

**DEFENCE AND
SECURITY**

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NATO Parliamentary Assembly

SUMMARY

of the meeting of the Defence and Security Committee

*Panorama Hall, Prague Congress Centre
Prague, Czech Republic*

Saturday 10 and Sunday 11 November 2012

International Secretariat

November 2012

Assembly documents are available on its website, <http://www.nato-pa.int>

ATTENDANCE LIST

Chairperson	Joseph A. DAY (Canada)
General Rapporteur	Sven MIKSER (Estonia)
Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Future Defence Capabilities	Raymond KNOPS (Netherlands)
Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation	Nicole AMELINE (France)
President of the NATO PA	Karl A. LAMERS (Germany)
Member Delegations	
Belgium	Gerald KINDERMANS Luc SEVENHANS Martine Taelman
Bulgaria	Kostadin YAZOV
Canada	Leon BENOIT Cheryl GALLANT Jack HARRIS Christine MOORE Susan TRUPPE Terence YOUNG
Croatia	Boris BLAZEKOVIC Davor BOZINOVIC Marin JURJEVIC Sandra PETROVIC
Czech Republic	Antonin SEDA Vaclav KLUCKA Miroslav SKALOUD
Denmark	Villum CHRISTENSEN Jeppe KOFOED John Dyrby PAULSEN
France	Gilbert LE BRIS Jean-Marie BOCKEL Daniel REINER Xavier PINTAT
Germany	Lorenz CAFFIER Robert HOCHBAUM Johannes PFLUG Anita SCHÄFER Dietmar WOIDKE
Greece	Georgios KALANTZIS Andreas LOVERDOS
Hungary	Gabor STAUDT
Iceland	Ragnheidur ARNADOTTIR
Italy	Francesco BOSI Antonello CABRAS Giorgio LA MALFA

Latvia	Giovanni TORRI
Lithuania	Sergejs POTAPKINS
Luxembourg	Arvydas ANUSAUSKAS
Netherlands	Claude ADAM
Norway	Franklin van KAPPEN
	Lars EGELAND
	Sverre MYRLI
Poland	Marek OPIOLA
	Dariusz SELIGA
	Pawel SUSKI
	Andrzej SZEWINSKI
	Zbyszek ZABOROWSKI
Portugal	Julio MIRANDA CALHA
	Joao REBELO
Slovakia	Jaroslav BASKA
Slovenia	Dragutin MATE
	Matej TONIN
Spain	Miguel CAMPOY
	Vincente FERRER
	Diego LOPEZ GARRIDO
	Ignacio PALACIOS
	Jordi XUCLA
Turkey	Mehmet Vecdi GONUL
	Emrehan HALICI
	Akif Cagatay KILIC
United Kingdom	Sir Menzies CAMPBELL
	Hugh BAYLEY
	Peter BOTTOMLEY
	Lord HAMILTON OF EPSOM
	Madeleine MOON
	John ROBERTSON
	Sir John STANLEY
United States	Jeff MILLER
	John SHIMKUS
	Michael TURNER
Associate Delegations	
Austria	Wolfgang GERSTL
	Mario KUNASEK
	Gabriele MOSER
	Stefan PRÄHAUSER
Azerbaijan	Gudrat HASANGULIYEV
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bozo LJUBIC
Finland	Ilkka KANERVA
	Jussi NIINISTO
	Mikko SAVOLA
Georgia	Irakli SESIASHVILI
Montenegro	Borislav BANOVIC
Russian Federation	Vladimir KOMOEDOV
	Victor ZAVARZIN
Serbia	Igor BECIC
	Branislav BLAZIC
	Dejan RADENKOVIC
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Switzerland
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Anders HANSSON
Thomas HURTER
Goran SUGARESKI
Pavle TRAJANOV
Yuriy SAMOILENKO
Ostap SEMERAK
Oleg ZARUBINSKYI
Ihor ZVARYCH

