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NATO between Restructuring and Objectives of the Past and Present

النتاوين إعادة البناء واهداف الماضي والحاضر

L'OTAN entre restructuration et Objectifs du Passé et du Présent

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Abstract:

NATO is one of the consequences of the conflict between the former Soviet Union and the United States within the framework of the bipolar system that emerged immediately after second World War, It was established in 1949 by the United States of America with the aim of stopping the communist tide of the countries of Eastern Europe, but 70 years after its establishment, has it maintained this traditional role ??.

This is why we seek in this article to discuss the objectives of NATO between the past and the present, we use the historical method to return to the Circumstances of the establishment of the coalition, and we examine the composition of the membership so far as well as its organizational structure and working procedures within it, where we will use the legal and analytical as well as the functional approach.

Keywords:

NATO, Soviet Union, United States of America, communist tide, Eastern Europe

Abstract:

L'OTAN est l'une des conséquences du conflit entre l'ancienne Union soviétique et les États-Unis dans le cadre du système bipolaire qui a émergé immédiatement après la deuxième Guerre mondiale. Elle a été créée en 1949 par les États-Unis d'Amérique dans le but d'arrêter le communisme marée des pays d'Europe de l'Est, mais 70 ans après sa création, a-t-elle conservé ce rôle traditionnel.??

C'est pourquoi nous cherchons dans cet article à discuter les objectifs de l'OTAN entre le passé et le présent, nous utilisons la méthode historique pour revenir aux circonstances de constitution de la coalition, et nous examinons jusqu'à présent la composition des membres dans l'OTAN et Sa structure Organisationnelle et les procédures de travail en son sein, où nous utiliserons l'approche juridique et analytique ainsi que l'approche fonctionnelle.

Mots Clés:

OTAN, Union soviétique, États-Unis d'Amérique, marée communiste, Europe de l'Est

ملخص

الناتو هو أحد عواقب الصراع بين الاتحاد السوفياتي السابق والولايات المتحدة في إطار النظام ثنائي القطب الذي نشأ بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية مباشرة ، وقد تم تأسيسه في عام 1949 من قبل الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بهدف وقف المد الشيوعي لدول أوروبا الشرقية ، ولكن بعد 70 سنة من تأسيسها ، هل حافظت على هذا الدور التقليدي ؟؟ لهذا السبب نسعى في هذه المقالة إلى مناقشة أهداف حلف شمال الأطلسي بين الماضي والحاضر ، ونستخدم الطريقة التاريخية للعودة إلى ظروف إنشاء التحالف ، ونفحص تكوين العضوية حتى الآن كهيكلها التنظيمي وإجراءات العمل داخلها ، حيث سنستخدم النهج القانوني والتحليلي وكذلك النهج الوظيفي. الكلمات الدالة:

الناتو ، الاتحاد السوفياتي ، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ، المد الشيوعي ، أوروبا الشرقية

Introduction:

After the end of World War II and the establishment of the United Nations as an organization aimed at maintaining international peace and security, the conflict and rivalry between major powers in international relations did not stop, with the bipolar system on the horizon dominated by the former Soviet Union in the east and the United States America in the west. After all of Eastern Europe came under Soviet control and fearing that all of Western Europe would also become communist, the United States was quick to implement a policy of containment of this communist tide on the European continent to protect its Western

countries as well as Turkey and Greece from the threat Soviet.

The USA response to the communist tide on the European continent was to adopt the Truman doctrine to contain the communist tide by providing economic and military assistance to Turkey and Greece, as well as the Marshall Plan for massive financial aid to Western European countries. The United States America also rushed to establish NATO in 1949 by signing a joint defense agreement between the United States America, Britain and liberal countries in Western Europe to counter the Soviet Communist threat.

Although 70 years have passed since the establishment of NATO, it still retains its

traditional role in achieving the common security policy of its members, but there are those who see the retreat of the policy and objectives of the Alliance. Therefore, we present the following research **problematic**:

“what were the circumstances of Nato's creation and is it maintaining the same goals?”

And To answer this problematic we discuss the following axis:

1- Definition of NATO and the circumstances of its establishment

2- Organic form and organizational structure of NATO

3- NATO objectives between past and present

1- Definition of NATO and the circumstances of its establishment:

NATO is a Western political and military organization established in Washington on 4th April 1949, led by the United States, France and Britain as veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council, as well as Canada, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Luxembourg, Iceland, Norway and Denmark and Greece¹.

