

**SIGNIFICANCE OF ECONOMIC SECURITY IN A CHANGING  
GLOBAL SECURITY CONTEXT: THE CASE OF NATO  
INITIATIVES, 2010- 2016**

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## **Dedications**

To my beloved grandmother Violet Priscilla Madhlangobe and my late mother Jane Madhlangobe.

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## **Abbreviations**

AMR	Annual Ministerial Review
ASEAN	Association of the South Eastern Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BoP	Balance of Power
BoT	Balance of Threat
COMECON	Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
DCF	Development Cooperation Forum
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ECOSOC	The United Nations Economic and Social Council
ESC	Economic Security Community
EU	European Union
IOs	International Organizations
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OSCE	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
RECs	Regional Economic Communities

SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SU	Soviet Union
UN	United Nations
UNDHR	United Nations Declaration on Human Rights
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
US	United States
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

## **Abstract**

During the Cold War, security mainly revolved around high politics, issues of war, peace, nuclear arms, diplomacy and crisis management. Much emphasis was on the state as the all important referent object. Within this context North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established as a means to collective defence. The NATO military alliance established by the North Atlantic Treaty (also called the Washington Treaty) of April 4, 1949, sought to create a counterweight to Soviet armies stationed in Central and Eastern Europe solely depending on military means to achieve its ends. The organization has continued to exist beyond Cold War politics which constitute the greater part of its existence. NATO has made deliberate efforts to regenerate itself. The research analyses the significance of economic security in a changing global context by analyzing how NATO, a purely military entity at birth, has incorporated this dimension in its efforts. The study intended to ascertain how the economic dimension of security has emerged to be a pivotal security concern by analyzing how and why NATO has proven to be cognizant of these changes in the security context. The research methodology was qualitative in nature employing in-depth interviews, open ended questionnaires and documentary search as data gathering techniques. Data was analysed thematically. Security Communities theory was adopted as the research's theoretical framework. The study engages the concept of collective defence within the lenses of the theory of security communities. The study finds that NATO is a pluralistic security community whose interests and values are largely guided by the founding Washington treaty. The research learns that economic security has emerged to be a significant security concern for the alliance. The study concludes that in as much as economic security has gained prominence it does not supersede the military, social, or even environmental dimensions of security. The military security for instance still occupies central space in the security discourse. The study recommends that, NATO as well as individual states should continue to adapt to the changing security environment so as to retain relevance.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Context and Background to the Study**

The Cold War era was dominated by a realist view of international relations. Baylis et al (2002: 10), refers to it as an era of traditional security. During the Cold War security mainly revolved around high politics. It encompassed issues of war, peace, nuclear arms, diplomacy and crisis management. Much emphasis was on the state as the all important referent object. Security was mainly concerned with the survival of the state as dictated by the logic of realism. This is supported by Nasu (2011: 16), who posits that traditional security is defined in military terms with the primary focus on the state protection. States as main actors in the international system relied on military power for survival. Accordingly, the major powers in the bipolar Cold War that is, the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (SU) were determined to safeguard their survival through military efforts, particularly through nuclear deterrence.

Interstate institutions were established to necessitate security. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established to foster security among states from the Western block to forestall perceived Soviet expansionism during the Cold War. The ideological and political divisions of the Cold War separated Eastern Europe and Western Europe. The later was under the domination of the Soviet Union while the former looked up to the United States. Initially, NATO was established as a collective defence mechanism. After the collapse of communism in Europe there were loud and persistent cries of alarm at a surge of murderous militant nationalism. The common conclusion as argued by Mueller (1999: 4) with the demise of the communism suppressing force militant nationalism was in a process of burgeoning in most destructive manner. The alliance's creation was part of a broader purpose of deterring Soviet expansion, forbid the revival of such nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence in the continent and to encourage European integration (Duffield 1995: 764). NATO member states increased their efforts to develop and implement structures needed for their commitment to joint defence. Binding North America to the defence would demonstrate that any attempt at political and military coercion against Western Europe would fail. Simultaneously, it would provide a framework for preventing resurgence of militant nationalism

in Europe. The end of the bipolar confrontation came about with the fall of the SU. Hence, the alliance had met its purpose which it was created for as such ensuring security to its members.

The end of the Cold War marked a new beginning for international security agenda. According to Baldwin (1995: 118), despite the disparity of views among the post Cold War authors there is need to reexamine the concept of international relations and national security and adopt a broader view for both. The simple bipolarity of the Cold War was replaced by a multi-polar world where the centrality of power is no longer clearly defined, yet NATO's establishment was guided by purely military motives. Changes in the security environment includes the importance of the human being as an important referent object with other dimensions to do with health, the environment and even society gaining prominence. This was reiterated by Javier Solana the then NATO Secretary General who said, "Now that the Cold War is over, we are faced not with a single all-embracing threat but with a multitude of new risks and challenges." These changing perceptions called for international institutions such as NATO to rethink their mandates and consider the changing context of security.

The world has become inexorably smaller and more interconnected socially, economically and politically. Globalization is also producing powerful forces of social fragmentation and creating critical vulnerabilities. The advance in globalization has led to the redistribution of power in the international system through the accelerated development of productive forces, scientific and technological progress and ever more intensive communication among states and peoples. Baylis and Smith (2007) argue that globalization have been the ever influential architect of the new global context. It denotes what Keohane and Nye (1977: 25) predict to be the 'New World Order'. An era of interdependence and interconnectedness has been ushered in, encompassing a multiple channel connecting societies as well as new actors (non state actors). More competing points of contact has also been offered ranging from economic, environment, to other evolving threats. Rapid world transformations, particularly the more fluid global movement of goods, capital, people and various transnational processes introduced new threats demanding new responses to suit the drastic changes as well.

The study sought to establish the nature of the changing global security context. It shows a transition in the security discourse. The study is informed by the rising significance of economic security in the international environment.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

NATO was originally established during the Cold War, as a collective defence alliance with a rigid and purely military mandate, necessitated by an environment saturated with traditional approaches to security. The main purpose of this body initially was to safeguard the security of its member states through either political or military means. The organization has to find a resolution through both consultation and cooperation on issues of security and defense, solely depending on military means to achieve ends. The introduction of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 guiding NATO relations states that, “They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.” Thereby, stressing on their mandate of collective defence. Article 5 states that, “...will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.” stressing upon the determination of the organization to make use of military means to attain security.

Yet the organization continued to exist beyond Cold War politics which had greater cause for its existence. The justification of this existence becomes difficult due to the changing security landscape following the demise of the Soviet Union. With the new environment in place, security threats became complex and their sources diverse. As Czulda (2013: 15) observe that contemporary security issues involves a vast number complex evolving threats and challenges such as international terrorism, organized crime, cyber threats, degradation of natural environment as well as competition for energy and economic resources among other vital threats. To remain relevant to these changes, NATO has made deliberate efforts to regenerate itself, hence its goals has since gone beyond the military into diplomatic, economic and humanitarian issues, representing a marked shift from its original mandate. According to a NATO’s Review on [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int), “in an important sense, many of the changes the Alliance has embraced over the past decade and a half have been deliberate efforts to enhance its effectiveness.” Central to this

research is an attempt to examine NATO's economic initiatives as an avenue of ensuring security of the alliance members in a dynamic security environment. Therefore, the central question inspiring this inquiry is: How has NATO's economic initiatives enhanced the security of its members in a changing global security context?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the study is to ascertain how economic security has emerged to be a pivotal security concern in a changing global security context. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Examine the trends and nature security in a changing global context;
- Assess NATO's original mandate and the changes thereof in a changing security environment and;
- Explore NATO's economic initiatives and their value to the security of its members.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

As the study focused mainly on NATO's economic initiatives towards the provision of security in the changing global security context it sought to answer the following questions:

- What has NATO done to maintain relevance in a changing global security setting?
- How has the international security context changed in terms of nature and trends?
- What has been the effect of these changing global trends to the security discourse?
- What are the future prospects of NATO's survival in a continuously changing security environment?

### **1.5 Conclusion**

The overriding purpose of this chapter was to give an introduction of the topic under study and providing the necessary roadmap for the study. It demonstrates and conceptualizes the background, that is, the period of the Cold War in which NATO was established. It gives the

objectives and research questions which guided the study. The study constantly referred to these objectives.

## **1.6 Outline of the Dissertation**

The study has six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction, providing the background to the problem, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and justification of the study. It is an introduction of the study of international security from the Cold War and how the formation of NATO during that period was necessitated and how NATO continued to exist in the post Cold War era.

The second chapter gives a historical background of the case study NATO. Topics covered in this chapter are; Alliances systems in international politics; Cold War great power rivalry; the formation of NATO and its security objectives; the post Cold War global security landscape. The chapter lingers on the motives underlying the formation of NATO its success and challenges and its adaptation to the post Cold War era.

Chapter three focuses on the theoretical framework upon which the study is premised on. It also gives the research's understanding for the concept of security and economic security. The chapter illustrates that NATO's formation and practices are embedded within the theory of security communities.

Chapter four presents the research design, methodology, data collection methods, sampling and data presentation methods adopted throughout the study. The chapter provides how data was solicited and analyzed providing the methods and principles adopted throughout the study.

Chapter five presents the major findings of the study. In this chapter the findings are discussed according to the themes that were raised during data collection. The researcher coded and organized data collective into recurrent subjects which are presented as themes.

The last chapter gives conclusions of the study as identified throughout the research. It also provides with the implications of the study. This is achieved through summarizing the purpose of the study, objectives, and research methodology and framework analysis. Possible recommendations are also provided as proposed in the research.

## **CHAPTER 2: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON NATO**

### **2.1 Introduction**

History helps to trace ideas back to their origins and study the evolution of ideas or events as well as to move into the future. A recognition of the past as a continuing process has implications for the future. A defined past may relate to the present and future. The core engine of the historical process is the focus upon reaction, adaptation and transformation. When understood well it helps prepare for the future eliminating a recurrence of negativities. This chapter dwells on the history underlying the formation of NATO, the era in which it was born, the Cold War assessing its success and challenges then. It flows to the post- Cold War focusing on its adaptation to a new environment and wraps up with its expansion motives.

