NATO''s Parlamentariske Forsamling 2018-19 NPA Alm.del - Bilag 5 Offentligt







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# FOREWORD BY THE PRESIDENT

Dear reader,

For many citizens in Europe and North America the choices our governments make about defence seem remote from their daily preoccupations. As a member of the UK House of Commons' Defence Committee for almost a decade, one of my main missions has been to address this gap in perception.

Our nations face an unprecedented set of challenges and threats. Having turned its back on cooperation with the West, Russia is using every opportunity to undermine our societies and values, sow division, and challenge long-standing rules of international law. It has sought to interfere in elections in an increasing number of countries and used a deadly military-grade prohibited chemical weapon on UK soil. These actions pose a direct threat to the security of our people. The same is true of the terrorists of Daesh – some of them our own citizens, brainwashed by Daesh's hateful ideology to turn against their own state and nation. Daesh has certainly been weakened, but many of the factors which have allowed it to prosper – including within our own societies – must still be addressed.

This is why defence matters, and this is why it is essential that legislators, as the elected representatives of the people, are directly involved in shaping defence policies. Domestically, as members of their national parliaments, but also through multilateral institutions, such as the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA).

No country can address challenges such as Russia or terrorism on its own. Europe and North America have long recognised that they are each other's best allies and that, by joining forces, they can make their citizens safer and serve as a pillar of stability in the world. This was the premise behind the creation of NATO – the North Atlantic Treaty Organization – in 1949, and of the NATO PA in 1955. While NATO brings together the governments of its 29 member states, the NATO PA gives parliamentarians a say in decisions affecting our common security.

This report illustrates how members of the Assembly have sought to enhance citizens' awareness of today's threats and NATO's role in addressing them, while representing their constituents' concerns and interests in discussions over NATO's future course.

Much of the credit for the achievements described in this report go to my two immediate predecessors: Paolo Alli of Italy, who served as the Assembly's President until the expiration of his mandate with the Italian delegation to the Assembly on 22 September, and Rasa Jukneviciene of Lithuania, who very ably fulfilled the remainder of Paolo Alli's mandate until my election on 19 November. Mr Alli represented the Assembly at the important Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government in July where he presented the recommendations prepared by the Assembly's 266 members of parliament from Europe and North America. Ms Jukneviciene in turn was the first Assembly President to travel to Eastern Ukraine, right up to the line of contact separating Ukrainian forces and Russia-backed so-called separatists, to express our solidarity with Ukraine in the face of Russia's ongoing aggression.

I am determined to build on their achievements and to continue to give national legislators, through our Assembly, a voice in debates about our common challenges and the best way to defend our citizens. Our nations must be prepared to respond to challenges wherever they come from – the North, the South, the East or the West, in a 360-degree approach. To do this, our governments and parliaments must spend more and better on defence, and they must ensure that Europe and North America share the burden for our common security equitably. We should also continue to promote stability in Europe's immediate neighbourhood, from Ukraine and Georgia to the Western Balkans, as these regions' security affects ours too. Several of these nations are seeking to join NATO and we should encourage them to implement the necessary reforms.





Then President Paolo Alli (Italy) and then Vice-President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania) during the 2017 Spring Session in Tbilisi, Georgia, 29 May 2017



President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) and outgoing President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania) at the end of the Assembly's 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 19 November 2018

2019 will mark NATO's 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary. This will be an important opportunity for all members of the Assembly to redouble efforts to explain to our citizens why defence matters to them and how NATO makes them safer. Many of our citizens think of the NATO Alliance only in terms of our political, defence, and security responsibilities in hard kinetic forms of deterrence. We need to build awareness of the vital role NATO and the Parliamentary Assembly play in promoting science and technology, environmental, economic, and civilian aspects of security. I want us to do more to demonstrate those aspects of our work by extending and widening the distribution of all of our reports, including this one. Opportunities for outreach and educational work in 2019 when we celebrate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our Alliance must be part of our forward planning.

As the first woman elected President of our Assembly for a full term, I also want to promote awareness of the invaluable work a growing number of women do in defence.

Our Assembly includes immense talent among both the more experienced and the younger generation, and I will give each and every member the maximum opportunity to contribute to our important work, at the service of our citizens.

**Madeleine Moon** (United Kingdom)\* President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

\* Madeleine Moon has been a member of the British House of Commons since 2005 and joined the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in 2010. She was elected President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly at the Assembly's Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, in November 2018.



# PREFACE

NATO is a remarkable success story. For 70 years, it has remained the cornerstone of its members' security, successfully adapting to successive transformations in the political, security, economic, and technological landscape.

The reason for NATO's success is that it is based upon values and principles: the values of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, and the principle of collective defence.

That principle of collective defence – enshrined in Article 5 of the NATO Treaty – is probably the best-known aspect of NATO, but it is the lesser-known founding values which define NATO as a community, provide its guiding compass, and have enabled it to navigate through the various strategic upheavals that have taken place over the last seven decades.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly – while being distinct from NATO itself – symbolises and embodies the Alliance's democratic credentials, and as an independent parliamentary body it has the freedom to address issues which do not feature directly on NATO's agenda - for sound institutional reasons – but which the Assembly deems of importance to the NATO community of nations.

The Assembly's reports are, of course, the most obvious method for the Assembly to discuss a particular subject, and each year the Assembly's Committees, Sub-Committees and Working Groups prepare, discuss and usually adopt reports on about 15 topics. These reports – which are intended to be both accessible and informed – enjoy a readership which extends well beyond the Assembly's members, and they represent a valuable contribution to thinking on and analysing many of today's key international challenges.

Valuable as they are, they are but one tool among many that the Assembly provides to its members. The Assembly's various bodies hold up to 40 meetings per year, some involving just a few members, while others count participants in the hundreds.

These meetings enable the Assembly's members to engage with the full spectrum of policy makers and shapers, ranging from Heads of State and Government and military and civilian officials to academics and analysts, as well as with fellow parliamentarians from more than 30 non-member parliaments and interparliamentary assemblies.

Information about most of the Assembly's activities is available on the Assembly's website and through various forms of social media, but this cannot do justice to the rich detail and many personal interactions that underlie the Assembly's work.

It is through such activities that the Assembly's members were alerted to the growing unease in the United States Congress about burden sharing, well before it received new prominence in the 2014 Wales Summit Declaration and then an even higher profile under the current United States administration.

Similarly, the Assembly's engagement with non-member delegations from the Middle East and North Africa achieves far more in promoting cooperation and understanding than any number of texts.

These are just two examples of where parliamentary diplomacy augments and complements other channels of international engagement.



This annual report on the Assembly's work is intended to illustrate the broad scope of the Assembly's work and open a window on the Assembly, particularly for those who are less familiar with its role and activities.

The Assembly provides its members - regardless of their political orientation or experience - with useful substantive information and invaluable opportunities for exchanging views with fellow parliamentarians, NATO officials, and other members of the policy community. In brief, the Assembly serves as a source of information, a forum for exchanging views, and a crucible for developing and challenging new ideas. It thus adds a crucial parliamentary dimension to international interactions. As a result, the Assembly not only enhances the ability of its members to conduct their national parliamentary responsibilities related to foreign affairs and defence, it also serves to promote Alliance solidarity by building indispensable parliamentary and public support for what the Alliance represents.

**David Hobbs\*** Secretary General, NATO Parliamentary Assembly

\* David Hobbs (United Kingdom) has served as the Secretary General of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly since January 2008. He first joined the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's International Secretariat in 1983 as Director of the Science and Technology Committee.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Presidential Annual Report serves as an introduction to the NATO PA, presents the Assembly's key activities in 2018, and supports institutional transparency.

