



BALTIC JOURNAL OF LAW & POLITICS

A Journal of Vytautas Magnus University
VOLUME 16, NUMBER 3 (2023)
ISSN 2029-0454



Cite: Baltic Journal of Law & Politics 16:3 (2023): 1844-1855
DOI: 10.2478/bjlp-2023-00000151

Economic variables and their impact on NATO's military doctrine

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Received: December 11, 2022; reviews: 2; accepted: January 16, 2023

Summary

Following the end of the Cold War, and the acceleration of globalization of the economy, this shift in the economic methodology of many countries of the world coincided with other global developments. The suffocating finances in 2008, the Corona epidemic crisis in 2020, the issue of climate change and the food problem, and currently the war crisis in Ukraine, and the rise in energy prices.

Keywords

economic-variables-NATO-North-Atlantic-NATO)

Introduction

In the wake of the transformations that the world has witnessed since the end of the Cold War, following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 AD, the United States of America was granted the opportunity to impose its vision on the formation of the international political arena, which is based on strategic concepts that serve its interests, and its unilateralism as the sole international power that possesses military and political capabilities. And diplomacy and an economic situation that qualifies it to be the only one on the global level. New global changes came, economic, security, military and political. The global financial crises and energy security led to the decline of the economic position of the United States in favor of other international powers.

Problematic

To what extent did economic changes affect military doctrines in general and NATO doctrine in particular?

Hypothesis

The greater the level of influence of changes in the regional and global environments, the greater the exposure of NATO's military doctrine to change and development. Contemporary threats have changed the military doctrine of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

First: bearing the burdens and costs

The burdens and costs of military operations constitute a permanent problem in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); This is because the multiplicity of military missions carried out by the alliance is outside the borders of its members, with the alliance adopting a proactive strategy aimed at addressing threats at their sources. Therefore, the issue of combat readiness and the perpetuation of its tasks are considered among the fundamental issues arising from the continuation of threats, and then the need for resources, especially for daily combat operations, It is a phenomenon that began to expand and with it began the phenomenon of exchanging accusations or blaming some for the financial deficit and default in performance, as the United States of America accuses the Europeans of negligence in this matter, as it bore the expenses of defense and protection for their interests abroad during the period of the Cold War, and the different threats came after the Cold War and the tasks due This led to an increase in US spending within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but the European defense financial contribution to the alliance remained constant at a certain level, which represents tremendous pressure on the decision-maker in the United States of America, which had an impact on the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in general. There are statistics indicating that the American forces in Afghanistan cost the American taxpayer (100) million dollars per day, as it spent from 2001 until 2008 about 127 billion dollars on the war in Afghanistan, compared to the contribution of European countries in the field of defense in general ⁽¹⁾.

Hence, the inability of European countries to participate financially and militarily at a level equivalent to US capabilities and global military deployment within the framework of the alliance; Because of the dwindling defense budgets of the European countries, it is considered an obstacle for the alliance to advance its role ⁽²⁾, and thus it seems clear that the United States of America has been bearing, since the establishment of the alliance, a larger percentage than that which it was

(1) Ashraf Mohamed Abdel Hamid Kishk, *The Development of Gulf Regional Security since 2003: A Study of the Impact of NATO's Strategy* (Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2012), p. 366.

(2) Nizar Ismail Al-Hayali, *The Role of NATO after the Cold War* (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003), p. 121.

supposed to bear according to the ratio of its gross domestic product to the gross domestic product of the member states of the alliance, The issue of distributing the defense burden witnessed severe disagreements, especially with the increase in the US federal budget deficit and the balance of payments deficit, which prompted the United States of America to put pressure on the European members of the alliance, in order to increase their defense spending by limiting the collective goods provided by the alliance, and that By unilaterally leading the alliance, including the southern European region, refusing to hand over leadership to the Europeans, reducing its military presence on the continent, and focusing on developing the alliance's military structures in a way that does not make it fully suitable for European security, which prompts European members to increase spending in order to form appropriate structures. To deal with European security⁽³⁾.

