

	Neorealism (general)	Neoliberalism/ Institutionalism	Global Governance	Normative Theory/ Internationalism	Critical Theory (Neo-Marxian brand)
<i>Theoretical background; decisive factors for peace and stability</i>	Hobbes; alignments and distribution of power	Grotius; extension and contents of international institutions	Kant; democratic national government; resulting positive perceptions	Locke; centralization and effectiveness of international norms	Marx; hegemonic ability to define the world- political situation
<i>Causes of the Cold War</i>	trivial effect of super power competition; misperceptions	insufficient institutionalization of the anti-Hitler coalition after 1945	question of the future world order after 1945	insufficient “coercive” effect of international norms; no strong “world interests”	possibility of great power politics; low degree of politicization of the public
<i>Structure of the bipolar order</i>	quest for power; security dilemma	multiplicity of uncanalized conflicts	competing value-laden concepts of order	dispersion of international norms	imposed construction by the superpowers
<i>Causes of the long peace (during the Cold War)</i>	bipolar distribution of power; deterrence	increasing regulation of conflict through common mechanisms	ideological moderation of the opponents	(no typical statement)	(no typical statement)
<i>Current era</i>	transition to multipolarity	“enlightened” national interests; long-term oriented cooperation	core conflict over different conception of (global) order resolved	trend towards a world public; increasing norm-compliance	erosion of traditional power-“texts”; lack of new legitimizing tales
<i>Current coin phrase</i>	end of the Cold War/ bipolarity	conflict transformation	end of the East-West Conflict	principled world polity; global constitutionalism	deconstruction of overdrawn contrasts
<i>Expectations for the future</i>	neo-nationalism; all- European instability	historic chance of conflict transformation	peaceful world of liberal-democracies	effective norm-building under an UN aegis	global social change
<i>Proposed policy guidelines and the future of NATO</i>	new balance of power politics; multilateral interventionism; NATO's future develop- ment as a contingent strategic response	transfer of stability to the East; issue-linkages; skeptical about enlarge- ment (lacking political rule-knowledge in Eastern Europe)	world-political project of democracy; expand Western institutions; NATO as a sphere of positive perceptions and democratic norms	intensify the definition of and adherence to global norms; NATO as part of UN sanction- politics (i.e. a UN sub- contractor)	abolish the rests of the old, bipolar, world- political text; towards a dissolution of the UN, NATO etc.); realizing global social security

Main directions in the theoretical debate with related propositions and recommendations for NATO's future.

(drawing from Volker Rittberger and Michael Zürn, “Transformation der Konflikte in den Ost-West-Beziehungen. Versuch einer institutionalistischen Bestandsaufnahme,” *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 32 [1991], pp. 399-424 and Alexander Siedschlag, *Neorealismus, Neoliberalismus und postinternationale Politik* [Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997], p. 218.)