NATO Heads of State and Government came together in Brussels in July for an important Summit meeting, which, despite some harsh rhetoric and publicly aired grievances, reaffirmed Allies' common vision of today's threats and NATO's role in addressing them. The NATO PA was represented at the Summit by its President – accompanied for the first time by the Vice-Presidents – who presented Allied legislators' perspectives about the key priorities for NATO. **(The 2018 NATO Summit)** 

Russia continues to challenge NATO and NATO Allies with a range of aggressive actions. In 2018, it used a militarygrade nerve agent on UK soil, attempted to hack the computer network of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), and seized three Ukrainian navy ships in the Kerch Strait. Throughout 2018 and across all activities, the NATO PA continued to raise awareness and build consensus among parliamentarians on ways to counter the multifaceted challenge posed by this difficult neighbour. The Assembly especially sought to highlight Russia's attempts to undermine Western democratic institutions. (Tackling Russia's Multifaceted Challenge)

The volatile security situation in NATO's southern neighbourhood remains a central preoccupation for the Alliance. Consequently, the region featured prominently on the 2018 NATO PA agenda. In particular, Assembly lawmakers focused on the main drivers of instability in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and in the Gulf, the fight against Daesh and other terrorist groups, and the political and security situations in key countries. (Instability in NATO's Southern Neighbourhood)

New complex challenges from all directions have challenged previous assumptions and forced governments in Europe and North America to reassess previous cuts in defence spending, investment, and troop deployments. This in turn has reignited transatlantic tensions over the perceived imbalance in the resources invested in defence on the two sides of the Atlantic. In 2018, Assembly members reaffirmed their support for the commitments undertaken by NATO Heads of State and Government in the 2014 Defence Investment Pledge. (Burden Sharing and Transatlantic Relations)

The combination of an increasingly volatile and unsettling international situation and a changing global science and technology (S&T) landscape makes Allied military modernisation an urgent priority. In 2018, the Assembly thus devoted considerable attention to defence S&T, the challenges of cyber security and defence, and force modernisation. (Modernising Security and Defence)

In 2018, the Assembly continued to champion the Euro-Atlantic and/or European integration of its Eastern European partners Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, and Ukraine. The Assembly maintains special partnerships with Georgia and Ukraine – two countries in part occupied by Russia. The Assembly fully respects the Republic of Moldova's neutrality enshrined in its constitution, and supports the country's reform efforts. (NATO's Eastern Partners)

Stability in the Western Balkans remains crucial for Europe and North America. The countries of the region have come a long way in overcoming the difficult legacy of the past. However they still confront a range of internal and external challenges. Developments in recent years have shown that NATO and the European Union cannot take steady progress for granted. Assembly outreach to the region thus remained a political priority in 2018, which saw in particular a landmark agreement between Skopje and Athens on the long-standing name issue. (The Western Balkans)

As climate change opens new communication routes and allows for greater exploitation of natural resources in the High North, Russian military activity has increased significantly. In 2018, Assembly lawmakers continued to chart a course to ensure the region remains an area of predictability, stability, and cooperation, despite the potential for greater competition and heightened tension. **(The High North)** 

Stability in North-East Asia is crucial beyond the region, including for Europe's and North America's security interests. 2018 Assembly activities focused, in particular, on the behaviour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), China's rise on the international stage, and strengthening the Assembly's strong partnerships with Japan and South Korea. (North-East Asia)

Throughout 2018, the Assembly has continued to follow developments in Afghanistan closely. All Allied nations have a significant interest in enduring peace and stability in the country and the broader region. Despite renewed international attention and commitment to Afghanistan in 2018, this has been a violent and challenging year for the country at all levels. Assembly members urged Allied governments to remain engaged and continue to assist Afghan authorities to build a durable democracy. After the many challenges which affected the parliamentary elections held in 2018, the country is due to hold presidential elections in 2019. (Afghanistan)

The NATO PA has been an avid champion of the principle that women are equal partners in the pursuit of peace and security. Members continue to ensure that issues of gender and security are mainstreamed into Assembly activities. In 2018, the Assembly elected its first woman President. It also released its fourth survey of national implementation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, as laid out in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Encouragingly, parliaments reported a greater and more diverse spectrum of contributions to the WPS agenda. (Strengthening Women's Role in Peace and Security)

The Assembly serves as a vital link between NATO and its citizens. A long-standing commitment to help clarify what NATO is and why it matters goes hand in hand with this mission. Today, opinion polls show that young people in most NATO countries have limited knowledge of the Alliance and often take peace and security for granted. As a consequence, the Assembly created a Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO in late 2017. In 2018, the Working Group moved beyond "needs assessment" and towards several recommendations and concrete projects. (Education and Communication about NATO)



## THE ASSEMBLY EXPLAINED

#### WHY?

Since its creation in 1955, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (PA) has brought together members of parliament from all Allied nations. The Assembly serves as a unique parliamentary forum to discuss and influence decisions on Alliance security.

The Assembly – made up of representatives of national parliaments – is institutionally separate from NATO, where decisions are made by representatives of national governments. As such, the Assembly's views are not legally binding on NATO or its governments. However, the NATO PA serves as an essential link between NATO and the parliaments of its member nations, and it thus maintains a constructive and active dialogue and cooperation with NATO.

#### The NATO PA:

- facilitates parliamentary awareness and understanding of the key issues affecting the security of the Euro-Atlantic area;
- supports national parliamentary oversight over defence and security;
- helps strengthen the transatlantic relationship;
- promotes the values underpinning the Alliance;
- provides greater transparency to NATO policies;
- fosters better understanding of the Alliance's objectives and missions among legislators and citizens of the Alliance.

The Assembly brings together 266 members of parliament from the 29 NATO national parliaments. Each delegation's size is related to its country's population, and each delegation must reflect the political composition of its parliament. The Assembly's membership, therefore, represents a broad spectrum of political opinion within the Alliance.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly continuously responds to the changing security environment. Partnerships with lawmakers from countries seeking a closer association with NATO are therefore essential. Even before the Cold War ended, the Assembly reached out to members of parliaments from the Warsaw Pact, and today the Assembly's partnerships are wide and deep. The NATO PA welcomes delegates from 12 associate countries and four Mediterranean associate countries. Observers from eight other countries take part in its activities. Thus, the Assembly complements and reinforces NATO's own programme of partnership and cooperation. Partnerships with international institutions are of paramount importance as well. Therefore, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (PACE), and the European Parliament also send delegates.

Other parliamentary delegations are invited on an ad hoc basis. In the past, these have notably included delegations from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean.

#### WHAT?

The Assembly's governing body is the Standing Committee. It performs a wide range of political, administrative, and financial tasks; it also coordinates the overall work of the Assembly. It is composed of the Head of each member delegation, the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and the Secretary General, and the Chairmen of all the Committees<sup>1</sup>.

The President is elected by his/her peers to represent the Assembly and act as its leading political officer. The five Vice-Presidents, the President, and the Treasurer collectively form the Assembly's Bureau. The Bureau's main function is to ensure the overall guidance and coherence of the Assembly's policies and activities in the interval between meetings of the Standing Committee; it also acts as the "first responder" when internal or external events require a decision or statement by the Assembly.

Five Committees (including their eight Sub-Committees) are charged with examining the security and policy challenges confronting Allied countries and are responsible for most of the Assembly's substantive work:

- the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security
- the Defence and Security Committee
- the Economics and Security Committee
- the Political Committee
- the Science and Technology Committee

Other Assembly bodies include:

- the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group
- the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council
- the Georgia-NATO Interparliamentary Council

1. This includes the Chairman of the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group.

A NATO-Russia Parliamentary Committee was discontinued in April 2014 following Russia's military intervention in Ukraine and its decision to annex the Ukrainian province of Crimea in March 2014.

The International Secretariat, under its Secretary General, is responsible for the bulk of research and analysis that supports the Assembly's Committees, Sub-Committees and other groups, as well as all the practical and administrative arrangements for all its activities and meetings.