The reason for the objection of some member states to spending in relation to the alliance's operations and external missions was on the pretext that the basic tasks of the alliance are European defense, and they cannot afford expenses for operations that serve and benefit America in the first place ⁽⁴⁾, so NATO estimates for the year 2019 show that Greece, Britain, Estonia, Romania and Poland , Latvia, Lithuania and Bulgaria, along with the United States, spend 2% or more of the gross national income on defense, and France's spending reached 1.84% and Germany's 1.36%. To "BBC" on December 4, 2019, former US President "Trump" indicated on July 11, 2020 that there were countries that were paying almost nothing and now they are paying "extended". They asked me an important question: Will you leave if we don't pay? And I answered, "Yes, I will leave." And he made it clear that if this was not the answer, they would not pay, adding, "I want them to pay their fair share." The Trump administration did not hesitate repeatedly to express its dissatisfaction with Germany's failure clearly to achieve the NATO goal of investing 2% of the output The country's gross domestic product in the army, despite the high German defense spending, which currently amounts to 38.1% of GDP ⁽⁵⁾.

Second: financial crises

One of the economic variables is the spread of the financial and economic crisis that began in the United States of America since 2007, with repercussions reaching most countries of the world, which prompted most countries to take many measures and seek to overcome this stifling financial and economic crisis. This is because the various economies in most of the developed and developing countries of the world have been affected as a result of this severe global financial crisis, which is considered the worst of its kind since the time of the Great Depression

(3)Ahmed Bu Khreis, The Strategic Transformation of NATO After the Cold War, Journal of Strategic and Military Studies, Arab Democratic Center, Volume One, Issue 2 (Berlin: 2018), p. 95.

(4)Ashraf Mohamed Abdel Hamid Kishk, The Development of Gulf Regional Security, P

(5)Talib Hussein Hafez, The New Roles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) after the end of the Cold War, Journal of International Politics, University of Baghdad, Issue 46 (Baghdad: 2010), p. 46.

that occurred in 1923, as this crisis began first in the United States of America in September 2008, and then extended To the countries of the world to include European countries, Asian countries, and all countries whose economy is directly linked to the American economy.⁽⁶⁾

The repercussions of the global financial crisis emerged in a group of dangerous indicators that threaten the global US economy and can be summarized within the following points:⁽⁷⁾

1. A sharp deterioration in the activity of the global financial markets as a result of its influence on the banking and financial sector, which explains the fluctuation in the level of trading, which resulted in turbulence and imbalance in the stock market indices due to the decline in the market value of (8) international financial institutions by about \$574 billion during the year.
2. Continuing bankruptcy of many banks, banks, real estate institutions, and insurance companies. The number of banks has reached 11 closed banks, including Andy Mac Bank, which owns 32 billion dollars in assets, and deposits worth 19 billion dollars.
3. The increase in the percentage of real estate debts at about 6.6 trillion dollars, corporate debts amounted to 18.4 trillion dollars, and thus the total debt amount is equivalent to 39 trillion dollars, which is equivalent to three times the gross domestic product, and the unemployment rate reached 5% and the inflation rate is 4% .
4. A significant decline in the growth rates of the industrialized countries as a result of the global financial crisis, faltering, stopping, liquidation and the bankruptcy of many banks.
5. Oil prices in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) fell below \$55 a barrel.
6. A sharp decline in car sales, led by the largest American groups, Ford and General Motors.

What is surprising is that the impact of the crisis on Europe is much greater than on the country of origin and other regions. No countries were affected by the crisis, as is the case in Greece, or as happened in Ireland, Iceland, Portugal and Spain. All European economies are affected except for Germany, which relied on good and superior industry for growth in The euro area, and the budget deficit rose from 0.6% of GDP in 2007 to 6.3% in 2009, during which the public debt ratio of output increased from 66% to 78.7%. cash ⁽⁸⁾. The most important thing that resulted from this financial crisis was that it is considered as an indicator of the transition of power centers in the global economy. The presence of countries such as China, India, Brazil, Mexico and Saudi Arabia clearly shows that these countries

(6) Sareh Saleh Saleh Al-Qaz, NATO between reasons for survival and indicators of disintegration, *Journal of Strategic and Military Studies*, Arab Democratic Center, Issue 15 (Berlin: 2022), p. 71.

(7) Ahmed Abdel-Khalek, *Legal and Economic Aspects of the Global Financial Crisis*, The Thirteenth Annual Scientific Conference of the Faculty of Law - Mansoura University for the period from 1-2 April 2009, *Journal of Legal and Economic Research*, Special Issue (Mansoura: 2009), p. 3.