### **2.2 Alliance systems in international politics**

Alliances play an important role in international relations. An alliance is a, “collective security arrangement amongst states, in which all members of the alliance agree not to threaten each other, to punish defectors from this agreement whenever possible and to deter countries outside the alliance whenever it is of their individual interest to do so.” ( Niou and Ordeshock 1994: 170). This agreement can be between two or more countries with the main aim of countering a common adversary as a response to a perceived threat. Generally, alliances have a purpose of augmenting their members’ security. By pooling their capabilities, two or more states can exert greater leverage in their bargaining with other states. For smaller states alliances can be their most important power element. Meanwhile for greater powers the structure of the alliance shapes the configuration of power in the system. Stronger and weaker nations alike feel the need to form alliances. Waltz (1987: 7) supports that both strong and weak states form alliances either to oppose a threat or accommodate a threat, thus having a need for aligning. The major reason underlying the formation of alliances is that of managing a perceived threat.

The commitment entered into by an alliance can be either formal (bound by a treaty) or informal (with no binding written agreement). For example, the Triple Alliance of 1882 is regarded as a formal alliance and, the Sin-Pak Alliance between China and Pakistan formed after the Indo-Pak war of 1971 is an example of an informal alliance. (Haglund 2009: 4), gives a brief history of alliances in the international system showing that alliances arise and are sustained by self

interests. So much that other alliances dissolve as soon as interests or pushing factors to its establishment are met. However this is not always the case as there are other instances whereby an alliance continue to exist even when the primary purpose have been achieved. This is the case with NATO which has continued to exist beyond the Cold War era.

Scholars have advanced various theories explaining alliances formation, performance and their nature. Among these are the Balance of Power (BoP), Balance of Threat (BoT) and 'Bandwagoning'. The BoP theory predicts that states ally in response to the imbalances of power in the international system. The realist conception suggests that power must always be determined and measured in relative terms. Dwivedi (2012: 228) postulates that nations are more likely to join the weaker coalition to prevent the formation of a hegemonic one that is, balancing. An alliance can be regarded as a means to an end that is, maintaining equilibrium. Since no single entity within the system should be allowed to gain dominance over the other, nations form alliances to offset growing powers and restore the balance. Wright (1942: 254) notes that the balance of power is a system designed to maintain a continuous conviction in every state that if it attempts aggression, it would encounter an invincible combination of other states. The major assumption is that if power is at equilibrium it is more likely that survival would be guaranteed since capabilities would be equal.

Walt (1987: 15) suggests the balance of threat (BoT) theory as influencing alliances. Cooperation is meant to face a powerful threat coming from either one or more states. It holds that threat in the international system does not only arise from the stronger states, but can also be posed by the weaker ones. States cooperate against a common threat to their interests. There is an imbalance of threat when threat imposed by state A is more than state B can impose. Hence state B is bound to join an alliance where internal efforts have failed to reduce vulnerability. Dwivedi (2012: 234) states that BoT explains why the US was able to lead a coalition whose combined capabilities were far greater than the Soviet alliance. The formation of NATO was largely driven by SU's perceived threat.

Unlike balancing, bandwagoning is an alignment with rather than against the source of danger, (Walt 1987: 17). It is when a state allies with the threatening state. By aligning with the threatening state or coalition, the bandwagoner may hope to avoid an attack on himself by diverting it elsewhere as well as to share the spoils of victory. Motives vary with the interest of



states involved. They can either be defensive as a means of maintaining independence in the face of a potential threat or rather offensive. Whether influenced by balancing or bandwagoning, an important function of alliances in international politics is security given through the reassurance of partners and signaling a warning to the adversaries.

### **2.3 Cold War Great Power Rivalry**

The Cold War began in the 1945-48 timeframe and ended in 1989. By another account it ended in 1991 with the collapse of the SU. The end of the Second World War in 1945 did not signal a return to normality; on the contrary, it resulted in a new conflict. The major European powers that had been at the forefront of the international stage in the 1930s were left exhausted and ruined by the war, setting the scene for the emergence of two new global superpowers ([www.cvce.eu](http://www.cvce.eu)) posits that, two blocs developed around the Soviet Union and the United States, with other countries being forced to choose between the two camps. The USSR came out of the war territorially enlarged and with an aura of prestige from having fought Hitler's Germany. The USSR also offered an ideological, economic and social model extending as never before to the rest of Europe. Furthermore, the Red Army, unlike the US army, was not demobilized at the end of the war. The Soviet Union thus had a real numerical superiority in terms of men and heavy weapons.

The United States on the other hand was the great victor of the Second World War. Its human and material losses were relatively low, and even though the US Army was almost completely demobilized a few months after the end of hostilities, the United States remained the world's leading military power. Its navy and air force were unrivalled, and until 1949 it was the only country with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. It also confirmed its status as the world's leading economic power, in terms of both the volume of trade and industrial and agricultural production. (Ibid), the conflicts of interest between the new world powers gradually multiplied, and a climate of fear and suspicion reigned. Each country feared the newfound power of the other. The Soviets felt surrounded and threatened by the West and accused the United States of spearheading 'imperialist expansion'. For their part, the Americans were concerned at Communist expansion. The result was a long period of international tension interspersed with dramatic crises which, from time to time, led to localized armed conflicts without actually

causing a full scale war between the United States and the USSR. It is this lengthy strategic and ideological conflict that defines the Cold War great power rivalry.

From 1947, Europe, divided into two blocs, was at the heart of the struggle between the two superpowers. The Cold War reached its first climax with the Soviet blockade of Berlin. The explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb in the summer of 1949 reinforced the USSR in its role as a world power. This situation confirmed the predictions of Winston Churchill of an 'iron curtain' dividing Europe into two. From this period onwards, the two adversaries, employed all the resources at their disposal for intimidation and subversion, and clashed in a lengthy strategic and ideological conflict punctuated by crises of varying intensity. Although the two Great Powers never fought directly, they pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war on several occasions. Nuclear deterrence was the only effective means of preventing a military confrontation. Ironically, this 'balance of terror' actually served as a stimulus for the arms race. Periods of tension alternated between moments of détente or improved relations between the two camps. This period is described by Raymond Aron's quote as an era of 'impossible peace, improbable war' (Reed 2008: 655).

Mamaux (2015: 49) notes that in March 1947 Truman promised that the USA would help any country threatened by communism. The USA would 'contain' Soviet expansion through the Marshall Plan. Truman believed that Stalin had forced the countries of Eastern Europe into accepting communist governments; he also believed that it was America's duty to defend democracy. The plan intended to create a powerful buffer against communism. In response Stalin invited communist leaders to Warsaw where the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was created. This was designed to spread communism and to protect states from US aggression. The post-war division of Germany and the Berlin Crisis of 1948-49 as agreed at Yalta and Potsdam evidenced that the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine were very successful in creating a strong, democratic Western Europe. After the Berlin crisis of 1948-49, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949 as a military alliance of most of the Western European countries and the US.

## **2.4 Formation of NATO and its security objectives**

At its formation in 1949, NATO was established to solidify and organize political and military support between the US and a group of historically fractious European nations during the Cold War. According to Jackson (2003: 225), in the aftermath of the Second World War and the dawning of the Cold War, a number of nations from Western Europe and North America came together to discuss the establishment of a comprehensive military and political entity tasked with the responsibility of deterring further Soviet expansion into Europe and the whole world. On 4 April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty was signed into effect and NATO was born, consisting twelve founding states Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United States

Warren (2010: 11) captures Thucydides' explanation on the creation of alliances. Thucydides argued that nations align to deter or go to war out of honor, fear and interest. The existence of a threat or hostile power is, therefore, a necessary condition for developing a security alliance. The perception that the SU was a threat to the US necessitated the formation of NATO as a move towards the balancing of power between the two superpowers.

NATO, (Ibid. 30) was, established with three key objectives in mind. These were deterring Soviet expansion, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism within Europe through a strong North American presence, and encouraging European political integration. Under the first clause of the North Atlantic Treaty, "any attack by a state on any member of the treaty would be seen as an attack on all member states and subsequently each state would take the necessary actions in response to the attack as they see fit." This can be regarded as a direct deterrent and open threat to any provocative and or dangerous actions by the rival Soviet Union. As the Cold War continued to intensify the number of member states within the organization grew, with nations such as Germany joining in 1962.

## **2.5 Successes and Challenges during the Cold War**

Success and failure of an entity or organization is highly dependable on the initial reasons and purpose influencing its establishment. To measure success and effectiveness there is need to refer to the factors underlying the birth of the entity. One of NATO's purported initial reasons for establishment was to deter Soviet expansion. Kugler (1993: 20) states that, NATO was created in

response to the Cold War and the realization that a military alliance was needed to contain Soviet expansion. NATO was established as a collective defence mechanism for the mutual protection of its members against the threat of a Soviet attack. In response to NATO, countries that were inclined toward Soviet communism created the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in 1955. The Warsaw Pact was seen as a specific response to West Germany joining NATO, because a rearmed West Germany was considered a threat to the Eastern Bloc countries. Mastny (2001: 33) notes that by the late-1980s, however, anti-Soviet and anticommunist movements throughout Eastern Europe began to crack the Warsaw Pact. In 1990, East Germany left the Warsaw Pact in preparation for its reunification with West Germany. Poland and Czechoslovakia also indicated their strong desire to withdraw. Faced with these protests and suffering from a faltering economy and unstable political situation the Soviet Union bowed to the inevitable. In March 1991, Soviet military commanders relinquished their control of Warsaw Pact forces. A few months later, the pact's Political Consultative Committee met for one final time and formally recognized what had already effectively occurred the Warsaw Pact was no more. The demise of the Soviet bloc and the end of the Warsaw Pact evidenced the success of NATO in its original objectives. Not only did it prove to be the key instrument in defending its members and in helping to speed Soviet disintegration, the Atlantic Alliance survived and is still surviving. If success is measured by longevity, then NATO has rightly earned its historic designation.

