

## NATO ADAPTATION AND TERRORISM, AL-QAIDA SECURITY IMPLICATION TO THE BALKAN REGION

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### Abstract

Although the Cold War ended without a major war, post-Cold War period started with regional wars in Balkans and Middle East. These wars cost to the not only human casualties and suffers but also collateral, environmental damages. One of its results was terrorism as global wide. The wars in Balkan and Middle East also raised the question of the “Ability of the UN and NATO” to keep and achieve the global peace and justice in the world. It is also a must to analyze the changing terminology of the “Self Defence Right (Article 51) and its new interpretations by the Bush administration. We need to find answers to following questions:

- Whether NATO has completed its adaptation process from cold War structure to the new World Order.
- How the post 9-11 Security Strategy of the US affected the NATO’s concept and global Security Environments?
- What are the main characteristics of the contemporary terror?
- What will be the role of the NATO in the context of the “War on Terror”.
- What is the cognitive bias on the “terror” and its connection with Islam and Al-Qaida?

It is a clear reality and results of the recent Gulf Wars and Balkan Wars that they caused a serious crack and end lead to the lack of confidence between western and Islamic civilizations. Today Al-Qaide is the most dangerous result of the Second Gulf War at 2003.

This article will assess the main rationales behind the “War on Terror by the West” and “War on Religion by the Al- Qaida”. The main source and reference for the assessment will be based on the “Manuel of the Al-Qaida”, Official Statements of the US statesmen and my own experiences and observations during my military service at the main Hq. of the Coalition Forces (2003-2004) at Baghdad-Iraq.

In the last part of the article; lessons learned from the Gulf war and War on Terror will be analyzed and suggestions will be provided for the Balkans.

**Key Words:** Al-Qaide, Pre Emptive Defence, Preventive Defence, Charter,

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## **INTRODUCTION:**

Symbolic end of the cold war began by the fall of the Berlin Wall at 1990. Fall of the Berlin wall known as the symbol of the Iron Curtain since 1961 which separated Eastern and Western Block. End of Iron Curtain was expected also the end of the COLD WAR. It had new hopes for more peaceful and stable world order. But hard reality of the history immediately followed that Cold War had been replaced with the New Conflicts and wars. Reunification or unification of the East and West Germany did not achieve the “peace and Stability in the World. Central Europe was the central hub during the Cold war, and Middle east and Balkans as old periphery became an center of the political competition and security environment. Second Gulf War started with the Invasion of the Quwait by the IrAl-Qaida at 1990. Another war erupted in the Caucasus Region, between two old soviet states Azerbaijan and Armenia between 1988-1993. Triangle of the Wars had been closed with Balkan war after the dissolution of the Yugoslavia. Reasons behind the All these regional wars was the power vacuum created with the end of the cold war. Since the main task for preventing wars was on the UNSC whole blame could be directed to this organization. But it was a clear experience that end of major war necessitates new world order and reforming and /or renewing political, military and economic institutions as well according to Long Cycle Theory. Question is wheatear it could be achieved in evolutionary way or with global earthquakes?

### **1. POST COLD WAR ADAPTATION:**

First organization that might be assessed positively would be the NATO. It has adapted a itself timely to the changing security environment immediately after 1990. At London summit NATO started with the new strategic concept and new strategy. Its main strategic concept renewed and became unclassified which means open to every one.

New NATO started with the declaration on three main message:

- NATO no longer considered Russia as an adversary,
- Launched a new program for cooperation open to all the former communist states of the East.
- Called for a restructuring of its military force structure and a reorientation of its strategy. <sup>1</sup>

### **Core Task Change:**

NATO also declared a profound change of its main task which was “collective security” It enhanced Article V core mission by adding political dimension. : “We reaffirm that security and stability do not lie solely in the military dimension, and we intend to enhance the political component of our Alliance as provided for by Article 2 of our Treaty.”