(8) Fred Cortel, *The Global Financial Crisis and Its Impact on Arab Economies*, p. 11.

must reap the fruits of what they planted from the seeds of development in their countries, and ensure The final statement issued by the Group of Twenty specifically for the causes of the crisis represented in recognizing the failure of the global financial system, in addition to that the mistakes that accompanied the application of macroeconomic policies. There is no doubt that this crisis contributed to reformulating the shape of the world, from a system controlled by one country and alone in controlling its mechanisms And its data, to a multi-power system, even if these powers are in the early stages of formation, and the economic forces in the global economy can be evidenced by GDP data, according to the method called purchasing power parity ⁽⁹⁾.

Since the outbreak of the American and global financial and economic crisis in 2008 until now, the Chinese economy has played and continues to play the role of the locomotive that pulls the global economy out of the crisis based on the huge trade surpluses that China has accumulated over a quarter of a century, which currently exceed 4.3 trillion US dollars, which China started feeding the global economy with giant investments outside China, and International Monetary Fund data indicate that the real growth rate of GDP in China is as shown in Table No. (1), which confirms that the Chinese economy will strengthen its position on the throne of the global economy in light of Financial stability and inflation rates of less than 3%, and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future, according to the expectations of the International Monetary Fund. Also, in light of the continuing surplus of the Chinese current account balance, which will remain between 2% and 1% of China’s GDP until 2022, which confirms the strength of the Chinese economy and its superiority in its international relations, compared to a huge US deficit that is increasing in size and revolves around the level of 3% of GDP. US Gross Domestic.)¹⁰

According to World Bank data for world economies, China, with the global financial crises and the Corona pandemic crisis, has remained superior to the US economy, the eurozone, and the economies of emerging countries.

Country	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate	GDP growth rate
USA	1,1%	1,6%	2,0%	0,9%	1,6%	2,4%	1,8%	-3,8%	37,4%
Euro-zone	-4,0%	1,2%	1,7%	1,6%	2,4%	1,6%	1,3%	-6,6%	28,5%
China	7,1%	6,7%	6,5%	6,2%	6,4%	6,3%	5,6%	2,0%	32,0%

All of the above data confirm that China's economy will widen the real gap that separates it as the leading economy in the world from the economies of the United States of America and the Eurozone, which are its two most important

(9) Louis Hobeika, Why does the financial crisis affect Europe more than others? , Al-Sharq website, date of publication November 2, 2011, viewed 9/12/2022. Available at the electronic link: <https://al-sharq.com/opinion/02/11/2011/>

(10) See: Muhammad Hassan Youssef, The Global Financial Crisis...Why is it difficult to solve? (Qatar: Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2013), pp. 90-93.

competitors. As China has become, at present, the second largest economy in the world, the largest industrial country, the largest trading country, and the largest country in foreign currency reserves in the world, in addition to that, the rate of China's contribution to the growth of the global economy exceeded 30% for years in a row, so China has become a major force and an exporter in driving the growth of the global economy ⁽¹¹⁾.

Third: energy security

Energy security is one of the most important variables that affect the directions of global geostrategic powers. The ability of any global power to secure energy determines its position, strength, and the extent of its influence in the global environment. Energy security is also the most important cause of competition, conflict, and international and regional crises⁽¹²⁾. Therefore, competition between different countries In order to obtain and gain energy sources that are among the main priorities in the agendas of international politics and economics; Because these resources are not evenly distributed in the world, some regions and some countries are self-sufficient and others are completely dependent on the producing countries, and this prompted some to develop the term "energy security" in a more profound way to the term "security of energy supplies."⁽¹³⁾ "

Energy security has become a major topic of international security debates, due to several developments: Europe's increasing dependence on oil and gas; the growing need for energy of rising powers such as China and India; fossil fuel depletion, which is estimated to begin in the middle of this century; an increasingly intense debate about climate change; The renewed interest of many states in the use of nuclear energy for civilian purposes, as well as other factors related to armed threats to energy supplies (whether terrorist attacks or piracy) or political instability in many energy-producing states - including attempts by some of these states to use (or abuse Using) energy supplies as a political weapon, thus making energy security a form of manipulation and creating a new policy, and all these developments point to the same thing: energy supplies may not pose a direct military challenge, but they certainly have a security dimension ⁽¹⁴⁾. As Richard Lugar says, "The use of energy as a weapon is not a theoretical threat to the future; it is a current reality. Those who possess energy use it as leverage against their neighbors. In the coming years, the most likely source of armed conflict in the European theater and surrounding regions will be the scarcity and manipulation of

