



NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

# SUMMARY

OF THE MEETING OF THE

## COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY

Sunday 2 June 2019

*Knight's Hall*  
Bratislava Castle  
Bratislava, Slovakia

153 CDS 19 E | Original: English | 2 July 2019

**ATTENDANCE LIST**

<b>Chairperson</b>	Joëlle GARRIAUD-MAYLAM (France)
<b>General Rapporteur</b>	Ulla SCHMIDT (Germany)
<b>Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance Rapporteur</b>	Jane CORDY (Canada)
<b>Special Rapporteur</b>	Lord JOPLING (United Kingdom)
<b>President of the NATO PA</b>	Madeleine MOON (United Kingdom)
<b>Secretary General of the NATO PA</b>	David HOBBS
<b>Member delegations</b>	
Belgium	Brigitte GROUWELS
Bulgaria	Milen MIHOV
Croatia	Miroslav TUDJMAN
Czech Republic	Tomas JIRSA Pavel ZACEK
Estonia	Ants LAANEOTS
France	Anissa KHEDHER
Hungary	Sandor FONT
Italy	Emanuele PELLEGRINI
Latvia	Gatis EGLITIS
Lithuania	Aleksandrs KIRSTEINS Ivans KLEMENTJEVS Dainius GAIZAUSKAS Rasa JUKNEVICIENE Juozas OLEKAS
Luxemburg	Marc ANGEL
Montenegro	Genci NIMANBEGU
Netherlands	Hanke BRUINS SLOT
Norway	Nils Kristen SANDTROEN
Poland	Michal JACH Miroslaw SUCHON
Portugal	Vitalino CANAS
Romania	Ion CUPA Corneliu STEFAN Angel TILVAR
Slovakia	Martin FEDOR
Slovenia	Zan MAHNIC
Spain	Zaida CANTERA
Turkey	Osman Askin BAK Muhammet Naci CINISLI Mevlut KARAKAYA Kamil SINDIR
United Kingdom	Mary CREAGH
United States	James COSTA Neal DUNN Brett GUTHRIE Linda SANCHEZ Filemon VELA

**Associate delegations**

Armenia

Austria

Azerbaijan

Georgia

Serbia

Sweden

Ukraine

Gevorg GORGISYAN

Harald TROCH

Malahat IBRAHIMGIZI

Irakli BERAIA

Giorgi KANDELAKI

Irakli SESIASHVILI

Ivan BAUER

Vladimir DJUKANOVIC

Kenneth G. FORSLUND

Hans WALLMARK

Borys TARASYUK

Oksana YURYNETS

**Regional Partner and Mediterranean  
Associate Member Delegations**

Algeria

Jordan

Marocco

Sidi Othmane LAKHDAR

Jawdat ALDARRABSEH

Safa'a AL-MOMANI

Issa KHASHASHNEH

Majed QUISISIM

Mohammed AZRI

Youssef GHARBI

**Speakers****Elisabeth BRAW**Director, Modern Deterrence Project, Royal  
United Services Institute (RUSI)**Ambassador Marcel PESKO**

Director, OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre

**Jonas OHMAN**

Head, NGO Blue/Yellow

**Balazs JARABIK**Non-resident Scholar, Russia and Eurasia  
Program, Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace**International Secretariat**

Andrius AVIZIUS, Director

Anne-Laure BLEUSE, Coordinator

Gillian HANNAHS, Research Assistant

Nadia O'SHAUGHNESSY, Research

Assistant

**I. Opening Remarks by Joëlle GARRIAUD-MAYLAM (France), Chairperson**

1. In her opening remarks, Chairperson **Joëlle Garriaud-Maylam (FR)**, thanked the Slovakian delegation for their warm welcome to Bratislava.

**II. Adoption of the draft Agenda [070 CDS 19 E]**

2. The draft agenda [070 CDS 19 E] was adopted.

**III. Adoption of the Summary of the Meeting of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security held in Halifax, Canada, on Saturday 17 and Sunday 18 November 2018 [243 CDS 18 E]**

3. The Summary [243 CDS 18 E] was adopted.

**IV. Consideration of the Comments of the Secretary General of NATO, Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, on the *Policy Recommendations adopted in 2018 by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly* [043 SESP 19 E]**

4. There were no comments from the Committee members.

**V. Consideration of the draft General Report NATO at 70: Reaffirming the Alliance's Values [071 CDS 19 E] by Ulla SCHMIDT (Germany), General Rapporteur**

5. **Ulla Schmidt (DE)** took the floor to present her draft General Report *NATO at 70: Reaffirming the Alliance's Values* [071 CDS 19 E]. Ms Schmidt began her comments by noting the values that underpin the Alliance: democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. She also thanked the delegations that responded to her letter co-signed by Congressman Gerald E. Connolly asking to comment on why NATO continues to be relevant and what values it should be based on. Ms Schmidt asked that those delegations who have yet to respond to do so, so that by the Annual session there will be a consolidated publication on the occasion of NATO's 70th anniversary.

