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## **Structural change efforts of NATO and Turkey's role within the framework of the new institutional theory**

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**Abstract.** In this article, NATO's historical and current change has been analyzed in the perspective of the new institutional theory. Turkey's position and role in the the processes of the worldwide uncertainty and chaotic environment have been discussed in the same theoretical perspective. In addition, considering the situation of the EU and the USA especially during the pandemic process, NATO's approach towards China was evaluated. Secondary data technique was used in this qualitative study. According to the results of the research, it has seen that the EU and the USA are losing their strategically targeted potential. In the chaotic period of the Covid-19 pandemic, it was determined that the EU countries and the USA avoided supporting each other, instead some eastern bloc countries lent a helping hand to European countries. With the perspective of increasing resilience by becoming non-polar, as the polar world is dragged into an environment full of increasing uncertainty and threats, it is predicted that it should be made possible globally to act based on cooperation rather than competition. In terms of Turkey's development as a global and local resistance it would be helpful to develop an attitude compatible to the new paradigm is envisaged.

**Keywords.** NATO, USA, EU, Turkey, Covid-19, new institutional theory

### **Introduction**

In the world, which is going through a period of increasing uncertainty and chaotic processes, countries and international organizations are trying to improve their ability to adapt to this situation, as the balance of power is also changing rapidly. However, considering that change is always painful, these processes also have some shocking effects. It is seen that the world, which is politically polarized especially as the west- the east, is in conflict with increasing chaotic situations and being exposed to unknown threats in some periods and they give urgent support to each other in some periods. In this direction, it should be noted that NATO, which includes the western bloc countries, needs to revise itself on the basis of political developments over time. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a decrease in the polar tension to a certain extent, NATO and especially the USA. Although the power of China is thought to have increased globally, the economic rise of China and it's becoming an indispensable economic resource by European countries, and also its development with Russia, indicate that the world balances have changed and the old balances have started to shake. In this context, and how to discuss Turkey's position would be appropriate to make predictions about a perspective that must follow in the future.

In this context, the main question of the research is to discuss how NATO's perspective and attitude have changed in the process of the west- the east polarization and China's economic development. These processes are discussed within the scope of the research within the framework of the new institutional theory that examines the change processes and adaptations of organizations and the resource dependency theories that examine the effects of owned or scarce resources on the development processes of organizations. Also, in the same direction, what is the role of Turkey in this process and to discuss how it affected and to make predictions. Therefore, the secondary data method was used as a method in the research to reveal the historical and causal relationships of events and developments.

### **1. Theoretical Background**

In the new institutional theory, organizations are in a relationship of reciprocity with the "environment". Organizations are both shaped by the environment and reproduce the existing environment through their own actions and other interactions. According to the new institutional theory approach, organizations reflect the degree of uncertainty in their surroundings to their structures and adapt accordingly. In this context, organizational change understanding of the new institutional theory is shaped within the framework of the reactive adaptation it shows according to the intensity of environmental uncertainty. According to Meyer and Rowan, the main argument of institutional theory is that the organizational structure and processes are shaped as a result of their adaptation to the institutional environment they are in. This approach is based on the "assumption that reality is socially constituted" put forward by Berger and Luckmann (Özen, 2010). Özen (2010) states that organizations adopt institutionalized structural elements ceremonially in order to increase the chance of survival by reducing uncertainty due to the capacity/performance problem. think. But in this context, institutional relations need global and national sense of political and economic take into account when the underlying fundamental factors in the man himself to the process with the alienation and become intricate relationships can be specified. for example, NATO, EU, China, Turkey, and so on as countries and other While evaluating their relations with organizations and seeking solutions, it is inevitable that a new problem will sprout even if a solution is thought to be reached as long as this basic element remains the same. The important factor at this point is how the resources are used and what they serve. When NATO is evaluated in terms of its relations with other countries, it is an axial issue to focus on communication and interaction.

When discussed from the perspective of resource dependency theory, it can be concluded that NATO should evaluate its communicative and interactional resources on a correct basis. This correct basis is to prioritize the world and humanity from facing new and unpredictable problems, apart from the politics and nation base, with each passing day rather than looking at the world from a polar perspective. In this context, in general from the resource dependency theory; It would be appropriate to mention that organizations are based on the idea that they cannot produce the resources or functions that will ensure their existence internally and therefore have to interact and interact with the elements in the environment that can provide the necessary resources and services (Aldrich & Pfeffer, 1976).

Therefore, this situation reveals the necessity to manage the relations with other organizations and the environment well (Mizruchi & Mina, 2002). It is known that organizations tend towards different variations to tolerate the uncertainty that arises due to their obligation to operate in an uncertain environment (Child, 1972). One of the most difficult processes to manage for organizations is uncertainty. According to the resource dependence theory, uncertainty is defined as "the extent to which future situations cannot be predicted and accurately predicted" (Pfeffer & Salanick, 1978).

