

Strategic Security Policy of USA and NATO in the Modern World

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Abstract

A special place in ensuring international security is occupied by the USA and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO. The existence of this largest international organization with the participation of the USA counts for more than seven decades, and during this time it has not lost its global importance. Many believed that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO lost its purpose of existence. Still, it is clear that NATO has not lost but has significantly expanded, and strengthened, and its "open door" policy gives democratic states a unique opportunity to be a member of NATO and protect human fundamental rights and values, to contribute to world security and to protect its territorial integrity. Also, with other member states, it should enjoy the opportunities and privileges defined by the joint policy of the American and European partner states of NATO.

Today, NATO is a military-political union consisting of 32 states, the purpose of which is to ensure peace in the North Atlantic space, freedom, and security of its member states, both by political and military means. The Alliance strictly protects and respects such values as the sovereignty of the member states, territorial integrity, democracy, individual freedom, human rights, and the rule of law. When talking about NATO and its political prospects, it is necessary to focus on NATO's "open door policy" defined in the Washington Basic Treaty. NATO's enlargement policy is aimed at inviting new states into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and ensuring higher security standards. NATO's "open door policy" is based on Article 10 of the alliance's founding document, the North Atlantic Treaty (1949). The treaty states that NATO membership is open to any "European state that can further the principles of this treaty and contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area."

To analyze the new world order, it is necessary to note that transatlantic relations have experienced significant tension, especially during the last decade. Despite the absence of direct military conflicts between great powers, actors in the international system seem inclined to use force or to declare the use of force in conflicts. However, at the same time, "soft power" is now more important than ever in international politics. In addition to international security, it is necessary to analyze NATO's regional approaches, whose logic of regional security cooperation is clear: with the right pooling of resources, like-minded countries can strengthen their security more effectively.

NATO will never be a global alliance, but its new strategy reflects the realization that the security of allies depends not only on eliminating the Russian threat to Europe but also, even more, on transboundary challenges within China's borders, such as emerging technologies and climate change. Within the core task of cooperative security, the NATO partnership offers an opportunity to broaden the Alliance's global approach to security while strengthening its military and political dimensions.

NATO's new strategic concept confirms once again that NATO's main goal is to provide collective defense based on a 360-degree approach. It defines three main tasks of the alliance: a) deterrence and defense. b) crisis prevention and management. c) cooperative security.

Keywords: NATO, USA, North-Atlantic Alliance, Strategy, Security

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Introduction

Recent developments have shown us the magnitude of the nature of the conflict and the need for a broader understanding of security. In the era of modern, digital technologies, the number of the state's defense forces and the variety of combat equipment are not of decisive importance. Also, current events have highlighted the variety of information warfare and its importance.

Due to the expansive nature of the states, the international regime is no longer based on rules and the force factor has come forward again, it is at such a time that international security, which should ensure international stability and world peace, is given the greatest importance. The USA and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) play a big role in ensuring all this. The existence of this largest international organization has been for more than seven decades, and during this time it has not lost its military and political importance. Many believed that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO lost its purpose of existence. But NATO has not lost. Still, it has significantly expanded, and strengthened, and its "open door" policy gives democratic states a unique opportunity to be a member of NATO and protect fundamental human rights and values, to contribute to world security, and to protect its territorial integrity. Also, together with other member states, it should enjoy the opportunities and privileges defined by the joint policy of NATO member states.

Today, NATO is a union consisting of 32 states, whose main and unchangeable goal is to maintain peace in the North Atlantic space, as well as to ensure the freedom and security of its member states, from a political and military point of view. The common policy of the Alliance respects and strictly protects such values as sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states, individual freedom, democracy, rule of law, and human rights.

That NATO is a unique alliance can be seen from the fact that it still exists today and its

responsibilities are growing along with global challenges. No other alliance can boast of such longevity. This should probably be explained by the fact that NATO is not an ordinary military alliance. With its organizational structure, NATO is an international organization. Representatives of member states (ambassadors) as well as representatives of partner countries are constantly present at the headquarters of NATO. NATO has a huge apparatus with its civilian and military structures and other departments that are engaged in a thousand, including non-military, activities. For example, NATO even finances scientific research.

Perhaps another secret of NATO's longevity is that it is an association of like-minded people and a club of democracies. Member countries are united not only by concern for security but also by common values. Perhaps, this should explain the fact that during the Cold War, other alliances like NATO were created, the purpose of which was defense against communist aggression, but none of them could last for long. NATO is a North Atlantic alliance whose member states retain full sovereignty and independence. The decision-making process in NATO is based on the principle of consensus, based on equal rights of member states. The decision-making body is the North Atlantic Council, chaired by the Secretary General of NATO. Consisting of 14 articles, the signatory states of the North Atlantic Treaty undertake to jointly protect freedom and security by political and military means.

One of the important ones in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the "Open Door Policy", which is based on Article 10 of the Treaty. "The parties may, by unanimous consent, invite to join this treaty any other European state that promotes the implementation of the principles of this treaty and contributes to the security of the North Atlantic area." The decision to invite a state to the alliance is made by the North Atlantic Council, based only on the consensus of the member states. NATO representatives, including in the strategic concept, often demonstrate that NATO does not pose a threat to any state, the goal of the alliance's

expansion is always to strengthen stability and cooperation, to protect common democratic values, and to build peace and a united and free space. To participate in the Euro-Atlantic security declaration, the door of the alliance is open to all states that meet the obligations necessary for membership. The number of NATO members since 1949 is 32. Finland became the 31st member state of NATO in 2023, and Sweden in 2024 (NATO, 2024).

