

Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to the

# 63rd Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Bucharest

7-9 October 2017

February 2018 Canberra

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to the **63rd Annual Session of the NATO** Parliamentary Assembly, **Bucharest** 7-9 October 2017 February 2018 Canberra

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### **Membership of the Delegation**

Leader Mr Andrew Laming MP (Liberal Party of Australia)

Member for Bowman (Queensland)

**Deputy Leader** Mr Ross Hart MP (Australian Labor Party)

Member for Bass (Tasmania)

**Secretary** Mr Richard Selth

Table Office, House of Representatives



#### Introduction

- 1.1 This report gives an account of the attendance of a delegation from the Parliament of Australia at the 63rd Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Bucharest, Romania from 7 to 9 October 2017.
- 1.2 Chapter 2 reports on the proceedings of the Assembly. In 2009 Australia sent a delegation to the Assembly for the first time since 1990, and following the success of that visit the Delegation recommended that a delegation attend subsequent Assemblies every second year.
- 1.3 The membership of the 2017 Delegation is listed at p. iv of this report and the Delegation's program is included as Appendix A. Membership of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, and resolutions and addresses are included in Appendices B and C.

#### Aims and objectives of the Delegation

- 1.4 The Delegation's objectives for its visit were:
  - To observe the 63rd NATO Parliamentary Assembly Session;
  - To gain an understanding of the role and responsibilities and priorities of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, and renew and strengthen ties with the Assembly; and
  - To exchange views with NATO Parliamentary Assembly colleagues and to gain fresh perspectives on matters related to foreign affairs, defence and security.
- 1.5 These objectives were met. In a very condensed program Delegation members had the opportunity to inform themselves about matters relating to recent developments in relation to the changing role of NATO and issues facing the Alliance in a range of areas.

1.6 The Delegation was pleased to represent the Australian Parliament at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. The visit was interesting and informative, providing members with the opportunity to gain a greater understanding of issues with which Australia has a significant involvement and to exchange views with parliamentary colleagues from a range of NATO member countries.

#### **Acknowledgments**

1.7 The Delegation wishes to express its appreciation of the efforts of all those who contributed to the success of its visit. In particular, the Delegation wishes to acknowledge the following contributions:

#### Canberra

- 1.8 The Delegation received a written briefing from officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade prior to its departure. The Delegation wishes to record its thanks to staff who contributed to the brief and assisted with administrative arrangements for the visit.
- 1.9 The Delegation wishes to thank the staff of the Parliament's International and Parliamentary Relations Office, in particular Ms Onu Palm, for their administrative assistance prior to departure.

#### Romania

1.10 The Delegation wishes to thank Mr Akis Sakellariou, Attaché at the Australian Embassy in Athens for his assistance in Bucharest during the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.



#### **The NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

#### **Background**

2.1 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an alliance of 29 countries from North America and Europe committed to protecting the security of member countries. It also provides a forum for members to consult on security issues of common concern and to consider joint actions in addressing them. Twenty-two European Union (EU) member states are also members of NATO. The seven non-EU NATO members are: Albania, Canada, Iceland, Montenegro, Norway, Turkey and the United States. NATO-led forces are currently contributing to efforts to bring stability to Afghanistan and Kosovo and to provide maritime security in the Mediterranean Sea. NATO also provides support to the African Union in a range of areas.

#### Australia's relationship with NATO

- 2.2 Australia's relationship with NATO is largely based on Australia's commitment to and strategic interest in a stable, rules-based global order, and complements important alliance relationships with the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries.
- 2.3 The relationship has deepened gradually since the initial contribution of troops to NATO-ISAF operations in Afghanistan in 2006. This was the first time that Australian forces had deployed to a NATO-led operation. Australia continues to be involved in the NATO-led effort in Afghanistan and its contribution, currently around 270 personnel, is highly regarded by NATO members.
- 2.4 In 2012 Australia's first Ambassador to NATO was appointed. In 2013 the NATO-Australia Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program was

- established, enabling Australia to participate in additional NATO activities and events with partner countries. In 2014 Australia became one of five NATO Enhanced Opportunity Partners as part of an initiative to maintain interoperability with partner countries, further consolidating cooperation and access. In June 2017 Australia's Defence Minister, Senator Marise Payne, and NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg signed an updated Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program, which outlines key areas for engagement, including regular dialogue and closer cooperation on capability development.
- Access to NATO decision-making on global issues continues to serve Australia well. As a partner country Australia can contribute insights into the strategic dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region. The Foreign Policy White Paper launched by the Prime Minister and other ministers on 23 November 2017 states that Australia will continue to engage with NATO on global security issues, including terrorism, and that in the face of Russia's destabilising activities NATO is now more important to security in Europe than at any time since the end of the Cold War.