**Regional Partner and
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Algeria

Jordan

Mohamed ELOUED
Mohamed MEHENNI
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Anneli JÄÄTTEENMÄKI
Teresa RIERA MADURELL

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Afghanistan
Assembly of Kosovo
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Mongolia

Khalid PASHTOON
Xhavit HALITI
Ismail ISAKOV
Migeddorj BATCHIMEG

Speakers

Vice-Admiral Christian CANOVA, Deputy
Commander, NATO Maritime Command,
Northwood

Dr Alexander COOLEY, Professor of Political
Science, Barnard College, Columbia University

Patrick VAN EERTEN, Director of Operations and
Offshore at Jumbo Shipping, Rotterdam

Lieutenant General Petr PAVEL, Chief of the
General Staff of the Armed Forces, Czech Republic

Dr Benjamin SCHREER, Deputy Head and Senior
Lecturer, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre,
School of International Political and Strategic
Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian
National University

Dr Alexandr VONDRA, Minister of Defence,
Czech Republic

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Andrea PRETIS, Co-ordinator
Fevzi Doruk ERGUN, Research Assistant
Ahmad MEHDI, Research Assistant

* Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

Saturday 10 November 2012

I. Opening remarks by the Chairman, Joseph A. Day (Canada)

1. **The Chairman** opened the meeting of the Committee, thanking the Czech delegation for preparing the session and celebrating the fact that the session marks the 10th anniversary of the NATO summit in Prague. He also noted that at the 2002 NATO summit, Heads of State and Government formally invited seven countries to Accession talks with NATO, including: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. All invited countries had further committed themselves to equip NATO with new capabilities to meet the security threats of the 21st century.

II. Adoption of the draft Agenda [142 DSC 12 E]

2. **The draft agenda was adopted.**

III. Adoption of the Summary of the Meeting of the Defence and Security Committee held in Tallinn, Estonia, on 27 May 2012 [122 DSC 12 E]

3. **The summary of the Estonia meeting was adopted.**

IV. Procedure for amendments to the draft Resolution on *Afghanistan: Ensuring a Successful Transition* [183 DSC 12 E] presented by Sven Mikser (Estonia), General Rapporteur

4. The Chairman explained the procedures in place for proposing changes to the draft Committee resolution on *Afghanistan: Ensuring a Successful Transition*.

V. Presentation by Dr Alexandr Vondra, Minister of Defence, Czech Republic, on *The Czech Republic's Priorities and Challenges after the Chicago Summit*

5. The **Minister of Defence, Dr Alexandr Vondra**, served as a foreign policy advisor to President Vaclav Havel, and later as Czech Ambassador to the United States (1997-2001), during which time he oversaw the process of the Czech Republic's integration into NATO, the chairman pointed out.

6. Dr Vondra highlighted the significance of the Prague NATO summit in 2002, which took place one year after the September 2001 attacks. Dr Vondra highlighted the summit as a test case of Alliance solidarity. It was also an important Summit for two other reasons: firstly, it was decided that a NATO response force and capability package would be implemented; and secondly, NATO invited seven new members to join the alliance.

7. NATO remains the key project of the transatlantic family and a key priority is that it remains strong, Dr Vondra noted. At present, US attention is steering towards the Asia-Pacific region, whilst the EU's priorities are anchored towards fiscal stability in the eurozone. In the context of a shifting geopolitical map, where domestic priorities are becoming increasingly important, Dr Vondra said that NATO's mission and purpose must not be overshadowed. Dr Vondra also

warned against the idea of redefining NATO's mission and that its traditional hard security role must be preserved for it to maintain its strategic rationale.

8. Defence cuts made by NATO member states have been a cause for alarm, Dr Vondra stressed. However, Dr Vondra also highlighted that the military quality of individual NATO member states cannot be measured by the percentage of GDP spent on procurement alone. The case of the Czech Republic was also mentioned in this context: having lowered defence spending by 12%, complex defence review projects have been launched, leading to new military structures and more efficient operational command systems. Dr Vondra mentioned that the case of the Czech Republic highlights that lower defence spending need not translate into less commitment to NATO collective missions. The country's programme from 2013-2017 commits Czech troops to Afghanistan alongside improving military interoperability.