Especially considering the developments in the covid-19 pandemic process, it is known that the phenomena that can be considered as anomalies, as Khun stated in the Structure of Scientific Revolutions book, break the routine and mark a new paradigm (Khun, 1970). In this direction, it is necessary to understand what kind of a new paradigm is required by the anomaly, knowing that the increasing uncertainty and chaotic environment reinforces the alienation of the person from himself and nature on a paradigmatic basis. It can be stated that, leaving behind competitive and polar structures based on the unity consciousness (Genç & Akyürek, 2020) in which humanity can be salvation altogether, the perspectives and efforts of states and organizations to create a system based on cooperation globally and nationally form the basis of the new paradigm.

## **2. Literature Review**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); is an alliance formed after the Soviet Union attempted to fill the gap that emerged as a result of the deterioration of the balance of power in the European Continent after the Second World War. The Alliance was established in Washington on April 4, 1949, to jointly ensure the security and territorial integrity of the 12 countries. The starting members of the Alliance; England, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, United States of America, Canada, Italy, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Portugal. (Council & Aksu, 2019).

Alliance, Greece, and Turkey on 18 February 1952; With the accession of Federal Germany on 9 May 1955 and Spain on 30 May 1982, the number of members increased to 16. However, France and Iceland do not contribute militarily to NATO.

NATO's legal basis is based on Article 51 of the United Nations Constitution. This item; allows some countries to jointly establish regional defense arrangements for security purposes. Objective foreseen in the establishment of NATO: To deter enemy attacks that may be directed to member countries; It is to protect the territorial integrity of the member states by defending in the attack and seizing the lost lands. (Karaosmanoğlu, 2014)

NATO is both a political and a military alliance. Therefore, the organizational structure of the alliance consists of two main parts, civilian and military. The organization's highest political and military decision-making body is the North Atlantic Council. 16 member states have an equal say in the council, where decisions are taken unanimously. (Council & Aksu, 2019)

After the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc (Warsaw), NATO's classical threat assessment has come to an end. This has been replaced by uncertainty, instability, multiple threats, and risks. According to this; Since the 1990s, the main risk for Turkey and NATO is terrorism, migration, uncertainty, and radical religiousness rather than a planned frontal attack by Russia. Within the framework of the obligations, there is registration of new countries in the status of full members of the alliance and therefore the expansion of NATO's borders (Karaosmanoğlu, 2014).

### **2.1. Development of NATO**

London Statement-1990: After the dissolution of S. S. C. B. and the collapse of V. P., NATO countries published the July 1990 London Statement in order to eliminate distrust and reduce tension in NATO.

Oslo Declaration (June 1992): With the Oslo Declaration, it was stated that in order to establish security in Europe, the region should be considered as a whole and that it is essential to establish a new and long-term peace based on a comprehensive dialogue, partnership, and cooperation with Eastern European countries.

Brussels Summit (11 January 1994): Partnership for peace "PI0" declaration was published at this summit attended by the Heads of States of NATO member countries. At the Brussels Summit of January 1994, enlargement was accepted in principle and the preparation process was initiated.

Developments in 1996: In 1996, studies on enlargement were carried out in three phases. First Phase: General issues, Second Phase: Defense and Military structuring, Third Phase: Discussion of nuclear issues. 15 countries participated in the first phase talks. These countries; Albania, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Finland, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan. Of these, 12 countries, including Bulgaria, want to join NATO; Finland, Ukraine, and possibly Azerbaijan are not considering participating. The evaluation criteria for NATO candidate countries are as follows: They have a stable and democratic structure, have solved their ethnic and regional problems, have their armed forces under the control of democratic and civilian authorities, have free-market economies, and have the ability to work in harmony with NATO forces.

Russia-NATO Security Treaty (27 May 1997): On 27 May 1997, in Paris, the Security Treaty was signed between the leaders of 16 NATO members and Russian President Yeltsin, allowing NATO to expand. According to this agreement, NATO will not be able to establish military infrastructure and deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of the new members. Apart from not having nuclear weapons, NATO will not be able to establish nuclear weapons depots in the new member countries and will not be able to use Soviet leftover weapons stores. With the Treaty, a Joint Permanent Council will be established between NATO and Russia, and cooperation on issues such as peacekeeping, disarmament, terrorism, and drug trafficking will be established through the Council. (Almond, 1965).

## **2.2. Turkey's NATO Entry**

The idea of Turkey's entry into NATO began after the Second World War is a result of efforts to connect the Western Bloc. Overall, after the war, Turkey's western approach to policy, the foreign policy during this period of radical modernization movement initiated by Ataturk is showing up in the form of close cooperation with Western states. A more recent and concrete reason is the concern to preserve the independence and territorial integrity against the Soviet threats it faced after the war. As stated earlier, Turkey, the Western states against the Soviet threat, especially a.b.d.'n the soldier with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Aid, and he aim to make itself secure by winning economic support. But due to the abutment of the USA to Turkey provided by an alliance of mutual support, concerns about Turkey's heard from the Soviet Union was not completely resolved. (Erdem, 2019)

Upon completion of the preparation of the text of the North Atlantic Alliance with Italy which is connected to France to Algeria certain when it will be received into alliance with the northern parts of Turkey's blocking the alliance into a "limited geographical area" was going disappeared thesis. In this case, the concerns of the Turkish and Greek public opinion that they would intensify the pressures of the Soviet Union by being excluded from Europe were strengthened.