#### The NATO Parliamentary Assembly

- 2.6 The NATO Parliamentary Assembly serves as the consultative interparliamentary organisation for the North Atlantic Alliance. It brings together legislators from NATO member countries to consider security-related issues of common interest and concern.
- 2.7 Following the creation of NATO in 1949, an annual conference of NATO parliamentarians was established in 1955. The Assembly provides an essential link between NATO and the parliaments of its member nations. The Secretary General of NATO provides a response to all Assembly recommendations and resolutions adopted in plenary sessions.
- 2.8 The Assembly provides a forum for international parliamentary dialogue on a range of security, political and economic matters. Its principal objective is to foster mutual understanding among Alliance parliamentarians of the key security challenges facing the transatlantic partnership.
- 2.9 Since its creation in 1955 the Assembly has provided a forum for members of parliament from across the Atlantic Alliance to discuss and influence decisions on Alliance security. Through its work the Assembly facilitates parliamentary awareness and understanding of the key issues affecting the security of the Euro-Atlantic area, and supports national parliamentary oversight of defence and security. Crucially, it helps to strengthen the transatlantic relationship and the values which underpin the Alliance. The Assembly is institutionally separate from NATO, but

- serves as an essential link between NATO and the parliaments of the NATO nations. It provides greater transparency of NATO policies, and fosters better understanding of the Alliance's objectives and missions among legislators and citizens of the Alliance.<sup>1</sup>
- 2.10 Since the end of the Cold War, the Assembly has assumed a new role by integrating into its work parliamentarians from countries seeking a closer association with NATO. Through this form of parliamentary diplomacy, the Assembly contributes to mutual understanding and to the strengthening of parliamentary democracy throughout the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond, thereby complementing and reinforcing NATO's own program of partnership and co-operation.
- 2.11 The Assembly consists of 266 delegates from the 29 NATO member countries. Each delegation is based on the country's size and reflects the political composition of the parliament, therefore representing a broad spectrum of political opinion.
- 2.12 Delegates from twelve associate member countries, four Mediterranean associate countries, as well as parliamentary observer delegations from eight other countries (including Australia), the European Parliament and two inter-parliamentary assemblies, also take part in its activities, bringing the total number of delegates to approximately 360. A list of members is included as Appendix B to this report.
- 2.13 The Assembly's governing body is the Standing Committee, which is composed of the head of each member delegation, the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer and the Secretary General.
- 2.14 There are two plenary sessions each year: a Spring Session, usually towards the end of May, and an Annual Session in October or November. The sessions are held in member or associate member countries.
- 2.15 The Assembly's five committees meet during plenary sessions, and occasionally at other times. They are charged with examining major contemporary issues in their fields. The committees are:
  - Civil Dimension of Security;
  - Defence and Security;
  - Economics and Security;
  - Political; and
  - Science and Technology.
- 2.16 The committees and sub-committees produce reports, which are discussed in draft form at the Assembly's Spring Session. The reports are then

<sup>1</sup> NATO Parliamentary Assembly website, 10 January 2018, http://www.nato-pa.int/

- revised and up-dated for discussion, amendment and adoption at the Assembly's Annual Session.
- 2.17 At the Annual Session, the committees produce policy recommendations which are voted on by the full Assembly and forwarded to the North Atlantic Council. As well as meetings during Sessions, the committees and sub-committees meet several times a year in member and associate nations where they receive briefings from leading government and parliamentary representatives, as well as senior academics and experts.
- 2.18 Other Assembly bodies include the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group to enhance parliamentary dialogue and understanding with countries of the Middle East and the North African region, the Ukraine-NATO Inter-parliamentary Council, and the Georgia-NATO Inter-Parliamentary Council. The NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee was discontinued in April 2014.
- 2.19 The headquarters of the Assembly's International Secretariat is located in central Brussels. The International Secretariat is responsible for all administration and the bulk of research and analysis that supports the Assembly's committees, sub-committees and other groups. The Assembly is directly funded by member parliaments and governments, and is financially and administratively separate from NATO itself.

#### The Delegation's Program

- 2.20 The Delegation arrived in Bucharest on 6 October. On 7-9 October Delegation members participated in the 2017 Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.
- 2.21 Approximately 300 delegates from more than 50 countries attended the 2017 Annual Session in Bucharest. Delegates discussed a range of issues including the humanitarian crisis in Iraq and Syria, energy security and industrial and technological developments. A major focus of deliberations was the situation in south-eastern Europe and the Black Sea region and the change in the threat posed by Russia's increasingly aggressive foreign policy.
- 2.22 On 7-8 October Delegation members attended meetings of the Assembly's committees, welcoming the opportunity to hear from specialists in a range of fields and to participate in discussions. With five committees meeting concurrently it was not possible for Delegation members to attend all sessions but summaries of key sessions attended by members are presented below. A list of resolutions and reports adopted by the

- committees and by the plenary session of the Assembly is included in Appendix C to this report.
- 2.23 On 9 October Delegation members attended the plenary sitting of the Assembly. The addresses by the President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the Secretary-General of NATO are included in Appendix C to this report.
- 2.24 On 9 October the Delegation also met with members of the Romanian Parliament's Committee for Foreign Policy of the Chamber of Deputies to discuss a range of matters of mutual interest, and with members of the Committee for Labour and Social Protection of the Chamber of Deputies and the Parliamentary Friendship Group for Australia of the Romanian Parliament.