6. Ms Schmidt then turned to the rising challenges that the Alliance is facing. She remarked that the liberal democratic order can no longer be taken for granted: global socio-economic inequality is growing, trust in political institutions is falling, while radicals empowered by social media, are on the rise.

7. Ms Schmidt observed that it is democratic values which united the Alliance throughout its history. Throughout the Cold War, the vast majority of NATO Allies were genuinely committed to democracy and human rights. Ms Schmidt noted that several of them blocked the admission of Franco's Spain into the Alliance. However, in other instances such as with Portugal during Antonio Salazar's Estado Novo dictatorship, the military coup in Greece in 1967, and successive military coups in Turkey, NATO's record as an alliance of democracies was not without blemish. This later caused problems for the Alliance when Greece and Portugal eventually rejected authoritarian regimes, they distanced themselves from NATO. Their new democratic leaders were disappointed by the Alliance's collaboration with previous regimes.

8. Following the end of the Cold War, Ms Schmidt noted, NATO put a lot more emphasis on the political side of its political-military identity than it had previously. Its Open Door Policy and partnership mechanisms promoted democratic values beyond its borders. Ms Schmidt remarked upon the way the NATO PA contributed to this process through the Rose-Roth programme and other activities.

9. Ms Schmidt pointed to the global trends since the economic crisis of 2008-2009, where liberal democracy seems to be in retreat. Surveys show that public trust in establishment parties and political institutions have declined while mistrust in mainstream news organisations has grown. This global political mistrust is being fuelled by the widening gap between rich and poor.

10. Ms Schmidt appealed to the committee members to uphold democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, or otherwise risk undermining the trust that binds the Alliance. Thus, Ms Schmidt proposed measures to promote democratic values more pro-actively, both within our Euro-Atlantic community and beyond. These included the possibility of establishing a NATO committee to monitor how the core values of the Alliance are being upheld. Alternatively, a senior NATO official could report regularly on these issues. Leaders could also consider updating NATO's Strategic Concept to include a stronger commitment to democracy. Ms Schmidt stressed that NATO must redouble its efforts to implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

11. However, as Ms Schmidt admitted, many of the other concerns discussed in her draft report are beyond NATO's direct remit. Issues like migration and income inequality need to be tackled at the national and regional levels instead – as well as in other international fora. Thus, Ms Schmidt urged the committee members to support any emerging pan-European framework to handle border security and asylum policies. She also stressed the importance of supporting international efforts to combat tax havens, tax fraud and tax evasion.

12. **Vitalino Canas** (PT) thanked Ms Schmidt for her draft report and spoke of Portugal's history in the Alliance. He stated that this was an important report because it reminds the Assembly that NATO is not only a very important organisation from a military point of view, but also for fostering values. He highlighted that when Portugal was accepted into NATO, they were not a democracy. While democratic forces were not happy with the acceptance of Portugal into NATO, everyone understood that it was important for Portugal to be a NATO member in terms of its democratic pathway. Mr Canas stated that this reminds the Assembly that sometimes, one has to be patient. He stressed that right now to protect human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, there is a need to be flexible to meet these goals.

13. **Muhammet Naci Cinisli** (TR) said that Turkey cooperates where and when possible with Russia because of common values and interests. However, he stressed that Turkey stands firm when necessary and what Russia does causes concern. He stated that Turkey has its own style and channel of speaking with Russia but that Turkey shares NATO's approach. He asked that the third and fourth sentences of the 39th paragraph in the draft report be deleted. Ms Schmidt responded that it is important to face up to these issues rather than ignore them.

14. **Angel Tilvar** (RO) spoke next and stressed that Romania is focused on democratic freedom, rule of law, and liberties. He stated that it is vital that these remain the values of NATO. He suggested that the findings of the NATO PA Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO were incorporated into the draft report. Ms Schmidt promised to look into it.