#### HOW?

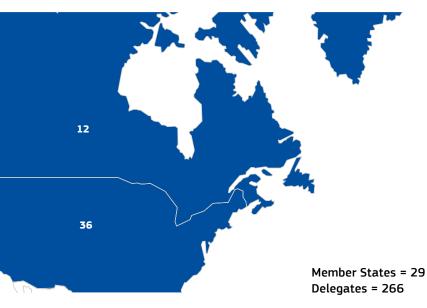
The Assembly organises some 40 activities every year, bringing together between ten and 350 members of parliament in various formats.

The Committees and Sub-Committees meet several times during the year and organise visits to both NATO and non-NATO countries. In these meetings, they receive briefings from leading government and parliamentary representatives as well as senior academics and experts.

Two particularly large-scale meetings are organised each year: the Spring and Annual Sessions. During the Spring Session, elected Committee and Sub-Committee rapporteurs present draft reports for a first discussion. The reports are then revised and updated for further discussion, amendment, and adoption at the Annual Session in the autumn. At the Annual Session, the Committees also produce policy recommendations. Once adopted in the plenary sitting, these are forwarded to the NATO Secretary General and to national governments and parliaments. Although these policy recommendations are not binding, NATO's Secretary General provides a written reaction to them, and they are widely seen as important indications of political sentiment on key topics within the Alliance.

The NATO PA's activities do not stop here, however:

- The Rose-Roth Programme is an outreach effort to assist partner countries in the Euro-Atlantic region, mainly in the Balkans and the South Caucasus, as they continue to face challenging transition processes. Particular attention is paid to promoting the principles of democratic control of armed forces and to the development of effective parliamentary oversight of defence and the military.
- The NATO Orientation Programme is focused primarily on young or newly elected members of parliament from NATO and partner nations, as well as those newly assigned to security or foreign affairs responsibilities. The programme aims at providing an in-depth overview of NATO and its evolving partnerships.
- The Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum in Washington DC aims to provide an annual discussion of the state of the transatlantic relationship.
- The President and the Bureau regularly represent the Assembly at external events and conferences; they can also hold separate high-level visits as a way to signal the Assembly's particular interest in a specific topic or location, or in response to significant international events which call for a quick Assembly reaction.



#### WHO? - MEMBERSHIP AND NUMBER OF SEATS





# 2018 AT A GLANCE





members of parliament participated in Assembly activities



female members of the Assembly (18.8%)

22

women hold elected positions in the Assembly (25.3%)

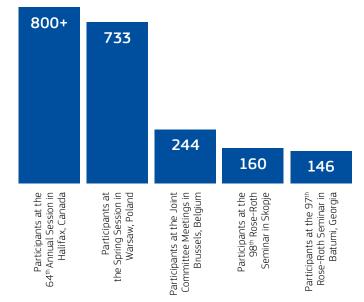


**323** male members of the Assembly (81.2%)

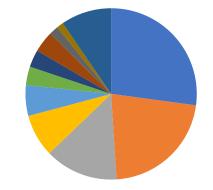


men hold elected positions in the Assembly (74.7%)

#### THE FIVE LARGEST ASSEMBLY ACTIVITIES



### CURRENT MEMBERS' LENGTH OF SERVICE AT THE NATO PA (IN YEARS)



#### 0-1 1-2 2-3 3-4 4-5 5-6 6-7 7-8 8-9 9-10 10+

#### SOCIAL MEDIA/COMMUNICATION (AS OF 18/12/2018)





**6,070** people like the NATO Parliamentary Assembly / Assemblée parlementaire de l'OTAN on Facebook



335 NATO PA members active on Twitter



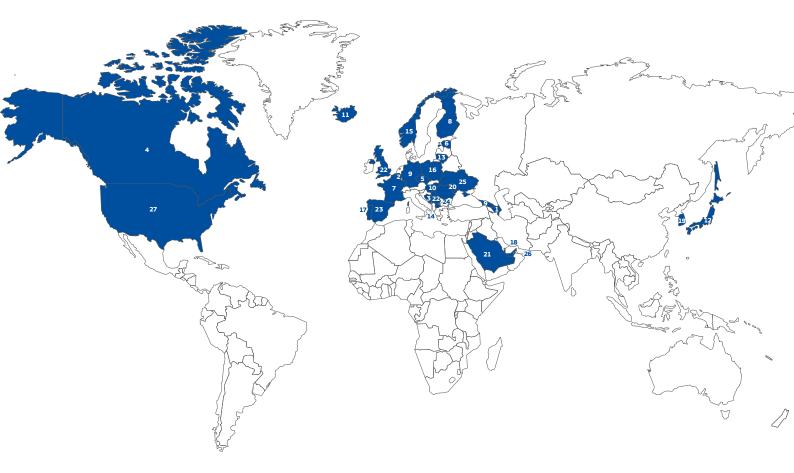
24 photo albums published (on Flickr)



official press releases published on the NATO PA website

79

#### **PLACES VISITED**



- 1. Azerbaijan
- 2. Belgium
- 3. Bosnia and Herzegovina 17
  - 5
- 4. Canada5. Czech Republic
- 6. Estonia
- 7. France
- 8. Finland
- 0. I III.ali
- 9. Georgia
- 10. Hungary
- 11. Iceland
- 12. Japan
- 13. Lithuania
- 14. Montenegro

- 15. Norway
- 16. Poland
- 17. Portugal
- 18. Qatar
- 19. Republic of Korea
- 20. Republic of Moldova
- 21. Saudi Arabia
- 22. Serbia
- 23. Spain
- 24. Republic of North Macedonia
- 25. Ukraine
- 26. United Arab Emirates
- 27. United States



### THE ASSEMBLY'S WORK - PERSPECTIVES FROM THE COMMITTEES

#### **COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY**

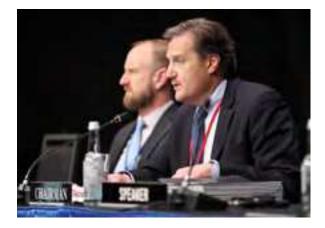
"The work of our NATO PA Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security has been invaluable within the framework of our duties as parliamentarians in a changing multipolar world which has become more dangerous than ever. The exchange of ideas and experience with our colleagues from the European and transatlantic communities has allowed us a much better collective geostrategic awareness of multiple hybrid and often hidden threats, with tools and models to try and deal with them, most notably in the fields of cyber security, sovereignty and the fight against terrorism."

Joëlle Garriaud-Maylam (France), Chairperson since October 2017

#### **DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE**

"The NATO Parliamentary Assembly serves as a clearing house for information about issues directly related to the peace and security of NATO member states and their partners. With direct access to NATO decision makers and national leaders in meetings and on parliamentary missions, as well as via an excellent in-house research staff at the international secretariat in Brussels, NATO PA members are well equipped to inform and shape debates about critical issues in their home parliaments." Hon. Michael R. Turner (United States), Chairperson since November 2018





#### **ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE**

"Participation in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly gives me the opportunity to acquire information on the most recent scientific advances, the introduction of new technologies, the development of new types of armaments, and the latest methods and resources used in combating terrorism. The annual parliamentary meetings with the OECD provide an excellent outlook on the global financial situation and on developments in the education sector, as well as an objective view on Latvia's position among other developed countries. All these aspects contribute to improving our national legislation." Ivans Klementjevs (Latvia), Chairperson since October 2017



#### **POLITICAL COMMITTEE**

"Although NATO is a defensive alliance, the political dimension is never far away from our considerations. The opportunity to share opinions with parliamentarians of all the NATO nations is extremely valuable to me in directing the activities of my Committee."

Rt. Hon. Lord Campbell Of Pittenweem (United Kingdom), Chairperson since November 2018



"Parliaments not only oversee the policies and activities of their defence and foreign ministries, they can both supplement and enact those policies. The NATO PA provides a dynamic platform for active parliamentary diplomacy, information exchange, and cooperation. Thanks to the NATO PA staff, the Political Committee has been an invaluable resource for every MP involved in defence and security matters."

