The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics
Ch. 10. Collective Identity in a Democratic Community
: The Case of NATO
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- **Main argument**
: "A security community based on collectively shared value (p.393)" is a more appropriate approach to explain the origin of NATO, the interaction among allied states and the future of NATO after the End of the Cold War than a traditional(realist) alliance approach.

1) The Puzzle
There are several questions on the origin of NATO, the consistent cooperation among allied states of NATO despite severe interallied conflicts, and the future of NATO after the Cold War. The author claims that " **a social constructivist interpretation of republican liberalism, emphasizing collective identities and norms of appropriate behavior"**(p.358) can give better answers on those questions.

2) Theorizing About Alliances

(1) Realism and NATO: the Indeterminacy of the Conventional Wisdom
* Waltzian arguments
: "While great powers may not need allies to ensure their survival, client states might become an asset in the competition between the two hegemonic rivals." (p.360)
 * Walt
: The main reason why states make alliances is **balance of thereat rather than balance of power**
Let's apply this approach to the case of the Soviet Union
   : The types of threat are geographical proximity to Europe, Moscow's offensive military doctrine, and the aggressive communist ideology.
   ⇨ The limitation of this explanation is that it cannot give sufficient explanation why the U.S. emphasized the role of Western Europe and decided to join NATO as an ally.

Based on Waltz's claim, the contribution of small allied states to alliances is important although it is not essential for maintaining alliances. However, in reality, the European allies have continuously exerted crucial influence on the U.S. foreign policy even though the issues were about the U.S. national interests.

On the future of NATO after the end of the Cold War, Waltz states, "NATO is a disappearing thing. It is a question of how long it is going to remain as a significant institution even though its name may linger on."(p.363) However, it still exits and remains the dominant security communities after the end of Cold War.

(2) An Alternative Explanation
As an alternative approach toward a traditional (realist) alliance theory, the author presents that domestic politics and structures, which emphasize the role of norms and security community, should be adapted to explain the questions on NATO.
: Two domestic level variables (a) institutional constraints (b) the norms governing democratic decision-making processes

3) A Liberal Interpretation of the Transatlantic Security Community
(1) The origin of NATO
: An institutionalization of the security community to respond to a specific threat (p.372)
  - The main reason why the US allied with Europe is based on the Soviet behavior which means the efforts to expand its domestic order (communism) toward Eastern Europe.
(2) The interaction patterns among NATO allied states
: The results of influences by transnational and trasngovernmental coalitional building process.
(Two Case study) the 1956 Suez Crisis/ the 1962 Cuban missile crisis
(a) The 1956 Suez Crisis: the Violation of Community Norms
=>Although two allies, the UK and France violated "fundamental collective understandings, trust and confidence, that constituted NATO, the US and the allied were usually resolved through cooperation and compromise.
(b) The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Collective Identity and Norms.
A Puzzle in this case
: "Why does the US care about allies when national survival is endangered?" (p.386)
"The European countries not only were regularly informed about the US deliberations but had ample opportunities to influence American thinking through a variety of bilateral and multilateral channels."(p.387) There were also close networks among US ambassadors to NATO allies to discuss this issue.
  - Two alliance issues:
  (a) Berlin (a symbol of the role of the North Atlantic Alliance) and (b) Turkey (a political symbol of alliance cohesion of the US commitment to NATO and to Turkey)
  ⇨ These networks among allies and the constraints in decision-making process shaped the US's interests and preferences during the Cuban missile crisis.
(3) The End of the Cold War and the Future of NATO
Liberal theory only assumes that the security partnership among liberal democracies will persist in on institutionalized form or another. NATO can exist as the dominant security community or it can be transformed some other types of security community.

4) Conclusion: How Unique Is NATO
The shared norms and rules have created several cooperative security communities like NATO. However, based on two comparing criteria, the degree of institutionalization of the community and the extent to which collective identities have developed among its members, "NATO is not unique but exemplifies interaction patterns and collective identities that are quite common for security communities among democracies."(p.399)