9. Dr Vondra noted that as defence spending is reduced across NATO member states, multinational initiatives cannot replace national ones. It was also mentioned that NATO's most important asset is the role of its partners. NATO's partnership policy is important in establishing security co-operation. However, Dr Vondra noted that such partnerships are complementary not substitutive; the outsourcing of the collective defence commitment in a way which jeopardises its security is unacceptable.

10. Dr Vondra commented that the Alliance's experience in Afghanistan was a good example of the merits of interoperability. However, he also said that counter-insurgency strategies are only one side of the coin in terms of the future of interoperability in the Alliance. He also mentioned that intra-military exercises will likely increase over the years as interoperability needs to be developed in the field of conventional defence as well.

11. In a spirited discussion following the presentation, a member questioned whether NATO should make a more concerted effort to reduce tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Dr Vondra responded by arguing that deterrence remains a central strategy of the Alliance but that developments in the Middle East will prove to be a major challenge to nuclear deterrence policy in the future. Another member commented that despite the United States' pivot towards Asia, NATO should focus more on its defence capabilities, especially via increased common procurement strategies. Dr Vondra responded by noting that he was very much in favour of common procurement citing the example of how over 30 years ago, the Netherlands, Norway and Belgium agreed on the common procurement of their supersonic fighters with excellent outcomes as a result. Dr Vondra also highlighted why harmonisation of acquisition cycles was a challenge to common procurement, explaining why some member states prefer unilateral procurement strategies.

VI. Presentation by Lieutenant General Petr Pavel, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, Czech Republic, on *The Czech Republic's Armed Forces – Reform Priorities and Contributions to Ongoing NATO Operations*

12. **Lieutenant General Petr Pavel** was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Czech Armed Forces on 1 July 2012.

13. Lieutenant General Pavel began his presentation by noting that the economy of the Czech Republic and most of the allies will continue to cope with the consequences of the economic, financial and debt crisis. He also argued that the risk of resources, organisational and personnel destabilisation of the Czech Republic's National Defence System cannot be underestimated. Lieutenant General Pavel noted that the implementation of the White Paper on Defence in 2011 represents the country's commitment to contribute to collective defence and

security of the allies, as well the Czech Republic's military engagement in NATO operations, which remains the most essential objective of the Armed Forces.

14. Citing the policy document Structure of the Czech Armed Forces (2013-2015), he stated that its main purpose is to cope with continuous defence budget cuts, while maintaining at least the core capabilities of the Czech Armed Forces needed to meet the required level of ambition in terms of fiscal austerity. Lieutenant General Pavel noted that austerity measures led to major reorganisation strategies, the most important of which included the abolition of the operational-tactical headquarter (HQ) and the establishment of administrative HQs of Land and Air Forces, located in Prague.

15. Greater attention is now being paid to multinational co-operation, as part of NATO's Smart Defence and Pooling and Sharing strategy established at the Chicago Summit. Lieutenant General Pavel commented that the Czech Republic is very active in co-operating with other Allies, participating in one quarter of entire Smart Defence projects, launched at Chicago. Such projects include: chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) weapons, multinational logistics and helicopters, and the Multinational Helicopter Training Centre. Lieutenant General Pavel also argued that it is increasingly important that current elites' interest in NATO does not wane, that the stability and security that NATO brings should not be underestimated and that burden sharing requires ever more interest and political will.

VII. Panel on *NATO's Role in Maritime Security and Counter-Piracy* with Vice-Admiral Christian Canova, Deputy Commander, NATO Maritime Command, Northwood and Patrick van Eeerten, Director of Operations and Offshore at Jumbo Shipping, Rotterdam

16. **Vice-Admiral Christian Canova** outlined how NATO Maritime Command (MARCOM), as the single maritime command in the new NATO Command Structure, views the future of Maritime Security as part of NATO operations. He argued that as globalisation increases, the capability to promote security across vital lines of communications is of paramount importance, as was outlined at the 2010 NATO Lisbon Summit.