Ojars Eriks Kalnins (Latvia), Chairperson from October 2015 to November 2018



#### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE

"Being a member of the NATO PA helps me to be a better parliamentarian at home. Through my membership of the Assembly, I have access to more information than just what I receive from my government. And I have been able to build up an international network of contacts, which is very useful. Especially being a member of the Science and Technology Committee is very useful. The Committee deals with topics that are not often on the agenda of national parliaments and governments. It follows trends and new technologies in defence and cyber security and looks at how the global S&T world is changing. For NATO countries it is very important to stay abreast on the S&T edge and collaborate in this field." Maria Martens (Netherlands), Chairperson since October 2018

#### MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL GROUP

"Given the strategic challenges to the Alliance's security on its Southern Flank as well as in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, the GSM – which it is an honour to chair – is a unique forum for dialogue and exchange, where challenges are shared and solutions are pursued collectively." Philippe Folliot (France), Chairperson since September 2018







# THE 2018 NATO SUMMIT



Opening Ceremony of the Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government, Brussels, 11 July 2018 Photo Credit: NATO

A key milestone for NATO – and the Assembly – in 2018 was the Summit meeting of NATO Heads of State and Government held in Brussels on 11-12 July. NATO is strictly an intergovernmental organisation, meaning that all its policies are decided collectively by its 29 member states, each represented on a daily basis by an ambassador and several times a year by ministers. Every other year, generally, the Heads of State and Government of the 29 also get together to review NATO's strategic priorities. On these occasions, the Assembly – represented by its President – is invited to present parliamentarians' perspectives.

The 2018 NATO Summit came amid a period of serious transatlantic differences: over trade, with the United States and the European Union on the one hand and the United States and Canada on the other engaged in difficult re-negotiations; over the Iranian nuclear deal, which the United States renounced but which European parties continued to support; over international agreements on climate change, from which the United States is withdrawing; and, most directly relevant for NATO, over Washington's sharp criticism of the ongoing gap in defence spending between the United States and the other Allies.

"In many countries we take freedom and peace for granted [...] Our Assembly [is] working to educate and convince our publics that spending for defence is investing for the future."

Paolo Alli (Italy), President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (November 2016-September 2018)

These heavy political clouds loomed over the NATO Summit, which took place just a few days after a difficult G7 meeting and shortly before a bilateral summit between the United States and Russian Presidents in Saint Petersburg. All experts addressing the special meeting of the Assembly convened the day before the opening of the NATO Summit spoke of unprecedented uncertainty about the Summit's outcome.

Indeed, the Summit did see harsh rethoric and publiclyaired grievances over burden sharing and energy deals with Russia, but the decisions taken by NATO leaders affirmed Allied unity and strengthened NATO's response to the entire range of challenges facing Allies. As such, it confirmed the adaptation initiated in 2014 following Russia's illegal annexation of Ukraine's province of Crimea and the global threat then posed by Daesh.

Addressing NATO leaders on the first day of the Summit, then NATO PA President Paolo Alli (Italy) stressed that "the NATO PA has long recognised unfair burden sharing as a threat to Allied unity" and "urge[d] parliaments and governments to close the transatlantic gap on spending, capabilities, and contributions to operations". For the first time, the Assembly's Vice-Presidents were invited to witness the President's address. The President also spoke at a public conference organised on the margins of the Summit, where, together with United States Senators Jeanne Shaheen and Thom Tillis, he affirmed the unwavering support of parliaments on both sides of the Atlantic for NATO.

The special declaration on "Affirming NATO's Unity and Credibility at the Brussels Summit" authored by then Vice-President Lord Campbell of Pittenweem (United Kingdom) and adopted by the Assembly ahead of the NATO Summit in turn noted "the continuing need to modernise NATO's structures and processes to ensure that it adapts to evolving security challenges" and "the importance of explaining and demonstrating to citizens in Europe and North America how the resources invested in defence – including NATO – contribute to their security".

As the next chapters illustrate, the Brussels Summit featured prominently across many of the Assembly's discussions throughout 2018.



Members of the NATO PA Bureau attending the Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government, Brussels, 11 July 2018



# TACKLING RUSSIA'S MULTIFACETED CHALLENGE



NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg addressing the NATO PA during the Spring Session in Warsaw, Poland, on 28 May 2018 Photo Credit: NATO

Russia continues to challenge NATO's will with a range of aggressive actions – from conventional sabre rattling to destabilising hybrid tactics. In 2018, Russia's reckless and aggressive behaviour in defiance of international norms included some striking examples. In the United Kingdom, Russia used a military-grade nerve agent to poison Sergei and Yulia Skripal, leading to the death of a British citizen. In the Netherlands, Moscow attempted to hack the computer network of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) and in Ukraine, its navy seized three Ukrainian ships in the Kerch Strait.

At NATO's Brussels Summit, Allied leaders made it clear there can be no return to 'business as usual' until Russia changes this pattern of behaviour.

The Assembly continues to support NATO's dual-track approach to Russia based on strong defence and deterrence on the one hand and meaningful dialogue on the other. In their declaration ahead of the Brussels Summit and at the Annual Session in Halifax, Assembly lawmakers reiterated their backing of current sanctions against the Russian regime. "We must continue to strengthen the deterrence on the eastern flank because we don't see, up to now, any change in the behaviour of the Russian Federation."

Paolo Alli (Italy), President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (November 2016 – September 2018)

Since Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea and its armed support to separatist militants in Eastern Ukraine, the Assembly expelled the Russian parliament from the NATO PA. The NATO PA remains open to resuming parliamentary dialogue once Russia demonstrates willingness to respect international laws and norms.



Colonel István Topor, Commander of the NATO Force Integration Unit (NFIU) in Székesfehérvár, Hungary, welcoming members of the Sub-Committees on Democratic Governance and on Transatlantic Defence and Security Cooperation, 1 October 2018 Photo Credit: NFIU HUN PAO



Ausrine Armonaite (Lithuania), Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Transition and Development, presenting her report *The Energy Security Challenge in Central and Eastern Europe* during the Assembly's 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 17 November 2018

Throughout the year, the NATO PA continued to raise awareness and build consensus among parliamentarians on ways to counter the challenges posed by this difficult neighbour. The Assembly has expressed its solidarity with the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Ukraine, Georgia, and other countries targeted by the Kremlin and its proxies.

In his 2018 report and resolution, Joseph A. Day (Canada) called for stronger defences on the Alliance's eastern borders to counter a Russian military build-up. "The current configuration of conventional forces in the Alliance's eastern territories remains insufficient", he argues. "A robust and effective defence of all of NATO's territories and populations is essential".

In June, then President Paolo Alli (Italy) and a delegation of Assembly members visited troops deployed under NATO's enhanced Forward Presence in Estonia. The delegates strongly supported initiatives to ensure the availability and mobility of NATO deployable forces if Russia were to attempt any military reaction inside of Alliance territory. The Assembly's declaration ahead of the NATO Summit in Brussels thus called on NATO governments "to continue to ensure the sustainability and readiness" of troops deployed in the East, and "to remove [...] legal and regulatory impediments to the mobility of Allied forces in Europe". The Summit endorsed important measures to address these issues, including a NATO Readiness Initiative, the establishment of two new military commands - one for the Atlantic and another to oversee troop movements across Europe - and a timeline for enhancing military mobility in close cooperation with the European Union.

Ahead of the Annual Session in Halifax, then President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania) noted that Russia was using hybrid tactics to undermine Western democratic institutions from within. Therefore, "parliaments and elections are the new frontlines of our security," she said.

In her 2018 report and resolution, Susan Davis (United States) tackled Russia's use of cyber and information operations to undermine democratic processes in Allied countries. She told her peers that "like a vicious virus, disinformation campaigns and cyberattacks have exploited our weaknesses and vulnerabilities". She thus calls on Allies to strengthen their election infrastructure and democratic institutions.

Lord Jopling (United Kingdom) delved deeper into Russian tactics in a 2018 report and resolution. "Moscow's use of hybrid techniques is neither random nor spontaneous. It is a manifestation of a well-thought out, well-funded, and coordinated strategy," he writes. He therefore remains "convinced that the Allied leaders should initiate the drafting of the Alliance's new Strategic Concept" (the last one dates back from 2010, before Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea).