Another angle suggesting NATO's success is when former Eastern bloc parties joined the NATO. For instance West Germany in 1955 joined the alliance reviving fears of the Communist bloc. Kugler (1993: 63) notes that, this move marked the first step towards European political cooperation and economic integration, posing a great threat to the SU which in turn responded by establishing the Warsaw Pact as a counter effort. NATO, however, superseded this arrangement and expanded the Western European defense arrangement into a transatlantic one. NATO's adoption of the Massive Retaliation Strategic Doctrine largely contributed to its success. The major deterrent to aggression against Western Europe is the manifest determination of the United States to use its atomic capability and massive retaliatory power if the area was attacked, (David 1983: 18) cited in (Pedlow 2009: XVII). The strategy of "massive retaliation" for NATO conventional forces served as a "trip wire" for the launching of NATO's nuclear retaliatory

forces and a weapon for nuclear deterrence which would give the Soviets a signal that an attack on the Eastern bloc would attract mutual assured distraction.

Despite NATO's relative success during the Cold War, it encountered various challenges. There really was no direct armed attack between the US and SU. The Cold War was largely characterized by proxy wars that at some point really drained NATO's capability. For example the Korean and the Vietnam Wars escalated tensions between the two powers. "The Korean War (1950-1953) can be examined in two categories, ideological and political. Ideologically, the communist side, including the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea, desired to secure the Korean peninsula and incorporate it into a communist bloc." (Chang-II 2010: 19). The US in South Korea and the Soviet Union in North Korea established military occupations and separate governments. The Korean War presented a vacuum for the two powers to exert their different ideologies. In 1954 South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was set up as a copy of NATO. Communism had been prevented in South Korea.

The building of the Berlin Wall 1961 resembled NATO's success and the fall of communism. In the 1950s, West Berlin had gone from strength to strength under the economic aid of the Marshall Plan. According to Cornwall (2006), its success was a magnet for people dissatisfied with communist life in the East. West Berlin was a huge embarrassment to the USSR, an island of democratic capitalism in a sea of communism. While those in West Berlin enjoyed prosperity, there were few luxury goods in East Berlin as well as food shortages and bad working conditions. Many East Berliners defected to the West; by 1961 over 2 million East Germans had crossed into West Germany. If communism was so great, why did the Soviets need to build a wall to keep people in? NATO succeeded in preventing communism.

## **2.6 Post Cold War Global Security Landscape**

The end of the Cold War marked a new era in international security. It triggered the rise of new threats and challenges to international security, and the advance of globalization led to the redistribution of power in the international system (Baylis et al 2007: 44). The broader changes in the context of international security range from the changing nature of conflict resulting from the fragmentation of established political orders in various parts of the world. Friedman (2013: 1) notes that many shifts in the international system accompanying the end of the Cold War can be

divided into two phases, that is, the era just after the collapse of the Soviet to the September 11 2001 attacks and the phase starting from the 9/11 attacks till present. The initial phase of the post Cold War was mainly built on power shift from that bipolar world introducing and accommodating new powers and actors in international relations. For instance, the rise of China as the center of global industrial growth and the reemergence of Europe as a massive integrated economic power. Meanwhile, Russia the main remnant of the Soviet reeled while Japan shifted to a dramatically different economic mode. This era that encapsulated the importance of the economic dimension of security.

The second phase following the 9/11 attacks was characterized by many uncertainties with new threats also arising. Terrorism and Non-State Actors also brought about a new dimension of threats to the post Cold War security. An expanding Security Agenda encompassed threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). According to Ozkan (2006: 92) the belief that someone will employ weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is one of the main consequences of the 9/11 events with the prospects of the future forever uncertain. Nuclear weapon states are unwilling to eliminate their nuclear arsenals in this international environment. In the international arena one of the most important stimulants to the WMD-debate in recent years has been the experience of the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM). Not only has UNSCOM raised awareness about emerging threats, but it has also highlighted the possibilities and limits of international efforts to confront actors determined, for whatever reason, to acquire WMD capabilities. For instance, rogue states like North Korea or even Iraq itself in position of WMDs and demonstrating readiness to use such weapons.

War economies have been able to tap into global networks of production and exchange, the result of which has been to influence adversely the balance of incentives in favor of peace (Friedman 2013: 22). On this view, globalization, driven by the “integrating and homogenizing influence of market forces” and the “increased flows of values, knowledge and ideas” across borders, is seen as a source of conflict exacerbation that is hastening the emergence of a world society. Hence in the post Cold War, economics, precisely economic security has gained much significance in the post Cold War.

The traditional focus on the role of force in international affairs failed to encompass the myriad of challenges and opportunities. According to Smith (2006: 77), human security arose consisting

the core as achieved through various humanitarian operations. It reveals a shifted emphasis from military to human security in the years following the end of the Cold War. Humanitarian intervention became important, and triggered as an effect of the revised agenda. The move towards human security has undermined the importance of military force although it has not been fully eradicated.

#### 2.6.1 NATO's adaptation strategies

To retain its relevance in the post-Cold War, NATO had to adapt to the changed security setting. It was established as a military alliance for collective defense purposes yet the military dimension of security has lost its once unprecedented status. McCalla (1996: 455) argues that in the immediate aftermath of Soviet imperial rule, few were ready to throw the Alliance overboard. As former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remarked at the time, "You don't cancel your home insurance policy just because there have been fewer burglaries on your street in the last twelve months." The need to hedge against an uncertain future was reflected in the new Alliance Strategic Concept, adopted in November 1991 by NATO Heads of State and Government. This concept pointedly noted that the need to preserve the strategic balance in Europe would remain one of NATO's fundamental security tasks.

Yost (1998: 147) notes that to a considerable extent, NATO evolved into a community of like-minded states, united not just by their opposition to Soviet communism but also by their determination. The preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 state "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law." ([www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)). Over time, NATO grew from being an alliance principally dedicated to protecting its members against military threat or attack into the principal institutional expression of the transatlantic community of states and the western values that both defined and united them. Together, the NATO allies formed a viable, yet pluralistic security community, one where the thought of settling any dispute among its members by the threat or use of force has been the last resort. That community remains as vibrant as it was during the Cold War. It has transformed to a collective alliance of interest.

According to the Brookings Institution (2001), after the Soviet demise, the Alliance embarked on ambitious projects and seemingly new directions. For Yost (1998: 152), it adopted a radically altered strategic concept that emphasized dialogue, cooperation, and crisis management over collective defense in 1991, embracing the East through its Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative in 1994, solidifying its European pillar in 1996, and enlarging its membership in 1997. NATO's 50th Anniversary Summit in Washington in April 1999 provides an opportunity to go beyond self-congratulation for having survived the end of the Soviet empire and propound a persuasive vision for NATO's purpose in the 21st century. It also reviews NATO'S adaptation to the changing landscape, arguing that NATO has three main purposes, that is, an alliance of collective defense, security and interests. These initiatives also necessitated NATO's adaptation to the changed global landscape.

#### 2.6.2 NATO-United Nations (UN) Security Partnerships

NATO has expanded in size and its area of influence has also increased given the increase in diversity of security concerns in the international system. The United Nations (UN) is at the core of the wider institutional framework within which the Alliance operates, a principle which is enshrined in NATO's founding treaty. Cooperation between NATO and the UN has developed well beyond their common engagement. The relationship between the two organizations has been steadily growing at all levels. Harsch (2012: 4) notes that cooperation and consultations with UN specialized bodies go beyond crisis management and cover a wide range of issues, including civil emergency planning, civil-military cooperation, combating human trafficking, action against mines, and the fight against terrorism and largely peace keeping and security management.

The acknowledgement of a direct relationship between the North Atlantic Treaty and the Charter of the UN is a fundamental principle of the Alliance. According to the NATO Handbook (2006: 256), the UN Charter, provides the legal basis for the creation of NATO and establishes the overall responsibility of the UN Security Council for international peace and security. The preamble to the Washington Treaty makes it clear that the UN Charter is the framework within which the Alliance operates. In its opening phrases, the signatories of the Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter. In Article 1 they also undertake to settle



international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN Charter. Article 5 of the Treaty makes explicit reference to Article 51 of the UN Charter in asserting the right of the Allies to take, individually or collectively, such action as they deem necessary for their self-defence. Moreover, it commits the member countries to terminating any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result, when the UN Security Council has itself taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security. Further reference to the UN Charter can be found in Article 7 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which reaffirms the primary responsibility of the UN Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. And finally, a clause in Article 12 of the Treaty stipulates that a review of the alliance would take place in the light of new developments affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal and regional arrangements under the UN Charter.

The formal link between the UN and NATO has remained solidly anchored in the connection between their respective founding documents and their respective roles in crisis management leading to an intensification of practical cooperation between the two organizations. However, Harsch (2012: 7) notes that, “During the Cold War, NATO and UN resembled water and oil: they did not mix. Since 1990s NATO-UN relations have changed dramatically and both sides have jointly engaged in multiple international crises from the Balkans to Afghanistan and Libya.” Given the precept that it takes two to tangle, cooperation can only be effective if both entities commit to it. Cooperation has increasingly become essential for NATO and the UN to cope with complex demands of crisis management.

Their respective roles in crisis management led to an intensification of practical cooperation between the two organizations. In July 1992 for example, NATO ships belonging to the Alliance’s Standing Naval Force Mediterranean, assisted by NATO Maritime Patrol Aircraft, began monitoring operations in the Adriatic in support of a UN arms embargo against all the republics of the former Yugoslavia. A few months later, in November, NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) began enforcement operations in support of UN Security Council resolutions aimed at preventing an escalation of the conflict. According to Jackson (1997: 14) “Following the signature of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Dayton Agreement) on 14 December 1995, NATO was given a mandate by the

UN, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 1031, to implement the military aspects of the peace agreement.” Thereafter, NATO has been actively cooperating with the UN where it deems necessary and notwithstanding its interests, working closely with various UN agents.

NATO also partnered with the UN in Kosovo 1998. Throughout the crisis, close contacts were maintained between the UN Secretary General and NATO’s Secretary General. Actions were taken by the Alliance in support of UN Security Council resolutions both during and after the conflict. According to the NATO Handbook (2006: 257), the Kosovo Force (KFOR) was deployed on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 1244 of 12 June 1999 to provide an international security presence as the prerequisite for peace and reconstruction of Kosovo. Similarly NATO and the UN also cooperated successfully in containing major ethnic discord in southern Serbia and preventing a full-blown civil war in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2000-1. Cooperation between NATO and the UN has played a key role in Afghanistan in 2003 providing for a secure environment for elections in 2004. NATO has, therefore been actively involved with the UN for the greater cause of crisis management.