17. NATO Maritime Command is currently conducting three major Maritime Operations. These include: Operation Unified Protector (OUP) in 2011; Operation Active Endeavour (OAE - 2001-...) and Operation Ocean Shield (2009-...). Vice-Admiral Canova argued that the responsibilities of OUP were further bolstered in 2011 during the NATO operations in Libya. One of the key successes behind NATO's Libya operation was the ability of OUP and OAE to activate commonality of procedures, the shared experience of interoperability and the proven relationships it had forged ahead of that crisis, allowing for rapid and integrated maritime response. However, it was also noted that interoperability and maritime partnerships need to be pursued far beyond the established Alliance structure and NATO's traditional areas of interest, especially given that future operations may need non-NATO members. Vice-Admiral Canova argued that this is being pursued through Operation Ocean Shield where work with the European Union Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) includes exercises with Russia, Iran, India and China under the banner of the counter-piracy mission. Vice-Admiral Canova argued that NATO will need to make the most of the equity in this collective security effort, if or when Ocean Shield comes to an end.

18. Vice-Admiral Canova then went on to note that the maritime domain and the forces attributed to operations are available to operationalise ideas such as Smart Defence and the Connected Forces' Initiative. In particular, the Vice-Admiral stressed the need to further develop NATO's collective forces in two major fields: the scope of missions, from NEOs (Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations), through to humanitarian relief; and secondly, the ability to respond.

19. Vice-Admiral Canova concluded on the topic of counter-piracy. He noted that since 2009, NATO's Maritime Command has succeeded in the field of counter-piracy. In particular, whereas in 2009 there were 130 attacks in the Indian Ocean, this had fallen to 20 by 2012. Moreover, whereas in 2009 there had been 45 hijackings in the Indian Ocean, by 2012, this had fallen to 7. This has been partly related to the number of prosecutions taken place (in 2010, only 2% of pirates were retained for prosecution, whereas in 2012 this had increased to 53%).

20. **Patrick van Eerten**, Director of Operations and Offshore at Jumbo Shipping, Rotterdam, then took the floor. In his presentation, he explained that NATO and the private shipping community have used co-operative synergies to combat piracy. For the commercial shipping community, the key concern at present is safety of personnel. Without ensuring their security, commercial shipping companies not only risk the safety of its personnel but also risk violating international and national laws in areas of operation. Whilst the solution to maritime security may lie in diplomacy, commercial shipping companies are under pressure to act quickly. Given that modern piracy is a global phenomenon and that not all countries have modern navies, this has led to the privatisation of maritime security. In particular, private security companies are playing an increasingly important role today in providing security for vessels operating in dangerous waters. However, there remain major regulatory and legal restrictions on the use of private security companies and Mr van Eerten urged members that further efforts should be made to reach a diplomatic and political solution to the use of private security companies.

21. This could be done in several ways by regulating both the transportation of the weapons and facilitating the storage of weapons on board much like the current rules for bonded stores. A lot of the cost for the shipping companies now is in the transport of weapons as many flag States and Port States have, justifiably very strict regulations, but these regulations should be standardized internationally.

22. During a discussion of both presentations, it was mentioned that NATO should adopt the same approach as the EU in extending its operational capabilities to increase certain prime onshore targets (the EU has enhanced its operational capacity as part of EU operation Atalanta by extending targets to include on-land targets). The discussion focussed on why NATO had not adopted the same approach. It was also said that whilst the number of attacks have dropped off the Horn of Africa and Indian Ocean that the territorial waters of Yemen have seen increases in attacks, which is a major cause for concern. The discussion then moved onto the consequences of military downsizing and impact on maritime security. This makes the case for privately armed security forces more appealing to some. However, the question of regulation remains a thorny legislative issue. Finally, it was noted that 90% of pirates that are apprehended are subsequently released. This figure is a major reflection of the problems surrounding the lack of international tribunal courts for the successful prosecution of pirates. It was pointed out that this "catch-and-release" problem has dented military morale.