Foreign Minister Necmeddin Sadak met with Foreign Minister Dean Acheson on April 12 and President Truman on April 13, in the United States, where he went as the head of the Turkish delegation participating in the United Nations General Assembly. This calls for the inclusion of Turkey in the pact, and even if not design a Mediterranean defense pact, it a.b.d.'n will not prevent making aid to Turkey and Turkey's territorial integrity has been given guarantees that he would decrease the interest in the integrity and independence.

Also, stay out of concern for Turkey's European Council did not last long. The Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, the Council has decided to invite Turkey at the meeting dated August 8, 1949. Turkey's entry to the European council and so "European" in Turkey has created pleased to be recognized as a country.

Various negotiations and intensive efforts continued over the years. With the Korean war that broke out in this process, the United Nations decided to aid Korea on June 27, 1950. The same decision was notified by telegram to Turkey, Turkey was invited to the United Nations every assistance. The Turkish government responded positively to this telegram the same day. Turkey, after this initial positive response to the United Nations, including the United Nations on July 25, 1950, under the command of a force of 4500 people has decided to send to South Korea. Thus, Turkey, after the U.S. armed Korea to the United Nations has been at the disposal of the latter country decided to send a force. Come out with the victory of Turkey joining the battles of the Korean War, NATO member countries give the feeling of closeness and later in Turkey has been an important facilitating factor for joining NATO. Turkey has repeatedly rejected requests for NATO membership, has started to change with sympathy for Turkey's membership to NATO's policy a.b.d.'n. US first Soviet Behind this changing attitude Union against the more cautious and not understanding, measures towards reducing the nuclear threat of the possibility of military success in the Korean War, when necessary, in Turkey due to its strategic location you can kllanil as an airbase in Turkey and it's binding on NATO membership requirement is among the most important factors. Moreover, Britain against duruş and elongation of the process, in line with Turkey's full membership in NATO agrees to play a role in the Middle East defense was also one of the important factors that occur in the final period. 15 October at NATO headquarters in London, has published additional protocol allowing Greece to join NATO member Turkey and entered into force on 22 October after they are approved text of the state. Thus, the North Atlantic Treaty text, the member states of the alliance was going on in the face of an armed only with each other in the expanded format will also Turkey and Greece into geographic areas in which they are required assistance (Erdem, 2019).

### **2.3. NATO's Global Mission and Turkey**

The geopolitical position of Turkey in the context of the evaluation should be noted that this topic is quite effective. Indeed, Turkey-EU relations experienced in the critical period and constantly escalating tensions on Turkey's relations with NATO, the Western World has become the most important strategic tool. NATO member Turkey-EU relations to the problems of European countries significantly affect the US-Turkey bilateral relations of Turkey-NATO relations have resulted in seating to the main axis.

Often voiced the USA-Israel-Turkey axis and efforts to develop relations with countries outside the European countries to balance this axis in the Middle East in recent years, this constitutes an interesting cross balance of their relationship. Post-Cold War era in Turkey-US relations began to take place among the agenda items Caspian oil basin and relations with Central Asia is another regional element within the bilateral and field interplay of multifaceted relations between the two countries (Sonmez, 2016).

As a result of maintaining the EU's eastward expansion from north to south of the EU's eastern border with Russia, the possibility to extend to Ukraine and Turkey route Turkey-US, Turkey and Russia and will make the important elements of the Eurasian balance its relations Russia-US. While it is in this context that NATO members in the EU's eastern border will be the only non-EU member countries Turkey Turkey will put the area of US-Russia-EU interaction balance. One of the most serious internal contradictions of the West Block consisting

of EU and NATO member Turkey will live in the coming period this might be a special position. Although in the case of the non-EU NATO member Turkey and can be referred to take a similar stance on US policy regarding alliances (Nature, 2005).

If NATO and Turkey-EU relations in the context of the restructuring will take NATO's role in Turkey and is important for the responsibilities of this role will bring. Look for signs of effective decision-making in the state of Turkey's attitude in handling the responsibility of defending itself risks posed by decisions taken have been effective in processes such as the Customs Union. However, in the future, Turkey should also be careful against these risks. (Doğan, 2005).

If Turkey wants to win the event in NATO and Europe, not the mission of NATO in the Middle East and contribute to the restructuring it should be made for Eastern Europe. Turkey is in NATO, not as a Middle Eastern country, an Eastern Europe, and the Balkans to take a role as a country, Turkey has to ensure that the intervener to both the Balkans, as well as weaknesses that may arise from not EU members will go partly. Otherwise likely to undertake missions in the Middle East as well as Turkey's domestic balance will increase risks it may adversely affect the region.

When NATO and Turkey-Russia relations as the main evaluation should be noted that Turkey. The main motive that led NATO to integrate its fate with the Atlantic axis after World War II was the threat posed by Russia on the Straits and Kars-Ardahan and the Russian authorities expressing this threat in a clear declaration. (Armed Forces Magazine, 2005).