### 2.6.3 NATO’s Partnerships with other Alliances

As NATO expanded in the changing global sphere, it has also spread its wings increasing its sphere of influence. Its mandate and purpose in the international system has also been intensifying. For that reason NATO has also partnered with other alliances for different strategic reasons some of which will be discussed below.

#### 2.6.3.1 Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council- 1997

Consisting of 50 members, the council was formed in 1997 succeeding the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. It is a multilateral forum for dialogue in order to foster long term cooperation between the allies and partner countries where a wide range of political and security issues are discussed. According to Kramer and Serfaty (2007: 4), key areas for the EAPC are crisis management and support peace operations, both regional and international, arms control and proliferation of WMDs, defense matters such as planning, budgeting, policy and strategy, armaments cooperation as well as nuclear safety. It provides the overall political framework for NATO’s cooperation with partner countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, and for the bilateral

relationships developed between NATO and individual partner countries under the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program.

The EAPC has also taken initiatives to promote and coordinate practical cooperation and the exchange of expertise in key areas such as combating terrorism and border security. It is a framework for enhanced efforts in both an expanded political dimension of partnership and practical cooperation under PfP. It takes full account of and complementing the respective activities of other relevant institutions such as the European Union, the WEU and the Council of Europe. Hence the EAPC has provided for the expansion of NATO's influence across the Atlantic accounting to its development, enlargement and adaptation to new circumstances.

#### 2.6.3.2 Mediterranean Dialogue- 1994

The Mediterranean region is important to the security and stability of many NATO countries relying on its strategic and economic importance. In 1994, NATO embarked on its Mediterranean initiative aimed at increasing stability in the region by establishing the Mediterranean Dialogue, a regional partnership between NATO and Mediterranean states. The establishment of the Dialogue represents one of NATO's official steps in adapting to the post-Cold War security environment, as postulated by (Bin 2002: 2) it has become a key instrument in support of the Alliance's overall strategy of partnership, dialogue and cooperation. It is a forum within which political discussions between NATO and its partners take place on a regular basis and at different levels.

The Dialogue is primarily bilateral in structure, nevertheless allowing for multilateral meetings on a regular basis despite the predominantly bilateral character. For Stivachtis and Jones (2009: 8) all Mediterranean partners are offered the same basis for cooperation activities and discussion with NATO. This non-discrimination is an essential feature of the Dialogue and has been the key to its successful establishment and subsequent development. Within this non-discriminatory framework, countries are free to choose the extent and intensity of their participation. The Dialogue has, thus, contributed to regional security and stability through established means for which Mediterranean countries invest and cooperate on security measures together.

#### 2.6.3.3 Istanbul Cooperation Initiative- 2004

This was an elevation of the Mediterranean Dialogue promoting greater bilateral political cooperation in the Middle East now incorporating the Gulf region. This Initiative aimed at enhancing security and stability through a new transatlantic engagement, offering tailored advice on defence reform, budgeting, planning and civil-military relation. It also sought to promote military-to-military cooperation contributing to interoperability, fighting terrorism through information sharing and maritime cooperation, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means. According to Molder (2007: 19) the initiative was to enhance the level of cooperation, especially by “promoting greater political cooperation, enhancing the Dialogue’s political dimension, assisting in defence reform, cooperation in the field of border security, achieving interoperability and contributing to the fight against terrorism, while complementing other international efforts.” Just as other partnerships it also signifies NATO’s enlargement and adaptation to the post-Cold War. It also shows that in as much as NATO is adapting to the new challenges in the international arena, it has not completely erased the importance of military dimension to security by promoting military-to-military cooperation.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

Despite the end of the Cold War, NATO has continued to exist and has also expanded in the post- Cold War era. Its flexibility among other adaptability strategies has made the alliance relevant in the post Cold War. In its expedition, NATO has significantly partnered and cooperated with the United Nations in various security operations. It has also partnered with other minor alliances spreading its influence as well in the post- Cold War security setting. NATO has transitioned from a military alliance to a pluralistic security community.

## **CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a theoretical framework upon which the study is premised on. In an attempt to provide a theoretical basis for broadening the understanding the case study, the chapter reviews theories of international relations that can help to explain the subject under study. The study applauds the importance of collective defence as heavily embedded in the security communities theory.

### **3.2 The Concept of Security**

The concept of security is a familiar subject as far as International Relations is concerned yet it remains complex and unpredictable. Security is a core value of human life and the state at large. To be secure implies to be uncontrolled by danger or fear. The Belgrade Centre of Security Policy (2010: 2) presents traditionalists adherents of the realist school of thought defining security as freedom from any objective military threats to the survival in an anarchic international system. For the Copenhagen School of Security Studies, security is conceptualised as a process of social construction of threats which includes securitizing actors who declares certain matters as urgent and posing a threat for survival or to interests of the referent object, and if accepted legitimises the case of extra ordinary measures for neutralization of the threat.

Accordingly Baldwin (1997: 13) states that there are certain key assumptions underlying the concept of security. These are, i) security in what? ii) Security from what? iii) Security by what means and iv) security for what? These assumptions vary depending on the security for whom notion. These assumptions reveal that what has changed over the years is not necessarily the concept rather it has been the context in which security is being contested. (Ibid : 23) notes that the multidimensionality of security is not a new discovery, but the substantive specifications of these dimensions that were appropriate during the Cold War are likely to differ with those appropriate for the 1990s. This is also true even for the contemporary times. As such, economic security, environmental security, identity security, social security and military security are different dimensions of security and not fundamentally different concepts. Therefore, security as an elastic and diverse concept is not necessarily a new concept in International Relations rather the setting within which it is being contested has rapidly shifted.

The concept and nature of security have undergone a process of profound transformation, perhaps so much that the military dimension of security has lost its once undisputed pre-eminence. Global security has been experiencing vast evolving megatrends. These trends have presented quite a number of new unprecedented challenges to various bodies responsible for overseeing security issues and in some instances opportunities have risen also. For the greater part of the cold war era, security was conceived primarily, if not exclusively, in terms of military security, in terms of sustaining the nuclear balance of terror between the superpowers and the conventional balance of power. According to Cabrera (2006: 1) there is need for transformation into the modern and effective tools for providing security in a changing world as key concern for states and International Organizations (IOs). The increasingly complex and challenging world has made it difficult for states and IOs to define and or at least prioritize what constitutes a threat to their security. This is to suggest that the global security environment has evolved ushering in new challenges within the security discourse. Le Gloannec (2013: 4) suggests that the global transformation is best described as the broadening and deepening of the security agenda. Broadening the security agenda implies including issues of low politics, while deepening the agenda pays attention to referent objects of security.

### **3.3 The Concept of Economic Security**

The fact the global economy has become more and more integrated has stimulated interest for economic security. For Buzan (1991: 19) cited in Andruschak (2015: 234), economic security is regarded as a dimension of security, largely related to the access to resources, finances and markets which are needed to support acceptable wealth and power levels in a state. With a similar approach, Tsereteli (2008: 16), states that economic security refers to long term security of access to economic opportunities in markets and resources such as human capital, capital energy amongst other economic related resources. Thus, economic especially in an era where there is talk of a global economy is relative for the sustenance of the state. The idea that economic security is linked to the access of markets reveals that economic security is constructive by building a strong economy within by opening of borders.

A reconfiguration of Europe's strategic landscape and a redefinition of security have taken place whereby, the security concerns of individual states and the NATO alliance have expanded and now embrace not only the preoccupation with territorial integrity and military security, but also

include issues ranging from macroeconomic stability to environmental degradation. (Sperling and Kirchner (1995: 4). Despite the heavy emphasis upon the military element of national security, attention was paid to the economic underpinnings of military prowess. Nonetheless, economic issues were subordinated and treated as an adjunct to the more important and pressing issue of military security. Economic security was not a relevant analytical category until the late 1960s. Economic issues grew more salient in the late 1960s and were increasingly treated as important political and broader architectural elements of both national security and the larger security order. Henceforth, NATO has embraced the importance of economic relations between the members of the Atlantic alliance; focusing on the importance of those economic relationships as critical struts undergirding the Atlantic Alliance and the security of its member-states. Economic issues moved to the top table of diplomatic discourse within the Atlantic area.

The greed and grievance theories accordingly records that very volatile economic environments have become a serious source of concern and instability. For instance migration in the European Region arising as a result of economic disparities as such giving rise to various conflicts amongst concerned states. The basic assumption is that a state of economic insecurity will leave people worse off. These volatile environments are marked by severe overall macroeconomic instability; slow pace of reform, weak institutions, and high domestic and international debt burdens. The outcome thereof is discouraging for instance, increasing poverty, marginalization as well as mounting social tension. For (Scholte, 2000: 232) cited in Nesadurai (2005: 4), the notion of ‘economic insecurity’ is the vulnerability of states, societies, groups and individuals to economic events, particularly economic shocks and crises that disrupt material well-being. Yet these shocks have a contagion effect, especially where there is an integration or alliance concerned. So much that within NATO, economic crises from one country has higher chances to influence the other economies. A time of economic austerity for one nation may affect the alliance’s security. According to [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int), investment in NATO is mutual, shared among all the allies thereby proving all with a position of strength and influence and giving nations- big or small- far greater security than they could achieve on their own.

An overall agreement is that economic security refers to something more than the economics instrumental to a realistic minimum preference of military security. Alting Von Geusau (1983: 4) gives a narrow instrumental notion of static components of economic security relating to the

size, diversification and technological level of domestic industrial production to the degree of self sufficiency. The broader notion takes heed of the security elements of international economic relations. In this case it refers to the security elements of NATO'S economic relations, for instance, within the transatlantic common market.

According to Sperling and Kirchner (1995: 8), economic security has three identifiable and separable elements. First, economic security reflects a concern over sustaining economic welfare, over the ability of the state to protect the social and economic fabric of a society. Second, economic security involves the ability of a state to maintain societal integrity, of protecting society from migratory inflows or outflows that have the potential to reconfigure society. And third, economic security concerns the ability of the state to foster a stable international economic environment in order to extract the welfare gains of openness while minimizing the potentially negative consequences for national welfare flowing from a loss of policy autonomy. These elements as argued by Sperling and Kirchner explain how economic security has gained popularity in the contemporary setting due to its reference to the society and particularly the human being. The concern embedded in this conceptualization of economic security is that the international economic system be constructed in such a manner that it creates a stable and secure environment supporting not only the economic sector of interstate relations but the political and military sectors as well and once these relations are secured the human being is less likely to be secure.