VIII. Consideration of the draft report of the Sub-Committee on Future Defence and Security Capabilities *The Challenge of Piracy: International Response and NATO's Role* [144 DSCFC 12 E] by Raymond Knops (Netherlands), Rapporteur

23. **Raymond Knops** began by noting several positive trends regarding piracy attacks off Somalia. Incidents have been increasing year by year. A total of 237 were reported in 2011. However, in the first half of 2012, they have decreased sharply. So far, the number is 71. Also, fewer ships have been hijacked and the number of hostages has decreased. Currently, nine vessels are in the possession of pirates with 154 crew members having been held hostage. Despite falling numbers, Mr Knops noted that this should not be an excuse for complacency.

24. Both the EU and NATO have been operationally involved in counter-piracy for over four years. The EU's operation Atalanta and NATO's Operation Ocean Shield have complemented each other, with the EU mission being the more robust one. In particular, in March 2012, EU foreign ministers authorised an enhanced operations concept for Atalanta, with the approval of the Somali government, allowing for on-land attacks. Mr Knops added, however, that concerns linger with regard to possible collateral casualties. Whilst NATO could benefit from adopting the same enhanced operational capacity, NATO and EU should not duplicate responsibilities in the fight against piracy.

25. Operation Ocean Shield, although a smaller NATO mission, constitutes an opportunity for the Alliance to define its role in the maritime domain and establish itself as a credible maritime security provider.

26. The speaker noted that three major political developments are worth noting with regard to the ongoing fight against piracy off the Horn of Africa. Firstly, South Africa has now ratified the International Maritime Organisation's Djibouti Code of Conduct in May 2012, becoming the 19th signatory. Secondly, a change of government in Somalia took place in 2012 which could further bolster NATO and EU's mission in the fight against piracy, especially if the government can build more effective government structures. And thirdly, at the Second Istanbul Conference, members of the international community have made dealing with the economic roots of piracy a key focus.

27. The debate over the use of private armed guards is becoming an increasingly important feature of counter-piracy operations. It was argued that private security guards operate in an ambiguous legal environment. At present, there is no consensus amongst national legislatures or views within the Alliance and the EU on this matter, which could weaken international efforts. Moreover, the current legal grey zone surrounding use of private armed guards has been reflected in differing national legislatures' attitudes. Currently, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands are against their use, whereas Spain allows their use and Denmark licences private security guards on an ad hoc basis.

28. During the discussion of the draft report, it was mentioned that one of the main problems in the counter-piracy fight is the lack of a common doctrine. It was also noted that the threat of piracy is not limited to ransom. It was stressed that there was a real risk that piracy could evolve into other forms of maritime terrorism, especially as part of wider attacks on logistical energy routes as well as Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) carriers. Thirdly, it was noted that legal ambiguities surrounding private security contractors is a major problem. Finally, it was concluded that current lack of international tribunals for the prosecution of pirates is a major problem, leading to a "catch and release" approach which effectively hinders successful prosecution of pirates. Given the problem of effective court systems in host countries, pirates in Somalia, for example, are not subject to the same rules of prosecution set out by convention.

Mr Knops' draft report *The Challenge of Piracy: International Response and NATO Role* [144 DSCFC 12 E] was adopted.

IX. Consideration of the draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation on *Matching Capabilities to Ambitions: NATO Towards 2020* [145 DSCTC 12 E] by Nicole Ameline (France), Rapporteur

29. **Nicole Ameline** began her discussion by arguing that crisis management is an increasingly important part of NATO's mission. This became an important part of NATO as a policy instrument for dealing with asymmetric threats.