Nowadays, rarely, but still, the argument is heard whether it was a mistake to expand NATO, but if we look at the facts, it is clear that it was a mistake to stop the expansion. NATO member countries are peaceful, economically developed, and democratic. Unfortunately, there is no peace in Ukraine, which is not a NATO member country. The part of Georgia that was rejected from the Accession Action Plan (MAP) in 2008 is occupied. In the West, sane people after the Russian aggression were probably once again convinced that the creation of NATO at the time, then its maintenance and expansion was not only a correct but also a necessary step.

Recent events have clearly shown that the world is much smaller than it was perceived even a decade ago. In the modern era, there is no longer the notion that conflict or unrest remains only within the borders of a particular state. It is necessary to analyze international security, which should ensure international stability and peace, due to the global nature of the conflicts, which may take place in one state, although its content exceeds the borders of a particular state.

The relevance of the research topic is due to the purpose, mission, and role of the only superpower in the world, the USA, and the most important international organization, NATO, in international relations, in the process of forming a new world order.

Since its formation, NATO has undergone several transformations, including various political and military directions, in response to existing challenges.

Such a security policy led to the alliance's long-term stability and political future. Although the main idea of the founding of the alliance was the provision of military security, in the member states, the modern alliance has acquired political perspectives that provide multidimensional security.

To ensure greater strategic security, it is important to act together and eliminate the global insecurity created by authoritarian states. Today, Russia plays a negative role in creating global insecurity and an unstable environment, which prompts other states to do the same, creating a domino effect of global insecurity. Along with the existing challenges, elements of strategic security have changed, the international environment has become vulnerable and the corrosion of the rules-based system has begun. It is with these challenges in mind that NATO has strengthened its security policy and military capabilities, the ultimate goal of which is to provide great strategic security in the long term.

Although NATO is a defensive alliance, its policy is largely concerned with protecting and strengthening allies to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of allies. NATO's deterrence and defensive security policy is based on a mix of nuclear, conventional, and missile defense capabilities, complemented by space and cyber capabilities. This policy is defensive, proportionate to the challenges, and fully complies with the alliance's international obligations.

NATO's strategic documents and summits have often emphasized the importance of international order to ensure stability. The guarantor of the rules-based order was to become the big and powerful states that ensured their enforcement according to the principles of international law. If in the early years, NATO's policy was only to take care of the security of its member states, today it has an international obligation to protect allied states and democracy. To achieve this, NATO implements various programs in the direction of defense and institutional development.

The alliance, whose main goal is to ensure the security of the member states, takes into account the mentioned challenges in its strategic concept and changes the approaches in the security policy, which becomes more flexible, broad, and force-oriented.

This is the first time since the Cold War that the need to increase armaments and strengthen special security measures is again on the agenda. Taking into account the increased threats, there is an increase in armaments and the development of a strategic defense policy, which should ensure greater strategic security and stability in the international arena.

Methodological foundations of the research: in the research process, a proven and established research methodology was used in the modern scientific field, which derives from the goals of the research object, its essence, and set tasks. The dissertation research will present a systematic analysis of NATO.

We have highlighted: historical, systematic, comparative, and scientific research methods (inductive, deductive, analysis) and others.

The use of the historical method of research is related to the dynamics of the formation and development of NATO. Using the mentioned method, the reasons for the transformation of NATO's military-political nature were determined and the key historical processes were highlighted.

The systematic method that we used, on the one hand, for the direct analysis of the system of international relations, and on the other hand, from the point of view of understanding the US and NATO as one of the elements in the world security system.

It should also be noted the analysis of information and analytical materials (media reports, interviews, press releases).

Theoretical Framework: The theoretical framework of the study covers the period from 1949 to 2023.

Various theoretical approaches and views are used in the work, including:

The principle of historicism - consideration of the event in the process of its development (creation, formation, escalation, de-escalation). It became necessary to use the mentioned theory to show the stages of NATO's development from the day of its formation to the present day. Issues of escalation and de-escalation have been discussed during the Cold War and after its end, as well as since the Russian invasion of Ukraine (2014-2022).

Deterrence Theory (George Kennan) - According to this theory, US and NATO policies are discussed in response to current challenges, especially in containing Soviet expansion during the Cold War. Also, to understand NATO's deterrence and defense policy in the modern period.

Balance of Power and Combined Forces Theory (Kenneth Waltz) - Great powers are always wary of their adversary's intentions, which creates a kind of vulnerability syndrome in the international arena, because of which all powers try to strengthen their defense capabilities. According to the theory of joint forces, the combination of capabilities is effective in responding to global challenges in the long term, as evidenced by NATO's defense military-political strategies.

Collective Security Theory (Kenneth Waltz): A political, regional, or global security arrangement in which each country in the system recognizes the security of other countries and establishes a commitment to collective response to conflicts, threats, and breaches of the peace.

New World Order Theory: whose political concept involves the idea of world governance in the sense of new joint initiatives to identify, understand, or solve global problems that are beyond the ability of individual countries to solve.

Balancing and Alliance Theory (Steven Walt): Balancing means maintaining the existing distribution of power, while the alliance is an alliance with a powerful state.

Research questions:

- What is the modern security policy of NATO with the participation of the USA?
- What modern challenges does the Alliance face?
- What could be the new world order and the role of the US and the Alliance in such changes?

NATO security policy, theoretical foundations

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, is a military-political alliance consisting of 2 North American and 30 European states, which was established on April 4, 1949. NATO's main task is to ensure the freedom and security of its member states - both politically and militarily. The Alliance strictly protects and respects such values as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states, individual freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law (Information Center on NATO and EU, 2019).

The history of the formation of NATO is related to post-World War II stability and avoidance of further confrontation. It is widely believed that the Americans needed to create NATO to keep troops in Europe (Arutyunian, 2020). However, history proves that the Americans were reluctant not only to send troops to Europe but also to interfere in European affairs. American armed forces did not appear in Europe until the end of World War I after Germany had sunk American civilian ships and forced the American government to enter the war. As soon as the First World War ended, the Americans left the continent. The United States was not going to get involved in World War II until they were first attacked by Japan, and then Germany declared war, America entered the war and contributed greatly to the defeat of both Germany and Japan, but American President Roosevelt was going to withdraw his troops shortly after the war ended. He believed that Britain and the Soviet Union would keep the peace in Europe (Arutyunian, 2020).