### **Partnership For the Peace:**

New NATO would be enlarged organisation to avoid establishing new dividing lines, which may end up with new conflicts and crises. Open door policy and inclusive PfP program was the right and timely political decision of the Alliance. Transformation of the Alliance had another new element which was “partnership” concept. As explained in article 4:

*“We recognise that, in the new Europe, the security of every state is inseparably linked to the security of its neighbours”.*

It has first time open the door of the Alliance to the ex-soviet states. NATO would be a framework organization that would be used where;

*“Europeans, Canadians and Americans work together not only for the common defence, but to build new partnerships with all the nations of Europe.”*

This was the expression of the threat perception from cold war hostile ideology to the New partnership strategy.

*“The Atlantic Community must reach out to the countries of the East which were our adversaries in the Cold War, and extend to them the hand of friendship”.*

### **Force Structure Adaptation:**

NATO has declared its third adaptation with the “adapting its integrated force structure and its strategy based on the future conditions.

*As Soviet troops leave Eastern Europe and a treaty limiting conventional armed forces is implemented, the Alliance's integrated force structure and its strategy will change fundamentally to include the following change:*

- *NATO will rely more heavily on the ability to build up larger forces if and when they might be needed.*

Strategic Concept Change:

*Framework for all these changes would be based in the main document which was top secret during the cold war.*

*New Strategy will be based on reducing the forces and depending less on the Nuclear Weapons:*

*“NATO will prepare a new Allied military strategy moving away from "forward defence" where appropriate, towards a reduced "forward presence".*

*“modifying "flexible response" to reflect a “reduced reliance on nuclear weapons.”*

*And Alliance will not be the first one to use force.*

### **Challenges In Adaptation:**

Although NATO made a fresh and early adaptation to post cold war with solemn London declaration but deeds were not so rapid and easy as it was declared. Following challenges and obstacles had slowed the NATO’s transformation. Without changing its Treaty, and Decision Making procedure it should be accepted as the “great success of the West” since the Europe-North Americas could achieved the consensus on the paper but in the field many time consuming conflicts caused a fierce efforts. What were the important challenges and conflicts in adaptation phase of the NATO could be summarized at below:

### **NEW THREAT as Reason D’etre:**

NATO was a military Alliance which was set up against the SOVIET threat. Due to the lack of RED ARMY threat, what would be the mission and “Reason de etre (existence)”. Later this reason had been found and declared by the new secretary of the NATO, Willy Claese and he stated that “*Islamic Militancy had emerged as perhaps the single gravest threat to the NATO Alliance and European Security*”. *This statement of the NATO SECRETARY started first conceptual and structural adaptation. Since threat would be the benchmark for the post-cold war NATO, TURKEY objected and protested the Clause.*

*NATO SECRETERAIES used to sound lokomotif members policies and strategies Secretar Claus expressed the new threat on behalf of the majorityof the NATO. As one of the member I had participated “WRITING the NEW SECURITY CONCEPT” which has replaced the second one in the NATO military Comitee between 1994-1997*

*Clash on the threat perception TU was the only state opposing the “Islamic Religious Fundemantalism”:*

- *Turkey strongly objected to adapt Alliance with the new partners based on religious belief system.*
- *It would lead to new dividing lines based on faith of the states that could end up with religious conflicts.*
- *Islam could not be put as scapegoat for the “existing reason of the Alliance”*
- *Orthodox Christians and Jews also had committed “state terror” in the past.*

*As spending many months at 1994, TU lifted bracket with the condition that “threat might be originated from fundamental religious, including Islam and Orthodox Christianity” The “Orthodox fundemantalism” expression created immediate consensus amont all 16 members by replacing it with the new wording: “trans-boarder movements”*

### **Core Mission and New mission:**

*It was a must to replace “Collective Defence” core mission of the new Alliance. But what would be the new tasks for the NATO? General consensus had been reached and overcome by dividing tasks as “ARTICLE-V (Collective Defense)” and “NON-ARTICLE V (Crises Management and Peace Keeping)”*