15. **Mary Creagh** (UK) then stressed the importance of combatting disinformation campaigns and countering public mistrust in mainstream news organisations. She noted that

while the EU has an anti-disinformation website, only about 5,000 people follow it on Twitter. She also added that she believes the Women, Peace and Security agenda needs to be linked to the UN Development Goals. She lamented the fact that NATO was passive in Syria allowing crimes against civilians to happen.

16. **Aleksandrs Kirsteins** (LV) highlighted that if a majority of Polish and Hungarian voters support the policies of Jaroslaw Kaczynski or Viktor Orban, then NATO must do so too if it supports democracy. Ms Schmidt responded that every country has the right to develop its own political structures but must ensure the inviolability of human rights. She argued that these principles have to be the same for all countries that base their systems on the principles of democracy.

17. **Zan Mahnic** (SV) argued that populism is not a cause, but a consequence. He asked where the causes for the spread of populism are. He noted that both he and the rapporteur come from establishment parties who recently suffered in the EU Parliamentary elections (EPP and the Socialists). He stressed the importance of asking themselves what they did wrong by enabling the spread of populism in Europe and elsewhere.

18. **Jane Cordy** (CA) mentioned the Canadian federal election in October and stated that they are seeing an increase in Canada of anti-migration rhetoric. She also mentioned that she was struck by the section dealing with Women, Peace and Security. She requested that a presenter in the London Session deal with Women, Peace and Security.

19. **Irakli Beraia** (GE) requested that more positive news about Georgia be included in the draft revised report. He argued that Georgia is doing well in international indexes and, while they have problems, they are undertaking measures to fix them. Ms Schmidt responded that everyone appreciates the work for the Georgian future, but that Georgia is only part of the overall picture.

20. **Giorgi Kandelaki** (GE) noted the important threat Russia presents as stated in the draft report. He argued that Russia exports corruption and corrupt practices – thus it is the West's duty to close its markets to corruption. He urged all members to adopt the Magnitsky Act in their countries if they have not already. He also noted that Georgia's future membership depends on Georgia's progress in terms of democracy and expressed hope that their upcoming elections are scrutinised by the international community due to previous instances of violence and vote-buying.

21. **Nils Kristen Sandtroen** (NO) stressed the issue of rising social inequality in Norway. This is a core issue of the more polarised debate and argued that it was important that the West discuss it.

22. **Linda Sanchez** (US) also stressed the issue of growing disparities of wealth and the threat it presents to the very underpinnings of democracies. She called on the members to work on tax avoidance together as it hurts every democracy. Ms Schmidt agreed that we are living in a globalised world and that the causes of tax evasion and avoidance need to be addressed globally.

## **VI. Presentation by Elisabeth BRAW, Director, Modern Deterrence Project, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), on *Modern Deterrence***

23. **Elisabeth BRAW** discussed the project she leads at RUSI called Modern Deterrence. She explained that NATO was designed for traditional uses of deterrence, but now there is a need for an updated form of deterrence which also tackles new threats and attacks, such as cyberattacks, disinformation, election interference, hostile investment and acquisition of

critical national infrastructure assets. She spoke of the weaponisation of globalisation which exposed allied countries to unanticipated forms of aggression.

24. Ms Braw stressed that modern deterrence involves every part of society, not just the government and armed forces. She argued that the objective should be a combined shield where everyone takes part in the defence of societies. Ms Braw stated that one of the most under-utilised assets here is the private sector.

25. Ms Braw argued that not even the largest companies can protect themselves fully from blended aggression – the term she preferred to hybrid warfare – so they need to work with their countries to protect themselves. Her proposed combined shield includes both the private sector and the general population in order to create a comprehensive deterrence.

26. **James Costa** (US) agreed that a collective effort is needed to provide outreach in a way that is constructive and relevant to people who do not know what the Cold War was about and that this should be a priority for the NATO PA. Ms Braw agreed and added that these threats are transnational in nature and affect geographical areas that were in the past not on the Alliance's agenda. She referenced Latvia's new pilot programme which aims to teach defence and security in high schools as a success story and potential model for other countries.

27. **Brigitte Grouwels** (BE) asked the speaker to elaborate on role of the private sector in her proposed combined shield. Ms Braw replied that there is often hostility between private firms and ministries of defence. She suggested involving C-level executives in crisis management exercises and regular consultations. She also suggested using incentives to get the private sector involved in national defence.

28. Aleksandrs Kiršteins spoke next about the programme in Latvia's high schools which works to educate students on defence and security issues. The programme replaces military service and mixes political science, history and military knowledge. Mr Kiršteins noted that the programme is very popular and thanked Ms Braw for her comments.