NATO's regional approaches and security theories

The establishment and development of democratic values in NATO has its historical bases, the beginning of which is the Washington Treaty of 1949. The basis for the formation of the military alliance "NATO", the main goal of which was collective defense and security (Goldstein, Pevehouse, 2014). The creation of NATO was described by its first Secretary General, Lord Ismail as follows: "The reason NATO was created was to keep the Russians out, the Americans in and the Germans down." However, the situation 73 years ago has changed radically and the Alliance has developed its capabilities. Today, the fundamental values of the Alliance are democracy and democratic values, which are a guarantee of peace and security. Alliance initiatives related to grand strategic security are imbued with the theory of strategic alliances, according to which the common interest is a priority. The main task of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is to ensure the freedom and security of the member states of the alliance, both politically and militarily (Khachapuridze, 2016).

In the alliance, the meetings of the North Atlantic Council are chaired by the Secretary-General, who has three main functions: 1. He is the chairman of the North Atlantic Council, the Nuclear Planning Committee, the Defense Planning Committee, the NATO-Russia Council, the NATO-Georgia and NATO-Ukraine Councils, and the Mediterranean Dialogue. 2. It represents and acts on behalf of the organization: and expresses NATO's position on certain issues: 3. It is the highest representative and chief executive of the alliance (Khachapuridze, 2016). The NATO Secretary-General has no voting rights, as one of the member states represented by the Secretary-General would have two votes. In NATO, all member states have one and equal voting rights. The Secretary General of NATO is appointed by the member states for a term of 4 years. To date, NATO has had a total of 12 Secretary Generals. Currently, the main post of the Alliance, the

position of Secretary General, is occupied by the former Prime Minister of Norway, Jens Stoltenberg (Khachapuridze, 2016).

When we talk about NATO and its political perspectives, it is necessary to focus on NATO's "open door policy" defined in the Washington Basic Treaty. NATO's expansion policy is aimed at inviting new states into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and ensuring higher security standards (Shubitidze, 2022). NATO's "open door policy" is based on Article 10 of the alliance's founding document, the North Atlantic Treaty (1949). The treaty states that NATO membership is open to any "European state that can further the principles of this treaty and contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area." It states that any decision on enlargement must be made by "unanimous agreement between member states" (Cancian, 2021).

NATO enlargement has helped to increase stability and prosperity in Europe. It aims to promote stability and cooperation and build a Europe united in peace, democracy, and shared values. "NATO does not represent a threat to any country, the purpose of the expansion of the alliance is to strengthen stability and cooperation, to build a united and free space, to protect peace and common democratic values." NATO's door is open to any state that is ready to fulfill the obligations necessary for membership and to participate in ensuring the security of the Euro-Atlantic space" (NATO Information Center). Since 1949, the number of NATO member countries has increased from 12 to 32 countries. On March 27, 2020, North Macedonia became the thirtieth member of NATO, and in 2023, Finland, and in 2024, Sweden (NATO, 2024).

NATO respects the right of all countries to choose their security measures and safeguards. Each sovereign country has the right to choose for itself whether to join any treaty or alliance. This fundamental principle is enshrined in international agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a New Europe. NATO membership is not mandatory for countries, Article 13 of the Washington Treaty

specifically allows allies to leave if they wish (RostiaSvili, 2022).

European countries wishing to join NATO are initially invited to enter into an intensive dialogue with the alliance about their aspirations and related reforms. Aspirants may be invited to participate in the Accession Action Plan (MAP), a program that helps nations prepare for possible future membership. Participation does not guarantee membership but is one of the main training mechanisms. (In relation to Georgia, the Annual Action Plan (ANP) is used) (Venetadze, 2022).

To join the alliance, nations must respect the values of the North Atlantic Treaty and meet certain political, economic, and military criteria set out in the alliance's 1995 study on enlargement. These criteria include a functioning democratic political system based on a market economy; fair treatment of minorities; the obligation to resolve conflicts peacefully; ability and willingness to contribute militarily to NATO operations; and commitment to democratic civil-military relations and institutions (NATO, 2023).

NATO, as an organization promoting security and stability, has an obligation to the security of its member states, as well as NATO's allied states. The US and NATO interest in Georgia is primarily due to Georgia's democratic and pro-Western vector, as well as the security of the Black Sea basin region and its states. The Black Sea has always been a site of conflict between regional powers and great empires and remains an important geopolitical point. It is located at the economic and cultural crossroads of Eurasia and is the connecting line between the Mediterranean, Caspian, and Aegean seas, as well as an important corridor to the Middle East. The Black Sea region includes gas and oil resources, transit routes, and key energy pipelines, among other riches (Chachkhiani, 2022).

Due to the geopolitical location of the Black Sea, the interests and political perspectives of the great powers intersect on it (Chachkhiani, 2022). Based on the above, taking into account the interests of Russia, democratization of the countries of the

region and cooperation with NATO member states is unacceptable. As well as the development of alternative gas and oil projects, that is why Russia creates and maintains control over conflicts in the region. From the Black Sea countries, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania are NATO member states, therefore Russia's aggressive policy and military advantages are considered by NATO as a threat to both the region and the Euro-Atlantic space (Gabelia, 2019).

Based on NATO's Black Sea regional interests, in 2019 the so-called Black Sea Package. Which unites and aims to strengthen support for Georgia and Ukraine, it provides support for Georgia in areas such as training of the Navy and Coast Guard, but this does not mean that NATO is going to constantly send minesweepers equipped with tactical missiles and artillery to the Black Sea region (Svimonishvili, 2020).