### **3.4 Security Communities**

NATO's strategies, policies and operations are largely guided by its mandate of collective defence. The study, therefore, engages the concept of collective security within the lenses of the theory of security communities as a guide to the research. Deutsch et al (1957: 3) cited in Tusicisny (2007: 426), have been credited for the illustration of how security communities are formed, arguing that security communities come in two types that is amalgamated and pluralistic. Amalgamated security communities, are created when a common government is formed by two or more previously independent political units while pluralistic security communities have as members formally independent states. Meanwhile pluralistic security community members retain the distinction as individual sovereign states. Furthermore, members



share the same identity, values and intentions and enjoy many direct contacts and interactions between each other; and such a community shows some reciprocity that is produced in face-to-face contacts and manifested through somewhat long-term benefits and altruism (Quilop 2009: 126). Hence, given the nature of NATO's alliance, one can refer to it as a pluralistic security community whose interests and values are largely guided by the founding Washington treaty.

Technically the concept of security community has two elements: security and community. Vayrynen (2000: 161) adopts the Deutschian perspective of security as a stable peace primarily in terms of the absence of physical violence. However, there are surely also non military threats to security. Thus, their inclusion in the definition of the security community would mean that even if stable peace prevails in a region, but plagued with an economic crises for example, or environmental degradation it would not have met its requisites as a security community. This implies that a security community goes beyond the quest for military security, rather involves various other non military concerns to meet its classification as a community.

A constructivist definition of community as given by Vayrynen (2000: 164), suggests that, a community refers to a human collectivity that is constituted by shared norms and understandings among its members. Due to common values, identities, and goals, they feel solidarity with each other. Communities can, therefore, be even virtual, linked by communication media. NATO as such as a community also experiences mass trans-communications resulting from technological shifts as well as interconnections amongst states. The rationalist approach would build the definition of community on the concept of interest. The members of a community try to control resources that are of value to them. Hence, a comprehensive security community integrates both sharing of values and interests and the reciprocity ensured entails the inception of trust within the community. The Atlantic Organization encapsulates these elements of a community whereby interests inform decisions within the shared values of liberal democracy.

A security community as pointed out by Deutsch entails two preconditions, one of which is consistency of their major values and the other is common reactivity. The theory's applicability for the study is found in explaining the kind of alliance NATO is. The availability of common communications and exchanges (integration) amongst NATO members is a reliable measure to realize a security community. The concept of security communities goes beyond mere military alliance but rather can be explained as an attempt to find a remedy for the insecurity of states in

international arena. It is thus related to the concept of collective security, in the sense that security communities aim to provide collective defence for members, however, going beyond mere military security.

Security Communities, is argued to support economic liberalization emphasizing on the role of contractual forms of exchange in promoting peaceful change. For instance, the free-enterprise economic model among the key values of the values of the security community that emerged in the North Atlantic area after World War II. This is supported by Mousseau (2003: 489), in Tusicisny (2007: 436) who purports that security communities support economic liberalism more than the rest of the world as revealed through his hypothesis that, “*Economic liberalism is supported more in security communities than outside them.*” Security Communities analyzed, European Security Community (ESC), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) proved the hypothesis to be true. Norms of market oriented economic development contribute to an extension of trust in a community since in a market economy there is engagement in mutual nonviolent interactions.

NATO can be referred to as a factor of security community building; understood as a group of political units whose relations exhibit dependable expectations of peaceful change. (Bjola 2003: 7). This is based on the compatibility of the main values relevant to the prevailing political, economic and legal institutions and practice within the constituent units. The main argument is that, the creation of an enduring security community is based on developing institutional blocks and normative climate integration. The outcome thereof would be an international community whose members share dependable expectations based on mutual trust, interdependence, shared values and identities. Thus, one can align this assertion to a constructivist point of view whereby actors’ identities are important in informing interests and the later informing the actions.

The major characteristics of a security community therefore, according to Lucarelli (2003) in Tusicisny (2007: 441) can be threefold. i) a community of states with shared identities, values and meanings, ii) many sided and direct relations amongst units and iii) diffused reciprocity and dependable expectations of peaceful change. These characteristics are guided by the element of trust expressed through predictability and assurance. Explained within these lenses NATO is a security community sharing common liberal values, guided by the assurance of reciprocity. While the concept of collective defence focus on the defensive nature of military security, the

concept of security communities in turn focuses on the constructive nature of economic security. These factors are considered to make less relevance where there are existing power discrepancies between the “small” and the “big” members of the community and to excommunicate military intervention as instrument of conflict resolution among the members of the security community. From this theoretical point of view, NATO is expected to stabilize the region by initiating a process of confidence building, fostering political and military cooperation, as well as by shaping consensus and mutual trust.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The chapter has defined and examined the broader concept of security and narrowed to economic security precisely as a dimension of security. Security is regarded as an elastic and diverse concept that can be understood in different forms with a widespread acknowledgement of its multidimensionality. Concept of security, therefore, is conceptualised as involving a process of social construction of threats which includes securitizing actors who declares certain matters as urgent and posing a threat for survival or to interests of the referent object, and if accepted legitimises the case of extra ordinary measures for neutralization of the threat. It has economic, environmental, identity, social and military as different dimensions of security and not fundamentally different concepts. A further analysis of the concepts in the chapter looked particularly at economic security as a dimension of security. The chapter also upheld a theoretical perspective of the study looking at NATO as a security community responsible for fostering economic security. As a security community NATO is bound by common values of liberal democracy, sharing common interests that are security related. The trust within the community, inform relations that exhibit dependable expectations of peaceful change. Thus by classifying NATO as a community than an alliance, prospects for economic security are higher.

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION**

## **4.1 Introduction**

The chapter describes the rationale for the application of specific procedures or techniques used to identify, select, and analyze information applied to understanding the research problem. Two main questions are answered in this chapter: How was the data collected or generated? And, how was it analyzed? This allows the reader to critically evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability. Research methodology entails the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study. It comprises the analysis of the body of methods and principles used throughout a research.

## **4.2 Research Design**

According to Creswell (2003: 14) research design is, “the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent and empirical research. It is a snapshot or blueprint of how the research is going to be conducted.” It articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyze the data and how all of this is going to answer the research questions. The research made use of NATO as the case study. Yin (2011: 2) notes that, a case study research examines contemporary phenomenon within its real life context and this method would be suitable to examine the evolving global security context.

## **4.3 Methodology**

The study relied on qualitative research methodology to solicit data. According to Creswell (2013: 34), a qualitative research is, “an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem.” Qualitative methodology focuses on an inductive way of discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of participants exploring meaning, purpose or reality. William (2005:85) argues that qualitative methods are often regarded as providing rich data about real life people and situations, thus making it a suitable method for this study as it seeks to assess a real life situation.

#### **4.4 Target Population**

According to Croll (2004: 3), a target population is the entire set of units for which the data are to be used to make inferences, that is, those units for which the findings of the study are meant to generalize. The population for this study comprised foreign diplomats of NATO member countries with embassies in Zimbabwe. Academics and intellectuals from local universities with profound experience in security matters were also part of the population.

#### **4.5 Sampling**

The research relied on qualitative sampling techniques. A sample is a smaller representative unit from the population to be studied. Non-probability sampling approach was utilized so as to afford the study an in-depth understanding on the complexities of the evolving global security environment. The research purposively selected units from the target population. Purposive sampling is based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research. Yin (2011: 311) defines purposeful sampling as “The selection of participants or sources of data to be used in a study, based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study’s research questions.” The researcher purposefully selected respondents from the member countries of NATO embassies in Zimbabwe. Purposive sampling technique was employed for this study because it brings relevant depth on the subject under study since participants are specialists.

#### **4.6 Data Collection**

Data collection is the process of combining all the information and evaluating it on variables of attention. The study made use of qualitative data collection methods, in particular employing in-depth interviews, and secondary sources to gather data.

##### **4.6.1 In-depth Interviews**

The research adopted in-depth interviews with key informants to solicit relevant data. According to Boyce and Neale (2006: 3), “in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to

explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.” This was a suitable method in that, the researcher asked participants associated with the subject under study about their experiences and expectations, the thoughts they have concerning security operations, processes, and outcomes, and about any changes they perceive concerning the subject. In-depth interviews were held with knowledgeable academics, that is, lecturers from the University of Zimbabwe and Bindura University of Science and Technology and officials and ambassadors from the Turkish embassy and Czech Republic. The researcher was guided by an interview guide so as to remain relevant to the study. During the interviews the researcher provided a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information.

The researcher also used an open ended questionnaire as an additional data collection tool. These were mail administered to the Turkish embassy as an additional tool to provide for convenience for the participants as they could attend to them on their own time.

#### 4.6.2 Documentary Search

The study also employed the use of secondary data. Schwab (2005: 1) notes that secondary data is data which has been gathered and recorded by someone else prior to and for the purpose of other than the current project. The researcher also made reference to the NATO website and NATO publications, summits and reviews.

### **4.7 Data Analysis**

The research employed thematic analysis in handling data. Thematic analysis involves the technique of categorizing, analyzing, examining, classifying and reporting patterns contained by the available data. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for “identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail.” Braun and Clark (2006: 79). By grouping similar kinds of information together in categories and relating different ideas and themes to one another, the researcher reviewed the data collected arranging the data into relevant themes. Data was recorded during the research for the sake of data management and analysis and coded according to thematic blocks for codification. Thematic analysis was done whereby the researcher made a comparison of the information collected in order to see recurrent issues. The researcher organized the ideas and

concepts and built overarching themes in the data. The researcher began the analysis from a broad reading of the developed themes narrowing the themes to specifics by means of discovering patterns and developing answers to the laid down objectives which the study is set to answer.

#### **4.8 Validity and Reliability**

Both instruments of research seek to ascertain the truthfulness and dependability of the data collected and presented. Reliability and validity are important concepts in research as they are used for enhancing the accuracy of the assessment and evaluation of a research work (Tavakol and Dennick201:53). Reliability is the degree to which data is free from error as given through the repeatability and consistency of the data. Validity is when a researcher uses certain procedures to check for the accuracy of the research findings (Gibbs 2007) cited in (Creswell 2014: 201). To ensure reliability of the findings the researcher checked for errors from the recorded information and used consistent subjects to formulate themes. In terms of validity the researcher used triangulation examining evidence of information from both primary and secondary sources of data.