In fact, the alliance was created to reduce the communist tide in Europe, But since this danger has passed, why did NATO continue to this day?.

In this point, some researchers consider the conditions by which states allied themselves are not clear; however better explanations

for alliances cohesion have emerged in recent decades. But to date according to the researcher Julie Garey this explanations for the persistence of military alliances in peacetime are incomplete. Still, the significance of peacetime alliances is not fully understood. This is proven by theories in international relations, Although some policymakers and schools have tried recently to explain reasons and conditions under which alliances persist. As for Nato, We are faced with an alliance still in place despite the disappearance of the reasons for its constitution, But did it remain with the same goals? This is what we know in the third axis of this article²

Very quickly, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the alliance between the victors was broken and the two military and ideological blocs were formed around the United States and the Soviet Union. Henceforth, international relations will be conceived in a bipolar logic, with other countries having to choose one side.

From 1947 to 1949, a series of spectacular political events precipitated things. These included direct and indirect threats to the sovereignty of Norway, Greece and Turkey, the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia in June 1948 and the blockade of Berlin in April of that year.

On 17 March 1948, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom signed the Brussels Treaty or Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence, establishing a system of automatic mutual assistance in the event of armed aggression in Europe. The Brussels Treaty Powers

invite Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway and Portugal to participate in this process.

Since 1952 The Alliance became a permanent regional organization based in Paris, After France developed its atomic power during the period of General de Gaulle, it withdrew from the alliance and gradually returned to it after the departure of de Gaulle, and The alliance later moved to Brussels, the capital of Belgium³.

The idea of creating NATO goes back to American author Clarence Streit in his book "Union Now " in which he called for a union of democratic nations of the North Atlantic that could counter any attack that could come from dictatorships in Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union. Several US associations and citizens later welcomed the idea⁴.

The idea of Clarence Streit also attracted the attention of Western politicians in the aftermath of the Second World War: in March 1946, Winston Churchill, in a speech in Fogleton, Missouri, called for an alliance of Western countries, particularly United States and Britain, to face the Soviet threat⁵.

It can be said that the period from 1947 to 1949 witnessed a deterioration in US-Russian relations, which precipitated the establishment of NATO later on for two reasons:

1- The communist coup plotted by the Soviet Union against the Czechoslovak Government on 22th February 1948, as part of the Iron Curtain program, precipitated the congress which was approve the marshall

plan so that the united states of America can give monetary helps to the states of western Europe to improve their economies.

On the other hand, The reaction of the West to the communist coup in Czechoslovakia was that, on 17 March 1948, five European countries signed the Brussels Treaty of Mutual Defense, with the governments of Britain, France and the three pan-European states of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg agreeing that each country would undertake to provide military and other assistance to any member of the treaty in case of aggression or military attack, The agreement also include that the signatory states have united with the aim of confronting any act of aggression or armed attack in Europe⁶.

This treaty came in response to the Soviet support for the internal Putsch in Czechoslovakia and the installation of a communist government in February 1948. Although The Brussels Treaty was apparently directed against any aggressive German policy towards the signatory states, but all indications were that it was also primarily a treaty against the Soviet Union.

There was no indication that Germany, then divided and demilitarized, could carry out any attack, Indeed, Germany was occupied by the countries that originally signed the treaty and under its control cannot in fact attack it⁷.

Overall, the Brussels treaty is the first step that led to the creation of the NATO treaty, That is why the treaty has the support of the United States of America, as expressed by President Truman in a speech

to Congress on the same day that the Treaty of Brussels signed on March 17, 1948.

2- After the signing of the previous Brussels Agreement, the Soviet Union reacted in 31th March 1948, where he besieged the Berlin and cut off his contact with western Germany, occupied by the United States, Britain and France . The three countries began with the Benelux countries, followed by Canada to consider the creation of a military defense alliance, later known as NATO⁸.

On 17 April 1948, the Foreign Ministers of the five signatories met in Brussels and decided to create a permanent military commission. Ten days later, in a speech to the Canadian parliament, the prime minister called for a unified defense arrangement involving all NATO countries, including the states party to the Brussels treaty, while British Prime Minister Ernest Bevin supported the idea.