The mentioned package was approved at the event dedicated to NATO's 70th anniversary, and NATO also celebrated this anniversary with large-scale exercises in the Black Sea region. Within the framework of the mentioned exercises, NATO forces entered the territorial waters of Georgia and Ukraine and held joint exercises. The main goal of the Black Sea Package is to strengthen NATO in the Black Sea and stop Russian piracy. In Russia, they do not rule out that the Black Sea might become a zone of confrontation between NATO and Russia. In response, Moscow began to militarize the Black and Azov seas and also actively opposed NATO's entry into the region, and it occupied Abkhazia and annexed Crimea for its interests (Gabelia, 2019).

Also, based on recent developments, the ongoing processes in the Black Sea region have a significant impact on Euro-Atlantic security. The threat from Russia is obvious, related to Russia's mobilization of its forces on the border of Ukraine, as expressed by the deployment of approximately 100,000 troops, tanks, artillery, and missiles on the Ukrainian border (Gabelia, 2019). Based on the above, there is a reasonable suspicion that Russia is trying to create an

image of an invasion of the sovereign territory of Ukraine, which is very close to reality.

Russia is also monitoring the reaction of NATO and America, their actions, and possible factors. It has to be mentioned, that NATO is trying to react to all this to prevent possible occupation or provocation. But I must point out that for the time being, the statements of NATO and its active member states are not enough. Effective steps are needed to protect Ukraine and Georgia, to contain Russia and to take concrete decisions. It is clear that if effective separations are not adopted, as before, Ukraine will share the same fate as Georgia, again, this time on a larger scale (Gvineria, 2017).

One of the most important principles of NATO is collective defense, which is defined in Article 5 of the founding charter of the alliance, the Washington Treaty. According to the principle of collective defense, an attack on one or more states is considered an attack on all member states of the alliance. In case of an armed or other type of attack, the alliance will assist the threatened member state with united forces and will act accordingly through the use of military forces (Chachanidze, 2022).

When discussing NATO-Georgia relations, the question naturally arises as to what interests the North Atlantic Alliance may have about Georgia. It should be noted that at the current stage, relations with the countries of the Black Sea region are taking more specific directions: with a special relationship with Ukraine and Georgia. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the foreign policy priority of Georgia and Ukraine is the integration into the Western structures and the deepening of relations with the Western states. Integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a special direction. On the other hand, the Alliance has a direct interest in the development of democracy and the development of state institutions in both states (Dzandzava, 2022).

NATO has its interests in the South Caucasus as a whole, but at the same time, out of these three countries, only Georgia aspires to join NATO.

Accordingly, the expected expansion of NATO in Georgia is discussed. One of the reasons for the alliance's interest in the South Caucasus is the energy projects in the Caspian region (Sepertheladze, 2018). Projects related to the transportation of these resources in the western direction through Georgia (Sepertheladze, 2018). Thus, the energy resources in the Caspian region and the Caucasus and their stable supply to Europe are already the priority interests of NATO and EU states (Menebde, 2021).

NATO's Caucasus region, as a military-political bloc, has its military strategic interest, where military, political, and geographical factors must be taken into account (Sepertheladze, 2018).

NATO and the USA may have the following interests in Georgia:

- Geo-economic interests: one of the reasons for NATO's interest in the South Caucasus is the energy resources in the Caspian region and projects related to the transportation of these resources to the west, through the territory of Georgia (Sepertheladze, 2018).

- Geostrategic interests: NATO, as a military-political union, also has its military-strategic interests in the Caucasus region, where military, political, and geographical factors must be taken into account (Chachanidze, 2022).

- Another important aspect that increases the alliance's interest towards Georgia may be the factor of NATO member country Turkey. According to Turkey's recent authoritarian decisions, NATO members may consider an alternative strategic partner in the region (Chachanidze, 2022).

Georgia actively contributes to peacekeeping operations conducted under the auspices of NATO and cooperates with partner countries in various fields (Dzandzava, 2022).

NATO membership means stability for Georgia, which is the main basis for economic growth. Naturally, Georgia is forced to find a strategic ally and a strong patron to ensure the country's stable development and security. In international relations,

based on historical experience, small countries have to constantly fight to maintain their sovereignty, therefore Georgia aspires to become a member of the North Atlantic Alliance and thus become a part of the unified security system. Because NATO will have the strength and resources to ensure the security and stability of Georgia in the face of existing threats (Dzandzava, 2022).

Under the influence of global changes taking place in the world, a new world order is beginning to be formed, the formation of which is accompanied by conflicts and crises. In general, US President J. Bush announced the formation of a new world order during the 1990 Kuwait crisis when an international alliance against Iraq was created. At the same time, representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO gathered in Paris to officially sign the end of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War set the stage for the establishment of international standards and the liberal peace that followed the creation of Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* (Tarashvili, 2021).

However, since 2001, liberal approaches to the international order have changed, and political decisions dictated by realism have come to the fore again, followed by political discourse on the clash of civilizations (Mkheidze, 2021). According to Huntington, the future will be closely related to cultural identities.

In general, the origin of the New World Order theory is related to the conspiracy theory, the followers of which believe that a group of powerful elites is secretly implementing a dystopian international governance structure that will give them complete control over global processes. Conspiracy theorists claim that most global leaders are complicit in establishing this "New World Order", helping the NWO by producing global events (such as the coronavirus pandemic and mass shootings) and controlling their associated narratives to sow civil unrest (Mkheize, 2021).

"New World Order" is a term historically used to discuss the need for a change in the balance of

power in international relations. However, the meaning of the term and the political discussion are heavily tainted by conspiracy theories. The political concept refers to the idea of world governance in the sense of new joint initiatives to identify, understand, or solve global problems that are beyond the ability of individual countries to solve (Seperteladze, 2018).