29. **Andrius Avizius** (NATO PA) asked next what Allies need to think about regarding offensive cyber capabilities and also in regard to the future of fake news. In response, Ms Braw stated that the issue with offensive cyber capabilities is that once you show you have it, you begin to lose it as adversaries adopt their defensive capabilities. Regarding the future of disinformation, she pointed out that no government can put up a complete shield over its citizens and none can keep up with the rate of technological change. Rather, governments should empower citizens so that they are in charge of their own news consumption.

## VII. Panel Discussion on Ukraine

- **Consideration of the draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance *Ukraine: Five Years After the Revolution of Dignity* [072 CDSDG 19 E] by Jane CORDY (Canada), Rapporteur**

30. Jane Cordy began her remarks by stressing what a crucial year this is for Ukraine. She expressed hope that the country's strategic course towards Euro-Atlantic integration, chosen by the people five years ago, will continue to move forward with the new president and after the parliamentary elections.

31. Ms Cordy congratulated Ukraine for conducting democratic and fair elections which saw a peaceful turnover of power occur in a country facing economic difficulties and threats to its territorial sovereignty in the East. As she noted, the smooth transfer of power after an

impassioned election campaign is a testament to how far Ukraine has moved away from Russia.

32. Ms Cordy remarked on the major gains made in Ukraine under the former President Petro Poroshenko. She noted that since 2014, Ukraine has consolidated itself as a democratic European nation and its European path is increasingly entrenched.

33. Turning to the new president, Ms Cordy commented on the immense political challenges he faces. She noted that he has promised to maintain the country's course toward NATO and EU membership and has stressed the need to better explain the benefits of NATO membership to the population in eastern Ukraine.

34. Discussing Ukraine's reform record, Ms Cordy identified areas of success, such as macro-economic stabilisation, energy sector reform, more transparent public procurement and the creation of anti-corruption institutions, as well as more problematic areas, such as the judicial reform, privatisation of state enterprises, land reform and the reform of the security sector. She stressed that her report reasserts the Assembly's position that the reform process in Ukraine should not lose pace, especially when it comes to the rule of law and the fight against corruption.

35. Ms Cordy also underlined ways for the West to assist Ukraine in its path towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration. She suggested that Ukraine needs a truly ambitious and well-resourced assistance package, perhaps even on the scale of the Marshall Plan. She argued that the success of Ukraine, with the assistance of NATO and the EU, would also bolster the *raison d'être* of both organisations. While she acknowledged that Ukraine is still a long way from meeting membership criteria in NATO and the EU, she asserted that it must be given a clear signal that membership is attainable, once all membership criteria are met.

36. Ms Cordy reminded her colleagues that Ukraine will continue to need Western material assistance in acquiring equipment and platforms in order to defend itself and its borders. She stressed that NATO's consistent and substantial presence in the Black Sea is a strategic necessity. And she underlined that the Euro-Atlantic community should also continue to exert pressure on Russia to stop destabilising Ukraine, to comply with Minsk II, to return captured Ukrainian sailors and other political prisoners immediately, to ensure freedom of navigation in Black and Azov Seas and to stop human rights abuses in occupied Ukrainian territories.

37. In her concluding remarks, Ms Cordy reminded the Assembly that parliamentarians have an important role to play in pushing Allied governments to provide more support in this regard. Ms Cordy expressed hope that Ukraine will assume its rightful place in the Euro-Atlantic family of nations soon.

- **Presentation by Ambassador Marcel PESKO, Director, OSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre, on *OSCE's Efforts to Promote Peace and Stability in Ukraine***

38. **Marcel Pesko** began his presentation on the OSCE's Efforts to Promote Peace and Stability in Ukraine by thanking Ms Cordy for her report and welcoming the Assembly to his hometown, Bratislava.

39. Reflecting on the situation in Ukraine, Mr Pesko remarked that this is the most crucial conflict in modern European history. The conflict goes beyond the Donbass territory, rather it also reflects the current controversies between East and West. It reflects the lack of Russian willingness to engage in common dialogue.



40. Mr Pesko stressed the role the OSCE plays as an inclusive organisation that includes Russia. He noted that the situation on the ground remains very fluid, volatile and unpredictable, and that they do not yet see the basic parameters for the conflict's resolution.

