

NATO'S CHALLENGES IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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Abstract

After the end of the cold war the issue of NATO's future has become one of the most discussed topics in the international arena. The question is what role has already NATO in the security of European states? And how effective will be its role facing the challenges of today? North Atlantic Alliance as an organization that continues to maintain a spirit of cooperation in the area of security and defense of the sovereignty of all states undertakes to engage member of states to discuss the new challenges which it is facing today. We can't deny the important role has played NATO to defuse conflicts in Kosovo -Serbia 1999 issue, in the prevention of ethnic and territorial conflicts in the Balkans, and stabilization relations between the parties in conflict. In the new world order NATO is faced with challenges such as terrorism, extremism, organized crime, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic conflicts. As a result of these developments is not easy for international institutions to afford these changes and new threats that are risking global security. These developments are very problematic after heavy slap stability, peace and security in the world because intend to wrenching the sovereign states, hit relations between states violation international principles and laws. A challenge of globalized terrorism was not previously a serious challenge globally as it is today. Crimean issue will qualify as challenges and serious threat to the security and stability of Europe, since the Cold War. The annexation of the Crimea by Russia and ongoing threats against Ukraine are a memory to countries in Eastern Europe, and especially the Balkans, NATO constitutes the backbone of national and European security. NATO pretend to become the leading player in the global security, but this extension requires deeper commitment among allies more susceptible to threats. Major threat that is coming across global security today is the terrorist organization ISIS, a radical extremist organization with the potential and military vehicles, which is putting at risk not only the Middle East countries, but Europe and the United States of America. The elimination of this organization and other terrorist groups is the duty immediate to global security and highlights the necessity of NATO's evolution. The role of NATO in the security of peace is irreplaceable but above all, it should serve as a catalyst for security in the world answered many concerns deriving as a result of violation of safety.

Keywords: NATO, challenges, threats, security globally.

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of collective defense became one of the main lessons of the Second World War. States involved in the fight requested the establishment of a security system in Europe which would reduce potential threats and maintain order and peace. Evidence suggests that the post-World War II political, economic and military pressures of a major power such as the Soviet Union was aiming to change the balance of power by becoming a threatening and ambitious force for Western European countries and their Atlantic Allies. The obligation of the Soviet model on Eastern European countries and the imposition of the non-democratic regime of the Soviet Union on Western democracies constituted a real threat to peace, democracy, and economic development in Western Europe and thus dictated the creation of NATO, a large defense organization.

Most of the Cold War issues consisted of political, economic and military differences between the East and the West. Shortly after the end of the Cold War NATO, as an intergovernmental organization of sovereign states, undertook the most serious initiative to provide equal security guarantees for all members, managed the crisis resolution taking reciprocal security measures and cooperation with former opposing countries, by encouraging the dialogue and the establishment of good neighborliness between European countries and the Middle East region¹. NATO built the transatlantic security, urged dialogue with other countries abroad, including measures in the field of disarmament and arms control.

Since NATO's creation, the core of its commitment has been the mutual cooperation among sovereign states in taking measures to protect their immediate safety and sovereignty. Political and military cooperation are guarantees that each state should not be forced to rely only on individual efforts to resolve the security crisis².

NATO's main purpose is to preserve the freedom and security of its member countries in accordance with the North Atlantic Treaty and in the spirit of the universal principles of the United Nations Charter (Article 15). The Alliance has worked to create a new order based on maintaining the stability, tranquility, peace and understanding of the member states. Challenges that threaten Europe, such as those of the Cold War era are currently greatly reduced. Today the Alliance aims not only to protect the collective security of its member states, but also to meet the new challenges of the 21st Century. Attention is focused on the fight against terrorism, the weapons of mass destruction, the spread of biological and chemical weapons, regional crisis, territorial disputes, instability and human rights reforms³. Today's risks are much more complex than those of the establishment of the Alliance. Suffice it to mention terrorism as a real threat that must be taken very seriously.

2. NATO AND GLOBAL SECURITY CHALLENGES

As the security situation continues to change, the Alliance must also change in order to be more effective to face new global challenges. In all these areas, the Prague Summit set in motion a transformation process to ensure that NATO is able to deal with the security challenges of the 21st Century as effectively as with the last century's threats⁴.