It is noteworthy that the Western European countries in this period has been working to convince the United States of America to get out of its isolation, and join the common defense policies with Western European countries.

That's why US State Department representatives meet with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to seek a legislative recommendation from Congress to engage the United States in joint defense policies with Western European countries.

2- Organic form and organizational structure of NATO:

What can be clarified at the outset when talking about membership within NATO is that accession to the Alliance is open to all European countries wishing to do so provided that the Member States agree to join, which is stipulated in Article X of the Treaty of NATO as follows:

« The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite 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 to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession »⁹.

It is understood from the text of this article that accession to the alliance is open but under the following four conditions:

1- A country wishing to join the alliance should be a European country. Why? Because some believe that only European countries can confront Bolshevism¹⁰.

2- The accession of the European State to the Alliance requires the unanimous approval of the Member States to join. If one of the Allies does not accept the accession of the new State, this means that the latter is unable to join the Alliance.

3- Article X of the treaty also requires the country wishing to join NATO to adopt the principles of Western democracy, individual freedom and the rule of law.

NATO members accepted Greece and Turkey after adopting internal political reforms. For example, Turkey accepted its membership in 1952 after successfully embracing the democratic transition in 1950 by transferring power from the ruling People's Party since 1925 to that of the second Democratic Party without bloodshed¹¹.

4-The fourth and final condition for accepting a new country is that NATO should be able to promote the maintenance of peace in the North Atlantic, in the sense that it has a military capability and a strategic geographic location that allows it to play this role.

With regard to the membership of the Alliance, we note that there are currently 29 NATO members, 12 of which are founding members as follows: USA, UK, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal.

In organizational terms, NATO consists of two organs:

a- North Atlantic Council: It is established pursuant to Article IX of the Treaty establishing the Alliance in which we find: **“The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organised as to be able to meet promptly at any**

time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5”¹².

The Council is the authority responsible for formulating NATO policies. It is composed of the foreign ministers of the member states as official representatives, with the possibility of attending its sessions by the defense and finance ministers of the member states. It meets twice or three times a year in ordinary matters and also holds emergency sessions in extraordinary matters. In any case, it makes its decisions unanimously, which makes the decision-making process very complex within the Alliance¹³.

b- Military Commission: It is the main military organ of NATO. Its mission is to plan NATO military policies and advise the North Atlantic Council and its Defense Planning Committee¹⁴.

The military commission is made up of NATO chiefs of staff, with the exception of Iceland, which is represented by a civilian delegate because it has no armed forces. The Chiefs of Staff of the Member States shall rotate the chairmanship of the Committee for a period of two years each, taking into account the alphabetical order of the initials of the names of their countries, And The Committee shall meet twice a year with the possibility of meeting in cases of emergency outside it.

The Military Committee is responsible for translating political decision and guidance

into military direction, and for recommending measures considered necessary for the defence of the NATO area and the implementation of decisions regarding military operations¹⁵.

We point out that the Military Committee operates under its supervision three major military leaders, which we present as follows¹⁶:

- Command of the Allied Forces in the Atlantic:

The Atlantic Alliance Command is located in Norfolk, USA. It has no organized peacetime force majeure, with the exception since 1988 of a fourteen-building wing supplied to the role over by seven countries. The authority of this staff extends over the entire North Atlantic from the Arctic to the orbit of cancer, and from the territorial waters of America to the shores of Europe and Africa, including Portugal and the British Isles and all the water bodies in this region.

- Command of the Allied Forces in the English Channel:

The Allied Channel Command is located in Northwood (Great Britain). Under the authority of a British admiral, it controls the naval aviation activities in the Channel and , and the entrances to the North Sea from the end of land areas up to the line that connects Scotland in central Denmark.

-Command of the Allied Forces in Europe:

Supreme Allied Commander in Europe or SACEUR is the most important command ever and defends the region from the