41. The speaker commented on the OSCE's presence in Ukraine through its Special Monitoring Mission, comprised of almost 1,400 members with EUR100 million in funding. However, he noted, that they could not get access to Crimea despite their mandate covering all of Ukraine. Discussing the organisations main role, he emphasised monitoring the current ceasefire and the frequent, daily violations of it. Using long-range drones, cameras, acoustic sensors and daily patrols, he described how they follow indications of possible ceasefire violations. While they are quite good at detecting violations, he urged progress is needed in enforcing the peace.

42. Today, Mr Pesko said, the Donbass area is one of the most contaminated around the world in terms of mines, which continue to be laid down. There is a clear danger for civilians with regular casualties from these mines. Almost three million people live in the area and the line of contact cuts directly through these areas with about a million crossing the line of contact on a monthly basis, many of whom are pensioners going to claim their pension.

43. Overall Mr Pesko emphasised the humanitarian sides of this conflict: the many casualties on the line of contact due to a lack of direct access to healthcare, doctors not being allowed in the conflict zone, Ukrainian political prisoners held in Russia – sometimes for years – the infrastructure blockages and illegal appropriation of assets.

44. Mr Pesko concluded his remarks by making an appeal for dialogue at an international level via the Normandy format with France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine, as well as at the highest level between presidents. He argued that there must be some sort of cooperation with the other side. The speaker also touched on ideas to deploy international police, UN peacekeepers, or enact transitional administrations, but he noted that without dialogue and prospects of engagement it will be very difficult to change the current situation on the ground.

45. The speaker ended with an appeal for both sides to re-engage politically and a call for a minimisation of restrictions on freedom of movement for OSCE monitors.

- **Presentation by Jonas OHMAN, Head, NGO Blue/Yellow, on *NGO Support of the Armed Forces in Ukraine – A Counter-hybrid Solution*, followed by a discussion**

46. **Jonas Ohman** thanked the Committee for the invitation to speak. He showed two short videos on the work of his NGO Blue/Yellow which has supported the Ukrainian armed forces since summer 2014 and also works with the civilian population in Donbass.

47. Mr Ohman's NGO, which is based in Lithuania, raises funds to buy supplies for soldiers and civilians in Ukraine. The NGO Blue/Yellow provides supplies ranging from fire-extinguishers and medicine to surplus European uniforms and boots, but as Mr Ohman stressed, they do not bring guns. Blue/Yellow also works with the political arena and the speaker emphasised that the conflict cannot be won in a traditional military manner but that military pressure must be kept up.

48. Mr Ohman then spoke of their annual concert in Ukraine to raise funds and expressed interest in working and cooperating with assembly members as he is always looking for partners.

49. **Anissa Khedher** (FR) commented that it had been four years since the Minsk Agreements. She stressed that the new president in Ukraine was emblematic of the will of the

people to break with previous corruption and clientelism. She encouraged the resumption of negotiations in the context of the Normandy Format.

50. **Tomas Jirsa** (CZ) suggested that the draft report provide more information on the rule of oligarchs in Ukraine. He also stressed that Nordstream II is a serious issue for European and Ukrainian security, but that there was only a brief mention of the Nordstream II pipeline in paragraph 43.

51. **Muhammet Naci Cinisli** stressed that Turkey supports the territorial integrity of Ukraine but asked the rapporteur to alter the second sentence and change it to the Greek Orthodox patriarch in paragraph 56.

52. **Angel Tilvar** said he would like to propose amendments later on in the section on media, education, and religion. He added that he would like to include ideas from the Venice Commission in paragraph 55.

53. **Borys Tarasyuk** (UA) thanked Ms Cordy for her draft report. He also expressed gratitude to Mr Pesko for the work of the OSCE and to Mr Ohman for his work. He expressed Ukraine's hope that the international community, especially NATO member states, will do more to help Ukraine. He asked for a clear perspective for Ukraine's potential EU and NATO membership as well as more assistance in the form of defensive weapons – state-given military support. Mr Tarasyuk thanked the parliamentarians from Lithuania who initiated the so-called "Marshall Plan" for Ukraine. He also thanked NATO members for keeping up the sanctions policy against Russia. He concluded by expressing support for UN Peacekeeping forces spread across the whole territory currently not controlled by the Ukrainian government. He also pointed out that one fourth of conflict victims are military and three fourths are civilian. Ms Cordy thanked him for his remarks and added that a lot of countries have brought forward the Magnitsky Act and suggested that members read the book 'Red Notice' by Bill Browder. Mr Pesko added that this is a very unfinished story, complex situation and that the conflict goes way beyond the Donbass. He stated that saying "conflict in Ukraine" is not correct - officially the OSCE refers to it as a "conflict in and around Ukraine".