According to George Bush, three main points are needed to create a new global world order:

1. Changing the offensive use of force and moving towards the rule of law.
2. The transformation of geopolitics into a collective security agreement.
3. Using international cooperation as the most incredible force (Seperteladze, 2018).

To establish this order, it is necessary to understand collective security: a political, regional, or global security arrangement in which each country of the system recognizes the security of other countries and establishes a commitment to a collective response to conflicts, threats, and breaches of the peace.

Initially, the New World Order was entirely focused on nuclear disarmament and security agreements. To understand world security, it is necessary to understand collective security as a system by which states try to prevent or stop wars. According to collective security agreements, an aggressor against any state is considered an aggressor against all other states that act together to repel this aggressor (Georgia and NATO, 2023).

Collective security agreements have always been seen as global in scope; This is a defining characteristic that distinguishes them from regional alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (MFA, Georgia, 2023). Both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security. However, neither the League of Nations nor the United Nations have been able to successfully apply this principle to prevent aggression due to the conflict of interests between

states, especially the great powers (MFA, Georgia, 2023).

The role of the US and the military alliance in ensuring the grand strategic security

The dynamics of the development of states reveal that at different stages of history, national interests acquire an expansive nature and grow in proportion to their strength. In international relations, there are states that direct their interests towards common collective goals, but at the same time, we meet states whose interest is related to territorial expansion and gaining and maintaining violent dominance. Since their formation, states have tried to establish relations with other states by joint efforts to achieve common goals (NATO-Georgia Cooperation, 2023).

Based on empirical studies, it is worth noting that any economic union was preceded by military cooperation. To ensure strategic security, all states need guarantees to prioritize the economy over the military industry. The history of today's economically powerful states is associated with military alliances that have determined the vector of their state's development (Gallis, 2008). Military cooperation in World Wars I and II changed world history and laid the foundation for a new world order where economic growth and international cooperation became a priority. It was after the mentioned era that the development of states was connected to the international order and the politics dictated by it (Lazarevic, 2009).

After the end of World War I, the states realized that it was necessary to establish a unified approach that would become a means of achieving universal agreement. This is confirmed by the 14-point plan of American President Woodrow Wilson, which provided for the prevention of expansion, economic development, and the formation of the League of Nations. However, the victorious states failed to control their ambitions and wanted to be in the most profitable position, which led to World War II (Lazarevic, 2009).

The start of World War II was preceded by the creation of military alliances, the division of victorious and defeated states into camps, the creation of the Soviet Union, and the "policy of concession" (Lazarevic, 2009). It was the concession policy and the expansive ambitions of the states that determined the fate of World War II. On September 3, 1945, Japan's capitulation ended World War II, but as Bertold Brecht said, "The war is over, fear peace, people!" (Institute of Freedom of Information, 2015). On October 24, 1945, the United Nations was established to ensure universal peace and cooperation between states. However, 5 permanent members with veto power were approved in the UN Security Council: the USA, Russian Federation, France, China, and the United Kingdom. Immediately after the end of the war, the world became bipolar and the Cold War began, which is still going on today, already in a hot phase.

In 1922, as a result of the Bolshevik coup, the Soviet Union was formed, which strengthened after World War II and began to expand, the fascist dictatorship was replaced by the communist one. After the war, the states undertook to reduce their military forces and weapons, but the USSR was not in a hurry to fulfill this commitment (Chitadze, 2008). It was the expansive nature of the Soviet Union that determined the need for a military alliance and a grand architecture of strategic security. American President H. Truman formulated a doctrine based on the analysis of J. Kenan's "Big Telegram" and served to restrain the territorial-ideological expansion of the Soviet Union. To strengthen the weakened Europe, the US Secretary of State J. Marshall developed a plan to revive Europe. However, this was not enough to restrain the Soviet Union and strengthen Europe, which is why the "Brussels Pact" was formed in March 1948, which united 5 European states: Belgium, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and France (Gallis, 2008). The purpose of the said union was the close cooperation of states and the strengthening of defense capabilities by creating a common system.

The countries of the Brussels Pact started negotiations to improve the unified defense system in Europe: Italy, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Portugal. Also, with the USA and Canada (Epstein, 2006).

After the Second World War, the Cold War began with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), so the United States and its security partners decided to integrate economic instruments into security calculations (NATO. Lisbon Summit Declaration, 2010). In theory, doing so would make states more resilient to communism and Soviet expansionism (NATO, 2010). Therefore, the reconstruction of Europe was accompanied by the Marshall Plan and NATO. NATO itself was created taking into account the compatibility of the economic and social policies of its member states. Security relations with the United States, including the United States' enhanced nuclear deterrence and nuclear umbrella, helped allies in Europe and Asia withstand growing Soviet influence (NATO, 2023).

On April 4, 1949, negotiations on a unified defense system were concluded with the Washington Treaty, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed. The 12 states united under the mentioned treaty soon reached an unprecedented high level of stability, both from the military and political point of view. The Washington Agreement consists of 14 articles, but the cornerstone of the agreement is Article 5, according to which: "The parties agree that an attack on one or more member states in the territories of Europe and North America will be considered an attack against all (Dzneladze, 2019). In this case, taking into account Article 51 of the UN Charter, based on the right of collective or individual self-defense, the parties will assist the threatened state or states and take all necessary actions, including the use of armed force, to restore security and maintain peace in the transatlantic region" (Dzneladze, 2019).