30. She noted that NATO must continue to adapt given the increasing complexity and differences between its different operations. Here the differences between Afghanistan and Libya were provided as an indication that NATO needs to further expand the range of capabilities at its disposal in the future. Moreover, it was noted that whilst military success is a necessary feature of NATO's operations, it is not sufficient. As demonstrated in the Balkans, Afghanistan and now in Libya, the importance of the political and civil dimensions to NATO are becoming increasingly important. Therefore, the overall approach taken toward the integration of civil and military elements of NATO's doctrine is increasingly important. To this end, strengthening NATO's partnership with the EU should be a major policy priority.

31. During a discussion of the report it was mentioned that the ongoing Syria crisis is also revolving around the issue of air control. The discussion then moved on to fiscal constraints in the United States and the withdrawal of US forces from the European theatre. It was said by the US delegation that European member's lack of meeting the 2% defense threshold makes it increasingly difficult for US politicians to defend US presence in Europe. In response, the Rapporteur concluded that the case of Libya highlights how European NATO allies can succeed with the United States acting from behind.

Mrs Ameline's draft report *Matching Capabilities to Ambitions: NATO Towards 2020* [145 DSCTC 12 E] thus amended, was adopted.

Sunday 11 November 2012

X. Remaining Activities for 2012 and Preliminary Agenda for 2013 of the Defence and Security Committee

32. Committee members reviewed recent Committee activities, including a successful visit to France and Djibouti. The Chairman gave the floor to **Sir John Stanley** (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co-operation, who highlighted the importance of Djibouti as a host to many military bases including those of France, United States, and the first Japanese overseas base since the Second World War. Moving on to discussing planned visits for 2013, the Chairman mentioned a visit to Bahrain and Qatar in January 2013, and a visit to Turkey in April 2013. The Committee was also informed that necessary approvals on visiting an American naval facility in Diego Garcia are being sought from the State Department and Department of Defence. Other planned visits include a joint committee meeting with the Political Committee and the Economics and Security Committee in late-February in Brussels, a joint visit of the Sub-Committee on Future Defence Capabilities (DSCFC) and the Science and Technology Committee to the Netherlands in April and a potential DSCFC visit to Japan in autumn.

33. The Chairman mentioned two possible reports for next year, one focusing on strategic partnerships, and the other on pooling and sharing. He then asked the committee about planned reports for 2013. General Rapporteur **Sven Mikser** (Estonia) mentioned a report on Afghanistan in transition, while **John Shimkus** (United States) argued that a report which covers military budget issues, especially focusing on the prospects of the US military spending and how that would affect shared capabilities would be an important topic to focus on. **Giorgio La Malfa** (Italy) argued that more should be done on the Iranian nuclear programme and suggested that one committee or sub-committee should go to Israel to discuss the issue with the leadership and argued that the planned meeting in Turkey could be extended to talk more about this issue. The Chairman

thanked the committee for their contributions and suggested that they will be considered in the appropriate time.

XI. Presentation by Dr Alexander Cooley, Professor of Political Science, Barnard College, Columbia University on *Afghanistan and NATO's Drawdown of Forces, Regional Dynamics and Their Impact on Security*.

34. According to **Dr Cooley**, although all neighbouring actors are committed to security and peace in Afghanistan, in reality, regional powers also see the country as a means to achieve other regional aims. The lack of a common regional forum for co-operation has a negative impact on Afghanistan's security.

35. Dr Cooley stressed that China is a crucial player in Afghanistan. It is the biggest economic investor in Afghanistan, having begun a US \$ 4 billion project to develop the Aynak copper mine, won the rights to develop Amu Darya field and built the Central Asian pipeline through northern Afghanistan. According to Dr Cooley, the main driving force for Chinese involvement is its primary security interest in stabilising its Western province of Xinjiang. This is to be achieved through insuring co-operation with and aiding development in neighbouring countries to avoid spill-overs into Xinjiang, striking hard against Uyghur separatism and connecting this region to its neighbours through energy projects to secure energy supplies to feed the rising demand in China. China wants to stabilise northern Afghanistan, especially the Wakhan corridor to avoid spill-overs, and uses police training, dealing with local warlords and establishing partnerships among Pakistan, Afghanistan and itself to accomplish this aim.