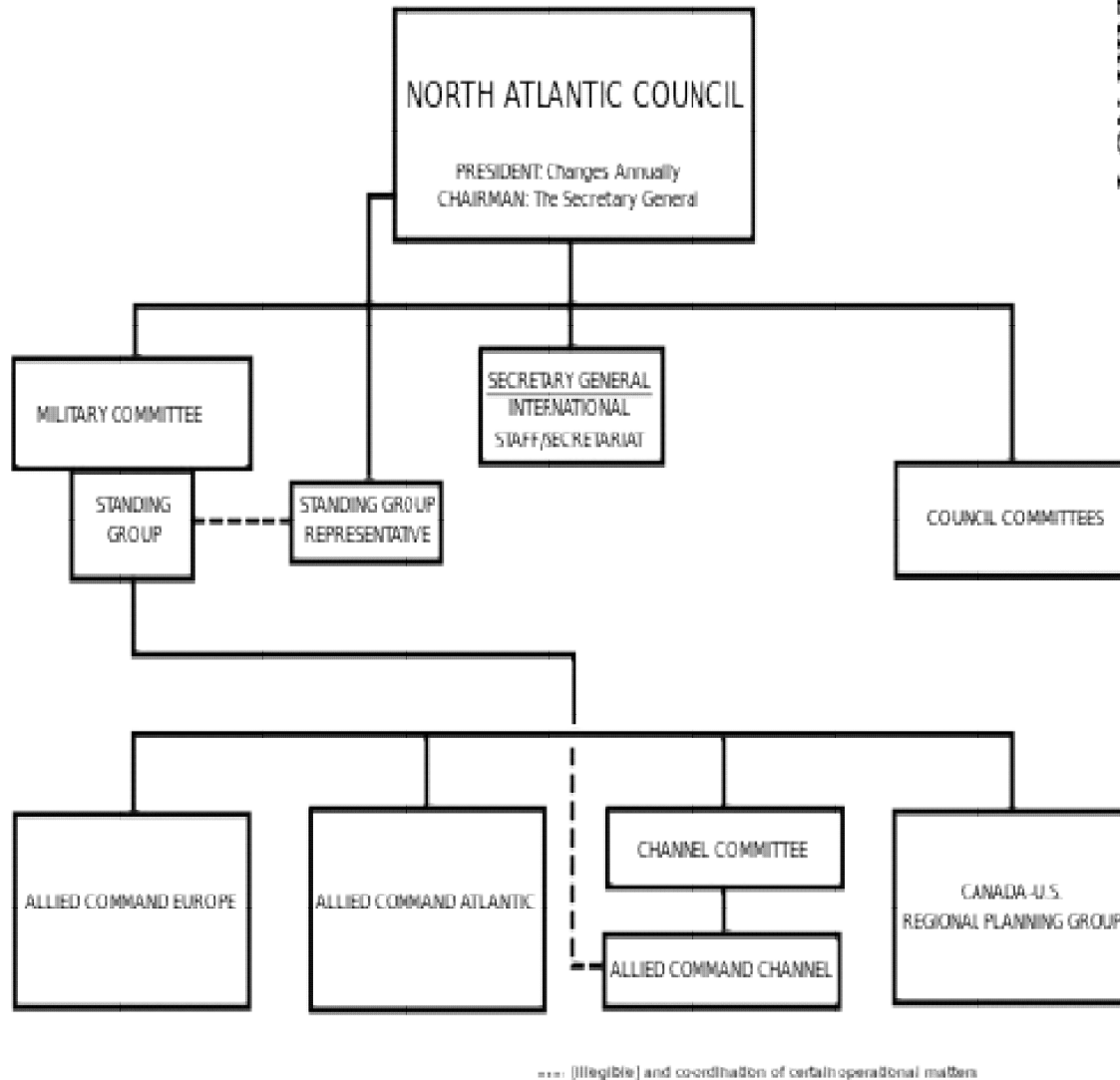
Kingdom of Norway to North Africa, and from the Atlantic coast to the Turkish-Iranian border, it is located in Casteau near Mons, Belgium. It is divided into a Supreme Allied Commander Central Europe (AFCENT) in Brunssum, the Netherlands, a Supreme Allied Commander Northern Europe (AFNORTH) in Kolsaas, Norway, and a Supreme Allied Commander Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) in Naples. The latter command has at its disposal naval air assets specialising in surveillance of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean and can deploy the US 6th Fleet, which reports directly to the headquarters of the naval forces in Europe (London).

The Supreme Allied Command Europe is also responsible for the American forces in Europe, whose headquarters are in Stuttgart (Federal Germany).¹⁷

For more detailsThe diagram below shows the organizational structure of NATO :

NATO CIVIL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION

CHART NO 1



Source:

Brick T. Miller: Transforming the NATO Military Command Structure: A New Framework for Managing the Alliance’s Future. The Atlantic Council of the United States , Washington, États-Unis, 2003, p 25.