Terrorist attacks on the international level such as that of 11 September, have shown that terrorists can use globalization as a tool in their hands to hit powerful⁵. Development of various campaigns against terrorist groups and terrorism in general can be defined as the first war of globalization⁶. The September 11, 2001 event in New York clearly showed the threats and uncertainty that threaten today's sovereign states, challenging democracy's values and achievements. It is a clear proof that nowadays there is no safe area in the world, showing that terrorist acts and organized crime have become a real threat to peace, security, democracy and prosperity of countries and peoples. Given this, based on Article 5 of the Treaty and considering the threat of America as a threat to the entire NATO space, NATO took individual and collective measures to meet the millennium challenges in the field of security and the protection of peace and stability in a global dimension⁷.

Risks and global threats are those that are exposed to a global scale, have a rapid development and are associated with uncertainty everywhere. Such are the proliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, ballistic missiles, cyber-attacks, international terrorism, threats to essential energy infrastructure and emerging technologies. In sum, threats are very broad, security challenges are perceived to be

¹NATO (2004) HandBook- Updated 17 June

²<http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm> on line library The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C.- 4 April 1949. Article 5 The North Atlantic Treaty Washington D.C.- 4 April 1949 The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, 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. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

³ Leonard Demi, (2003) "Arkitektura e Re e Sigurimit European",

⁴NATO, 2004, http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20120117_21st_alb.pdf, pg 20

⁵ Vennesson, P. (2006) 'Globalization and Military Power: The Politics of Military.

⁶ Dalby, S. (2002) Environmental Security, Minneapolis

⁷ NATO (2004) HandBook- Updated 17 June

widespread, variable and unpredictable, and possible NATO interventions have to be decided one by one. Security challenges force policymakers to address people's vulnerability, vote of confidence on institutions of state, and the responsibility that they should have at each level decision making⁸.

2.1 Nato facing international terrorism

Nowadays terrorism represents one of the most difficult challenges for global peace and security. Often this violent activity is used by revolutionaries and nationalists to achieve objectives and not rarely has been sponsored by various governments for maintaining the authority of their state. On the other hand some organizers and participants claim that are fighting in the name of freedom, but in fact it seems clear a meaningful motivation quite different based on political-ideological motives, national-ethnic and religious. International terrorism by manifestations and risk that presents it seems clear that would be a long-term challenge for world politics and stable reason of crisis in different regions. The consequences of terrorism except direct damages contribute directly in the climate of insecurity and destabilization of the situation.

NATO is facing a rapidly changing security environment, with new challenges emerging in eastern and southern flanks. The ISIS threat in the south and the spread of violence across the Middle East and North Africa are undesirable developments that highlight the need for NATO to evolve in order to counter these threats. In the east, with the illegal invasion of Crimea, Russia wants to change Europe's borders by force, something that was not meant to be repeated again in our history⁹.

Besides states and international organizations, today we are witnessing a significant number of terrorist organizations. The majorities of these organizations exist and operate in the Middle East or have their headquarters and financial management there. Therefore, we can say that the Middle East produced the international terrorism as one of the greatest challenges of our century's global security. International terrorism cannot survive without international support. In this context, we can say already have been profiled two categories of states. Firstly states that sponsor terrorism, which are those states which to actively direct and indirect, financial, logistics, infrastructure and political support; stimulate individuals or terrorist organizations with global character, regional, or local, on their activities to achieve the objectives set. The analysis of the events of September 11 and the activity of many terrorist organizations highlights the involvement of states or dictatorial regimes to support them. There are countries in the Middle Eastern that have allowed not only installation of these organizations in their territories, but have financed them, as it also had benefits from them. When it comes to states, or regimes that their activities, supporting international terrorism, or become havens for terrorists, suspected links to terrorist organizations, suspected for connection, or involvement in terrorist acts, possess, or try to produce weapons of mass destruction, which can fall into the hands of terrorist organizations, then do not exclude military action against them. This was the case of interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq¹⁰. Secondly, are states that hide international terrorists; by rejecting the prosecution of terrorists responsible, or non-delivery to the requesting State attacked. So we can say that the ground for international terrorism and its supporters were narrowed, because the pressure on terrorist organizations and supporting states or uncooperative is growing every day. Black funding is put in complete control everywhere.