Moscow also continues to wield its energy resources as a political weapon. "We need to understand the links between Russia's energy business and its aggressive geopolitical posture," said Ausrine Armonaite (Lithuania), author of a report and resolution on energy security. While visiting Azerbaijan, an Assembly delegation discussed the prospect of the Southern Gas Corridor as a major step in diversifying the energy supply base of southern Europe.



### INSTABILITY IN NATO'S SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURHOOD

Julio Miranda Calha (Portugal), General Rapporteur of the Political Committee, presenting the PC's resolution Reinforcing NATO's contribution to Tackling Challenges from the South during the Assembly's 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 19 November 2018

The volatile security situation in NATO's southern neighbourhood remains a preoccupation for the Alliance. Consequently, the region featured prominently on the 2018 NATO PA agenda. In particular, Assembly lawmakers focused on the main drivers of instability in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the fight against Daesh and other terrorist groups, and the political and security situations in key countries.

In his report and resolution on the Alliance' southern neighbourhood, Julio Miranda Calha (Portugal) argues that economic, social, and environmental problems are key drivers feeding the unstable security situation in the MENA region. Violent extremists and armed political groups exploit these problems to operate with ease and recruit freely.

The fight against Daesh and other terrorist groups remains a top priority. When then President Paolo Alli (Italy) addressed the 2018 Brussels Summit, he offered words of caution. While Daesh is being defeated in Iraq and Syria, "[...] terrorism is not dying: it will find new and unpredictable ways of reappearing". Thus, he added, "we must increase our attention to the Southern Flank and the commitment against terrorism".

Military and security responses remain essential. NATO governments played their part by supporting the Global Coalition Against Daesh. President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) highlighted in a report the important role that Special Operation Forces in particular play in counterterrorism.

At the same time, in their declaration for the Brussels Summit, Assembly members called on NATO governments "to strengthen support to defence capacity-building in the partner countries of the southern shores" so they can better address security challenges. They highlighted the essential role of NATO's Hub for the South as a platform for dialogue and cooperation with southern partners on common security challenges. In Brussels, Allied Heads of State and Government officially declared the Hub's full capability. Surveying the security situation across the MENA region, Mr Calha notes, "the Libyan civil war resulted in unregulated proliferation of weapons, explosives, and military equipment", with al-Qaeda and Daesh being the clear beneficiaries.

Iraq remains a vulnerable – potentially unstable – country. Many of the root causes that led to the emergence of Daesh are still present. In 2018, the Iraqi government thus asked NATO to launch a training and capacity-building mission. Speaking at a special meeting on Iraq and Syria at the Annual Session in Halifax, the Deputy Speaker of the Iraqi Parliament, Basher Khalil Tofiq, called on his colleagues "to support Iraq economically and securitywise in order to restore the infrastructure that has been destroyed in the battles while fighting terrorism".

The war in Syria fuels radicalisation and the refugee and migrant crisis. Support from Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah has enabled the Assad regime to regain control of large parts of the country. Consequently, Syria's war has mutated into a largely geopolitical conflict between outside powers. Mr Calha stresses that only a diplomatic solution between all responsible stakeholders can lead to success. To tackle the refugee and migrant crisis, the Assembly urges the international community to encourage the countries of origin to address the factors making people leave their homes. NATO has been assisting with the management of refugee flows in the Mediterranean, hand in hand with the EU. However, NATO Allies must further increase support for adequate search and rescue capabilities in the Mediterranean Sea, urges Jane Cordy (Canada) in another report.

The Gulf region remains another area of concern for the Assembly. The Assembly thus drafted a GSM report on recent developments and visited the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Qatar to gain first-hand impressions.

Carlos Costa Neves (Portugal) – the report's author – notes the region represents an important challenge for the Alliance. "Conflicting national interests, the Iranian issue, the Qatar crisis, and the war in Yemen constitute major barriers to substantial progress".

NATO Allies and Gulf countries can do more to strengthen their cooperation. "The NATO PA has a great role to play in that regard and should help foster dialogue between all actors involved in the Gulf region," Mr Costa Neves argues.



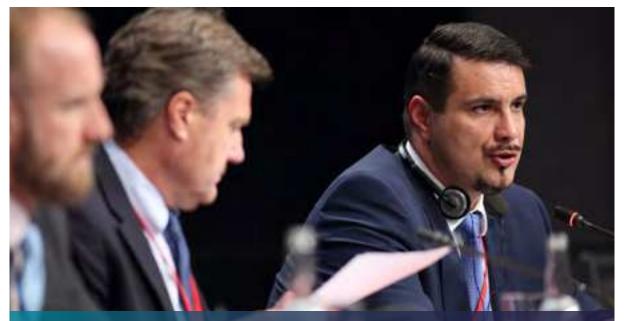
H.E. Ms Amal Al Qubaisi, Speaker of the Federal National Council (FNC) of the United Arab Emirates, briefing members of the Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group and of the Sub-Committee on Technology Trends and Security during a meeting with members of the FNC in Abu Dhabi, UAE, 10 January 2018

"If the Alliance wants to stabilise its southern neighbourhood it needs to continue, and indeed increase, its attention and support for its partners in the Mediterranean."

Julio Miranda Calha (Portugal), General Rapporteur of the Political Committee



## BURDEN SHARING AND TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS



Attila Mesterhazy (Hungary), then Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Cooperation, presenting his report *Burden Sharing: New Commitments in a New Era* during the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 17 November 2018

New complex challenges from all directions, particularly the East and the South, have challenged previous assumptions and forced governments in Europe and North America to reassess previous cuts in defence spending, investment, and troop deployments. This in turn has reignited discussions over the perceived imbalance in the resources invested in defence on the two sides of the Atlantic.

Due to the critical role parliaments play in determining resource allocation to defence budgets and in the deployment of forces, burden sharing – as this issue is referred to – is a key focus of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Members of the United States Congress – from both sides of the aisle – have consistently called on their European counterparts to take the measure of the current imbalance and its impact on transatlantic solidarity. Brett Guthrie (United States) thus stressed at the Assembly's Annual Session in Halifax "the strong bipartisan congressional support for NATO and for a robust US role in NATO" while noting that "[a]s politicians, we should also be acutely aware that strong and sustained political support for NATO depends on there being a fair and equitable sharing of the burden in the Alliance." Assembly Presidents and members heard this same message consistently during their multiple visits to the United States throughout 2018.

In his report on the topic, Attila Mesterhazy (Hungary) noted the substantive shift in the long-standing burden sharing debate that was made at the 2014 NATO Summit in Wales, when Allies committed to moving towards dedicating 2% of their GDP for defence spending by 2024 – 20% of which would fund new equipment and R&D. Parliaments should think about the burden sharing debate in terms of "the needs for a unified Allied commitment to fulfilling the political goals they have set for themselves to tackle the new security environment and thereby continue to guarantee the peace and security of NATO populations and territory", he stressed.

### "There is a new sense of urgency for all Allies to invest the resources necessary to make our defence forces and societies capable of handling the complex and disparate security challenges facing them today."

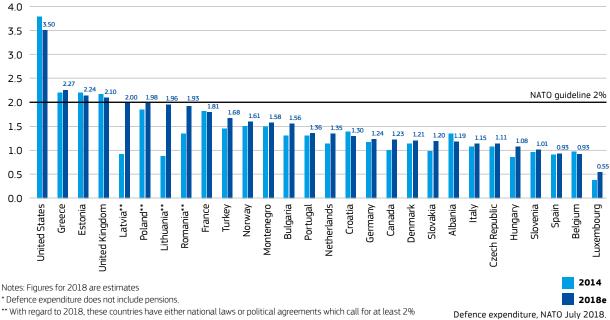
Attila Mesterhazy (Hungary), outgoing Rapporteur of the Defence and Security Committee Sub-Committee on Transatlantic **Defence and Security Cooperation** 

The United States is redoubling its investments in European security via the European Deterrence Initiative (EDI), resulting in an increased United States presence in Eastern Europe as well as more exercising, infrastructure, equipment prepositioning, and capacity building. Europe and Canada are also doing more, increasing their defence spending by USD 87 billion since 2014 and expanding their participation in missions, operations, and exercises. Many Allies, however, still have far to go to reach the objectives set in the Wales Defence Investment Pledge.