#### NATO Parliamentary Assembly Committee Meetings

- As noted above, a common theme of discussions across the Assembly was the increasingly aggressive stance taken by Russia in a number of areas: the Black Sea, the territorial integrity of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova; information warfare and Russia's increased presence in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. These were discussed in a number of committee sessions.
- 2.26 Another subject that was also raised in discussions during committee meetings and in the plenary session was the issue of defence spending, and the commitment in the 2014 Wales Summit Declaration that Allies not already doing so would aim to meet the NATO guideline of spending at least 2 per cent of GDP on defence. Some resistance was detected in the sentiments expressed by some delegates, which in turn generated debate to reaffirm the guideline.

#### Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security

- 2.27 The committee discussed a range of matters, including the humanitarian crisis in Syria and Iraq, political and security developments in the Black Sea region, Russian information warfare and instability risks in East Asia.
- 2.28 The committee considered the draft report on the crisis in Syria and Iraq. The report notes that of the pre-war Syrian population of 22 million, approximately 400,000 have been killed, 1.5 million wounded, at least 4.9 million have been forced to flee Syria and 6 million are internally displaced. 13.5 million require immediate humanitarian assistance, which the UN estimated would require US\$3.4 billion in 2017, less than half of which was presently funded. The report refers to the 'implosion of Syria's social fabric'.

- 2.29 The report also explores the effects of the war on Iraq, the impact of the crisis on the countries in the immediate neighbourhood, which host 5.1 million Syrian refugees, and the ongoing flow of migrants to Europe.
- 2.30 These issues were a significant focus of discussion when Australia last attended the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in 2015. Although the expulsion of ISIS forces from Syria and Iraq is a very significant development, the crisis in those countries is far from over and the issues canvassed in the report will require attention over many years. This, of course, will not merely be a concern for NATO members.
- 2.31 Following adoption of the report the committee heard a presentation from the Deputy Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, Salam Kawakibi, on the situation in Syria. He argued that reconstruction cannot occur without a change of regime and that the current regime in Syria only survives with Russian support. He said that in attempting to establish a genuine political transition Europe in particular should not feel powerless when it has such collective financial might at its disposal. Mr Kawakibi also suggested that without assistance from the West, forces worse than ISIS would emerge.
- 2.32 The committee heard a presentation by Theresa Fallon, Director of the Centre for Russia, Europe, Asia Studies on instability risks in East Asia. The Delegation was particularly interested to participate in discussion of issues relevant to Australia's own region.
- 2.33 The main focus of discussion was China's increased activity in both the South China Sea and the East China Sea. The South China Sea, through which US\$5 trillion of trade passes each year, has received some attention in the media but the issues relating to the East China Sea are less well known. In recent years a long-standing territorial dispute between China and Japan has escalated and there has been a very significant increase in Chinese activity in the disputed waters. Ms Fallon cited the lack of effective crisis mechanisms as a serious issue.
- 2.34 Ms Fallon also raised the issue of militant Islam in south-east Asia as an increasingly serious security threat to the region. Another issue discussed was Russia's increasing interest in cultivating relations with North Korea in order to obtain port access and access to the huge volumes of trade in the region. Other issues were the growing threat from weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and cyber attacks.
- 2.35 The Delegation leader, Mr Laming, spoke about the role of China in the region and suggested that while the traditional focus of NATO had been on the Euro-Atlantic region, perhaps it was time for the Alliance to take a greater role in the Pacific, especially given that the United States, NATO's largest member, has a Pacific coast.

#### **Defence and Security Committee**

- 2.36 Topics covered by the committee included security developments in the Black Sea region, ballistic missile defence and extremism.
- 2.37 The committee heard a presentation from Thomas Karako, Senior Fellow with the International Security Program and Director of the Missile Defense Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, on the future of air and missile defence in Europe, and then considered the report, *Ballistic Missile Defence and NATO*.
- 2.38 At the time of the meeting recent missile tests by North Korea and subsequent discussions made consideration of the issue, even if relating to Europe rather than the Asia-Pacific region, timely.
- 2.39 Mr Karako noted a reduction in capacity since the Cold War and suggestions in recent years of scaling back Europe's missile defences. However, he said that missile defence systems take years to build and that it was better to outpace a threat than to chase it.
- 2.40 Challenges noted by Mr Karako included budget constraints, an expanding array of missile threats in other regions and the likelihood of Russian objections to an increased missile defence system in Europe.
- 2.41 Improving the interoperability and integration between the defence systems of Allies has been a key NATO aim in recent years. However, the purchase, and or threatened purchase, of Russian missile systems by Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates threatens to undermine these efforts.
- 2.42 The committee heard a presentation from Elizabeth Pearson and Emily Winterbottom, fellows at the Royal United Services Institute, on gender and violent extremism. Twenty per cent of foreign fighters travelling to Iraq and Syria from Europe were women. It was noted that ideology was not the only element in the radicalisation of young women and men: economic factors, a search for identity, alienation and a sense of grievance were also significant.