54. **Zaida Cantera** (ES) asked Mr Ohman about his statement that Russia is the problem, not the solution, and added that if Russia is not taken into account, then no agreement can be reached. She also asked him to clarify what links his NGO has, its involvement in civil society and relationship with the Ukrainian government, and if he was asking for help with military equipment or with provisions of basic needs for civilian society. Mr Ohman replied that they do not provide any guns but try and provide anything up to that level. He added that NGOs are often a lot more efficient than the Ukrainian government.

55. **Giorgi Kandelaki** expressed support for Ukraine's territorial integrity. He said that there is only one dialogue to be had, and it concerns the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukrainian territory. He also expressed regret that the current Georgian government has prosecuted some of the Georgian officers who have gone to fight in Ukraine. He concluded his comments by mentioning a campaign from some member states to give Russia back its voting rights in the Council of Europe. He argued that this is a flawed campaign which will legitimise Russia's behaviour. Mr Marcel replied that there is a need for a new political boost and that it is impossible to solve the conflict if one side is missing.

56. **Brigitte Grouwels** asked Mr Ohman if his NGO received support from the Lithuanian government and if they had official sponsorship. She stated that it was very unusual for a foreign civil NGO to support another country's military. As in his previous response, Mr Ohman noted that they do not provide any arms and added that NGOs are often a lot more efficient than the Ukrainian government.

57. James Costa (US) expressed gratitude for the comprehensive nature of the draft report. He suggested that there are elements in the presentation that provide a basis for a plan to move forward. He argued that NATO members need to ask themselves if they were willing to make some sort of comprehensive plan for Ukraine which could gain support from the EU, US and Canada.

58. Ms Cordy thanked all speakers for their suggestions and said they would be considered before the London session.

### **VIII. Consideration of the draft Special Report *Border Security* [073 CDS 19 E] by Lord JOPLING (United Kingdom), Special Rapporteur**

59. Lord Jopling began by commenting on the extraordinary influx of people fleeing violence and poverty on Europe's external borders. He stressed that as a result, border security has become a top priority for many Allies and indeed for the Alliance. His draft report thus takes stock of existing border management strategies in the Euro-Atlantic area, focusing on three types: land, sea and airports.

60. Lord Jopling noted that the problem of illegal crossings is often misrepresented for internal political purposes. It was, therefore, the goal of his draft report to provide fact-based information about the movement of people across borders. The draft report also brings attention to the human rights issues that unfortunately sometimes arise when borders are secured. In terms of land borders, his draft report discussed the challenges facing the US-Mexico border, the Balkans corridor, and the Spanish enclaves in North Africa.

61. He noted that the section regarding the US-Mexico border will have to have to be updated significantly for our Annual session, as the situation along this border has long become more difficult in recent months.

62. The speaker noted that whatever their political affiliation, few dispute the necessity of improved infrastructure along the southern US border. Rather, he stated, the debate is mostly about whether a physical barrier is the most efficient way to protect this border. Lord Jopling made a point to emphasise that how the United States secures its border is its sovereign decision and NATO has no role in it whatsoever. But he added the discussion that is taking place in the United States on this issue is incredibly enriching to our understanding of border security problems in general, and there are quite a few lessons to be learned from the American experience.

63. Regarding the Western Balkans migration route, which connects Turkey with Greece and a number of Balkan countries, Lord Jopling noted that throughout 2015 and early 2016, almost one million people took this route to reach Europe, but numbers have fallen dramatically since then. However, a new Balkan corridor has opened which implicates Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Currently thousands are stranded at the Bosnian-Croatian border in appalling humanitarian conditions.

64. In regard to the Spanish enclaves in North Africa, Lord Jopling pointed out that the only places where Europe has land borders with Africa are Ceuta and Melilla. These are two autonomous Spanish cities in North Africa. Increasing numbers of people are trying to reach Spain by climbing the razor-topped fences which separate the cities from Morocco. On a number of occasions, migrants have stormed the fences. Lord Jopling also noted that Spain highlights the limited resources it has to accommodate the recent influx of arrivals.

65. The rapporteur then turned from land to maritime borders, focusing on the much-discussed situation in the Mediterranean. The number of sea arrivals has decreased

significantly since 2015 and the geography of migrant flows has also changed. Lord Jopling noted that the most travelled current route has shifted to the Western Mediterranean near Spain. Originally, the Eastern corridor between Turkey and Greece was most popular.