Today, Turkey resulting from NATO membership and Russia's geopolitical orientation to the possibility of recognizing the space vacated space conjuncture is difficult to assess in a balanced and rational manner. Apart from this historical rivalry dimension in Turkish-Russian relations, the factor that brings the two countries closer and is likely to force them into closer relations in the future is that the EU, which continues to expand towards the east, tends to exclude both countries. This exclusion relationship can bring new dimensions to Turkish-Russian relations. Such a rapprochement, which can significantly affect the Eurasian balances, and the fact that both countries can activate the field of attraction of NATO and US relations reveal the power of global balances to determine bilateral relations (Armed Forces Magazine, 2006).

#### **2.4. Restructuring NATO**

Although the threat of military invasion disappeared with the end of the Cold War, it was observed that instability increased in some parts of Europe. (Şenesen, 2002). In the former Yugoslavia and parts of the former Soviet Union, regional conflicts, often fueled by ethnic tensions, have emerged and threatened to spread. NATO countries immediately understood that their collective defense commitment and the best guarantee of their security was cooperation through NATO. In response to new security threats, over the past decade, NATO has ceased to be an Alliance with fundamental responsibility for collective defense and has become the focus of partnerships of nations cooperating in a wider security area (Armed Forces Magazine, 2003).

Based on common interests, such as ensuring long-term stability in Southeast Europe, managing regional crises, expanding NATO and the European Union, supporting Russia's change, stabilizing newly independent nations, promoting an open market economy around the world, and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. NATO's European and North American allies are working together on these issues.

**2.5. The important functions of NATO:** When these functions are reviewed today, the establishment of COMECON, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Eastern Bloc members established the Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955, against NATO. The Warsaw Pact, a regional and collective defense and aid organization; The Soviet Union, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia joined. At the end of these developments and with the political, economic, and military treaties and pacts under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the "Eastern Bloc" emerged and the world entered a new era of bonification. Subsequently, with the Truman doctrine, a confrontation occurred against the Eastern Bloc and within this framework, the USA. Greece is made by a total of \$ 300 million and \$ 400 million in military aid to Turkey to help scope, including \$ 100 million. After the Second World War, nations in many parts of the world started to declare their independence. There have been many nations that have liberated Britain from France's colonization. While many new countries emerged on these continents, many European countries devastated by the war were also in great economic difficulties. Delivering a speech at Harvard University in June 1947, U.S. Foreign Secretary George Marshall proposed a very comprehensive program to re-develop European economies. Marshall Plan; envisaged American financial aid, equipment, and machinery to every European country that wanted to participate. 16 members of the European countries, including Turkey, on 22 September drafted a European Economic Development Program for submission to the United States. Following this program, America enacted the Foreign Aid Act on April 3, 1948. America in the first year than under the law 16'iar (England, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Greece, Turkey, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Iceland, Austria, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden) made an economic aid of \$6billion. This aid reached \$ 12 billion in the following years. While the implementation of the Marshall Plan was continuing, at the end of the critical situation that emerged with the intervention of the states in the West and East bloc in Berlin, the Federal German Constitution was declared on 23 May 1949, and West Germany and the official name of the Federal German Republic were established. Then, in October 1949, the establishment of the German Democratic Republic was declared. In the following time, the North Atlantic Organization (NATO) was established in April 1949 with the perspective of contributing to security.

After the Second World War, the structure of international politics changed and the world began to take on a bipolar appearance. Another of the most important developments of this period was the liquidation of colonialism. Almost all colonies in Asia and Africa have gained their independence in the period that has passed until today. While the number of neglected states in Africa was 6 in 1956, today their number has reached 50. The independence of the colonies allowed a new force to enter international politics called the Third Block, the Third World, or the Non-Aligned Bloc.

One of the most important consequences of the Second World War is that international politics has gained a "global" character. In addition, the global nature of international relations is not limited to the earth, but today these relations have expanded into space. Therefore, the space dimension was added to the two-dimensional war and operation areas limited to land and sea of the First World War in the Second World War and those who were strong in the air won the victory. That is victory carried from land and sea to the atmosphere. Just as having a colony was regarded as the condition of being a great state, today it has become a condition of being a great power, to be able to get into the depths of space.

**The Need for Change:** At the annual meeting of the Munich Security Conference held in February 1994, when the German Chancellor stated that NATO was "no longer the main venue for the transatlantic partners to discuss and coordinate their strategies", he simply pointed

out a situation that was quite obvious (Sarinay, 1988). However, the main concern is that there is no other location for this job. One reason Gerhard Schröder chose to highlight the fate of the alliance is that although NATO was designed in part to build consensus on security between Europe and North America, an adaptation is now needed. In fact, Schröder suggested in his speech to create a high-level panel to discuss how to improve transatlantic relations (Sarinay, 1988).