(11)Ahmed Al-Sayed Al-Najjar, The Chinese Economy..Amazing Achievements and a Model at the Crossroads, China Today website, date of publication 2-5-2018, viewed: 9/11/2022, available on the electronic link: http://www.chinatoday.com.cn/ctarabic/2018/jj/201802/t20180205_800116593

(12)Ahmad Farouk Abbas, The Development Experience in China, Reality and Challenges, Scientific Journal of Economics and Trade, Volume 49, Issue 3 (Cairo: 2019), p. 573.

(13)Muhammad Maysar Fathi, The American Strategic Performance Towards the Middle East in the Era of President Trump - A Future Study, Journal of Political Science, University of Baghdad, Issue 56 (Iraq: 2018), p. 339.

(14)Richard Youngs, "Europe's External Energy Policy: Between Geopolitics and the Market," CEPS Working Document No. 278/November 2007. Brussels.p9.

energy⁽¹⁵⁾ ".

Russia stopped gas supplies to Europe in January of the year 2006, but because the outage lasted for only four days, Europe did not notice the long-term dimensions of this, and later on, in the very cold month of January of the year 2009, Russia stopped gas supplies completely. Punitive across Ukraine, which caused the disruption of those supplies to 18 European countries for a period of two weeks, but this time the European Union took notice - at least in a limited way - and adopted the third joint energy package, which is a package related to gas and electricity. The package, which was urging diversification, marketing and fragmentation of the energy sector had a real impact; Because gas and electricity producers are no longer allowed to also own pipelines and networks, Gazprom has been forced to sell its pipelines in the Baltics and encouraged Lithuania and Poland to establish LNG terminals ⁽¹⁶⁾.

But Germany felt that it was too big and important to act in light of such changes. Rather, it went in the opposite direction with fundamental mistakes. Before losing power in the 2005 elections, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder approved the Nord Stream 1 gas pipeline from Russia to Germany via The Baltic Sea, and even after Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, he and other prominent German figures continued to urge the adoption of Nord Stream 2, which would have made Germany more dependent on Russian gas as it would not only buy all the gas it needs from Russia, but also It will also become a major transit country. Exacerbating the problem is Chancellor Angela Merkel's ill-conceived decision to shut down Germany's safe and well-functioning nuclear power plants after the tsunami hit Japan's Fukushima plant. That decision left Germany far too dependent on gas. (So much so that until the Kremlin stopped gas shipments to Europe this year, Germany accounted for about a third of Europe's imports of Russian gas. To make matters worse, German companies sold most of the country's gas storage facilities to Gazprom, which emptied them last year in blatant price gouging⁽¹⁷⁾).

It is true that Germany was not the only one that acted irresponsibly. Hungary and Austria were pro-Putin, and Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia also failed to adapt to the changing geopolitical circumstances, but they are much smaller and less important countries than Germany, while Italy allowed itself to become the second largest importer of gas from Russia, however, quickly found alternative suppliers in Algeria and Azerbaijan, which means that Germany is responsible ⁽¹⁸⁾. Therefore, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) sought to focus on energy security, as the comprehensive perspective of new threats in the new strategic concept of NATO (NATO) represents an important first step in

(15)Drangoi Ion, Securitatea energetică a Republicii Moldova in raport cu UE și NATO, p8. Disponibil: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2011/climate-action/energy_security/ro/index.htm

(16)Richard G. Lugar, A Concert in Energy Security: Building Trans-Atlantic Cooperation to Confront a Growing Threat, The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Summer/Fall 2007, p23.

(17)Anders Åslund, Russia's Crony Capitalism: The Path from Market Economy to Kleptocracy (Yale University Press, 2019), p25.