66. Lord Jopling credited these developments as the result of concerted political action. Agreements between the EU and Turkey as well as Italy and Libya have stemmed migrant flows. So have national initiatives such as the closure of harbours to NGO boats in Italy and Malta. He recognised the burden placed on frontline states by large migrant influxes. However, he argued that we cannot ignore the humanitarian implications of certain political initiatives including serious human rights violations committed by guards and smugglers in Libya, appalling conditions in Libyan detention centres, and a marked rise in drownings across the Mediterranean in 2018.

67. Turning to airport borders, Lord Jopling commented on the significant improvements in global aviation security catalysed by 9/11. Despite these adjustments, Lord Jopling noted that airports continue to be threatened by new and old challenges, especially as technology evolves. He referenced the incidents at Gatwick Airport in December as evidence of the disruption that drones can cause. He also stressed that cyberattacks on airport technology and traffic controls are another threat.

68. In his concluding remarks Lord Jopling reiterated that border management is mostly a sovereign prerogative with few clearly defined areas of international responsibility. However, he called for collective action involving NATO to be considered in border crisis situations. He also stressed that the political solution should be always emphasised over military solutions when it comes to migration. Thus, he called on the members of the Committee to support the efforts of the EU and particularly of its Frontex agency to guarantee European border security. And on the national level he urged those assembled to encourage NATO and EU member states to share best practices, particularly about the use of technology in border security.

69. The Rapporteur also noted that border protection itself will not prevent people from trying to enter countries illegally. Therefore, any long-term border security strategy must be accompanied by robust asylum and development assistance policies. Within the EU, Lord Jopling suggested, this could involve voluntary action on the part of a coalition of the willing. Finally, he called for all Euro-Atlantic nations to provide asylum to those who have a well-founded fear of persecution.

70. **Malahat Ibrahimgizi** (AZ) suggested that some of the border security methods examined in the report could be applied by the OSCE in border management between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

71. Muhammet Naci Cinisli (TR) commented that NATO's deployment in the Aegean Sea is no longer advantageous. Lord Jopling thanked him for his suggestions and said they would look into it.

72. Zaida Cantera stressed that it is important for the report to refrain from accusing migrants or NGOs. She stressed that in Spain there are no human rights violations and that they took into account the humanitarian aspects of detention and changed the fencing system. Lord Jopling thanked her for her suggestions. Referring to paragraph 30, he pointed out that the Spanish government was praised for adopting a more welcoming stance towards migrants.

73. Angel Tilvar wanted to highlight some of the positive developments from Romania. These include reaching an agreement on the legislative framework for the interoperability of tech infrastructure and transport, employing the best practices on the Romanian border, supporting aid to the Western Balkans for border security and modernising airport and port security.

74. **Marc Angel** (LU) noted that NGOs were responsible for as many as 22% of all search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean. He asked for a representative of one of these NGOs to speak at the London Session. He noted that at the end of March, the EU Council extended the mandate of Operation Sophia. Lord Jopling thanked him and said they would consider having a NGO speaker in London.

75. **Gevorg Gorgisyan** (AM) spoke about the Nagorno-Karabagh conflict. He mentioned that during the civil war more than 50,000 refugees went to Armenia and became citizens. He asked if there was any way that they could apply to international programmes for refugees even though they have Armenian citizenship.

76. Zan Mahnic stated that he supported legal migration and not illegal migration. In Slovenia, he stated, there is an inefficient fight being carried out against smugglers who are helped and supported in turn by NGOs paid by the state. He asked that more attention in the draft report be addressed towards finding smugglers. He agreed that razor wire is dangerous but added that it is not dangerous for those who do not try to cross it.

77. **Genci Nimanbegu** (ME) said he would submit comments in writing regarding paragraph 23 relating to tensions between Montenegro and Albania over the border wall.

78. James Costa (US) offered a perspective on the between Mexico and the United States and the recent humanitarian crisis. He stated that this has become a very political issue in the United States where the current President got elected in part by making border security a campaign issue. The efforts of the previous administration were to deal primarily with the source of illegal migration. That has changed with the current administration's policies. Mr Costa stressed a need for a consensus in the United States with Mexico in order to work together to tackle the problem at its source in Central America. However, he noted the very divided level of politics regarding a solution. He offered sympathies to Europe regarding the challenges they have faced with border security in recent years. Lord Jopling thanked him for his comments and said that they would be considered.