The Assembly's declaration ahead of the Brussels Summit as well as resolutions sponsored by Mr Mesterhazy and Leona Alleslev (Canada) at the Annual Session in Halifax encourage Allied parliamentarians to lead their national parliamentary debates about defence spending and ensure that their countries fulfil the Wales commitments.

In her acceptance speech, President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) further stressed that this discussion required "tough decisions and honesty". "I know that moving towards the 2% target is a struggle for a number of countries and for delegates to this Assembly, but, given the threats that we face, we all know that this is an objective that we need to meet", she stated.

The year 2018 was marked by other differences in transatlantic relations, notably over the Iranian nuclear deal, climate change, and trade. While these have not directly affected NATO as such, Faik Oztrak (Turkey), author of a report on trade, warned that "[o]ur Alliance's longterm success hinges not only on our military readiness and shared values, but also our capacity to maintain vibrant economies and to resolve economic disputes in a calm and effective manner".



#### **DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AS A SHARE OF GDP (%)**

of GDP to be spent on defence annually, consequently these estimates are expected to change accordingly

Credit: NATO

(Based on 2010 prices and exchange rates)



## MODERNISING SECURITY AND DEFENCE



Leona Alleslev (Canada), Special Rapporteur of the Science and Technology Committee, presenting her report *NATO Science and Technology: Maintaining the Edge and Enhancing Alliance Agility* during the Assembly's 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 18 November 2018

NATO faces an increasingly volatile and unsettling international situation, and a changing global science and technology (S&T) landscape presents new challenges to Allied armed forces. In combination, these trends make Allied military modernisation an urgent priority. In 2018, the Assembly thus devoted considerable time and effort to defence S&T, the challenges of cyber security and defence, and force modernisation.

A report by Leona Alleslev (Canada) points to the real possibility that the Alliance could fall behind in defence S&T in the coming years. She therefore calls on Allies to live up to their defence spending commitments under the Wales Defence Investment Pledge, modernise defence innovation and S&T policies, and make NATO fit for purpose. If they fail to do so, "the Alliance could face a capability gap so significant it would be challenging to remedy".

The Assembly also adopted Ms Alleslev's resolution to send a strong signal to NATO senior leadership as well as Allied governments and parliaments: the Alliance must maintain the S&T edge and enhance its agility.

Throughout 2018, Jean-Marie Bockel (France) examined how the ongoing revolution in the space industry could lead to increased interstate rivalry. His report welcomes NATO's new 2018 Space Policy and its commitment to promote the non-militarisation of space. Consequently, the Assembly adopted his resolution urging Allies "to work to ensure that space remains an arena of global cooperation despite its importance to national military and intelligence establishments".

President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) authored a report on the need to increase investment in special

operation forces, as they are better suited to deal with asymmetrical threats from Russia, terrorist groups, and lone-wolf attacks. Calling on Allies to step up, she says NATO must "pay far more attention to how our governments are funding, outfitting, and structuring our armed forces". Allied special operations forces "are increasingly overtasked, under resourced, or insufficiently built up for today's requirements".

Threats in the cyber and information space are becoming absolutely critical. In a report focused on Russian interference in democratic processes, Susan Davis (United States) stresses the Assembly "cannot relent and must continue to keep a sharp eye on cyber and information threats". She thus urges the Alliance to "become quicker in analysing cyber threats and better in responding in a coordinated, multidisciplinary way".

In another cyber-related report, Matej Tonin (Slovenia) examined how Daesh and other groups use encrypted messaging, the dark web, and cryptocurrencies. For such groups, these technologies play an important role in communications, command and control, financing, and illicit acquisitions. Mr Tonin urges Allied intelligence and law enforcement agencies to "better understand the evolving use of cryptographic technologies as well as their opportunities and risks".

Enhanced coordination between NATO and the EU on disinformation, cyber, and hybrid threats is helping enhance national and collective responses. Assembly members exchanged on these issues with their colleagues from the European Parliament at a joint high-level event in June, and the Assembly's declaration ahead of the NATO Summit called for "the development of NATO-EU cooperation and coordination (...) to enhance NATO and EU members' response to common challenges and prevent duplication".

In 2018, Assembly delegations also had excellent opportunities to learn about the impact of rapidly changing technology on international security. A visit to Boston and New York provided useful insights on cyber security and robotics, while in San Diego and Silicon Valley, members learnt that artificial intelligence will be at the heart of most – if not all – future cutting-edge technologies. In addition, in Paris and Toulouse, members examined how new commercial space vistas will transform the global economy and could affect security relations.

Allied and partner efforts to bolster defensive capabilities and drive military modernisation were in focus on visits to Estonia, Finland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, Japan, Portugal and Spain, and the United States.

"NATO's unrivalled defence science and technology (S&T) edge remains the lifeblood of current and future capabilities."

Leona Alleslev (Canada), Special Rapporteur of the Science and Technology Committee



Demonstration at a robotics company in Chelmsford, United States, during the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations' visit, 23 October 2018



## NATO'S EASTERN PARTNERS

Ulla Schmidt (Germany), General Rapporteur of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security, presenting her report Fostering Democracy and Human Rights in the Black Sea Region at the Spring Session in Warsaw, Poland, 26 May 2018 Photo Credit: Chancellery of the Sejm Krzvsztof Białoskórski



In 2018, the Assembly continued to champion the Euro-Atlantic and/or European integration of its Eastern European partners Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, and Ukraine.

The Assembly remains a leading voice in promoting NATO's Open Door and partnership policies. Both Georgia and Ukraine aspire to become members of the Alliance. While constitutionally neutral, the Republic of Moldova seeks to draw closer to Euro-Atlantic standards and institutions. The Assembly and NATO fully respect the Republic of Moldova's neutrality and support the country's reform efforts.

NATO and Ukrainian lawmakers continued their dialogue in the framework of the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council (UNIC), which met in Odesa in March 2018. Members reaffirmed the condemnation of Russia's illegal occupation of Ukrainian territory, its military build-up in the Black Sea, and its ongoing violations of the fundamental rights of local populations in Crimea. UNIC co-chairs Iryna Gerashchenko, Vice-Speaker of the *Verkhovna Rada*, and Raynell Andreychuk (Canada) called on Allied parliamentarians to continue to build solidarity and support for Ukraine in their respective parliaments. Then President Rasa Jukneviciene visited Ukraine twice. This included a historic visit to Eastern Ukraine. In the frontline village of Shyrokyne, she conveyed a message of solidarity to Ukrainian soldiers in the face of Russia's ongoing aggression. In Kyiv, during a meeting with President Petro Poroshenko, she praised efforts to anchor Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration progress through constitutional changes.

In November 2018, Russia seized three Ukrainian Navy ships. President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) immediately called upon Russia to release the captured vessels and allow Ukraine to exercise its right to free navigation in the Kerch Strait and the Sea of Azov.

In her 2018 report, Ulla Schmidt (Germany) examined the implementation of urgent reforms in Ukraine. She praised the adoption of numerous legislative packages but highlighted the need to strengthen administrative capacities to ensure efficient implementation. The 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections in Ukraine will be another test of the country's continued commitment to reforms. In April in Batumi, the Assembly reiterated its support to the Euro-Atlantic integration and territorial integrity of Georgia at a high-level Rose-Roth Seminar and a meeting of the Georgia-NATO Interparliamentary Council (GNIC). In the Black Sea town, Georgia's then President Giorgi Margvelashvili urged Assembly members to "lock down the area of freedom" in Eastern Europe. Otherwise, he argued, these countries would be lost due to Russia's persistent campaign to chip away at pro-Western sentiments.