#### **Political Committee**

- 2.43 The committee discussed a range of matters, including the security situation in south-eastern Europe, Russia and Euro-Atlantic security and energy security.
- 2.44 Mark Galeotti, a senior researcher with the Centre for European Security at the Institute of International Relations in Prague, gave a presentation to the committee in which he observed that relations between Russia and NATO were at their worst since the Cold War. The annexation of Crimea had disregarded international norms and Russia had conducted

- aggressive manoeuvres with limited and distorted information provided to NATO.
- 2.45 He noted the very significant concentration of Russian forces around the Black Sea and suggested that Russia was aiming to create a new security architecture in Europe with Russia as the dominant player. He also noted the extensive Russian use of media in the west to manipulate perceptions of its actions.
- 2.46 In his presentation on the situation in south-eastern Europe the Romanian Foreign Minister, Mr Teodor-Vorel Meleşcanu, also referred to the build-up of forces in and around the Black Sea. He noted the commitment made by NATO members in the 2016 Warsaw Communiqué, which expressed a renewed commitment to the Black Sea region and reiterated solidarity in not recognising Russia's annexation of Crimea.
- 2.47 The Warsaw Communiqué makes clear that the Alliance supports regional efforts by NATO Allies and Black Sea littoral states aimed at ensuring security and stability. NATO Allies committed at Warsaw to 'appropriate measures' to develop a 'tailored forward presence in the southeast part of the Alliance territory' and a multinational brigade for training purposes in the region. There are now a number of multi-national battalions in the region.
- 2.48 Mr Meleşcanu emphasised the potential for further NATO-EU cooperation, with NATO continuing as the main generator of collective defence but with the EU taking on an enhanced role. In south-eastern Europe he saw benefits in countries in the western Balkans joining both the EU and NATO.

#### **Science and Technology Committee**

- 2.49 The committee discussed the draft report, *The Internet of Things: Promises and Perils of a Disruptive Technology*. The report noted that there are now more than twice as many connected devices as there are people on the planet. The potential for good is very great but the challenges and risks are also significant. In the military sphere, where the use of smart technology is becoming increasingly common, key risks include insider threats, user error, hacking and signal jamming.
- 2.50 The lead role of the commercial sector in innovation is driving change in the way in which armed forces adapt to emerging technologies. There was some discussion about the difference in principle between civilian adoption of such technology, and the ability for military applications to address those key risks in an effective and safe manner. Governments will need to redouble their efforts in the areas of cyber defence and security and critical infrastructure protection.

2.51 The committee also considered the challenges in maintaining NATO's technological edge and food and water security in the Middle East.

#### **Economics and Security Committee**

2.52 The committee discussed the economic and political situation in the western Balkans, industrial cooperation in NATO, energy security and climate change.

#### **Plenary Sitting**

- 2.53 Delegation members attended the plenary sitting of the Assembly on 9 October. The sitting was addressed by the President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Mr Paolo Alli; the President of Romania, Mr Klaus Iohannis; the President of the Senate of Romania, Mr Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu, the President of the Chamber of Deputies of Romania, Mr Liviu Dragnea and the Secretary General of NATO and Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, Mr Jens Stoltenberg. The addresses of Mr Alli and Mr Stoltenberg are included in Appendix C to this report.
- 2.54 There were common themes in the remarks of the speakers, particularly in relation to Russian threats to the territorial integrity of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. The President of the Assembly referred to Russian violations of international law in these countries and noted Russian attempts to penetrate political and media spheres in the West. The Secretary-General stated that increased NATO deployments in south-eastern Europe are a direct response to Russia's aggressive actions in Ukraine.
- 2.55 Security in south-eastern Europe more generally and in the Black Sea region were also raised. The Secretary-General said that NATO is concerned by Russia's military build-up close to NATO's borders and by its lack of transparency when it comes to military exercises.
- 2.56 However, he said that NATO's actions are designed to prevent, not provoke, conflict that they are defensive, proportionate and entirely in line with international commitments. He called on Russia to abide by its international commitments, stating that NATO does not want to isolate Russia and does not want a new Cold War.
- 2.57 Other issues raised included the progress of the western Balkans towards integration with the rest of Europe, the fragmentation of the European defence industry and the unnecessary costs and challenges involved in maintaining the ability of Alliance members to work and fight together, ISIS and the Syrian conflict, and the situation in Afghanistan.
- 2.58 The Assembly adopted a number of resolutions (see Appendix C).