79. Brigitte Grouwels said she found the spirit of the text and the text itself excellent. She asked to add a reference to the Schengen Agreement. Lord Jopling thanked her and pointed out that the Schengen area is discussed in paragraph 18 but of course not every country in Europe is in Schengen.

80. Mary Creagh asked Lord Jopling to condemn in his draft report the policy of family separation in the United States. She also asked that the draft report mention that the next migration crisis may well be a climate crisis co-linked to issues such as crop failure and competition for water. She also mentioned the recent chemical attacks on UK soil conducted by Russia – she suggested updating airport security as the agents who carried out the attack smuggled the chemical weapons through UK airport security. Lord Jopling thanked her for her comments and said that they would be considered.

**IX. Presentation by Balazs JARABIK, Nonresident Scholar, Russia and Eurasia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, on *Updates from Eastern Europe: Transition Challenges in Belarus and Moldova*, followed by a discussion**

81. **Balazs Jarabik** noted that Belarus and Moldova are two very different countries with very different situations.

82. Regarding Belarus, Mr Jarabik pointed out that Russia, which has gone into saving mode due to expenditures in Syria and Ukraine, has been cutting down on funds to Belarus.

The other issues that Belarus will have to contend with are the 2019 parliamentary elections and the 2020 presidential elections. Mr Jarabik noted the rift between the government and president where the government is more reform minded but the president is not.

83. In Belarus, Mr Jarabik noted, the continued state redistribution of wealth has been working out for the Belorussian middle class. He said 2020 will be the last election for Alexander Lukashenko and thus the biggest upcoming challenge in Minsk is the power transition. He noted that there remained potential for a parliamentary republic in Belarus as the presidential system is very much built on Lukashenko himself.

84. Moldova, in contrast, the speaker commented, has had democratic elections from the beginning, but he noted the unprecedented rate of vote buying in the recent elections. The last election results, however, have not played out as expected and no government has been formed. It is likely, Mr Jarabik predicted, that another election will be called.

85. The general mood in Moldova has improved since the bank fraud scandal in 2014 and the economy has been stabilised via western financial institutions. Mr Jarabik also noted that there has been a shift from Russia towards the EU in Moldova as the number of Moldovan migrant workers in Russia has dropped significantly. He also noted an important political shift regarding the frozen conflict in Transnistria, as there is no longer a reward for conflict on either side, all the conditions for a resolution exist.

86. Marc Angel thanked Mr Jarabik for his comments and asked about the situation of oligarchs in Belarus. He also asked what could be done better in relation to the EU Eastern Partnership with Moldova or Belarus. Mr Jarabik replied that there are no oligarchs in Belarus as there has been no privatisation as in Ukraine and Russia. In Belarus, the development of the private sector began in 2006 when Russia cut gas subsidies. There is only one billionaire in the whole country, and he has been jailed twice. As for the Eastern Partnership, Mr Jarabik noted that Moldova was considered a success story prematurely. He noted that the Association agreement that Moldova signed with the EU managed to offset the loss of the Russian market. In contrast, he noted that Belarus is benefitting much less and does not even have a programmatic agreement with the EU, but Belarus is using the Eastern Partnership to crack its isolation and because of that Minsk considers it a success.

87. Lord Jopling (UK) asked for an assessment of the Russian military presence in Transnistria. Mr Jarabik noted that while the Russian military presence has not changed, Russian spending has. He also noted that most of the soldiers there belong to the Russian military officially but are in reality local recruits.

88. Aleksandrs Kiršteins inquired about the state of Belarus's oil industry. Mr Jarabik replied that the oil industry in Belarus depends on how much Russia supplies. Belarus's strategy has been to make profit from buying Russian gas cheaply and then to redistribute it. As it is an oligarch-free society, Mr Jarabik said that this clearly benefits the population.

## **X. Summary of the future activities of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security and of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance**

89. Ms Garriaud-Maylam overviewed the future activities of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security and of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance. She thanked the Greek delegation for hosting the Committee visit as well as the Swedish, and Icelandic delegations for hosting the Sub-Committee. She also noted the upcoming visits in Paris and Strasbourg which are planned for the Committee and Sub-Committee. Finally, she reminded delegates that members of the Committee are invited to attend the meeting of the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council on 24-25 June in Lviv, Ukraine.

**XI. Any other business**

90. No other business was raised.

**XII. Closing remarks**

91. The Chairperson thanked the Slovak delegation, all participants, the interpretation team and the staff of the Slovak Parliament and the NATO PA.