The Assembly also facilitated a series of meetings between a high-level Georgian parliamentary delegation and senior NATO officials in Brussels in February 2018.

Georgia remains a leader of democratic transformation in its region. However, Ms Schmidt's report and the Assembly's election observer delegation expressed concern that the 2018 Presidential elections were characterised by excessive polarisation, the abuse of administrative resources, and an imbalance in resources that created an unlevel playing field in Georgia.

Then President Jukneviciene also visited the Republic of Moldova and met with the country's senior political leaders to highlight common security challenges and continued partnership. The Republic of Moldova's vector towards European integration will face a very serious test in the 2019 parliamentary elections.

In her report, Ms Schmidt expresses concern about the situation in the Republic of Moldova. She notes a polarised society, under-reformed economy and political institutions, as well as the unresolved dispute over the breakaway region of Transnistria.



Then President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania) with Andriy Parubiy, Chairman of the *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine, during a joint press briefing at Gnutove checkpoint in Eastern Ukraine, 9 November 2018



Shelled building in the strategically located village of Shyrokyne, Eastern Ukraine, 9 November 2018

"We must make a firm political commitment to ensure [Georgia's and Ukraine's] transformation into fully fledged members of our community. We have all the resources and experience needed to do this."

Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania), President of NATO Parliamentary Assembly (September 2018 – November 2018)



# THE WESTERN BALKANS

Senator Raynell Andreychuk (Canada), Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships, presenting her report *Security in the Western Balkans* at the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 18 November 2018



Stability in the Western Balkans remains crucial for Europe and North America. The countries of the region have come a long way in overcoming the difficult legacy of the past. However, they still confront a range of internal and external challenges. Developments in recent years have shown that NATO and the EU cannot take steady progress for granted. Assembly outreach to the region thus remained a political priority in 2018.

"The security of the Western Balkans is crucial for European and Euro-Atlantic security. What happens there affects us all."

Raynell Andreychuk (Canada), Rapporteur of the Political Committee's Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships Raynell Andreychuk (Canada) takes a hard look at the challenges in her 2018 report. Socio-economic progress is limited, she argues. Nationalism, populism, and radicalism are rising. Old and new forms of corruption endure. Outside powers attempt to interfere in democratic processes. Migration and refugee movements continue. Ms Andreychuk therefore urges NATO and the EU to "become more engaged and encourage the countries of the region to continue their reforms with tangible and achievable goals".

However, in 2018, the Assembly also saw encouraging signs the region should continue to build on, and its declaration ahead of the Brussels Summit called on NATO governments "to reaffirm NATO's Open Door policy" and "to outline a clear membership perspective for aspiring countries".

Montenegro, which joined NATO in 2017, offers an excellent model for the region. During the visit by then President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania) to the country in October, Montenegrin officials stressed the benefits which NATO membership had already brought to the country and its people, including increased appeal for foreign direct investment and tourism. At the same time, Montenegro

Opening Session of the 98<sup>th</sup> Rose-Roth Seminar held in Skopje, 27 June 2018



had significantly increased its own contributions to NATO and Allied defence, and was actively supporting its neighbours' path towards NATO and EU membership.

The name dispute with Greece had blocked the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's bids to join NATO and the EU for many years. 2018 saw the historic signing of the Prespa agreement, which establishes the name of the Republic of North Macedonia and has opened the way for Skopje to begin accession negotiations with NATO.

At the Rose-Roth Seminar held just days after the agreement, Assembly lawmakers felt a palpable surge of optimism in Skopje and commended the country's progress. Addressing the Assembly at the Annual Session in Halifax, the Speaker of the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia, Talat Xhaferi, stressed the benefits and significance of the name agreement, stating that "we are all winners because we opened the way for reason to reach an acceptable solution for both sides [...] we have proved that when there is will, when there is a vision for the future, everything is possible". His words were echoed by Christos Karagiannidis, Head of the Greek delegation to the Assembly, who responded that "our wish, our will, our hope is to live in peace with solidarity". The Prespa agreement, he said, can serve as a "paradigm for the whole world".

In the fall of 2018, NATO declared its readiness to accept Bosnia and Herzegovina's first Annual National Programme, if the country chooses to take the step. When Assembly members visited Sarajevo, President Alli told fellow lawmakers that the Assembly has always been consistent in its support of a NATO Membership Action Plan for the country. Members agreed that further Euro-Atlantic integration helps equip governments in the region with the tools to address ongoing political and economic challenges.

During Bosnia and Herzegovina's October general elections, Assembly observers saw genuinely competitive elections, despite continuing segmentation along ethnic lines. Then President Rasa Jukneviciene insisted that "[t]he fundamental issues with the constitutional and legal framework must be addressed", while at the same time saluting the "many election administration officials committed to making the system work and many voters committed to shaping their country's future".

Serbia-NATO cooperation is at an unprecedented level. In Belgrade, an Assembly delegation stressed the NATO PA's respect for the choice Serbia has made with regards to both NATO and the EU.

Then President Alli also visited Pristina, where he told the political leadership that "the European project will not be complete without the full integration of the Western Balkans, and that includes Kosovo". He noted the progress made by Pristina on its European path and encouraged Kosovo authorities to continue implementing reforms and strengthening the rule of law. However, he also urged prudence and warned of the dangers of unilateral approaches, particularly in connection with Pristina's desire to transform the Kosovo Security Force into an armed force. Earlier in 2018, the Assembly also organised a parliamentary training programme for lawmakers from the Assembly of Kosovo with NATO PA and NATO officials in Brussels.



### THE HIGH NORTH

Senator Jane Cordy (Canada), Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance, presenting the Committee on the **Civil Dimension** of Security's resolution Security and Cooperation in the High North at the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 19 November 2018



As climate change risks triggering greater competition for natural resources and communication routes in the High North, Russian military activity has increased significantly. In 2018, Assembly lawmakers continued to chart a course to ensure the region remains an area of predictability, stability, and cooperation.

An Assembly resolution adopted at the Annual Session in Canada – one of NATO's Arctic members – expressed concern over the scale and scope of Russia's military buildup in the Arctic. Moscow is revamping its Northern Fleet, establishing military infrastructure across the region, and dramatically increasing air and submarine movement.

The Assembly urged member states to adapt NATO's strategic posture in the High North to the new security realities. The Alliance should, for example, support Allied Arctic littoral states in developing adequate defensive capabilities. Assembly members also called for more joint exercises in the High North. They welcomed NATO's *Trident Juncture* exercise, hosted by Norway in 2018, as a manifestation of renewed commitment to the collective defence of the region.

At the same time, the NATO PA advised governments to pursue a cooperative approach. All stakeholders must work hard to prevent competition from becoming insurmountable. "NATO's involvement in the Arctic must be carefully calibrated to ensure that the Arctic remains an area of cooperation and low tension," writes Jane Cordy (Canada) in her report.

Ms Cordy identifies search and rescue (SAR), scientific research, and fisheries as areas where Arctic states could further develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Russia. She also underlines the need for additional SAR assets to cope with a significant rise in human activities in the region.

NATO PA lawmakers underscored the importance of consulting indigenous communities on policies concerning the Arctic. "When you talk about the Arctic, you are talking about our homeland, you are talking about people. Security in the North not only requires Inuit involvement, it requires Inuit direction and oversight", said Udloriak Hanson, a government official from Canada's northernmost territory, Nunavut, at the Annual Session. To acquire first-hand knowledge of the political, security, and environmental situation, the Assembly organised several visits to the High North. During the joint visit to Oslo, Bodo and Evenes, Norwegian officials and Assembly members discussed the need to strengthen NATO's northern flank. Interlocutors stressed the imperative of enhancing preparedness, supporting Allied assets on Norway's territory, and improving Alliance situational awareness.