#### Meetings with Members of the Chamber of Deputies, Romanian Parliament Chair and Deputy Chair, Committee for Foreign Policy

- 2.59 The Delegation met with Mrs Rozália-Ibolya Biró, Chair, and Mr Dan Barna, Deputy Chair, of the Committee for Foreign Policy of the Chamber of Deputies. A range of issues was discussed including security concerns in relation to Russia and the Black Sea, and specific aspects of the bilateral relationship between Australia and Romania. It was noted that Australia's new icebreaker, RSV *Nuyina*, is being constructed at the Damen Shipyards in Romania.
- 2.60 The Delegation discussed with Mrs Biro and Mr Barna prospects for developing the relationship between the Australian and Romanian parliaments and their committees. 2018 marks 50 years of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The benefit to both countries of their cooperation in international forums was also discussed.

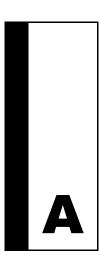
# Chair, Committee for Labour and Social Protection and Chair, Parliamentary Friendship Group for Australia

- 2.61 The Delegation met with Mr Adrian Solomon, Chair of the Committee for Labour and Social Protection of the Chamber of Deputies, and Mr Eugen Bejinariu, Chair of the Parliamentary Friendship Group for Australia.
- 2.62 The economic relationship between the two countries was discussed. It is not extensive, although a promising upturn has been evident in recent years. In 2015-16 Romania was Australia's 62nd largest merchandise trading partner, with a two-way merchandise trade of \$288 million. The trade in services totaled \$28 million. Bilateral investment heavily favors Romania with \$56 million invested in Romania in 2014, compared to \$1 million invested in Australia.
- 2.63 The Delegation Leader, Mr Laming, suggested that the construction of the RSV *Nuyina* in Romania was a story which could capture Australians' interest and heighten awareness of the relationship. Mr Solomon noted the potential for Australian cinema to raise greater awareness of Australia in Romania, noting in particular the popularity of an SBS original TV production. There is a relatively small Romanian population in Australia; the 2011 Australian census recorded 14,051 Romanian-born people living in Australia while 20,994 claimed Romanian ancestry.
- 2.64 Other topics discussed included indigenous issues in Australia, the two countries' respective health and social welfare systems and how best to recognise the anniversaries both of the union of Romania and Transylvania in 1918 and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Australia and Romania in 1968.

#### **Conclusions**

- 2.65 Delegation members found attendance at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly to be a valuable opportunity to inform themselves on a wide range of issues, to hear from civilian and military experts in various fields and to exchange views with fellow parliamentarians from NATO member countries and other observer delegations.
- 2.66 As noted by previous delegations to the Assembly, there is value in Members and Senators participating in such events and gaining an understanding of relevant issues which they can communicate to colleagues and constituents.
- 2.67 While the views of the Australian Delegation did not always align with the views of those making presentations or of other delegates contributing to discussions, the same can be said regarding government perspectives and parliamentary perspectives not always being the same. It therefore remains important for engagement to continue with cross-parliamentary representation, and for the exchange of ideas to be developed through inter-parliamentary dialogue of the kind in which members participated during the Assembly.

Andrew Laming MP Delegation Leader



# Appendix A – Delegation Program 6-10 October 2017

#### Friday 6 October – Bucharest

1155 Arrive Bucharest Airport

1630 NATO Parliamentary Assembly Registration

#### Saturday 7 October – Bucharest

0930–1800 NATO Parliamentary Assembly, committee meetings

#### Sunday 8 October - Bucharest

0900-1600 NATO Parliamentary Assembly, committee meetings

2030 Reception hosted by the President of the Senate and the President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament

#### Monday 9 October - Bucharest

0830-1600 NATO Parliamentary Assembly, plenary session

1100-1130 Meeting with Mrs Rozalia Biro, Chair, and Mr Dan Barna, Deputy Chair, Committee for Foreign Policy of the Chamber of Deputies, Romanian Parliament

1400-1430 Meeting with Mr Adrian Solomon, Chair, Committee for Labour and Social Protection of the Chamber of Deputies, and Mr Eugen Bejinariu, Chair, Parliamentary Friendship Group for Australia of the Romanian Parliament

#### Tuesday 10 October - Bucharest

1255 Depart Bucharest



# Appendix B – Members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Albania Belgium Bulgaria Canada

Croatia Czech Republic

Denmark Estonia
France Germany
Greece Hungary
Iceland Italy
Latvia Lithuania

Luxembourg Montenegro
Netherlands Norway
Poland Portugal
Romania Slovakia

Slovenia Spain

Turkey United Kingdom United States

#### **Associate Delegations**

Armenia

Austria

Azerbaijan

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Finland

Georgia

Moldova

Serbia

Sweden

Switzerland

The Former Yugolslav Republic of Macedonia

Ukraine

#### Regional Partner and Mediterranean Associate Member Delegations

Algeria

Israel

Jordan

Morocco

#### **Parliamentary Observer Delegations**

Assembly of Kosovo

Australia

Egypt

Japan

Kazakhstan

Palestinian National Council

Republic of Korea

Tunisia

#### **Inter-Parliamentary Assembly Delegations**

Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE PA)