### **European Identity:**

*The role leadership sharing was not solved as easy as conceptual mission division. French and US-UK did not divide NATO operational responsibilities and tasks according to the continent. ATLANTIK link should be principal and we should not weaken the NATO by dividing its roles, command and force structure. From French German led group defended for “European Identity must be strengthened and European crises, except collective defense, should be belonged to the Europeans which will be represented by the WEU. Command responsibility and decision making will be delegated to the “Europeans.” French since the De-Gaul, took part of the Political Body (NAC) and she withdrawn from the Integrated Military Structure and Military Committee (MC) and International Military Staff (IMS). Political and military leadership of the Alliance had flamed as new cries. French and Germany and some other EU members took part in the side of the “EUROPEANS Must manage the NON\_ARTICLE V mission such as peace keeping, conflict prevention missions, while the US and UK along with the TURKEY strongly objected the division of the missions. The rationale was that “dividing NATO missions might lead to structural division and might end up with breaking the” TRANSATLANTIC LINK” which was one of the fundamental political aim and goal. This conflict, for the time being, has been sleeping or frozen and solution will be taken as case by case. At the other side of the coin collective force and capability assets allocation to the European Led Operation could not be overcome up to 1996. TURKEY insisted to have the responsibility in decision making process and command and control of the EU LED operation. The rationale was allocating and using common NATO assets*

*and forces such as AWACS. German proposal for the allocation has been resolved temporarily with the principal of “separable but not separate formula”*

### **TERRORISM as a international threat:**

*Whether would be ACCEPTED as a threat to the Alliance was another thorny issue that has created obstacles to the adaptation process of the Alliance. Up to 2001 terrorism had been evaluated as the “domestic issue” which should be dealt according to domestic jurisdiction by the almost whole 15 members of the Alliance. Only Turkey, due to its suffering and great experience with the PKK, had spent great effort to convince her allies of its potential transnational dimension. But main reason behind could be explained that it was the problem of the TU, non European and Islamic tradition. PKK was not a threat but leverage for the latent political security national interests. As a active participant to concept writing committee in the EUROLONGTERM-ELT studies at 1987-89 , PKK was seen just a Kurdish Resistance Forces. Based on this long discussion NATO lost a decade to adapt its structure and concept to the future real global threat environment due to short sighted and idological national policy.*

### **Strategic Concept Change:**

*First Unclassified Strategic Concept was prepared and approved at November 1991. Although Gulf War just ended, security and threat perception was mainly focused on “multi directional and multi faceted threats” that may arise from the serious economic, social and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes,... This was the result of the disintegration and integration phase at Caucasus, Balkan and Central Asia..The power vacuum had caused new ethnic and religious conflicts and wars in the world.*

*Terrorisma was just a remote danger limited with the Turkish PKK problem. The terrorism was included just to satisfy TURKEY. Other threat dimension was as follows:*

*“Any armed attack on the territory of the Allies, from whatever direction, would be covered by Articles 5 and 6 of the Washington Treaty. However, Alliance security must also take account of the global context. Alliance security interests can be affected by other risks of a wider nature, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, disruption of the flow of vital resources and actions of terrorism and sabotage.*

Eight years later at 1999 Alliance had achieved its second conceptual adaptation. Main security concern for that period was to complete “enlargement” and “partnership and dialogue” phase in Europe. 1999 strategic concept did not recognize the terrorism as a threat to its security but *just a risk*. Almost same wording had been inserted with the insistence of the turkey.

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*the global context. Alliance security interests can be affected by other risks of a wider nature, including*

- *Acts of terrorism,*
- *Sabotage and*
- *Organized crime, and*
- *By the disruption of the flow of vital resources.*

*New risks-not a threat- expanded with the organized crime. Another change was inserted as separate article on the proliferation of the mass destruction weapons. Even that threat seen as just a “serious concern”*

“The proliferation of NBC weapons and their means of delivery remains a matter of serious concern.”

2010 after 9 years of the 9-11 attack, NATO has decided to make fundamental shift in strategic security and threat environment. Following points could be highlighted:

*“The proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and their means of delivery, threatens incalculable consequences for global stability and prosperity. During the next decade, proliferation will be most acute in some of the world’s most volatile regions.”*

Now Global security was under the threat of the proliferation WMD capabilities. This threat states did not mentioned but was clear that they were IRAN and North Korea. India, Pakistan, Israel were out of these threat for the Alliance.

Connected but unique new threat is the “terrorism” for the Alliance. It states that “Terrorism poses a direct threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries, and to international stability and prosperity more broadly”.