#### **4.9 Ethical Considerations**

The study sought informed consent before collecting any primary data from the participants. Neuman (2011:253) that "informed consent exists to ensure that all research involving human subjects allows for voluntary participation by subjects who understand what participation entails. The researcher made an effort to ensure that all information related to the research is made known to the participant and the respondents will voluntarily participate.

Neuman (2011:257) postulates that, "privacy and confidentiality are very important components for research involving human subjects. People have a right to protect themselves, and information gathered during research participation could harm a person by violating their right to keep information about themselves private." The issue of confidentiality and anonymity is closely connected with the rights of beneficence, respect for the dignity and fidelity. Anonymity and privacy of research participants was respected throughout the research, that is, during the collection, analysis and presentation of data. To ensure privacy and confidentiality the researcher used letters A to E to code participants. Below is a table showing the code translations.

#### 4.9.1 Participant Bio Data

PARTICIPANT CODE	DATA COLLECTION METHOD	INSTITUTION
PARTICIPANT A	INDEPTH INTERVIEW	UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE
PARTICIPANT B	INDEPTH INTERVIEW	UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE
PARTICIPANT C	INDEPTH INTERVIEW	TURKISH EMBASSY
PARTICIPANT D	INDEPTH INTERVIEW	BINDURA UNIVERSITY
PARTICIPANT E	OPEN ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE	CZECH REPUBLIC EMBASSY

#### 4.10 Conclusion

The chapter basically gave an overview of how the research was upheld. It showed the general blueprint of the research elaborating on the data collection methods and analysis techniques used paving way for the presentation of data gathered. It showed that a case study was used whereby data collection techniques were qualitative using in-depth interviews and documentary search; open ended questionnaires were also used as an additional data collection tool. The chapter also shows that data was analyzed thematically and that triangulation was taken into consideration to acquire the truthfulness of the data collected. The research also pays attention to ethical considerations in research as given in the chapter.



## **CHAPTER 5: MAJOR FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter is a presentation and discussion of the major findings. Data collection was intended at soliciting views and opinions regarding international security, the changes in the trends and nature of the global security context and how economic security is merging in that context. The researcher undertook three in-depth interviews with academics, one with the Turkish embassy a relevant NATO member state, electronic open ended questionnaires were also sent the Czech Republic Embassy. Secondary data was also adopted where the researcher made use of documentary sources and the NATO website to add flesh to the primary findings. Important themes were consequently raised during interviews and documentary search. Findings presented sought to achieve the objective of the study that is, ascertaining how economic security has emerged to be pivotal security concern and how NATO has adapted to these changes. As such data is presented in terms of major themes concerning the study in line with the research objective of ascertaining how economic security has emerged to be a pivotal security concern and how NATO has adapted.

### **5.2 Economic Security as a pivotal security concern**

The concept of economic security is not necessarily a new one in international relations. States always anticipate more cooperation than war which makes economic security important. Participant B highlighted that:

Human security concept was introduced soon after the cold war, downplaying the significance of state security. The assumption was that the end of the Cold War had done away with violent wars between states with much anticipation for relative peace throughout the globe. It is within this era that economic security rose to prominence as it is largely directed to the human being. However the economic aspect of security was also exhibited even during the Cold War itself. The difference now is that whereas emphasis was put on the state, now it is directed towards the human being.

This shows that economic security has always been part of the security discourse importance in the changing security is what have intensified. The contemporary security context has an upper reliance on the economy as an assurance of the human's well being. With this line of thinking economic security has also risen to significance

Accordingly, Andruschak (2015: 232) notes that, “economic security is not necessarily a new concern, economic instruments have always been part of statecraft instruments, and rather it is the importance of such in present day international relations that has qualified economic security to top the new security agenda.” In the present days more than ever, economic relations between states define the general character of state relations and establish economic security. Economic instruments have consequently shaped the nature and relations between states. For instance, Zimbabwe’s foreign policy as well as that of other countries is driven by economic motives. During the Cold War states would show affinity mainly in issues to do with military security, yet now economic co-operations top the day to day relations. Where economic security was viewed as minor, tables have changed so much that many co-operations now have a purely economic backing, for instance the African Regional Economic Cooperation groups (RECs).

International relations in the new era is experiencing what is referred to as a global economy. It has become more and more integrated stimulating the interest of economic security. Simultaneously, countries have faced superior and more volatile experiences as the world economy has become more predisposed to economic crises and recessions. What is more alarming about these recessions is that they have a contagion effect spreading from one country to the other. Participant C said that:

There is no country that lives in isolation, what happens in country A directly or indirectly affects proceedings in country B. Talk of British exit (Brexit) from the European Union (EU) how it is to some instance influenced by the 2008 euro zone crisis as well as the migration crisis within the EU. The UK has directly or indirectly felt the crises’ consequences thereby undermining its economic security and most importantly human security of the British citizens.

This is supported by an International Labor Organization (ILO) report that the August 1998 Russian Debt also affected Brazil and Argentina (ILO 2004: 33). The situation becomes intensified when countries involved are in community like that of the EU. In a newspaper article, (Chang 2016: 3), also agrees to the notion that there are challenges to co-operation in that when a negative situation arises it affects everyone involved. He writes that,

The appealing part of the EU is that it made it easier for European countries to share one another’s prosperity. But as with any co-operation withering means downturns together. Many economists for example agree that the 2008 financial

crisis led to a recession that was much severe. Unemployment rose and tax revenue fell and debt in a number of EU soared.

This view suggests that this diversified range of vulnerabilities that come with economic related flows have also intensified economic security's significance in international relations. Economic transactions have undoubtedly led to crime some of which can be linked to terrorism. States therefore cannot be idle to these shocks as they undermine political stability as well as military security. Thus, economic security has largely become an overwhelming core of the emerging security agenda.

Nesadurai (2005: 4) gives an annotation that, "An acceptance of economic security that does not consider the state of economic globalization does not correspond to the realities of contemporary life." The world is inexorably smaller and more interconnected socially, economically as well as politically. Globalization is becoming an ever more influential "architect" of the new international security agenda. Its impact on the evolution of the relations among states in this key area is contradictory. Advances in communications, technology and transportation have been widely experienced. Geo-economics therefore, replaced geo-politics becoming on the international scene. In the same manner economic security also became an important concern having proven to be factor of both stability and instability. (Ibid) vividly points out that economic power apparently is acknowledged as essential in the determination of primacy or subordination of states. The implications that the economic component have in the process of national security or even global security, as a generator factor and constraint element seek to suggest that economic security has a pivotal standing in the changing security context.

Traditionally the economy has entered into the security debate through its impact on the nation's hard power. The funding of defense, the efficacy of the defense industrial base, and the use of economic sanctions and other instruments as non kinetic tools of warfare were dependent upon the economy. However, today's complex system of international trade, characterized by multi-national agreements, mutual inter-dependence, availability of natural resources and the freedom to exercise choice of policies to develop a nation's economy in the manner desired invites the necessity of economic security. Economic security today forms, arguably, as important a part of security as military security. This idea was also mentioned by participant A:

The US has always been at the top of setting the so called security agenda. In most areas it takes the first stance in global matters. Similarly it has shown the importance of economic security through its various partnerships and policies. One of which is its stance towards the Middle East, how it stands to protect its oil interests directly or indirectly given that energy is a major component of economic security.

The view also suggests that economic security is also majoring security interests in the international realm. Similarly Nanto (2011: 24) notes that, the US and the Obama Administration also took heed of the significance of today's economic security although not at a cost of military security. As the US set about to translate a new agenda into viable policies, it also included the building of the international architecture, protection of a global trading system as well as enhancing the energy security. The US engaged in refashioning global institutions, equipping them to be appropriate enough for global economic changes at hand. Heidi (2012: 12) points that, the administration has moved to fully integrate economics into the national security framework. Hence there is need to understand the interplay between economics and security.

Therefore, while existing scholarship has focused on traditional concerns, defined narrowly as military defense of state interests and territory it has become apparent that this view of security is too restrictive to capture the diversity of threats in an increasingly globalised world. This dramatic shift in the security discourse has intensified the significance of economic security as well as other dimensions in international relations. Thus a more encompassing stance need be adopted.

However, this is not to suggest that the traditional military security has totally lost its grip. Following the 9/11 attacks on the US, terrorism brought about much uncertainties towards global security signifying the strategic importance of military security. The changing context provides a linkage between military and economic security having a direct or indirect bearing on broader security. Participant A notes that:

An economically stable country has the capacity to sustain its military, thus in most cases you cannot talk of military security without considering economic security.

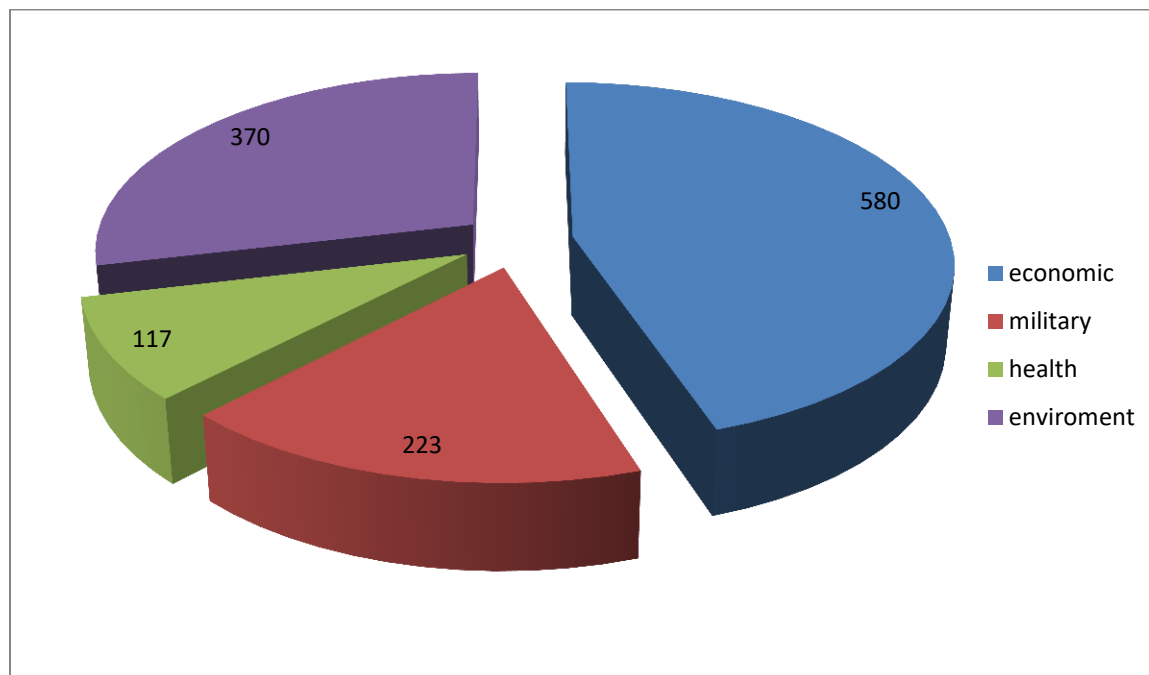
This implies that a strong economy, competitive and dynamic in terms of growth and adaptable to the requirements of integration is an important pillar for the military standing. The US for example is at the top of military expenditure scales mainly because of its capacity to sustain itself

economically. There is at least an equal relationship between its economic component and the military.