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)

#### The European Parliament



# Appendix C – Addresses, resolutions and reports

Address by Paolo Alli, President, NATO Parliamentary Assembly, delivered at the plenary sitting of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on 9 October 2017

Colleagues, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen,

A year ago in Istanbul, you elected me to represent you as your President. Since then, I have worked to ensure that our Assembly's voice is heard on all the key issues on our Alliance's agenda. I have travelled to twelve of our capitals, and to six of our partners – from the Western Balkans to Ukraine and Georgia, and from the Middle East to Korea – to get a better sense of these countries' priorities and perspectives on the multitude of challenges confronting us. I met with NATO's top Commanders: SACEUR General Scaparrotti, SACT General Mercier, the Chairman of the Military Committee General Pavel, the Commander of Joint Forces Command Brunssum General Farina, and the Commander of Joint Forces Command Naples Admiral Howard. I participated in the special meeting of Allied Heads of State and Government in Brussels in May, and attended the flag-raising ceremony for the accession of Montenegro to NATO in June. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate our Montenegrin friends once again, and welcome them formally as full members of our Assembly.

On all these occasions, I witnessed the importance of parliamentary diplomacy as an essential complement to governmental diplomacy. And our meetings this weekend have shown once again the great value that our Assembly brings to discussions on Euro-Atlantic and global security.

Our spring session in Georgia and this annual session in Romania have allowed us to focus first on developments in this strategically important region of the Black Sea.

Just north of Romania's shores, in Ukraine, Russia continues its illegal occupation of Crimea and support to armed militants in Donbas in violation of the Minsk agreements. In the Republic of Moldova, Russia sustains the breakaway region of Transnistria and blocks the resolution of the conflict. And on the opposite shore of the Black Sea, it still occupies Georgian territory. These blatant violations of

international law concern us all and are unacceptable. Supporting Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, and Georgia, is defending the whole of Europe as well.

But Russia's strategy is not limited to this region. Moscow seeks to consolidate its presence and influence from the High North to the Middle East, and from Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans to Asia. It is also seeking to penetrate the political and media spheres in our countries in order to influence our public opinions. We must remain alert and vigilant, without escalating but also without compromising on our interests and values.

At the same time, we continue to face a constellation of challenges on our southern borders. Instability in our neighbourhood, from Libya to Iraq and Syria, breeds a persistent terrorist threat which has affected too many of our cities already, and continues to inspire some of our citizens to turn against their own.

This will be a long struggle. It will require a comprehensive effort, at home and abroad, to address the root causes of instability and radicalisation, and to prevent the emergence of new terrorist havens or the re-emergence of old ones. As importantly, we must tackle the humanitarian consequences of instability and poverty in our neighbourhood, and dismantle the trafficking networks which prosper on human misery.

NATO's new Strategic Direction South and Hub for the South in Naples provide important political signals of NATO's renewed commitment to stability in this region. The Hub – which I visited this June – will help us better understand and anticipate the whole range of challenges in our southern neighbourhood. It also serves as a valuable link to our partners in the region. In this comprehensive, long-term effort to promote stability in the South, we must work in close partnership with all willing countries and institutions in Africa and the Middle East. This is why I will be travelling to Cairo at the end of the month to explore with the Secretary General of the Arab League ways in which we can enhance our cooperation.

It is one of the key lessons of NATO's engagement in Afghanistan that creating the conditions for long-term stability takes time, and can only be achieved by helping local institutions develop the tools necessary to guarantee their citizens' security. We are called upon today to keep up the effort we all engaged in the aftermath of 9/11.

We also have a special responsibility to continue to encourage the Western Balkans on their path towards Euro-Atlantic integration. NATO has supported stability and reconciliation in the region for over 20 years now. With Montenegro's accession, there are now three countries of the former Yugoslavia – plus Albania – which are contributing to our common security as NATO members. Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have made clear that their ambition is to follow suit, and NATO has repeated time and again that its door is open. I regret that political obstacles have slowed down Sarajevo and Skopje's progress. All countries of the region also aspire to join the European

Union, and we must keep this prospect open for them all. Europe will not be complete without the full integration of the Western Balkans.

Dear colleagues,

The challenges that our nations face are complex and multi-faceted, and our security is interconnected. No country today can claim that it is immune to the risks of home-grown or imported terrorism, to the threat of a nuclear-armed North Korea, or to the impact of climate change.

The threats we face also evolve at what seems to be an increasingly fast pace.

We must therefore constantly strive to improve our ability to anticipate future crises. And we must invest in the future generations who will be called upon to take responsibility for our nations' security. I am delighted that we have now established a Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO, and I would like to pay tribute to the leadership of its chairman, our former President, Karl Lamers.

With your support, I look forward to continuing to carry our Assembly's voice everywhere where it can add value, and support our common priorities and shared values. Thank you again for the privilege to serve as your President and for your ongoing trust.