President Bush after the Sept. 11 attacks declared "*War on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there...It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been stopped and defatted*"¹¹. The growing strength of the Islamic state group immediately caught the countries suddenly where the organization took under control of northern Iraq expanding later and with Syria. This organization built a professional military force fueling disturbances and undertake barbaric campaign. Interpretation of the war against ISIS, as religious war is meaningless will deepen the conflict and will extend it further. These terrorists are killing and rape the women and children, acts which have nothing in common with Islam. ISIS is now a greater threat than Al Qaeda. It is now a potential terrorist organization and military vehicles, with assets of about 2 milliard dollars and a number of fighters over 30 thousand people according to CIA¹². Map of the extent of foreign fighters is spread across the globe, in developed countries and not developed as well as in the Balkans. The elimination of ISIS, Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups is an immediate need for

⁸ Allan Collins, 2009 Contemporary security studies, Tirana, , pg. 484

⁹ illyriapress.com, Statement of Deputy Supreme Commander of NATO for Europe, General Lord Adrian Bredshou, 27.02.2015

¹⁰ Ndreca. Mark, (2010) States face of international terrorism ', the Albanian Diplomatic Academy

¹¹ Benoit. Peter, (2011), "September 11 Then and Now", Scholastic

¹² <http://www.panorama.com.al>

security of nations. New relations with the Islamic State of Iran, undoubtedly should be seen today's reality of dealing with ISIS, but also to the development of nuclear program as a real threat to the future.

Recently, with the sophistication of military vehicles, the consequences of this kind of terrorism are disproportionately larger than before. International terrorism is now organized as a corporation and with its cells distributed around the world. Moreover, the new terrorism pressured by globalization feeds upon Islamic fundamentalism. On behalf of sacred ideals, threats and the use of force are distributed in different regions of the world. Thanks to the globalization process, the world today is filled with fears, insecurities and prejudices and if we want to fight global terror we should enforce mechanisms to ensure more effective regional international cooperation. The fight against international terrorism has become the common interest of all countries and international corporations as an instrument of joint action.

NATO members are working together to respond to an ever-growing transatlantic agenda, ranging from the realization of world peace and stabilization of new democracies in the fight against international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The Prague Summit set in motion a transformation process to ensure that NATO is able to deal with the security challenges of the XXI century as effectively as well as with last century's threats¹³. In this Summit, Allies engaged to improve their skills and capacities.

2.2 Nuclear crisis – international community challenge

The twentieth century except technological and economic developments brought with it complex problems. The nations were accustomed bloody wars and macabre events but "Nuclear world" neither can imagined a century ago. The world around with nuclear developments became less confident and had huge financial losses. Thus the discovery of the atomic bomb in World War II and its use have left traces for all of humanity. Bombs being dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively 6 and August 9, 1945 marks the culmination of macabre murder for a short time a history which is rooted in the minds of humanity.

Albert Einstein and Enrico Fermi are first scientists that discovered the bomb, who in august of 1939 wrote a letter to US President Franklin Roosevelt, which they warned about the possibility that Germans are producing a new weapon, the use of which would lead to many future wars. Their letter warned that "...Germans are doing research for the production of a nuclear bomb which operates based on decomposition of the nucleus of uranium"¹⁴. The US government immediately upon receipt of notification immediately began research in nuclear field.

Nuclear crises have always posed great dangers to humanity. The main countries that possess nuclear weapons are the ones responsible for the spread of these weapons. The possession of nuclear weapons, nuclear power plants and reactors since the cold war was in fact established at the basis of international institutions to prevent and control the production and dissemination of these arms¹⁵. During the last decades with the appearance on the scene of the history of nuclear weapons the fear of humanity has been increased. The use of this atomic weapon in Japan and the consequences that brought its use, nuclear tests of North Korea and Iran have made the international community to think differently. Nuclear geographical scope is wide enough and is progressing rapidly. Despite international organizations that operate in the control of nuclear developments worldwide there are still countries that enrichment programs have locked in high-security vaults¹⁶. Nuclear Tests still continue and the international community has not enough strength to be able to stop or restrict them. These tests have been ground strokes, navy, air, and underwater.