36. Dr Cooley then offered his views on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a regional forum on Afghanistan. The country recently became an observer, and the organisation promotes co-operation in the fields of strengthening border controls and implementing effective counter-narcotic operations. Yet, Dr Cooley notes that the organisation lacks substance and further enlargement remains problematic. China and Russia also have at times conflicting agendas; whereas China sees it as a means for its economic expansion, Russia prefers to limit Chinese economic expansion in Central Asia and keep the organisation as a security-based forum.

37. Dr Cooley then went on to explain the perspectives of the Central Asian states, which are significant for the mission because all NATO countries are reverse transition from the area. Far from co-operation, militarisation and hardening borders define the current state of the region. The water sharing dispute between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan over the proposed Rogham Dam remains the biggest security tension. Moreover, tensions between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were worsened during the ethnic clashes in south Kyrgyzstan in 2010. The area is also the most trade-unfriendly region in the world as non-tariff barriers are very high, therefore implementing the new Silk Road project is very challenging.

38. According to Cooley, India has a real interest in stabilising Afghanistan. It wants to curb Pakistan's political influence and China's economic influence in Afghanistan. It also tries to promote the establishment of a pipeline that would cross through Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, although China's stance on the issue is unclear and it is not certain that Turkmenistan has enough gas to support this and other alternative projects. Dr Cooley concluded that despite declared commitments, conflicting regional interests lower the effectiveness of co-operation in Afghanistan by regional states.

39. In the following discussion, the roles of regional actors were further analysed. Dr Cooley commented that growing instability would make China even more reluctant to intervene militarily in

the area as this would put China at the centre of focus and increase the risk of spill-overs into its Xinjiang region. China is also increasingly seeing International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) presence as complimentary to its interests since the ISAF mission contains instability and helps secure Chinese investments in the region. The Afghan delegation expressed their gratitude towards India's engagement but voiced their worries over the Indian-Pakistani rivalry, and how contributions India makes in turn complicates Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan. Dr Cooley mentioned that the private sector is reluctant to commit to proposed pipeline projects, as the world gas market outlook might change dramatically due to the development of shale gas in the near future. He also argued that Washington is increasingly seeing India as a potentially valuable partner in the region, not a proxy, and that the United States has been supportive of Chinese projects in the region so far instead of competing with Beijing. Finally, Uzbekistan's potential exit from the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) was discussed, and it was argued that this might give rise to the creation of more blocs within Central Asia and heighten security tensions.

XII. Consideration of the draft General Report *Afghanistan: Towards 2014 and Beyond* [143 DSC 12 E] by Sven MIKSER (Estonia), General Rapporteur

40. Following Mr Mikser's presentation, the Committee engaged in a fruitful discussion. After a discussion on early withdrawals, Mr Mikser commented that while the withdrawals have not hampered ISAF missions so far, if more states were to withdraw early, this could jeopardize consolidating previously achieved gains. The continued prevalence of poppy production and drug trafficking was discussed. Russia voiced its worries that once the ISAF withdrew, drug trafficking warlords would move into the North and conduct their operations through Afghanistan's neighbours in the northwest, including Russia. Committee members and the Rapporteur also discussed their concerns over the increasing number of insider attacks, remaining problems with governance and human rights, the issues that future troop reductions of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) might cause and the challenges related to warlords which may increase their power after ISAF's withdrawal.

Mr Mikser's draft General Report *Afghanistan: Towards 2014 and Beyond* [143 DSC 12 E] was adopted by the committee.