# Address by Jens Stoltenberg, NATO Secretary-General, delivered at the plenary sitting of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on 9 October 2017

Thank you so much President Alli, President of Romania, President of the Senate, President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ministers, dear Parliamentarians Good morning to all of you.

It's a great to see you all of you here today and it is great to be back in Bucharest, to be among Allies, partners and friends. Let me begin with thanking Romania for hosting all of us here today. And also for Romania's very strong contributions to the Alliance and to our collective defence, to our shared security.

Romania is contributing in many different ways, contributing to NATO operations in Afghanistan and in Kosovo. As the host of our ballistic missile defence site in Deveselu. And as a nation committed to spending 2 per cent of GDP on defence.

So, Romania is helping to keep NATO's nearly one billion citizens safe.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly also makes an essential contribution to that mission. And I want to thank President Paolo Alli and the Secretariat for all the very hard and important work they do to make this organization functioning as well.

And, of course, I also want to thank you, all the members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. NATO relies on you. To engage with your colleagues. And with the people you represent.

You can help explain what NATO is. And what NATO does. You approve national defence budgets. And you ensure that the Alliance has the tools to do its job.

That's why I am so pleased to be here together with you today. I am very impressed by the work you are doing. On topics very high on NATO's agenda. Such as cooperation with the EU. Security in the Black Sea region. The European defence industry. Challenges from the South. And of course burden-sharing within the Alliance.

Today, I want to outline where the Alliance stands right now. And where we are all going. Then I look forward to your questions, and to our discussion after my speech.

Colleagues, friends, NATO is an Alliance that keeps its promises. We say what we do. And we do what we say.

We are adapting to a new security environment and we are adapting to new challenges and to a new security threat.

We are adapting to the new security challenges we face. Expanding our presence in the east of the Alliance. Stepping up our response to the threats from the South. Increasing our resilience to hybrid and cyber threats. Boosting our support for partners. And taking our cooperation with the EU to a new level.

I've been to all our new multinational battlegroups in the east of the Alliance. I've seen them in action. And I met their commanders and troops. In Estonia, in Latvia, in Lithuania and in Poland.

The battlegroups are in place and fully operational. Sending a clear message that an attack on one Ally will be regarded as an attack against us all. The speed and efficiency with which they were deployed reflects Allies' strong commitment to our collective defence.

I want to thank Canada, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom for leading the four battlegroups. As well as the 16 other Allies who are contributing. Including the four host nations.

But of course, we haven't only strengthened our forward presence in the Northeast of the Alliance. But also in the South-east.

Here in Romania, our multinational framework brigade is now operational. I want to thank Romania for hosting the brigade. And I am looking forward to visiting it later today with President Iohannis.

We are also seeing increased Allied presence in the Black Sea.

Allied jets continue to patrol the skies over Romania and Bulgaria as part of our ongoing air policing mission. Canadian pilots flying alongside Romanians. And Italian pilots working with their Bulgarian colleagues.

Our deployments are a direct response to Russia's aggressive actions in Ukraine. NATO's actions are defensive, proportionate and entirely in line with our international commitments.

We are concerned by Russia's military build-up close to our borders. And its lack of transparency when it comes to military exercises such as ZAPAD 2017.

This highlights the importance of our dual-track approach to Russia. Which combines strong defence with meaningful dialogue. In the NATO-Russia Council. Throughout bilateral engagements. And through military-to-military contacts.

We continue to call on Russia to abide by its international commitments. Russia is our neighbour. Russia is here to stay. We do not want to isolate Russia. NATO does not want a new Cold War.

Our actions are designed to prevent, not provoke conflict. And we are committed to transparency and predictability, which are in everybody's interest.

Our Alliance has to face many different threats and challenges at the same time.

A pressing concern, of course, is the arc of instability from Afghanistan to the Middle East and North Africa. Which has inspired terrorist attacks in our own countries. NATO has played a role in the fight against terrorism for many years.

Our largest ever military operation is in Afghanistan. Where today we have around 13,000 troops from 39 different NATO and partner countries training Afghan security forces. Helping them to fight terrorism and stabilise their own country.

I have just returned from a trip to Afghanistan together with US Secretary of Defence Mattis. There is a renewed commitment to our efforts in Afghanistan.

I have seen how well NATO troops are working with Afghan security forces. Providing training and support to them. Helping them to make progress on the battlefield, and reduce their casualties.

The situation in Afghanistan is challenging. We all understand the cost of staying in Afghanistan. The human cost and the financial cost. But the cost of walking away would be much higher.

If NATO leaves too soon, we risk Afghanistan returning to a state of chaos. A safe haven for international terrorism. The last time that happened then it led to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States. In which almost 3000 people were killed.

We cannot allow that to happen again. That is why we remain committed to Afghanistan.

We are also stepping up elsewhere.

The Alliance is now a full member of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. Our AWACS surveillance planes are helping the Coalition to better understand the situation in the air.