Winston Churchill once said, "The only thing worse than fighting with allies is fighting without them" (Strategic and Security Studies Group, 2013). This refers to the complex network of security relations that

NATO maintains with states around the world (Strategic and Security Studies Group, 2013). Alliances and partnerships between sovereign states are often very difficult to manage, driven by: domestic politics, national interests, burden sharing, and differing strategic considerations. Despite the enormous amount of time and attention that NATO leaders devote to maintaining the alliance, allies, and partners often make policy choices that conflict with NATO's foreign and national security priorities. Therefore, to ensure great strategic security, the leading states of the alliance have to take certain steps, which often cause dissatisfaction both inside and outside the alliance (Dalby, 2020).

NATO has developed its security dimensions in modern times and has become an unprecedented complex of institutions and cooperation that underpins a higher degree of global stability among sovereign states than history predicted (Warsaw Summit Communique, 2016). Economically, it can set the rules of international trade and finance and, on balance, remain well-positioned to reap the benefits of that system. Overall, the system of alliances and security partnerships currently led by the United States has given enormous strategic advantages to both the United States and the states that join it (NATO's Wales Summit, 2014). Within the framework of democracy and institutional development, NATO implements such programs in allied states as the Partnership for Peace; defense development program; professional development program; initiative to increase transparency and integrity; and Science for Peace and Security (McInnis, 2020).

To understand the modern alliance, we must first understand how we got here. Thucydides said that alliances have been an enduring feature of war and conflict for thousands of years. Multilateral military agreements allow states (and their historical counterparts) to pool their capabilities and cooperate in responding to common security challenges (McInnis, 2020). Previously, alliances were formed by pooling

economic assets to achieve a political goal. As the United States became the dominant global power in the wake of these wars, it shaped a global system more consistent with its anti-imperial values. It has done so in two main directions of its security and strategic relations: through formal strategic-political institutions such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and bilateral cooperation with new sovereign states (Katz, 2018).

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet threat around which the U.S. security system was organized created an uproar among scholars and policymakers: How could the alliance and the security architecture be maintained without the threat it was designed to counter? However, these concerns proved short-lived as allies and partners began to organize security relations and priorities around the collective management of regional crises and threats, particularly in the Middle East, Africa, and Southeastern Europe (Goldstein, 2014).

The decision of the 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit that Georgia and Ukraine would become NATO members after meeting all requirements laid the foundation for Russian aggression in the face of NATO's eastward expansion (Chachkhiani, 2022). In 2008, Russia declared war on Georgia, and in 2014 and 2022 on Ukraine (Kratsashvili, 2022). Russia has developed a formula for blocking the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of its neighbors: invasion and partial occupation, with the recognition of the so-called People's Republics. Moscow applied this formula to Georgia in 2008, recognizing the so-called Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia; In Ukraine, with the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the so-called recognition of the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics. Moldova shares a similar situation in Transnistria. Russia's malign actions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova—and the transatlantic community's inability to back down—have given Moscow a de facto veto over any future NATO membership (Kratsashvili, 2022). Georgia simply could not join NATO because the Kremlin wanted Georgia

out of the alliance more than the alliance wanted Georgia in, allowing Russia to continue to veto NATO expansion (Gvenetadze, 2022).

Some NATO members are concerned that Georgia's entry into the alliance would automatically lead to war with Russia, as Moscow has occupied regions of Georgia, Samachablo, and Abkhazia. This comes from Article 5 of the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty, which offers security guarantees to its members. It is believed that NATO will be obliged to help its new members liberate the territory of Georgia, but this is part of Russian propaganda (Tarashvili, 2021). Georgia's accession to NATO will take place through the internationally recognized territory, including the regions occupied by Russia, Abkhazia, and Samachab. However, based on the reservation, NATO's Article 5 security guarantees will not be extended to the territories of Abkhazia and Samachblo temporarily occupied by Russia – for now, until the integrity of Georgia is restored (Coffey, 2021).

These guarantees are provided by NATO Article 6 and its amendments on the application of Article 5: For Article 5 of the Treaty, an armed attack against a Party or Parties shall be considered as such if it is committed:

- In the territory of the Contracting Party in North America or Europe, the French Algerian departments and the territories or islands under the jurisdiction of the Contracting Parties which are north of the "Tropic of Cancer" in the North Atlantic.

- to the armed forces, aviation, and ships of the party or parties to the treaty, stationed in the said territories or at any other point where, on the date of entry into force of the treaty, the occupying forces of either party were present, or in the North Atlantic region north of the Tropic of Cancer, or the territories of the Mediterranean Sea.

At the same time, Georgia has declared its commitment that the return of Abkhazia and Samachablo will take place only in a peaceful way.

There are several reasons why this strategy can be successful (Coffey, 2021):

- This plan is consistent with Georgia's promise of non-use of force to restore control over the occupied regions;

- There is a precedent and reservation right in international law to amend or modify Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty; (The article was modified before the accession of Greece and Turkey; also due to the independence of Algeria from the French Algerian departments) (MFA, Georgia, 2023).

- Several NATO member states do not have their entire territory under the protection of Article 5; (For example: the US territories with Guam or the state of Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean, the United Kingdom with the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic, and France with Reunion Island in the Indian Ocean).

- The precedent is allowed, the country had a permanent border dispute during its accession to NATO. (For example, only the western part of Germany became a NATO member in 1955; Estonia, which joined the alliance in 2004, still has no legally agreed border with Russia. Croatia, which joined the alliance in 2009, has a border dispute with Serbia along the Danube River) (NACC, 2023).

The ongoing Russia-Ukraine war shows that Russia has defied the civilized world and is trying to rebuild the Soviet Union. Russia's ambitious foreign policy intentions confirm its unstable policy, which undermines the sovereignty of countries and creates an unstable environment in world security. Russia openly demanded guarantees of NATO's non-expansion to the east, and in parallel with the refusal, it began to provide guarantees militarily (NACC, 2023). In this situation, Georgia is in a difficult situation, since there is a high probability that Russian aggression will be repeated in Georgia, within the framework of Moscow's eastern guarantees (Gallis, 2008).