XIII. Consideration of amendments and vote on the draft Resolution on *Afghanistan: Towards 2014 and Beyond* [143 DSC 12 E] by Sven MIKSER (Estonia), General Rapporteur

41. After the Chairman explained the voting procedures for the amendment, the Rapporteur presented his resolution. Ten amendments to the resolution were considered. First proposed amendment came from the Russian delegation which argued that all international military presence in Afghanistan after 2014 should have a legal basis in United Nations Security Council resolutions. The Rapporteur countered by suggesting that bilateral treaties were also legitimate means under international law and the amendment was rejected in the subsequent voting.

42. One other important amendment was raised by the German delegation, who suggested that "green on blue" attacks should be referred to as "insider attacks". The German delegation argued that "green on blue" attacks only covered attacks on ISAF by ANSF personnel, whereas ANSF fall victim to similar "insider attacks", and hence the delegation wanted to use an all-inclusive terminology. The amendment was accepted by the committee.

43. Other accepted amendments included holding Hamid Karzai accountable to corruption issues, strengthening the wording on counter-narcotics efforts, inserting a new paragraph on gender equality, extending the paragraph on recognising the importance of transit states to include Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and other minor changes in wording.

The draft Resolution on *Afghanistan: Towards 2014 and Beyond* [143 DSC 12 E], thus amended, was adopted.

XIV. Presentation by Dr Benjamin Schreer, Deputy Head and Senior Lecturer, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, School of International Political and Strategic Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University on *NATO's Partnerships: Asia-Pacific*

44. According to **Dr Schreer**, NATO's partnership with Asia-Pacific countries has been beneficial to NATO in two ways; these countries have provided political and military support to ISAF in Afghanistan, and these partnerships have overlapped with NATO's goal to establish a global network of reliable partners. The partners enjoy their co-operation with NATO since each relationship is individually tailored to fit the respective partner's ambitions and provides them the ability to shape decision making in NATO-led missions that the partners are involved in.

45. Yet Dr Schreer argues that after Afghanistan, NATO might be reluctant to deepen its ties with these countries. It is likely that European allies, already plagued by the economic crisis, will need to commit more resources to securing their immediate neighbourhood as the United States' focus is shifting towards Asia. Moreover, Asia-Pacific partner states are increasingly focusing on power shifts in their region. Other key actors, such as India and China, are reluctant to co-operate with NATO, since it is an external military alliance.

46. Therefore Dr Schreer argues that NATO should develop a vision for its engagement in Asia, deepen political security dialogue about regional security, establish ties with regional multilateral security institutions and increase public diplomacy efforts.

47. In a spirited discussion following the presentation, one member raised the issue of how NATO can increase its counterterrorism role in South Asia. Dr Schreer underscored issues related to Pakistan and highlighted importance of deepening ties with India. He suggested that since forging such ties would take a long time, NATO should start as soon as possible.

48. On another important discussion, a parliamentary guest raised the question of how the United States will reconcile its two roles as the biggest burden bearer of NATO and a key player in Asia-Pacific. Dr Schreer responded by suggesting that although it reorients its foreign policy, the United States will still maintain its presence in Middle East and other areas. He argued that instead of abandoning these areas, the United States would look for different burden sharing arrangements and look for its partners to take the lead for their own security. He also argued that the United States still has not decided whether to compete or co-operate with China and is looking for ways to accommodate the rise of China.

XV. Election of Committee and Sub-Committee officers

49. **All eligible Committee and Sub-Committee Officers were re-elected.**

Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities

Chairperson	Raymond Knops (Netherlands)
Vice-Chairperson	Joao Rebelo (Portugal)
Rapporteur	Xavier Pintat (France)

Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Security and Defence Co-operation

Vice-Chairperson	Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom)
Vice-Chairperson	Jeff Miller (United States)
Vice-Chairperson	Giovanni Torri (Italy)

Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council

Member	Sverre Myrli (Norway)
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XVI. Any other business

50. No other business was raised.

XVII. Closing Remarks

51. The Chairman thanked the meeting participants and adjourned the meeting.