Today the whole world is overflowed with stockpiles of arms that are under the control of states also administered under many treaties and international agreements, but there are also weapons "rescued" out of control in the hands of terrorist organizations that demonstrate panic and uncertainty. Frequently, the international community is found unprepared facing the challenges that appear to be much more sophisticated in the fight against terrorism¹⁷. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was founded in 1957. The purpose of this agency is to enhance the peaceful use of nuclear energy, to observe the management of this energy and to check that nuclear materials are not used for the production of atomic weapons. If nuclear power plants across will be under constant control and inspection of the international

¹³NATO, *Public Diplomacy Division*, 1110 Brussels/Belgium

¹⁴ Kissinger. Henry (1999) „Diplomacy“, , Revisited the new world order, Tirana Chapter 39

¹⁵ Historical of the atom, sipas: http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Historical_of_the_atom

¹⁶ Golemi, Z (2009) 'Global nuclear developments', Regional Center for Political and Diplomatic Studies, Tirana.

¹⁷ Golemi, Z, (2009) 'Global nuclear developments', Regional Center for Political and Diplomatic Studies, Tirana.

atomic agency will be a source of development, otherwise they have turn a source of catastrophe for humanity.

2.3 Nato facing ethnic and territorial threats

Ethnic problems have been present especially in the Balkans and with such problems are related almost all border states. When ethnic contradictions not resolved according to the norms and rules of international law they become reason to the difficult undertaking until armed conflict. Preservation of cultural values or ethnic people is their inherent right, derived by the qualities of ethnicity. Language, customs, traditions, flag, songs, the relationship of living, account value that at least have not been assimilated, but also protected by international norms. As is known problems of ethnic contradictions are related with territorial problems.

Territorial problems have been and continue to be the most sensitive issues. Geopolitical and geo-economic developments reveal new estimates on the risks and threats to national security. External threats and risks jeopardize the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the state, as a result of the use of military force or other forms aimed at the same goal. The current threat to the states is the annexation of the Crimea by Russia and Russian efforts to increase its influence in t global level, and the increase of violent extremism in North Africa and the Middle East have dramatically changed our security environment and have upset the western world. Nobody had ever thought that 25 years after the fall of the Berlin wall, we would assist to such a conflict," said the German Chancellor A. Merkel ¹⁸ concerned about Russia's actions in Crimea.

The Crimea issue is the most serious threat to security and stability in Europe since the Cold War. This is what NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said at a seminar in Washington. He also said that what is happening in Crimea is alarming for the Euro-Atlantic community, NATO and to all those who have been engaged in the defense of a free and peaceful Europe¹⁹.

Russia's actions have created a very disturbing situation which raises a lot of questions for the international community. Is the world in the brink of another World War? Are the world's superpowers once again testing their power?

It seems that the Allies have seriously addressed this challenge at the meeting attended by Russia's ambassador to NATO, held a year after the illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea by Russia, which NATO Allies did not recognize, calling it a violation of the principles of International Law. At the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) nations expressed deep concern over the continuing conflict in Eastern Ukraine, urging Russia to withdraw its forces and support its separatists. All members of the EAPC agree that full implementation of the Minsk Agreement is the only way for a peaceful and durable solution ²⁰.

2.4 Cyber-Crime, new millennium challenges

In the new century, many "smart" users of computer using their computers to make crimes, have fascinated the world and have created a strange feeling, consisting of admiration and fear. In contrast to traditional crimes, cyber-crime is a global crime. There are no exist guns or violence and crime author do not look at the stage, in effect, in most of the time they are not in the same place.

Computer terrorism is "the deliberate use of destructive activities which has purpose social objectives, ideological, religious, political or similar or even to intimidate any person" in connection with the objectives mentioned above. According to U.S. Commission of Critical Infrastructure Protection, potential objectives of computer terrorism include industry of bank, military installations, power plants, air traffic centers and water systems.

The Secretary General Anders Fogh Rassmussen stated that governments and the private companies are launching cyberattacks, and governments and industry suffer consequences, in terms of lost revenues, lost data and lost services. He said that the security challenges today are big, and that they are growing. But they may be addressed and minimized, "all it'll take is a lot more vigor, a lot more innovation and a lot more cooperation"²¹

Cyber-crime is a serious threat compared with nuclear weapons, bacteriological and chemical, and is a crime that has not been able to investigate until the end. This crime has no limits and virtually all information systems are placed reteably around the globe. To discover and neutralized this virtual form of terrorism is very difficult because there are not remain many traces if compared to the real world where remain very

¹⁸<http://botapress.info>, 20.11.2014

¹⁹<http://albania.com/2728/nato-question-and-Crimean-threat-to-the-grave-of-security-and-stability-205863.html>, March, 19, 2014

²⁰http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_118114.htm, 11 March 2015

²¹ Schjolberg. S, (2014) "The history of cybercrime 1976-2014", volume 09, pg 98

traces. Like usual terrorists that to achieve goals using explosives or a small gun, terrorists of computer use technology and modern information systems, networks and computer systems, unauthorized special software to achieve certain goal.