This is supported by Dumitru (2004: 48) who notes that, “to discuss security or to project it without regard to its economic component is like a sand castle rising near sea waves yet the same applies for military security.” Also trade agreements that form the basis of economic security can be useful in reducing conflict when they include military alliance commitments. Ferguson (2013: 77) gives an example of how the Soviet Union during the Cold War was shackled and burdened by huge inefficiencies and suffered revenue declines. The soviet economy was at most a third of the size of that of the US yet supporting a bigger population. The Soviet economy ailed at the time of bid advances in industrial productivity leaving the communist world behind. This threatened its military power because Western superiority would manifest itself in the development of whole weapon systems that outclassed the production of the communist world. This shows a nexus between the military and economic components of security.

Below is a pie chart showing results of an analysis by the Union of International Associations showing that economic security has topped the concerns for IGOs, with others established on purely economic terms whilst others have an upper hand regarding economic security.

Figure 1: Number of IGOS and their roles on security



Source: The Yearbook of International Organizations

### 5.3 NATO's Initiatives towards Economic Security

*"We, the political leaders of NATO, are determined to continue renewal of our Alliance so that it is fit for purpose in addressing the 21st Century security challenges"* Lisbon Summit November 2010.

NATO's traditional toolbox of political consultation backed with military means to security has proven to be very useful. However, it is certainly insufficient for emerging challenges and dramatic transformation in the security environment. Participant E referred to Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which states that;

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

The issue of economic security is therefore not a new phenomenon to NATO. Its new security vocation has also taken hid to the changes through various initiatives although not at the expense

traditional standing. Instead it is an extension of NATO's umbrella as it still remains committed to its core tasks. NATO also subscribes to the idea of a military standing with an economic backing

### 5.3.1 NATO Industry Engagement; 2012

NATO's engrossment in economic security has intensified in the contemporary security context. For relative success in its military defence functions, NATO through its flexible set up anticipated the need for an economic backing for sustenance's sake. At the Chicago Summit, Heads of State and Government stressed that:

Maintaining a strong industry in Europe and making fullest possible use of the potential of defence industrial cooperation across the Alliance remain an essential condition for delivering the capabilities needed for 2020 and beyond". (Chicago Summit 2012)

Consequently, NATO has been considering how to improve the NATO-Industry relationship for survival in the future. This initiative by NATO express how industry is an important backbone to economic development and as a result greater defence can be achieved. The industry section is an important tool for NATO's production, trade and market not only of armaments but also has an impact on NATO member states' industries as well. In as much as they have an economic back up NATO has not foregone its military defence role, as such industry engagement for NATO has a dual role and benefit, that is, economic as well as military. NATO in its industry relationship showed an acknowledgement of the economy particularly the industry and its bearing on security defence.

Accordingly participant A expressed the view that NATO has been influential in almost all security dimensions. He notes:

In a way which is distinct from other international organizations and which is focused on the Alliance's area of competence, the security and defence implications have a positive influence on the current and potential economic developments, in accordance with Articles 2 and 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty. It has been largely involved in the military-industrial sector.

Similarly Participant C also noted that the issue of economic security is not necessarily a new phenomenon to NATO:

NATO in its creation it had an economic and military apparatus against communism. Most importantly NATO military industry depends largely on the economic enterprise. The reason why NATO is still standing today is because of its economic capacity to sustain itself. NATO's budget is met by its member states so how then can it sustain itself if the economies are crumbling. The reduced defense expenditures may have a combined negative effect both at the level of the Alliance and at national level with the member contributions - both direct and indirect - to the NATO common resources negatively affected.

This shows that the establishment of the NATO-Industry Engagement within an era of complex change is equally important for its impact on economic development. While NATO has no direct leverage on industry or market regulations, it has a role to play through the harmonization of national and multinational capability requirements. The aim of this "Framework" is to improve the way NATO engages with industry in a mutually beneficial, coherent and transparent relationship for harmonization of capability requirements and solutions through existing NATO-Industry arrangements and bodies. According to ([www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)) the NATO-Industry Forum, as an annual event sponsored by the NATO Secretary General to stimulate lively and output-oriented strategic debate between industry and NATO with the mutual goal of enhanced Alliance security. Hence it is apparent to note that even NATO has also acknowledged the significance of economy to security as entailed through a NATO- Industry relationship. This was also emphasized by the NATO business portal noting that, NATO interacts with industry through the NATO Industrial Advisory Group (NIAG), the Framework for Collaborative Interaction (FFCI), the NATO-Industry Forum, as well as through conferences, symposia and seminars. NATO has continued to build upon the momentum on the security-economic nexus.

### 5.3.2 Declaration on Transatlantic Relations; 2014

NATO Parliamentary Assembly in 2014 expressed the importance of "A common history, a common future: A renewed transatlantic partnership for a strong Alliance." They reaffirmed that, the transatlantic bond is and remains the central and fundamental pillar of the Alliance. According to a NATO website ([www.nato-pa.int](http://www.nato-pa.int)) the sixth clause of the declaration shows how NATO has taken heed to the new security concerns amongst which economic security is part of through the transatlantic partnership. It states:

In a globalised and interconnected world, our citizens also feel less directly bound together as part of a distinctive transatlantic community. We need active efforts



across all fields of culture, education, media, diplomacy and economy to create a renewed transatlantic culture, and dedicate resources to these efforts. As a first step, we should introduce new transatlantic scholarships for future leaders in the fields of foreign policy, defence, economics and science.

Egan and Cowles (2015: 2), postulates that the transatlantic relations in the security, diplomatic and economic sphere could promote economic self-sufficiency to the countries within the transatlantic region. Because of stability, democratically, in terms of policies guiding the transatlantic region the environment becomes conducive to economic growth and investment.

The transatlantic relationship can also be regarded as coiled within the EU-NATO relationship. 22 out of 28 Allies are also part of the EU. But nations only have one 'single set of forces'. In this regard, a closer and mutually reinforcing cooperation between NATO and the EU is unique in that essential partners, can mobilize a broad range of tools to respond to these challenges, make a more efficient use of resources and better provide security in Europe and beyond ([www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)). Participant D pointed to a reciprocal kind of relationship between NATO and the EU. He notes that:

You cannot talk of the Transatlantic Relationship without a mention of the transformed EU-NATO cooperation. EU foresees economic aspects; NATO on the other hand is responsible for defence and military security. The cooperation has both an economic and military basis.

According to Munlaws (2016: 4) the evolution of the NATO-European Union relationship looks to provide insightful analyses and recommendations about topics such as the ever important link between security and economy (concerning trade policy, industrial cooperation, or the future of programs such as Smart Defense). Targeted analyses of economic developments thus enhance the strategic awareness of Allies, regarding potential threats against their security, and regarding their own capacity, over the medium to long term, to generate the resources to meet those threats. Such analyses also provide support to broader political and military assessments, as well as to the political consultation process among NATO members.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

The chapter alludes to the idea that security challenges that are rising in contemporary international relations have come to signify the importance of economic security. The major argument is that almost every dimension of security has an economic dimension. NATO has also

applauded the importance of the economy in its defence operations. In as much as economic security is significant in this new security context it does not override the traditional military security or other dimensions of the security discourse, each dimension are equally important in its own domain. A broader view of security suggests a linkage between economic security and the other dimensions of security whereby each has an economic component.

## **CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The chapter provides a summary of the key findings, recommendations and implications of the findings. This is achieved through summarizing the purpose of the study, objectives, research methodology, framework of analysis, limitations and a brief overview of the findings and analysis.

#### **6.2 Summary of the Study**

##### **6.2.1 Purpose of the Study**

The Cold War era can be understood through the prisms of realism. It is an era referred to as an era of traditional security whereby state survival and security took precedence with hard politics playing a major role. The end of the Cold War triggered the reconceptualization of the security discourse. It marked a new beginning for international security agenda as well as witnessing the rise of new threats and changes to security, such as the undisputed changes in the perceptions of military force. The end of the Cold War is arguably the most momentous event in international politics. The advance in globalization led to the redistribution of power in the international system. It has produced powerful forces of social fragmentation and creating critical vulnerabilities. It is within this changing security context that issues of low politics, particularly economic security have rose to significance. New challenges emerging in the international system require a new line of solutions as well. The study, therefore, sought to assess the significance of economic security in a changing global context, examining how NATO an organization established on a completely traditional (military) basis has considered and adhered to the significance of economic security thereof.

##### **6.2.2 Restatement of the Objectives**

The study examined the significance of economic security and how NATO's economic initiatives enhanced security to its member states in this changing global security context by:

- Examining the trends and nature of the changing global context;
- Assessing NATO's original mandate and the changes thereof in a changing security environment and;
- Exploring NATO's initiatives and their value to the security of its members.

### 6.2.3 Restatement of the Research Methodology

The study made use of a case study as the research design in which qualitative methods of data gathering were utilized. These methods included in-depth interviews with key informants and documentary search. Open ended questionnaires were also adopted as a research tool. Respondents for the interviews and questionnaire participants were selected through purposive sampling technique. Data was analyzed and presented thematically.