NATO's high-security standards ensure stability among its members, which derives from the grand strategic security theory. Accordingly, it is necessary to quickly join Ukraine and Georgia in NATO

to stop the growing expansionism of Russia on the surrounding states and not only. Russia is trying to degrade the West and create an image of the enemy in its image through the information war, thereby ideologically educating its large population. Russia's growing expansionism is creating a domino effect of global insecurity and contributing to the mass instability that must be contained to ensure strategic security (Colglazier, 2021).

Strategic concepts of NATO

NATO's strategic concept is the main document of the alliance. It reaffirms NATO's values and purpose and provides a collective assessment of the security environment. It will also guide NATO's strategic adaptation and guide its future political and military development. The strategic concept is regularly reviewed and updated. Since the end of the Cold War, it has been updated approximately every 10 years to take into account changes in the global security environment and ensure that the alliance is ready for the future (NATO Madrid Summit, 2022).

- Strategic concepts prepare the alliance for security challenges and guide its future political and military development (Mikeladze, 2019).

- They reiterate the enduring purpose and nature of NATO and its fundamental security objectives (Chagalidze, 2019).

- They are updated to take into account changes in the global security environment and to ensure that the Alliance is properly prepared to fulfill its main tasks, making transformation in the broadest sense of the term a permanent feature of the organization (Magradze, 2017).

- The current strategic concept "Active engagement, modern defense" (2010) outlines three main tasks - collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security (Magradze, 2017).

- At the Brussels summit in June 2021, NATO leaders agreed to develop a new strategic concept for the Madrid summit in June 2022.

- Over time, the Alliance and the world have evolved in ways that NATO's founders could not have imagined, and these changes have been reflected in every strategic document that NATO has ever produced.

Over time and since 1949, the decision-making process regarding the strategic concept has evolved, but a constant feature is that they are always made by consensus by the Allies. The North Atlantic Council (NAC) is the body responsible for adopting the Alliance's strategic documents. The latest strategic concepts were adopted at NAC meetings at the level of Heads of State and Government during the NATO Summit. Of the seven strategic concepts published by NATO since 1949, all have been approved by the NAC except MC 14/3 (NATO, 2023).

Issued in 1968, MC 14/3 was adopted by the then Defense Planning Committee (DPC), which had the same powers as the NAC in its area of responsibility. After France withdrew from the integrated military structure in 1966, it was decided that responsibility for all defense matters in which France did not participate would be transferred to the DPC, of which France was not a member (NATO, 2023). However, following France's decision to fully participate in NATO's military structures (April 2009), the DPC was disbanded during a major review of NATO committees in June 2010, which aimed to introduce greater flexibility and efficiency in working procedures (NATO, 2023).

There are several stages of consultation, engagement, drafting, and negotiation before arriving at the NAC. Interestingly, during the Cold War, strategic concepts were mainly drawn up by the military to assert the political power of the alliance. They were secret documents under Military Reference (MC). Since the end of the Cold War, political authorities have led and relied on the advice of the military. This change stems from the fact that, since 1999, NATO has adopted a broader definition of security, where dialogue and cooperation are an integral part of NATO's strategic

thinking. Additionally, the 1991, 1999, and 2010 strategic concepts were unclassified documents and released to the public (Carlson, 2012).

At the 2021 Brussels Summit, NATO Heads of State and Government adopted the NATO 2030 Agenda, a set of concrete measures to ensure NATO's adaptation to the new realities of increased global competition (Ozkan, 2010). One of the important decisions made by the Allied leaders within the framework of NATO 2030 was the invitation of NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg to lead the process of developing the strategic concept for 2022 (Ozkan, 2010). Since then, the Secretary-General has launched internal and external consultations and engagement activities. They involve representatives of allies, officials from capitals, as well as expert societies, partner countries, and other international organizations, as well as youth, civil society, and the private sector. After this phase of consultation and engagement, the Allies will negotiate a text based on the Secretary-General's proposals for leaders to endorse a new strategic concept at the 2022 Madrid Summit (Colglazier, 2021).

The Alliance and its partners promote international peace and security through dialogue and practical cooperation. As Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg noted, "Today's threats are not limited by geography or borders. What happens further afield is important for the Euro-Atlantic region and working with partners and taking a more global approach is an absolute necessity" (Colglazier, 2021). Over many decades, NATO has built a large network of valuable partnerships with non-Euro-Atlantic countries, from the Middle East and North Africa, the Mediterranean, and around the world. These partners have made significant contributions to NATO's operations, exercises, capability development processes, and new areas of research and experimentation. Allies are committed to maintaining an active dialogue with their partners (Dalby, 2020).

The current Russian-Ukrainian war shows that the security environment has changed

significantly. With Russia's annexation of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula, its military intervention in Ukraine, and its use of energy, cyber, and other tools as political tools, Vladimir Putin has sent clear messages that power politics and the struggle for spheres of influence remain in active phase; Borders in Europe can change; Russia is going to have its say in the current geopolitical redistribution (Dalby, 2020).

In Ukraine, alongside the Russian war, NATO is helping Ukraine coordinate and support allies in providing humanitarian and non-lethal assistance. Individual NATO member states send arms, ammunition, and a wide range of light and heavy military equipment, including anti-tank and anti-aircraft systems, howitzers, and drones. To date, NATO allies have provided Ukraine with billions of dollars worth of military equipment. All this changes the situation on the battlefield every day and helps Ukraine exercise its right to self-defense, which is enshrined in the UN Charter.

In addition, allies are sending medical supplies and other vital equipment to Ukraine, including in areas such as cyber security and protection against chemical, radiological, biological, and nuclear threats. NATO also provides millions of dollars in financial aid to Ukraine. Most allies also provide humanitarian aid to civilians and host millions of Ukrainian refugees. The US and other NATO allies have agreed to step up and continue their support as long as necessary to ensure Ukraine wins (NATO, 2023).