Government officials and experts of technology have called on the international community to cooperate to combat terrorism threats from cyber-attacks. Hacker attack on French television TV5 Monde is a clear case of cyber terrorism. Action was however shattering. Funky spoke the director of television Yves Bigot where he said a very serious cyber- attack²². The eleven television channels were blocked at the same time, social networking accounts like Facebook and Titter-it was also blocked. Federal Office of Criminology since last year had warned in an internal analysis of threats from cyberspace. Even Police Agency EU, Europol, in September 2014 on an analysis of risks drawing attention to the risk of cyber-terrorism. Well is not a surprise, where from every corner of the world with a small team of specialists can do damage in fairly remote locations, which has the form of a suitable strategy for developing an asymmetric war.

To combat the spread of this crime that is becoming increasingly more disturbing, States should take measures thus requiring effective international cooperation. Ineffectiveness of international cooperation, in particular mutual legal assistance, still regarded as one of the main obstacles that prevent effective action against computer crime. Nowadays society is not only endangered but is also vulnerable to these criminal acts, hacker and the victim may be in different places and this makes very difficult to identify the authors and their punishment. New forms in the area of cybercrime are a constant challenge for the whole society, and therefore required the maximum effort for updating legal and in particular, the incrimination of some computer misuse actions as criminal offenses.

3. NATO'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE

*"We are now faced with complex and rapidly changing challenges. Cyberthreats happen in only a few seconds. Missiles reach their targets in just a few minutes. Green man can move within a few hours. Therefore, we need to be alarmed in fast motion"*²³.

NATO's Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg statement at the opening of the "NATO Transformation" Seminar, clearly shows that the risks and threats to the security of sovereign States are quite complicated. Based on this reason, the definitions as well as the effective measures to prevent them are quite difficult. Thus, it is necessary to combine the measures in order to minimize the potential risks and threats to their prevention or minimization of their consequences.

Unlike the Cold War period, NATO should be prepared to face the uncertainties and must manage crises in the best way possible while avoiding the use of military force. For this purpose, it needs to cooperate closely with international partners in order to remove any threat because the political will of member states in the success of the Alliance for the coming decades is very important.

Undoubtedly, the fundamental purpose of the States Security Strategy is the preservation of peace. Routes for its realization are numerous. They are political, diplomatic, military and economic. NATO considers the avoidance of armed conflicts as the highest goal of its Security Strategy. For this keeps principle of resolving international disputes through peaceful means. Also its insurance policies complies respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and non-interference in domestic affairs.

Foreign policy of member states should be fully supported the principles of the UN Charter as the main body that manages and regulates international relations through strengthening cooperation with the collective security structures in Europe and engaging in supporting political initiatives for ensuring the cooperation. It should support initiatives for regional collective security and to respect international obligations arising from relations in the control field of non-proliferation.

Even though the threats which NATO has to face have now changed, the basic rules of cooperation within the Alliance remain the same as those of the Treaty. NATO must manage today's challenges while always respecting its common values, such as the respect for democracy and human rights; combating international terrorism and the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; building security bridges with Russia and Ukraine and further development of close cooperation with partner countries to Washington. NATO should be in a constant transformation in order to increase the security of NATO member countries and their stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.

²² <https://youtu.be/-XXVNFscF24>

²³ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_118435.htm?selectedLocale=en, 25March 2015

Given that the new security challenges require not only a military response, NATO is not the only actor and the solidarity of the Alliance in this field does not necessarily require " the expansion and intensification" of the use of Article 5. Consultations, as noted by the New Strategic Concept are essential in this case²⁴. It is therefore necessary to develop extensive negotiations between European countries, which would increase confidence and strengthens their cooperation for a better life.

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²⁴Institute for Democracy and Mediation (2012). "European and Security Affairs", Tirana, No, 21