In addition, the driving forces behind the integrity of the Alliance need to be examined in order to understand NATO's adaptation. In times of changing security environment, issues such as perceptions of joint threats, common interests in maintaining the US presence in Europe, and common values are inevitably examined. Adaptation is not only about the means used by the alliance, but also about the purpose of NATO as a whole and the rules governing cooperation. Since the end of the Cold War, the emergence of more threats than traditional threats has made it difficult for him to form a consensus on security. However, responding to these threats also required more openness and flexibility to prepare the Alliance for a wider range of tasks. (Almond, 1965).

**Global Threats:** Today's global security threats have two characteristics that make it very difficult to use pre-designed tools effectively. First, unorthodox threats stem from social developments, not from governmental decisions, thus forcing strategists to reconsider traditional tools such as military intervention and deterrence. Second, uncertainty is the defining feature of today's security policy, since the purposes, intentions, and capabilities of non-political threats are often unknown. In addition, the difficulty of calculating the effect of events and actions in one corner of the world on the other side of the world makes it possible to exaggerate a threat as much as ignoring it (Sarinay, 1988).

Under these uncertain circumstances, NATO members had to create forces that could be deployed quickly wherever needed. On the one hand, the Allies have sought to reduce uncertainties by helping to create political stability and transparency in crisis regions. This dual approach has guided NATO's transformation process since the end of the Cold War. In this process, three elements can be identified, each with its own purpose and driving force. The first of these three elements is the establishment of security partnerships aimed at expanding the stability zone within Europe. In the face of the vacuum created by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, NATO has proposed various cooperation structures. These proposals include establishing a link with former enemies, the mechanisms that will allow these countries to eventually join the alliance, and the involvement of the military forces of Partner countries in crisis management operations in Europe. The second element concerns NATO's increasing willingness to use force (first in the Balkans and now in Central Asia) in crisis management and stability. The expansion of NATO's objectives and area of operation, which started as an organization that focuses on protecting security in Europe, from time to time caused some members to oppose the process and there were divisions within the organization. The third element started with the reshaping of Cold War forces in the 1990s and has become today's ambitious force transformation program. The military needs of the Alliance's new operations are challenging initial reforms. On the other hand, principles such as flexibility, deployability, sustainability, technological superiority, efficiency, and most importantly, interoperability have been the cornerstones of NATO's necessity as a security organization (Erdem, 2019).

**Military transformation:** Military transformation is a dynamic process whose end is unpredictable; It has inevitable consequences for soldiers, equipment, and technology, as well as structures and deployment of forces and the management of military operations. In this way, NATO is not only overseeing the transformation within its members' military forces, but itself is transforming.

The most visible indicators of NATO's military transformation are the establishment of the Allied Command Transformation and the development of the NATO Response Force in Norfolk, Virginia (USA). The NRF is today the focal point of force transformation and serves as the place where new technologies, doctrines, and methods are tested. As forces are subject to regular and frequent rotation within the NRF, returning troops immediately restore the expertise and skills developed within the NRF and transfer them to their national forces. Since the NRF is mainly composed of Europeans, it also facilitates the adoption of more harmonious purchasing policies within Europe. Clearly, transformation is no longer just an item on NATO's agenda; It has become the defining feature of the Alliance. (NATO Handbook, 1984)

Many Europeans believe that the various multidimensional tools they are trying to create for EU foreign policy are more appropriate tools for dealing with modern security problems than a military-based approach. But the strategic consensus within both the European Union and NATO is actually very similar. In addition, most of the members do not want to oppose the European Union to America. The U.S. is waiting for Europe to grow stronger only to become a stronger and more attractive partner for it.

**UN Reform:** The reform process in the United Nations is an example of organizational cohesion where there are no intersecting interests between a country to act as a political driver and its member states. In this case, although the Secretary-General and his team are effective players, they do not have the weight to achieve anything other than gaining efficiency in the UN administration and they are not able to initiate a complete transformation in the UN organization (Armaoğlu, 1995). reform has been. While there is a general view that the Security Council will be a more credible institution if it accurately reflects the true distribution of population and power in the world, there is no consensus yet on reforms to this institution. In order to overcome this impasse, General Secretary Kofi Annan formed a high-level committee in 1994. The committee report is cited as a source for discussions on this issue today. The future shape and transformation of the United Nations are crucial to NATO's own transformation. Because legitimacy based on international law, such as the Security Council directive, is an important prerequisite for most European allies, although it is necessary to use force. Therefore, when the NRF (NATO Response Force) needs to be deployed, close ties between NATO and the UN will strengthen the Alliance's transformation with stronger political consensus.