Conclusion

The conclusion contains the main results of the research: answers to the research questions and specific recommendations about the role of NATO in the process of formation of the new world order. As a result, it can be said that NATO with US participation has been a critical player in the international system since its inception in 1949 and has adapted to changing geopolitical realities over the years. The post-

Cold War era presented new challenges and opportunities for NATO, including the need to expand its mission beyond collective defense to include crisis management, peacekeeping, and cooperative security. Moreover, NATO had to respond to new threats such as terrorism, instability in the Balkans and the Middle East, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is emphasized that NATO has implemented several transformations, such as the expansion of the alliance, the creation of new partnerships, and the development of new capabilities. These changes have allowed NATO to adapt to the evolving security environment and maintain its relevance in the new world order.

The dynamics of the development of states reveal that at different stages of history, national interests acquire an expansive nature and grow in proportion to their strength. In international relations, there are states that direct their interests towards common collective goals, but at the same time, we meet states whose interest is related to territorial expansion and gaining and maintaining violent dominance.

The ongoing Russia-Ukraine war shows that Russia has defied the civilized world and is trying to rebuild the Soviet Union. Russia's ambitious foreign policy intentions confirm its unstable policy, which undermines the sovereignty of countries and creates an unstable environment in world security. Russia openly demanded guarantees of NATO's non-expansion to the east, and simultaneously with the refusal, it began to provide guarantees through military means. In the mentioned situation, Georgia is in a difficult situation, since there is a high probability that Russian aggression will occur again in Georgia, within the framework of Moscow's eastern guarantees.

As for Ukraine, the country has long played an important but sometimes overlooked role in the global security order. Today, the country is at the forefront of a renewed great power rivalry that many analysts say will remain dominant in international relations for decades to come. It is the Russia-Ukraine

war that writes the rules and conditions of the new world order, the spheres of influence, and the interests of the great powers. Despite not being a member, Ukraine strengthened its ties with NATO in the years leading up to the 2022 invasion. Ukraine has held annual military exercises with the alliance and in 2020 became one of only six enhanced capability partners, a special status for the bloc's closest non-member allies. Moreover, Kyiv has confirmed its goal to eventually gain full NATO membership.

Also, on the policy of NATO expansion, it is important to note the words of the United States Secretary of Defense, Lloyd Austin, that "Putin's war is not the result of NATO expansion, Putin's war is the cause of NATO expansion" (IGI Global, 2023).

In addition, the research shows that in the background of the Russia-Ukraine war, NATO is facing new, more difficult challenges, and NATO member countries are closely monitoring the ongoing events around Ukraine. The study noted the importance of upholding NATO's core values of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, which are essential to the new world order that is emerging.

Overall, we can conclude that NATO's role in the new world order is critical and the Alliance must remain flexible, adaptable, and relevant to ensure that it continues to contribute to global peace and security.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the West's reaction gave a new impetus to NATO's expansion policy, in the process of forming a new world order, the changed world clearly showed everyone that the threat of a third world war exists and is already threatening the future of humanity differently. These threats are multifaceted and known to scientists, political scientists, diplomats, and international relations. By specialists. We tried to analyze some aspects of NATO's expansion policy, which I think are extremely relevant in the light of the inflexible integration processes of the modern world order, and give serious advice to the modern architects of world politics. When it comes to the process of forming a new world order, it is necessary for all countries, including Georgia, to

have a clearly defined and scientifically justified approach to the prospects and challenges of NATO integration to avoid new threats. The foreign policy aspects of our country do not exclude cooperation with Russia, but in the future, it should happen with non-imperial Russia. After Russia becomes a country establishing liberal democratic values. What is prevented by its socio-cultural and ethnic-psychological reality?

As for the formation of a new world order, in international relations the mentioned word has different meanings, depending on the context (in Latin PAX) it means peace, as well as the order that derives from the influence of a certain dominant country or countries - in particular, we are talking about global or regional rules established by great powers by. Of these two meanings, as noted above, "order" actually refers to the type of situation in which dominant states offer others the stability necessary to observe rules of conduct. Moreover, such a state uses all the possibilities that it enjoys of written or unwritten legitimacy to ensure compliance with these rules. The formation of such a new order is especially important for ensuring the national security of small or medium-sized states.

In the paper, we propose several scenarios for the development of events.

Based on the first scenario, we are talking about the case when Ukraine wins, which is followed by de-occupation and the strengthening of Ukraine. What will contribute to NATO's eastward expansion policy will also allow Georgia to join the Euro-Atlantic

structures, although this is hindered by the not-very-friendly relations between Ukraine and Georgia. It must be said directly that Ukraine's victory will lead to regime change in Russia, which we believe will have a positive impact on the national interests of Georgia.

The second scenario - freezing of the conflict, which increases the danger for Georgia. Russia will try to restore face with small and quick victories. In Georgia, he has the leverage for this (first of all, we are talking about the occupied regions).

The third scenario - Russia achieves its goal (wins) All this will lead to the end of the Euro-Atlantic perspective for a long time. Moreover, recognition of the occupied regions as Russian territory. Georgia may be in the CIS or the Eurasian Union.

The fourth scenario - confrontation between NATO and Russia. The de-occupation of Ukraine may lead to the use of tactical nuclear weapons by Russia, in which NATO may become involved.

The fifth scenario - the prolongation of the conflict - in this case, Georgia will find itself in a difficult situation, first of all, Russia will try to increase its influence in Georgia, which may lead to illegal trade in the background of sanctions.

Finally, it should be noted that the Russian-Ukrainian war changed the existing world order and created a new one, the prospects of which depend on the war process and its end. One thing can be clarified the world is still fighting for the distribution of spheres of influence and territories, and the international system is beyond the rule-based order.

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