3- NATO objectives between past and present:

The main objective of NATO's creation is to put an end to the spread of communism and to limit the Soviet Union's presence only on the territory of Eastern Europe, by supporting Western democracies in Europe with financial, political as well as military assistance through NATO's policy of joint security cooperation among member states.

In accordance with the principles of the United Nations point out that the Treaty establishing NATO pointed to peaceful ways to resolve security issues between the countries of the Alliance and other countries, especially if these issues do not threaten peace, security and justice at the international level and away from all that can threaten international relations, which is what We find it in the text of Article "I" of the Treaty establishing the Alliance.

However, States Parties to the Alliance combined or individually may attack the actor who assaults the NATO countries, even if it requires the use of armed force, Which is what came in Article 5 of the NATO Treaty as follows¹⁸:

« The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of

armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area ».

If we look at the text of Article V, we find two forms: the armed attack against NATO countries has not been defined in a precise manner, and the response of States may not be an immediate decision because Member States must refer the issue of aggression to the parliamentary bodies within them, which takes time.

The developments undertaken by NATO since the end of the cold war concern the adaptation of its military structures and capabilities, in order to transform a static device designed for a massive confrontation in Central Europe into a much more flexible and reactive military tool, suitable for "expeditionary" missions. NATO is in the position of catalyst and coordinator of an approach that the main military powers - the United States, the United Kingdom, France - had begun to undertake, but which it intends to generalize to all the allies. From this point of view, NATO remains an unparalleled framework for standardizing procedures and interoperability between its members.

This enterprise, dubbed "transformation" at the Prague summit in 2002, led NATO to reform its own command structure and to acquire a rapid reaction force. It also results in an increase in the capacity effort, with the development by the Alliance itself of major equipment programs.

The declaration adopted by the heads of state and government of the Alliance at the Prague summit on November 21, 2002, relaunched NATO's adaptation to the requirements of the new strategic context by setting the main objectives of the military transformation of the organization.

According to this statement, "to fulfill the full range of its missions, NATO must be able to align forces capable of deploying quickly wherever they are necessary, on a decision by the North Atlantic Council, to conduct sustained operations, long distance and long term ... and achieve their goals".

These objectives have been reiterated several times since, in particular in the overall political directive adopted at the Riga summit in November 2006. This lists the various capacity needs that the Alliance will have to be able to meet in the next ten to fifteen years and in particular «the ability to conduct and support multinational joint expeditionary operations away from national territory, with little or no support from the host country, for extended periods of time. To this end, it must “have fully deployable, sustainable and interoperable forces, as well as the means to deploy them”.

If we go back to the changing international circumstances in which NATO arose, especially the demise of the communist tide in Eastern Europe, NATO could still maintain its goals but with a change in the pattern and manner of action.

On the security front, the alliance has moved from hard-to-soft action, by providing financial assistance and spreading the values of Western democracy in Eastern Europe so that they can embrace the alliance's goals and facilitate the dismantling of the Soviet Union. Therefore, we find later several Eastern European countries join the NATO due to the aspirations of the needs of the people of Eastern European countries, and thus the NATO countries were able to

reflect what is stated in Article II of the Treaty establishing the Alliance¹⁹.

In terms of membership and in order to reduce the financial burden of NATO members, NATO accepted the accession of all European countries that meet the conditions to support the alliance militarily and financially, where the neutral European countries were accepted during the Cold War, such as Hungary and Poland, and NATO accepted the requests of several Eastern European countries to join the alliance For the Soviet Union such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia ... etc.

On this issue, for example, the United States of America has suffered significant financial losses because of its provision of military and financial assistance to the Alliance. For this we find the writer Clarence Street pointed out that the USA alone finances the NATO budget by 72%, which tires the American citizen who bears these military expenses, so US President Donald Trump called on European countries to provide more financial assistance to the North Atlantic intended to ease the pressure on the United States of America²⁰.

In defense, NATO became the first security organization in Europe, despite the presence of the European Union, the European Security Cooperation Organization and the United Nations. It managed to intervene and resolve the former Balkan crisis, beginning with the crisis in Bosnia and Albania, then the Iraq crisis in 2003 and the crisis of separation between Northern Sudan. And the southern, as well as the crisis of Libya.