**NATO's Future:** Some analysts feel that the current transformation agenda is the strongest consensus that can be achieved in NATO today. Therefore, they fear that the moment the Alliance has to decide whether to use force or threaten to use force, humanitarian intervention or operation in a more distant strategic region, this consensus will disappear and therefore NATO's existence will once again be endangered. Another possibility is that the Alliance will only survive as a service agency devoting talent to coalition operations carried out by the US and future Europe. (Internet)

Stating that NATO's transformation has already begun, Jonathan Parish suggests a definition as follows: "The Alliance is in line with the security environment and has the ability to effectively fulfill the roles it wants to assume" (Gonlubol and Ulman, 1966). "Partnerships and crisis are what best reflects NATO's transformation in the last decade of the 20th century," said Jonathan Parish, a planning officer in the Policy Planning and Speech Preparation Division of NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division and NATO's Political Affairs and Security Policy Division. management can be stated. "

However, all these attempts may seem futile if NATO does not urgently adapt itself to encourage more advanced political dialogue. If the Allies avoid conflicting political and security issues, it will never be possible to develop a common position. In today's security environment, these issues should be discussed; and should be discussed early and

comprehensively. If the Allies cannot afford to discuss these issues within NATO, the Alliance will lose its reason for existence and an alternative organization will be found. (Baykan, 1988).

**NATO in the Scope of New World Order and Globalization:** According to Charles Krauthammer, one of America's well-known writers; "The New World Order is an idiom used by the Bush administration to describe the world that came under the leadership of America after the end of the Cold War. Fund (IMF) and the United Nations Organization can be used for this purpose.

Again, American Prof. Paul Kenndy says in his book "Preparing for the 21st Century": "Local governments and national governments are gradually losing control over the economic destiny of the country. Advanced technologies such as biotechnology, laser, robot, supercomputers will be under the monopoly of multinational companies. The unlimited world envisaged by the advocates of globalization is actually a candidate to be the world of the managers of multinational companies. These managers themselves are only against shareholders. Proponents of globalization focus their attention on North America, Europe, and Japan while ignoring four-fifths of the world's population who are not ready for the new financial and commercial revolution. "

Kennedy considers the preparation of societies for the 21st century serious for three important reasons and explains to them as follows: 1. The competition between people is now great in every field. Countries and people who do not rethink, retrain, and re-mold will not be able to stand the competition of the 21st century. 2. Demography and environmental problems, the world has become unable to carry us with this population. It is imperative that we find and apply remedies. 3. Wars and conflicts are now evolving beyond dimensions that the world and people can handle. Social, political, and religious unrest and conflicts will only lead to further waste of scarce resources, with no significant gain in the end. To put it sadly; Political leaders do not have much chance to prevent and stop turmoil in the world. We also have to prepare ourselves for these chaotic situations. "Former US President Carter's National Security Advisor Brzezinski, in his book "The Out of Control World ", emphasizes the view that the world population will reach 7 billion in 2000, and about 5.5 billion of this amount will be concentrated in poor or slightly poor countries. (Baykan, 1998).

In the 1960s, rich countries were 30 times richer than poor countries to illustrate the rapidly growing gap between north and south; It is stated that this difference increased to 150 times in the 1990s. Brzezinski argues that the growth of economic inequality between the north and the south, as well as the rapid population growth in the south, will result in the masses being open to all kinds of fundamentalist currents and the developments will lead to massive migration. (Akin, 2004)

Our research; shows that the rapidly changing world could not attain a "new world order" in the 2000s. The concept of "order" has left its place to "uncertainty". Rapid change creates new irregularities and expectations. It is difficult to predict from now where this change process will take the world. However, we are also able to make some assessments.

It is expected that the economic factors that provide strategic superiority in the next century will be very different from today's resources and factors.

Natural resources, capital accumulation, workforce, and quality will no longer be factors that provide superiority. Perhaps the lack of resources in the 21st century would be an advantage. Japan provides an interesting example of this. Japan is rich although it does not have natural resources, Argentina is not rich although it does. (Sadiklar, 1999).

In the 21st century, capital accumulation will also lose its former character. Multinational companies are moving the capital from rich countries to 3rd World countries. However, the concept of "country risk" will come to the fore in this regard.

Technology will also change the meaning. In the past, the winners of the economy were those who invented new products. In the 21st century, its superiority will provide new process technologies rather than new product technologies that can be imitated with necklaces. Indeed, in the 20th century, the Americans invented the video and the video camera, and the Dutch invented the fax. However, thanks to new processes and applications, these products have become Japanese products.

After all, what is meant to be expressed is this; new players on the world economic scene, new rules will replace old ones. Three economic forces that will compete for tooth-to-teeth in this process of change; will be Japan, the European Union, and the USA. As for who will win out of these three rivals, the pointer is currently on the side of the Japanese. Although America has the most wealth of all, the strategic position is in favor of the Europeans. Today's conditions force Europe to change the most. Due to this pressure of change, Europe is seen as the strongest candidate to win. Those who want to shed light on the future have to perceive well from which direction the winds of change are blowing.

Turkey's alliance system, attended the first day has been found to this day is so important in terms of its security and stability of the world and as an active member, has been found in a wide range of alliance forces assigned with devotion. Turkey since its entry into NATO, the Turkish Armed Forces for almost the entire period, especially the Cold War by allocating NATO alliance and Western Europe's security and today the creation of favorable conditions prevailing in Europe, have contributed significantly to the expense of great sacrifices and brought NATO membership He also benefited from protective umbrella and solidarity. In today's security conditions, it is also important that NATO goes beyond being an organization that only protects the territory of its members and contributes to the general stability of the Europe-Atlantic region. As a matter of fact, NATO has been subject to a wide-ranging adaptation, developed partnership, and cooperation relations, and started to take part in peacekeeping activities in general, without losing its essential character and basic functions. Likewise, in order to contribute to European stability, decisions were taken for the expansion of the Alliance and in the first phase, three countries (Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland) joined NATO in 1999. (Eroğlu, 1979).