Islam has not been connected with the terrorism, “extremist group” has been used to define. .

“ Extremist groups continue to spread to, and in, areas of strategic importance to the Alliance..”

Instability or conflict beyond NATO borders has been defined as:

*“directly threaten Alliance security, including by fostering extremism, terrorism, and trans-national illegal activities such as trafficking in arms, narcotics and people.”*

#### **4. POST 9-11 ADAPTATION**

The Alliance achieved its adaptation to face the “terrorism threat” at political, military and other structure. Main lines of its adaptation as follows:

- *Traditional notions of deterrence and defense provide no guaranteed protection.*
- *Terrorist attacks cannot be deterred by the threat of military retaliation,*
- *Large-scale military operations would not be the most appropriate response*

*Based on these conclusions Alliance prepared its adaptation based onj the following principles:*

- *sharing of information is of fundamental importance to prevent terrorist attacks*
  - o *and will deepen international cooperation in order to fight terrorism together with UN and other organizations. In this context it created a “joint civil-military Intelligence Unit” Another tool used for that purpose is the NATO Intelligence Liaison Unit, which promotes information sharing between NATO members and their partner countries.*
- *Prevention terrorist attack enhancing the resilience of societies and critical infrastructure of the member states, is its second pillar to fight with terrorism. It has been investing in new technologies and scientific solutions, such as sensors to detect suicide bombers in public places. The Alliance also conduct capacity-building initiatives, such as training and technical assistance, in regions where terrorists operate, recruit or hide.*
- *Structural changes and adaptation has been achieved also in the strategic political and military level. Command structure has been fundamentally change and adapted to meet new emerging challenges. First in the NATO HQ International Staff will specialize by organizational change. in August 2010, a new division was created in NATO’s International Staff as “emerging security challenges division”.*
- *Force Structure level NATO two strategic command has replaced the pre war on terror at 2002; Allied Command Transformation-ACT and Supreme Alliance Operational Command-SAOC. SACT will be commanded by the US. It will be responsible all changes and transformation of the Alliance. Allied Command Transformation (ACT) is leading, at the military strategic command level, the transformation of NATO’s military structure, forces, capabilities and doctrine.*
- *Under ACT three very important elements are created:*
  - o *Joint Warfare Centre in Norway,*
  - o *Joint Force Training Centre in Poland,*
  - o *Joint Analysis & Lessons Learned Centre in Portugal.*
  - o *By these centers NATO will keep its adaptation process pace to meet timely educated, trained and exercised command and force structure. Training strategic level commanders and staff and training tactical level on Combined, Joint Force operation will overcome the flexibility and appropriate counter terrorism capability. The most important center is going to be “the third one, Lessons learned center. Based on operations experiences would be provided after analyzed, assessed lessons.*



- At the NATO Chicago Summit in May 2012, NATO Heads of State and Government reiterated commitments made at the Lisbon Summit in 2010 to continue enhancing cooperation with the UN through political dialogue and practical cooperation.
- Conceptual Adaptation: NATO prepared its first doctrine as the Military Committee doctrine at 2001. But Political Guidance has been published just last year. According to this guidelines The challenge of terrorism requires a holistic approach by the international community, involving a wide range of instruments. To enhance Allies' security, NATO will continue to engage with partner countries and other international actors in countering terrorism. The Alliance will strengthen its outreach to and cooperation with partner countries as well as international and regional organisations, in particular the UN, EU and OSCE.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. **Global Terrorism: Al-Qaida:**

Based on all these background information on NATO's adaptation phase looking to the issue" from other side, Terrorist- would be useful to understand the roots of the terror and to cure with appropriate medicine. As of today NATO claims success on "counter-terror- operation in Afghanistan, due to decreased insurgency in Afghanistan.

The question is after withdrawal at 2014 Al-Qaida could overcome the Afghan Security forces and took the control the state or make the "Government" as failed state? The future could not be determined. If we look to IRAL-QAIDA case which was billed by the US, has begin even worse situation. Monthly 300-800 civil people were loosing their life in terror attack. The Al-Qaida analyze from their aims, tactics has been taken from the document found in the England in one of the apartment that was belong to Al-Qaida at 2000.

