.

External transformation will be interpreted in the sense of structural changes in the organization and the process of constant increase in the number of its participants and the ways of NATO's perceiving on the global arena – a gradual evolution of NATO's identity and indication of the issues related to it. The hypothesis about ongoing external transformation assumes that open doors policy leads to NATO substantial change towards an international actor, engaged in outside actions and to constituting a specific international organization with clear, definitive new aims, among all establishing a new stability system in Europe and globally.

Internal transformation is analyzed in the context of NATO's decisive procedures and the subject character of NATO's actions juxtaposed with the member countries' stance towards these changes. Hypothesis about internal transformation assumes that there is no possibility to actually examine the consensual way of decision making, existing from the beginnings of the treaty. That is due to the constantly increasing number of member countries. The second part of the hypothesis assumes that the changes implemented by the New Strategic Concept from 2010, resulted in such serious changes in NATO's subject actions, that it led to the Treaty's evolution towards an organization, where collective defense constitutes only one of the duties, whereas the main and most absorbing ones are nowadays the crisis response and stability establishment operations.

Simultaneously, by presenting the policies of selected member countries, as well as the geopolitical theories, this dissertation will aim to show that despite the differences in political options or different international engagement, still geopolitical theories and the international order they create, are the ones, which play one of the most important roles in establishing policies. According to this thesis, NATO shall constitute the tools, the forum of dialogue and cooperation between countries. Economy and military issues are often the elements, which

unify the most. Therefore NATO is an active panel to build up relations between countries. These relations are established mainly by the rules of geopolitics.

The accomplishment of this aim will be realized by a thorough analysis of NATO changes between the years 2010 and 2016, focusing on the most significant issues, such as i.e. the realization of the basis of consensus or the stance towards the countries of New Strategic Concept and the Treaty's actions in regard to the so-called eastern flank and the dangers resulting from the instability of the Middle East. NATO's foreign policy will be also the subject of elaboration and, where possible, explanation. The author will show that very often decisive problems and NATO's procedures are ineffective due to the malevolence of member countries. The dissertation will juxtapose respective members' stances towards the issues NATO has faced so far and the methods used by the countries to improve or constrict the decisive procedures. All this would be finally a subject to analysis through the prism of geopolitical theories in order to indicate, by comparisons, exclusions and similarities, a theory, which portrays best the commitment of the NATO member countries, as well as actions undertaken by NATO. I would try to prove that viable transformation of NATO into a functional organization of the 21 century is possible and achievable over the next few years.

2. Substantive part

In the first chapter, various concepts for NATO's perception in international relations were analyzed, aiming to establish a coherent definition of NATO for the purpose of this doctoral dissertation. Following ways of perception taken into consideration: NATO as an international system, an international organization, an international regime and as an international treaty.

The second chapter of the dissertation presents selected geopolitical theories, as well as how NATO's respective actions and operations correspond with the theories' principles and where do they differ. Following geopolitical theories were taken into consideration: Zbigniew Brzezinski's Grand Chessboard, Samuel Huntington's Clash of the Civilizations, Halford Mackinder's Heartland Theory and Nicholas Spykman's Rimland. The work also includes a concept of new Heartland's placement and its impact on NATO's politics.

The third chapter elaborates on the concept of internal transformation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, specifying on the decision making procedures, respective member countries' politics and the legal framework of the organization. A thorough analysis, examining the stances of respective member countries towards the New Strategic Concept from

2010, has been conducted. The last part of the chapter is constituted by an analysis of the basis of legal and international actions of NATO, the status of the organization and its legal output.

In the fourth chapter, we have an analysis of the concept of external transformation of NATO divided into the evolution of subjective actions of the treaty towards its outreaching operations (interpreted geographically and subjectively), the open doors policy – its effectiveness, legitimacy and evolution and finally the impact of the producers and consumers thesis on the internal balance of the organization.

The work implemented a methodology, typical for social sciences, political sciences and international relations. The basic research methods were: document analysis method, decisive method and legal-institutional analysis.

3. Conclusions

The conducted research enabled to confirm the external transformation of NATO in the above-provided sense, as well as the partial internal transformation. Analysis of the documents and a review of the previous NATO activity showed that the decisive procedure is effective and does not require any substantial changes. The consensus remains still the most effective way of decision making, when we take into the consideration the structure of such an international actor as NATO. The research findings in the field of external transformation showed an actual, still ongoing evolution of reputation, undertaken actions and the size of the organization itself. Nowadays, NATO, above all realizes the outreaching operations, while the policy of “open doors” remains still active. The dissertation’s final result had to confirm research hypotheses and present NATO from the angle, which have not been raised in the previous scientific researches.

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