### 6.2.4 Framework of Analysis

In an attempt to provide a theoretical basis for broadening the understanding the study, the study used the theory of security communities. NATO's strategies, policies and operations are largely guided by its mandate of collective defence. The study, therefore, engaged the concept of collective defence within the lenses of the theory of security communities as a guide to the research. The theory subscribes to the idea that in a pluralistic security community members retain the distinction as individual sovereign states, share the same identity, values and intentions and enjoy many direct contacts and interactions between each other as alluded by Deutsch et al (1957: 3). Such a community shows some reciprocity that is produced in face-to-face contacts and manifested through somewhat long-term benefits and altruism. Hence, given the nature of NATO's alliance, the study refers to it as a pluralistic security community whose interests and values are largely guided by the founding Washington treaty. Explained within these lenses NATO is a security community sharing common liberal values, guided by the assurance of reciprocity and is expected to stabilize the region by initiating a process of confidence building, fostering political and military cooperation, as well as by shaping consensus and mutual trust.

## 6.3 Limitations of the Study

The researcher encountered a challenge in accessing the targeted key informants. Key informants in the study included academics and officials from the embassies of NATO member states in

Zimbabwe. Some of the key informants were busy and access to them for in-depth interviews could not be afforded easily, security procedures also hindered the flow of data collection. The researcher resorted to make use of mail administered open ended questionnaires which could be filled at their convenience. The study also made use of data which was gathered through documentary search to compliment the interviews and questionnaire.

## **6.4 Summary of Findings and Analysis**

The changing security context consist about five security sectors, that is, “military, economic, societal, political and environmental.” Most importantly these sectors do not operate in isolation from each other they are all woven together in a strong web of linkage. The concerns in the international system have expanded and the broadened context embraces not only the preoccupation with territorial integrity and military security but rather also includes non military elements of security. Sperling and Kirchner (1995: 2) suggest that contemporary international system has now a new currency of power as an important category of change. The currency of military power has been devalued being driven out by the currencies of commercial competitiveness and economic capacity. The study presumes that the new era brought by the end of the Cold War has brought about changes to the security context and it is within that framework of change that economic security has also emerged to importance.

### **6.4.1 Economic Security as a pivotal security concern**

In the contemporary international relations economic relations between states define the general character of state relations and thereby establishing economic security. Economic instruments consequently shape the nature and relations between states. Economic Security has become more important as military influenced conflicts decline and new vulnerabilities arising from other factors such as climate change affecting labor movements, food production and distribution and the poor and rich divide across the world continue to increase. Economic security becomes even threatened by distribution disruption due to threats by terrorism cyber crimes across the globe. These uncertainties in the international system have contributed to the significance of economic security with conflicts being triggered by economic forces whether internally or externally. The global economy has become more and more integrated as such stimulating interest for economic security. Gray (2012: 1) notes that the transatlantic relationship is at new perilous crossroads,

whereby economic austerities in one country have an effect on the other. Hence the research found that in this changing context economic security has rose to significance.

#### 6.4.2 NATO's Initiatives towards Economic Security

In order to retain salience and relevance in the changing security context NATO have also adhered to the emerging threats and concerns in the international system. NATO extended its wings to include matters to do with economic security notwithstanding its original mandate of collective defence through military means. NATO engrossed the NATO Industry Engagement in 2012 as an economic backing to its military strategies and missions. This kind of NATO-Industrial Relationship expresses that NATO has taken heed to the growing importance of the economy and economic security. It also set up industrial forums and declarations. The 2014 Declaration on Trans-Atlantic Relations umbrellas the EU-NATO relations. The evolution of the NATO-European Union relationship looks to provide insightful analyses and recommendations about topics such as the ever important link between security and economy (concerning trade policy, industrial cooperation, or the future of programs such as Smart Defense). Hence NATO has not been ignorant to the changes in the security context, rather it is through its flexible nature that it has managed to cater for the changes and remained to be a relevant organization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### 6.4. 3 Implications of the Study

Globalization has enabled the rise of emerging economies and transformed global trade, leading to global changes in economic power, which may gradually translate into broader power shifts, including important developments in the global distribution of defence capabilities. In parallel, national economies are interconnected, and thus inter-dependent, to a degree not seen in previous historical periods. The economic issues related to security are both broad and complex and understanding of the linkages between economics and security is essential in today's complex international environment. The economy enters into the debate on national or international security through three overlapping roles. The first is the economy as the source of funds, material, and personnel for the military. The second is the economy as a provider of economic security and well-being for states. The third is the economy as the foundation for interaction among countries and of building shared or competing interests. As prescribed through the

empirical observations of the security communities theory, NATO has a direct or indirect obligation towards economic security across the Atlantic. Central to the theory is that, a community with shared identities and values have many sided and direct relations amongst units and diffused reciprocity and dependable expectations of peaceful change thereby focusing on the constructive nature of economic security. These observations therefore imply that:

A first area of assessment in the field of international economic security is therefore to explore the linkages between economic trends and forecasts in different world regions and their possible strategic implications for the security of the Allies, individually and collectively.

A second area of focus includes the study of the potential impacts of economic levers and coercion between states, including both legitimate, multilateral economic sanctions, and unilateral coercive measures, such as trade embargoes. Awareness regarding such measures supports wider discussions on the Alliance's wider security environment and potential risks and threats to Allies and to NATO partner countries.

Integration of the Atlantic region and the rest of Europe will be a key aspect of long-term recovery and regional economic security and stability. Hence there is need to pay heed to the important opportunities for cooperation in transport, energy, and trade facilitation.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

The nature and trends of the international security environment has been marked by various shifts and turns following the end of the Cold War. This new era is marked by both opportunities and uncertainties. The scope of security has broadened intensified as well and there is a general conception of the so called new security agenda. The study established that the role and importance of economic security in this context has largely intensified with geo-economics playing a greater part as far as global security is concerned. However, this does not suggest complete eradication of the traditional military security or the abandoning of other security dimensions rather it calls for a more inclusive and an integrator stance when addressing issues to do with security. It is therefore, the adaptation of NATO to these changes that allows it to remain a relevant tool in international relations. The study therefore, upholds that a point of global

security can only be reached if actors appreciate all the dimensions of security as important in distinct positions.

## **6.6 Recommendations**

The following are suggestions on NATO's approach towards the attainment of economic security:

- NATO has to combine economic revival at home with adaptive and flexible adjustment of the international economic system.
- Free trade is one of the best drivers of microeconomic and structural reforms and economic security at large. Hence NATO should engage with the EU for more encompassing policies along the transatlantic community.
- NATO will need to integrate its foreign economic policy with its strategic and security interests lest it will lose its identity on the global stage if it loses its economic dynamism. Hence the need to address the fundamentals of its economic strength, mainly because that power touches almost every dimension of influence – from markets and innovation, to ideas and international politics, to military strength and security.
- Since eventually it is the private sector which will be the engine of economic security, it is especially important that the countries in the Euro-Atlantic community pursue policies that promote private investment.



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## **Appendix A**

### **LETTER OF INFORMATION**

Thank you for taking interest in my research. My name is Madhlangobe Charity (R118344N). I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in International Relations at the University of Zimbabwe. I wish to provide information of my research study so that you have a clear understanding of what it is about. The title of my research is "Significance of Economic Security in a changing global security context: The case of NATO initiatives, 2010 to 2016."

Following the end of the Cold War the security discourse has rapidly shifted from that of traditional security towards a considerably all encompassing context. The once uncontested significance of military security has gradually lost its grip with issues of low politics particularly economic security, gaining prominence in the post Cold War era. Actors in the international system has not remained idle to these changes, adaptations have been made by states as single entities as well as organizational structures. The research therefore, seeks to ascertain the significance of economic security in this emerging context, analyzing how NATO a once purely military alliance has incorporated and valued the economic security of its member states

Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. There will be no negative consequences should you choose to withdraw from the study. You will not be paid for participating in the study and you will not be expected to pay anything to take part in the study. The interviews will be conducted at times convenient to you.

Provision of your name in interviews and during presentation of findings would be upon consent.

Should you have any problems or queries please contact me on +263 774885749 or my supervisor Mr. L Mhandara at ([lmhandara@gmail.com](mailto:lmhandara@gmail.com)) or the Department of Political and Administrative Studies on 04-303211 Ext 14013 email: [polad@sociol.ac.uz.zw](mailto:polad@sociol.ac.uz.zw)

Sincerely

Madhlangobe Charity.

## Appendix B

### CONSENT

#### Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher Madhlangobe Charity about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study.
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study including personal details will be anonymously processed into the study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerized system by this researcher
- I may at any stage without prejudice withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

.....  
.....

.....

**Full name of Participant**

**Date**

**Time**

I ..... herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

.....

.....

.....

**Full Name of Researcher**

**Date**

**Time**

.....

.....

## **Appendix C**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

**Research Topic:** “Significance of Economic Security in a changing global security context: The case of NATO initiatives, 2010 to 2016.”

QN1. How has the global security context changed in terms of nature and trends?

QN2. What is the nature of economic security in the context of the emerging global security?

QN3. What has prompted the significance of economic security in international relations?

QN4. Has economic security overridden the importance of the traditional state security?

QN5. What role has other intergovernmental organisations played in a bid to foster economic security in the new security era?

QN6. What has NATO done with regard to economic security and what are its futuristic prospects?

QN7. What kind of obligations towards the achievement of economic security can be implemented?



## Appendix D

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Fill your answer in the box.

Qsn 1. In your own opinion how has the nature and trends of the global security context changed?

Qsn 2. What is your understanding of economic security?

Qsn 3. What has prompted the significance of economic security in international relations?

Qsn 4. Has the traditional military security lost its grip in international relations given that relations are mostly characterised by cooperation amongst states?

Qsn 5. States are no longer the only actors in the international system, there are other non state actors including intergovernmental organizations. How have these contributed to the attainment of economic security?

Qsn 6. How has NATO dealt with rising challenges in the international system, those regarding economic security to be particular?

Qsn 7. As a member state of the NATO what initiatives have NATO implemented towards state security as well as economic security?

Qsn 8. What could be NATO's futuristic prospects as far as security is concerned?

Qsn 9. What kind of obligations towards the achievement of economic security can NATO implement from a national level to regional or even international level?