NATO is training Iraqi security forces. Bolstering their ability to win the fight against ISIS. And Iraqi troops trained by NATO and Allies have put their skills to use in the battle for Mosul and elsewhere.

We are making progress. ISIS is losing ground. And they are on the run.

At the same time, we are boosting the support we give to partners in the Middle East and North Africa. Including training programmes in countries such as Tunisia and Jordan.

We are working to improve situational awareness and information-sharing. So that Allies can take even swifter action against threats we face, including terrorism.

That is why we have set up our new Intelligence Division at NATO Headquarters. And the Hub for the South in Naples.

And we are working hard throughout the alliance to make our societies more resilient to attack. Resilience is essential to our ability to resist hybrid threats.

Such threats are quicker, more potent and more intense than ever before. Combining many different elements. Including cyber-attacks, disinformation and the use of hard military force. From tweets to tanks.

Guarding against such threats is an increasingly vital part of NATO's mission. And that's what we are doing. Including by strengthening our cooperation with the European Union.

Just last week, I took part in the inauguration of the Helsinki Hybrid Centre of Excellence. Together with EU High Representative/Vice President of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini.

Neither NATO nor the EU alone have all the tools to tackle the challenges alone. So that is why we must work more closely together. We have now started the preparations for the next NATO Summit which will take plate in Brussels next year at our new headquarters.

We will continue to build on the decisions we took at the Wales and Warsaw Summits.

Upgrading our collective defence. And helping bring stability and security to our neighbourhood. Both East and South.

Relations with Russia will, of course, be an important topic. As will our cooperation with the EU. And the continuing modernisation of the Alliance.

Crucially, going forward, Allies need to invest in defence.

At the Wales Summit as you know in 2014, all Allies made a pledge. To stop the cuts in defence budgets. And gradually move towards spending 2 per cent of GDP on defence within a decade.

The good news is that we have seen real progress. After years of decline, in 2015 we saw a real increase in defence spending across European Allies and Canada.

This continued in 2016. And this year 2017, we estimate an even greater annual increase – of 4.3 per cent in real terms.

That is three consecutive years of accelerating defence spending. The trend is up and, with your help, we will keep it up.

Last year, five Allies met the 2 per cent target. Romania has announced it will join them this year. With Latvia and Lithuania doing the same next year.

Increased defence spending is about making sure we have what we need in a more dangerous world. But it's also about burden sharing within the Alliance. And keeping the transatlantic bond strong.

That's why it is so important. And why I rely on you all to make the case for more and better spending back home.

One way of doing that is by addressing the fragmentation of the European defence industry. And let me also give you some examples on what I mean of speaking about the fragmentation of the European defence industry.

The US has one type of main battle tank, while Europe has 17 different tanks. The US has four types of frigates and destroyers; Europe has 29. The US has six types of fighter plane; Europe has 20.

Think what that means for our ability to work and fight together. And the unnecessary costs involved.

This is a challenge NATO is addressing through our work on capability development. We are also now stepping up our cooperation with the EU on the issue of capability developments. And I strongly welcome the commitment of EU leaders.

Colleagues, Friends, Many thanks to your efforts, the Alliance is better prepared to face a new and changing security environment. This assembly has long played an essential role in NATO's evolution.

As NATO continues to adapt to an uncertain world, I know I can count on you all. To shape the debate. To engage with citizens on our behalf.

Thank you for everything you do.

## Resolutions adopted by the plenary sitting of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on 9 October 2017 \*

Confronting Disinformation and the Weaponisation of Information

Stability and Security in the Black Sea Region

Supporting the Afghan National Defence and Security Forces

Closer NATO-EU Cooperation

The European Defence Industrial Base

Tackling Challenges from the South

Burden sharing – fulfilling the promises

Maintaining NATO'S Technological Edge

### Reports adopted by committees of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, 7-8 October 2017 \*

#### Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security;

The War in Syria and Iraq: Humanitarian Aspects

Social Media Revolution: Political and Security Implications

Advancing stability in the Black Sea Region

#### **Defence and Security Committee**

Ballistic Missile Defence and NATO

The Space Domain and Allied Defence

NATO-EU Cooperation After Warsaw

Afghanistan

#### **Economics and Security Committee**

The State of Europe's Defence Industrial Base

Assessing and Mitigating the Cost of Climate Change

Economic Transition in the Western Balkans: An Assessment

#### **Political Committee**

Russia - From Partner to Competitor

Tackling the Challenges from the South

NATO and Security in the Arctic

Burden sharing revisited

#### **Science and Technology Committee**

Maintaining NATO's Technological Edge: Strategic Adaptation and Defence Research & Development

The Internet of Things: Promises and Perils of a Disruptive Technology

Food and Water Security in the Middle East and North Africa

<sup>\*</sup> Details of the resolutions adopted by the 2017 annual session of the Assembly and of the reports adopted by its committees can be found at https://www.nato-pa.int/node/10253.