(18)Andrej Nosko, Energy Security Of Europe and NATO, Paper Series, Globsec 2010, (Slovak: 2019) p2.

trying to make energy security a legitimate issue for the alliance, and the second step that is no less important is Giving energy security a distinct organizational "home", such as establishing a "Directorate of Emerging Security Challenges" within the General Secretariat of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)⁽¹⁹⁾, and Richard J. Lugar believes that "the biggest challenge facing Western countries is the establishment of a coordination system for the supply of natural gas in the event of an emergency shortage, Such a system would require solving many political and technical dilemmas related to how natural gas is stored, transported and shared, and would require additional infrastructure to transport alternative gas supplies. We will also have to plan for rapid transitions to alternative energy sources wherever possible, despite the requirements of this. Challenge, the Natural Gas Emergency Coordination Mechanism will provide immeasurable value in preventing or responding to a crisis⁽²⁰⁾.

Russia continued to abide by its strategy seeking to prevent the establishment of alternative energy pipelines in the Caspian Sea region that bypass its territory during the presidency of "Vladimir Putin", and seeks to participate in energy transmission networks that represent potential alternatives to Russian energy for its markets in Europe and Asia through joint investments. The company "Gazprom" annually buys about 8 billion cubic meters of Kazakh gas, and there are Russian and Kazakh investments to expand the pipeline network of the Caspian Sea consortium and develop the Atyrau-Samara pipeline ⁽²¹⁾.

On this basis, Russia has tightened control over the important energy sources, oil and natural gas, whose rates are more than what the United States of America, the European Union and China possess combined. This interdependence in the volume of energy controlled by Russia in the World Island region, as Mackinder called it, prompted strategic thinkers to emphasize the importance of this region, as Brzezinski explains in his book (The Great Player), that the main bet for the United States of America is to control Eurasia. And in the face of this growing oil influence of the Russian Federation in the European markets and to a lesser extent the American ones, and given that the energy resources of oil and gas are not just commercial commodities, but strategic and geopolitical resources, as this raised the concerns of the European Union and the United States of America more about the use of oil as a political weapon by Russia These fears were reinforced by the crisis caused by the closure of Russian gas supplies in 2006 from Ukraine, and in 2007 from Belarus, and the closure of the northern section of the Druze pipeline, which transports about a fifth of Russia's crude exports to Europe ⁽²²⁾, which made Europe in particular subject to The Russian will in this field, which explains the non-firm European position, which is characterized by appeasement and dependence on the Russian global move in the Georgian crisis, especially that Russia deals with

(19)Ibid., p3.

(20)Drangoi Ion, previously mentioned source, p7.

(21)Richard G. Lugar., previously mentioned source, p26.

(22)Nourhan Al-Sheikh, Russian-American Relations from the Cold War to the Cold Peace, (Egypt: The Arab Bureau of Knowledge, 2019), p.85.

economic variables, including energy politically, and it is also ready to pay a large economic cost to achieve regional and international political and strategic goals. What is confirmed by the crisis in Georgia, the Russians may return their interest in oil due to its connection to Russian national security and subject Russia's future projects to expectations of future international balances⁽²³⁾. Nor can European-Russian energy relations be ignored, in light of the Crimean crisis, especially since the concept of energy security constitutes an essential element in their relations, as Ukraine represents the crossing point for Russian natural gas to Europe, and the link for most of the infrastructure for Russian industries, whether through pipelines. Or roads and railways, and the ineffectiveness of Western sanctions on Russia has led to Europe's fear of negative repercussions on its economy.⁽²⁴⁾

Currently, Europe is facing the worst energy crisis since World War II, as the energy crisis that arose after the war on Ukraine proved that it could be economically devastating for European countries in general, so that the prices of natural gas and electricity approached 10 times, and it seems that the conflict over energy Between Europe and Russia may ultimately lead to the collapse and attrition of Europe, and enhance the influence of the United States and China, and this crisis led to the entry of Europe into energy chaos, which means that European policy makers either did not pay attention or they preferred not to change course, and ignore the continued demand for natural gas and oil After the Covid-19 pandemic, this was accompanied by a halving of European domestic production of natural gas, in contrast to an increase in the rate of gas consumption imports in Europe to 83% ⁽²⁵⁾.