In Maastricht, the condition of EU membership has also been introduced for Turkey to become a full member of the WEU (Western European Union). Upon this development, Turkey, which is a NATO member but not an EU member, was invited to become an associate member of the WEU together with Norway and Iceland in the same situation. All three countries that accepted this invitation and the member states of the WEU signed the "Joint Membership Document" in Rome on 20 November 1992. Associate membership entered into force on 6 March 1995. Turkey is also a full member of the Western European Armaments Group (WEAG) and the Western European Armaments Organization (WEAO), which was transferred from NATO to the WEA and is responsible for carrying out all armament activities in Europe. Turkey sees the status of associate membership as a temporary stage towards the realization of its full membership to the EU, although it is not yet a fully satisfactory arrangement (Soysal, 1991).

In addition, Turkey evaluates the ECSDP (European Common Security and Defense Policy) in line with its own national interests, Europe's security, and the above factors and with the responsibility of EU membership candidacy (Cayhan, 2002). It is also very important not to create inequality and division within the Alliance.

An important issue that Turkey advocated in its efforts to develop ESDI (European Security and Defense Identity) was the preservation of its gains in the WEU (Western European Union) and its further development and placing it in an institutional framework that would

enable the full participation of non-EU European allies in the restructuring within the EU. In this context, within the framework of the provisions of the Strategic Concept and the Washington Summit Statement; Turkey's regular participation in daily planning and consultations on European security as it is still done in the WEU, Turkey's full and equal participation in the process leading to the decision-making and implementation phase regarding the EU-led operations where NATO facilities and capabilities will be used, Turkey's full and equal participation in the decision-making process and the decision-making mechanism regarding the operation is important in operations.

On the other hand, in order to help Turkey be aware of the efforts to develop ECSDP (European Common Security and Defense Policy) within the EU and to express its views in a timely manner, and institutional relationship based on reciprocity and transparency between NATO, of which it is a member, and the EU, should preferably be carried out on the basis of a framework agreement to be drawn up between the two organizations. It will be useful. Turkey's expectation is that the EU will show its common sense to determine a satisfactory arrangement for the participation of non-EU European NATO allies such as Turkey. Undoubtedly, such an arrangement will make it easier to reach an agreement on the modalities (styles) of NATO-EU relations that are envisaged to be established.

**NATO's New Threat Perception and China:** It is possible to define NATO, one of the important building blocks of the "new order" established under the leadership of the USA after the Second World War, as the "cement" of the Western-centered historical bloc after 1945. NATO (internet) is looking for a logical and historical position within the international system that tends towards a multi-polar structure. NATO's main concern is that China's growing economic and technological strength, rather than its military capabilities, has reached a game-changing level. (Korkmaz, 2020). The USA needs NATO more than ever to carry the "containment strategy" it is trying to build against China to a satisfactory level.

In the closing declaration of the London Summit, Article 6 especially underlines the issues related to China: "We are aware that China's growing influence and international policies present opportunities and challenges that we should address together as an alliance." Article 7 of the declaration calls for "strengthening NATO's political dimension" by drawing attention to the developing strategic environment. (internet)

However, the joint exercises of China with Russia and the increasing relations between China and Russia in the North Pole make the USA think. The recent emergence of a trend towards an alliance between China and Russia drives the US into the danger of losing advantage in the great power competition. Towards the end of last year, the military exercises carried out by China, Russia, and Iran in the Gulf of Oman show that the alarm bells are ringing in the Middle East geopolitics for the USA.

The US killed General Qassem Soleimani, one of Iran's important military figures in the region, who put into practice the strategy that "Iran should launch its defense against a possible invasion movement in Iraq and Syria" in an airstrike in Iraq. This has shaken Iran's influence in the region. It is also possible to read this US move as a warning to the partnership of China, Russia, and Iran that has just begun to appear. It was noteworthy that US President Trump made a press release saying "We want NATO to be more involved in the Middle East process" and then introduced the concept of NATOME (NATOO-Middle East), which links NATO with the Middle East. (Korkmaz, 2020)

While China's influence in Europe, the North Pole, and Africa is expanding day by day, its "structural power" continues to increase with big projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative. In addition to the development of military capabilities, this increased structural power

causes China to stand out in the great power competition and gain an advantage in the race for hegemony.

While the USSR is more of a military threat, China, on the contrary, has become an element of economic power at the global level with large investments in Europe. For this reason, NATO has to evaluate the possibility of being affected economically after a move towards China and balance it. China still draws attention as an important financial resource for many countries in Europe. (Yörük, 2018)

NATO should reassess its strategic priorities to make an accurate threat definition on China. Currently, NATO still has a significant perception of security in the Russian context. For this reason, it does not neglect its deterrence mission in Central and Eastern Europe. The reason for NATO's uneasiness stems from China's commercial and technological power rather than its military power. However, the question of how it can make these two issues legitimate on the basis of "security" forces NATO to carry out a coordinated strategy.