On the continued survival of NATO, despite the disappearance of the reasons, such as what we have mentioned in the first axis, we find that the specialists in the study of institutions argued that NATO's mission had developed from an instrument intended to enhance security, to a vehicle for conducting transatlantic relations. This is what made specialists according to the traditional analysis reexamined the relationship between alliance participation and identity politics.

In this context, Helene Sjursen was considered in 2004. During his analysis of NATO members, that the shared history of its members will allow the alliance to persist, and Sjursen builds his analysis on the basis of what Thomas Risse-Kappen put forward in 1995, as he considers that the shared history of NATO members, and the similarity of their organizational culture is what makes the alliance continue. In particular, he means the relationship between the United States of America, Great Britain and France²¹.

But despite the rapprochement between these countries mainly, some believe that the events of September 11, 2011 reduced this relationship to only two members, the United States of America and its strategic ally Great Britain. The evidence is that after these events, the United States of America with its ally Britain declared a war on Iraq as an enemy and source of terrorism, without including the other members of NATO.

It is true that the war of NATO members against the regime of Muammar Al-Gaddafi in Libya in 2011 further strengthened

relations between the members, in particular the three members, namely France, the United States of America and Britain. Because these countries are the ones that started the first attacks on Libya in March 2011 in implementation of the United Nations recommendations to protect civilians in Libya²², These countries alone have conducted more than 26,000 air missions against Muammar Qaddafi's fighters²³, This means a high level coordination between these members.

However, in the opinion of many analysts, this relationship is subject to deterioration, especially after Britain announced the policy of Brexit and Pull out of the European Union, At a time when US President Donald Trump criticizes NATO members for not committing to covering NATO expenses, on the other hand, he announces the possibility of cooperating with Britain and promoting trade relations with it after its exit from the European Union, Which means, according to some analysts, that the United States of America, which was behind the establishment of NATO, may withdraw from it at any moment and move in its commercial cooperation with Britain to a strategic security alliance between them²⁴.

What reinforces this hypothesis is the division that is taking place between the European Union countries While facing the Corona virus, where the members were unable to help Italy, which declared that it is

not a member of the Union and dropped the Union flag, and in return raised the Chinese flag as a country that provided it with support to confront the virus.

Conclusion:

NATO's transformation since the end of the Cold War has been intimately linked to the evolution of security and defence concepts in a global geostrategic framework in transition. As the Euro-Atlantic area was no longer under direct threat from the Soviet Union, NATO embarked on a major undertaking to export stability and security throughout Europe and beyond into the post-Soviet space.

The geopolitical thaw following the dissolution of the USSR offered new opportunities for action - the resulting turbulence also required the strengthening of security mechanisms. By the international community. In the Bosnian conflict, European immobility and American reluctance - long reflected in ineffective UN action in the Security Council - eventually paved the way for NATO peace operations, which in the 1990s became a new instrument for European security.

There is no doubt that NATO, as a military, political and economic organization, has been able to strengthen its defense and military capabilities and put an end to the Communist tide in Eastern Europe. Which

has been resolved in the European continent and in its neighboring regions, not to mention the successful implementation of the text of Article II of the Treaty establishing NATO in relation to the promotion of economic, social and cultural cooperation among the member states of the Alliance.

NATO is a collective defense tool. It is designed for that. The fact of the change in threats changes this approach very little. However, we can see that since the development of the new strategic concept in 1999, the will has been for the Alliance to develop an intervention logic that goes beyond strict defense. Responding to the doctrine of new threats, the concept, however developed before September 11, gives itself the margins to act in a preventive manner on diffuse threats and on territories external to the Alliance.

specialists believe that this strategy is irrelevant and that the Alliance must stick to its mission of self-defense of its members.

This self-defense should in no case be self-proclaimed but well inscribed in the decisions of the United Nations. It is under the mandate of the United Nations and under that mandate alone that Alliance forces can act to protect their territory.

We can also conclude that the circumstances in which the Alliance have been created – represented by the Soviet Union threat to the European continent has disappeared but the emergence of new threats such as terrorism, illegal immigration, and arms trade push NATO countries to adapt to these threats and continue to protect their members. Through taking the necessary preventive measures.

NATO members, whether old or new, should share financial burdens and do more to support the alliance, as much the United States and accession to NATO should be open even for non-European countries if they are able to adopt the principles of Western democracy.

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