Fourth: Corona pandemic crisis

The Corona virus represents a shock to supply and demand at the same time, and poses unprecedented challenges, as a result of the global economic disruption associated with the health crisis, as countries witnessed a decline in external demand and a decline in commodity prices, and low-income countries find themselves deprived of global financial markets, at a time when they are witnessing In which capital exits from it, and a decline in incoming transfers to it, and the Corona crisis caused a major shock on the supply side, in addition to what it caused of a decline in demand and financial pressures. At the international level, supply chains are threatened with interruption, which may lead to an increase food prices, and this crisis differs from its predecessors in that there is a possibility of a recurrence of the supply shock, and this threat will affect the prospects for recovery, and at the domestic level, the measures of distancing and closures applied in many countries in an attempt to control infection lead to The decline in the supply and demand sides of the labor market, in addition to the increase in transaction costs.⁽²⁶⁾

(23) Tariq Muhammad Thanoun Al-Taie, *US-Russian Relations after the Cold War* (Baghdad: Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies, 2012), pp. 98-99.

(24) Saad Al-Saeedi, *The Repercussions of the Russian-Georgian Crisis on Russian-American Relations*, *Journal of International Studies*, University of Baghdad, Issue 42 (Iraq: 2009), p. 108.

(25) Asmaa Haddad, *Hybrid Wars: The Ukrainian Crisis as a Model*, *Political Orbits Magazine*, Volume 1, Issue 3 (Algeria: 2017), p. 122.

(26) Laith Essam Al-Obeidi, *Russia and Europe Struggle for Energy*, *Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies*, 10/11/2022, Part One, (Babylon: 2022), pp. 2-3.

The impact of the Corona pandemic was reflected on many economic variables as a result of urbanization and the measures to mitigate the severity of the pandemic. Its impact was not limited to the variables that operate directly in airlines, service companies and tourism only, but economic variables faced conditions due to Corona that are often associated with the general economic slowdown. To have a long-term impact on the financial results of economic variables ⁽²⁷⁾. The Corona pandemic has caused extensive damage to the global economy, as some countries closed corporate offices, closed small companies, closed their share prices, and canceled gatherings, and the GDP growth rates in all countries tended to decline, and the reason for this decline is the Corona pandemic, the decline in economic performance, and weak activities For example, in European countries in 2018 the GDP growth rate was 2.4, then it decreased in 2019 and reached about 1.8, while in 2020 it continues to decline to -6.6, while Iraq is considered the country most affected by growth rates Output began in 2018 with a low growth rate of -1.21, and increased in 2019 and reached about -4.45, while in 2020 the growth rate decreased to reach -10.36, and in Southeast Asia in 2018 the growth reached 6 ,41 and decreased in 2019 to reach 4.02, in 2020 it decreased to -6.58, in the United States of America the growth in 2018 was 2.4 and in 2019 it reached 1.8 and decreased in 2020 to reach 3 8-, while China, despite the low growth rates, was the best. In 2018, growth was 6.3, and in 2019 it decreased to 5.6. In 2020, the growth rate reached 2.0, despite its decline, but it is considered the best for to the rest of the world⁽²⁸⁾.

Conclusion

Global economic changes had a significant impact on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The global financial crises, including the suffocating crisis in 2008, the Corona pandemic crisis, and the rise in energy prices led to an impact on the economies of member states, including the United States, in return for the rise of other international powers. Like China, the member states failed to fulfill their financial obligations towards the alliance, until it reached the threat of the United States to withdraw from the alliance if the members continued to fail to fulfill their obligations. Russia's war on Ukraine in 2022 also proved that the issue of ensuring energy security and its continuous flow to the markets of the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is one of the most important and dangerous issues facing European countries due to European dependence on Russian gas in a large way, which helped the United States of America To use it as an argument in the face of the European member states of the alliance and helped them convince the Europeans that preserving energy

(27)Martin Ramann and Hans-Peter Lankes, "Responding to the Corona Virus Crisis at the Economic Policy Level, World Bank Group, 2020, p. 9.

(28) Taha Ahmed Hassan Ardini, Challenges Facing the Accounting Profession in Light of the Corona Pandemic, Quarterly Scientific Journal, College of Administration and Economics, Mosul, Volume 39, Issue 128 (Mosul: 2020), p. 200.

sources and supply routes is dependent on preserving, strengthening and expanding the alliance.

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