Considering NATO's priorities, it may turn into a strategy for controlling China, which lands in Europe in economic and technological fields, rather than encircling China. NATO is seeking a position that is satisfactory and does not contradict the founding principles of the alliance within the new international system that has turned into a multipolar structure. The global western bloc is concerned about Beijing's use of its economic power to legitimize and spread its unique political model at a systemic level. (Korkmaz, 2020).

### **Conclusion**

As a result, the USA needs NATO more than ever to take the "containment strategy" it is trying to build against China to a satisfactory level. This also shows that the increasingly eroded Western historical bloc needs to present a strategic approach to new threats. This effort of the US and NATO can create a cold war-like environment, as well as a momentum that accelerates the breakdown of the international system. Especially after the Covid-19 pandemic, the conflict of the USA with China has gained great momentum. With the pandemic, more open criticism began to come to China from the European axis; therefore, there are signs of a tendency to act together with the USA from Europe. Particularly, the separation between the USA and the EU on global cooperation during the Trump era has expanded China's playing field at the global level both in Europe and in Asia-Pacific.

French President Emmanuel Macron introduced himself as the EU's ambassador to China during his visit to Beijing in November 2019. Macron's statement of "NATO's brain death has occurred" before NATO's 70th-anniversary summit and this visit, which took place at a time when China was subjected to undeclared isolation by the West due to the problems of Hong Kong and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. It was received very positively. Italy, on the other hand, has entered into serious economic engagement with China. As will be remembered, the EU had adopted a closer policy to China, separating from the US, especially on the issue of the nuclear deal with Iran, climate change, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). While the Trump administration adopted an anti-China policy, the EU's position close to China was weakening the Washington administration against Beijing. (Alperen, 2020)

In the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic, the expected solidarity between EU countries has not been seen. Italy and Spain can be given as examples in this regard.

In aid to both countries, Russia and China have undertaken this mission instead of the USA, NATO countries, or the EU. The question that should be asked clearly at this point may be: Does the current virus fight change the international balances in the following processes?

The European Union is mentioned as an organization with 28 members, selectively receiving and gradually "developing", planning to establish its own army. A structure that has

no boundaries in itself is mentioned. Most of them are NATO (internet) member countries. With the emergence of Covid-19, it has been seen that the EU is not at all ready for such a global epidemic. Italy, one of the richest countries of the EU, rightly sought assistance from the EU in combating Covid-19; however, EU countries and the USA ignored this request of Italy by being indifferent.

They were also indifferent to Spain's demands. However, Germany, Denmark, and France are known to be among the richest countries of the union. However, the USA holds about half of the world defense spending and has increased this figure to about 738 billion dollars for 2020 (Çam, 2020).

Despite this, the USA has not helped any country. That is, the USA and the EU, which are global actors, prioritize their economic interests above all else and fully implement them. In return, they did not allocate the money they spent in the defense system to their own health system to be able to use it for their own citizens against a global epidemic. They did not direct the discipline in the defense system to the health system.

At this point, it is very interesting that China, Russia, and Cuba, which they see as enemies, have begun to fill the gap that the USA, EU, and NATO could not reach, which is a historical development.

Russian military vehicles carrying health supplies have been seen in the streets, streets of Italy, which is the most powerful member of NATO. (Kepsutlu, 2020)

With the pandemic, security scenarios - including scenarios associated with hybrid threats and hybrid wars - are better understood where armed forces or NATO are not primary security actors. However, it is also necessary for these actors to react proportionately to these scenarios, try to minimize the damage, and adapt their thinking in line with the content.

One of the important concepts in this direction is resilience. Article 3 of NATO's founding treaty addresses the issue of resilience and requires each member state to respond "on the basis of their individual and collective capabilities" in the face of major shocking events such as natural disasters, paralysis of vital infrastructure, or a hybrid or armed attack. He expects them to resist. Resilience is understood as "the ability of a society to withstand such shocks and overcome them quickly, and it combines civil preparedness and military capacity (Gjørø, 2020).

Turkey, meanwhile, as a part of getting to guarantee the national preparedness status, it is realistic to what degree of resilience concept and/or it should be changed to what extent and who is important to evaluate the involvement of this process.

Finally, considering the covid-19 pandemic, the further deterioration of the ecological balance, and the chaotic processes in the world as a sustainable living space, it is clear that creating an economic and defense system in which essential common grounds are essential under all conditions will be beneficial for all segments. In this direction, the strategic powers of the world should show a cooperative approach and agreements should form the basis of partnerships. Otherwise, it is possible to talk about the rise of other threats, such as the increased possibility of the possible threat of nuclear power turning into a real situation. The already chaotic situation may be difficult to get out of. In addition, it should be taken into consideration by these strategic powers that this is an important factor in the protection of natural ecological balance.

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