Its emblem on the first page gives its message "Military Studies in the Jihad [Holy War]Against the Tyrants".

So for the AL-QAIDA main target is the "tyrants". It will be more correct from Islamic interpretation, "tyrants" are those who oppress the weak. Oppressors are the main enemy for the AL-QAIDA. Religious or faith differences is not the target.

At the preamble it explains the rationale behind the confrontation as the "apostate regimes" "does not know Socratic debates ..., Platonic ideals ..., nor Aristotelian diplomacy."

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<sup>2</sup> NATO's policy guidelines on counter-terrorism  
Aware, Capable and Engaged for a Safer Future, 21 May. 2012  
REFERANCES:TBW

After this statement the only way in communication with these regimes explained as

*“But it knows the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine-gun.”*

So from this introduction AL-QAIDA see no peaceful way but make a “war” as the mean to achieve its main aim; establishing ISLAMIC GOVERNMENTS.

*“Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been by pen and gun, by word and bullet, by tongue and teeth”*

AL-QAIDA target audiences were women. A selection woman is a perfect goal to convince people in Islamic world. Since the Qur’an gives the women “special Place and value” Mother is important and sacred. Prophet Muhammad said “the key of the heavens is under the feet of the mothers” Qur’an also orders to behave with compassion to the parents”

AL-QAIDA had selected very strategic target and explains the scourge and sufferings of the believer (mümin) women’s with the headlines of **“Pledge, O Sister”**

*“To the sister believer whose clothes the criminals have stripped off. To the sister believer whose hair the oppressors have shaved. To the sister believer who’s body has been abused by the human dogs.”*

With the very provocative wordings AL-QAIDA touches on the very sensitive wounds of the women: Body abuse and clothes-örtü- which is the commandment of the Qur’an. Namus is very different and sacred value in the Islam. Many blood feuds, killings are the result of the “Feud of namus” Even the word of “Namus” is not in the western languages, including the English. So opening the door of the “jihad” with the women and namus was a very clever choice.

After this background picture, AL-QAIDA presents itself as the rescuer and promises to take their revenge from the godless and apostate regimes:

*Covenant, O Sister to make their women widows and their children orphans. Covenant, O Sister to make them desire death and hate appointments and prestige. Covenant, O Sister to slaughter them like lambs and let the Nile, al-Asi, and Euphrates rivers flow with their blood.*

*Covenant, O Sister to be a pick of destruction for every godless and apostate regime. Covenant, O Sister to retaliate for you against every dog that touches you even with a bad word.*

New stage starts under the headline of the introduction with the “sufferings of the Muslims”:

*Martyrs were killed, women were widowed, children were orphaned, men were handcuffed, chaste women's heads were shaved, harlots' heads were crowned, atrocities were inflicted on the innocent, gifts were given to the wicked, virgins were raped on the prostitution alter ...*

AL-QAIDA here compares the bad-good to enhance the hate of the oppressed-“mazlum”-people. “Namus” is once again is at the center of the strategy. “Harlots-prostitutes head crowned, virgins were raped” while the Muslim women were widowed.

Than AL-QAIDA explains the origin and date of the Islamic “scourge” starts with the Turkish Republic law which abolished the Caliphate at the 1924. So to use as the mean to the need of the caliphate of the Islamic world” accuses the Turkey and middle east states that they have caused damage and sufferings of the “Islamic Nations”:

*After the fall of our orthodox caliphates on March 3, 1924 and after expelling the colonialists, our Islamic nation was afflicted with apostate rulers who took over in the Moslem nation. These rulers turned out to be more infidel and criminal than the colonialists themselves. Moslems have endured all kinds of harm, oppression, and torture at their hands.*

## **6. CONCLUSIONS:**

Lack of dialogue and lack of will of the Islamic governments for peaceful solution and cooperative councils. Manuel

In addition to the important partnership with the UN, NATO has increased its contacts with other international, regional and sub-regional organisations in the fight against terrorism, such as the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Civil Aviation Organization. For the international community to be effective, cohesion, coordination and unity of purpose are of utmost importance