In Helsinki, NATO parliamentarians learned how Arctic Finland is coping with the new global and regional security situation. Helsinki emphasised its commitment to the principle of self-reliance and its role as a valuable security partner in the Euro-Atlantic community.

In May 2018, then President Paolo Alli (Italy) also travelled to Iceland to discuss security in the North Atlantic in the run-up to the NATO Summit in Brussels.

In Norway, experts underlined that climate change has caused the Artic to warm up twice as fast as other parts of the world. In 2015, the Assembly recognised climate change related risks as significant threat multipliers, as well as climate change's potential impact on NATO planning and operations.

> "Arctic Allies need to be reassured in the face of the ongoing Russian military build-up."

Jane Cordy (Canada), Rapporteur of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security's Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance



Members of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Cooperation and then President Paoli Alli (Italy) during their visit to the Kaarti Jaeger Regiment on Santahamina Island, Helsinki, Finland, 13 June 2018



## NORTH-EAST ASIA

Congressman Gerald E. Connolly (United States). Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations. presenting his report North Korea's Challenge to International Security: Implications for NATO at the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 17 November 2018



Stability in North-East Asia is crucial beyond the region, including for Europe's and North America's security interests. Indeed, deepening tensions in North-East Asia have important repercussions for NATO member states. Consequently, NATO has global partnerships with Japan and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). Both remain crucial interlocutors for the Assembly as well.

In recent years, the NATO PA has followed security developments in this area closely. 2018 Assembly activities focused, in particular, on the behaviour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), China's rise on the international stage, and Alliance partnerships in the region.

North Korea is a source of considerable concern for international security, particularly because of its nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. However, the past year saw welcome diplomatic activities on this issue. Following the June Summit between United States President Donald Trump and North Korean Chairman Kim Jong-un in Singapore, then President Paolo Alli (Italy) stated that this "historic meeting brings new hope of peace and denuclearisation on the Korean peninsula". "The developments on the Korean peninsula and the policies pursued by the regime in Pyongyang pose a serious security threat to NATO and its partners."

Gerald E. Connolly (United States), Rapporteur of the Political Committee's Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations

The issue was also central to interparliamentary exchanges with lawmakers from South Korea and Japan in 2018. Indeed, an Assembly delegation visited South Korea at the time of the intra-Korean Summit in Pyongyang in September. Members gathered timely insights into the latest developments and explored avenues for strengthening cooperation between the National Assembly and the NATO PA. Members of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations in the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) during their visit to Seoul, Republic of Korea, 19 September 2018



Although Assembly parliamentarians and their colleagues in Korea and Japan welcomed progress in the North Korean nuclear talks, scepticism remained as to whether Pyongyang is serious about abandoning its nuclear programme. "North Korea's steady advance towards a nuclear-armed intercontinental ballistic missile constitutes a global threat that demands the engagement of NATO and its member states", warned Gerald E. Connolly (United States) when presenting his report.

Mr Connolly argues that sanctions have had a limited effect because of the North's isolated economy. Moreover, Pyongyang has developed methods of evasion like shell companies, foreign-flagged ships, and criminal activities. "We can't develop amnesia about North Korea. We can't pretend the past did not occur," he stressed. Pointing to previous empty promises by Pyongyang, he told his colleagues: "We need to manage expectations".

Mr Connolly's report emphasises the importance of enforcing existing sanctions and, if necessary, adding new ones. He suggests that NATO, through cooperation with regional partners and maritime interdiction, could support their enforcement. The implications of the rise of China for regional and global security were another important topic of discussion during the visits to South Korea and Japan. In both countries, there is recognition that China can exercise a moderating role with North Korea. However, interlocutors and Assembly members also voiced considerable concern about China's increasingly assertive approach towards Japan and other countries in the region, particularly Beijing's territorial claims in the South and East China Seas.

The visits to Japan and South Korea strengthened the existing dialogue between the Assembly and the Japanese Diet – the Assembly's longest-standing partner outside Europe – and the National Assembly of Korea. Both South Korea and Japan are interested in developing their partnerships with NATO further, members learned in Tokyo. Japanese Minister of State Tomohiro Yamamoto said that Japan plans to upgrade its representation at NATO HQ by designating its embassy to Belgium as its Mission to NATO. Tokyo also wants to cooperate with NATO in the area of cyber security, NATO delegates learned.



### AFGHANISTAN

Wolfgang Hellmich (Germany), then Special Rapporteur of the Defence and Security Committee, presenting his report Afghanistan: The Nexus of Local and Regional Security during the Spring Session in Warsaw, Poland, 27 May 2018 Photo Credit: Chancellery of the Sejm Krzysztof Białoskórski



Increasing violence causing significant attrition of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF) is heightening international attention on Afghanistan. The Assembly follows developments in Afghanistan closely given the significant interests all Allied nations have in enduring peace and stability in the country and broader region.

Twenty-seven of 39 Allies and partners increased their contributions to NATO's training and assistance *Resolute Support Mission* in Afghanistan in 2018, growing its personnel to over 16,000. International efforts focus on key issues undermining the Afghan security environment, particularly sustainable, professional, and well-trained national forces unhindered by the drain of institutional corruption. In parallel, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani's ANDSF Road Map is working to do the same, as insufficient training, high rates of attrition and desertion, and corruption are eroding the public's trust in the nation's security forces.

President Madeleine Moon urged her colleagues to "remain engaged with Afghanistan by following political and security developments in the country, as well as finding ways to assist our peers in the Afghan parliament as they work to build a durable democracy in the country."

Despite renewed international attention, 2018 has been violent and challenging for the country at all levels. The year has been replete with high-profile attacks in Kabul and other urban areas, alongside almost constant fighting in vast areas of the countryside. As a result, casualty rates among civilians and government forces remain at unacceptably high rates, and the Taliban now control the largest amount of territory since their initial defeat in 2001.

As the report authored by Wolfgang Hellmich (Germany) stresses, regional dynamics are essential to build lasting peace and prosperity in Afghanistan. As long as the Taliban find sanctuary in Pakistan, the war will continue in Afghanistan. In the absence of Afghanistan's regional partners incorporating the country into a functioning regional economy, no chance for economic prosperity and opportunity will arise in Afghanistan.

"Our collective goal is to prevent Afghanistan from ever again becoming a wellspring for international terrorism. To achieve this goal, we will need a functioning state to build a stronger nation capable of handling the challenges it faces in a difficult region."

Wolfgang Hellmich (Germany), outgoing Special Rapporteur of the Defence and Security Committee

At the Assembly's Spring Session in Warsaw in May, Khalid Pashtoon (Afghanistan) had warned his colleagues that "the security situation has absolutely deteriorated" and raised his concern that "the disruption and disturbance" caused by the Taliban insurgency would negatively impact the holding of parliamentary elections planned for October. Indeed, despite strong international financial and security assistance, these long-awaited parliamentary elections were plagued with problems, including low turnout, poor organisation, and widespread violence. NATO parliamentarians at the Assembly's Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, stressed the need to learn the lessons from this experience ahead of the presidential elections planned for 2019. Initially scheduled for April, these have been postponed to July.

The Assembly will continue to examine these and other political and security developments in Afghanistan throughout 2019.





### STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S ROLE IN PEACE AND SECURITY

NATO's Deputy Secretary General Rose E. Gottemoeller addressing the NATO PA at the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 19 November 2018 Photo Credit: NATO

For more than a decade, the NATO PA has been an avid champion of the principle that women must be equal partners in the pursuit of peace and security. Parliamentarians can make an important contribution to promoting the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda as laid out in United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325.

In 2017, the Assembly adopted a set of measures to mainstream gender in its work and promote a fairer representation of women among Assembly members and officers. In the same year, the Assembly's Secretary General published the first review of the progress achieved. The second review will be presented in March 2019. Currently, the President, two of the five Committee chairpersons, and the designated Secretary General are all women.

Assembly members continue to ensure that issues related to gender and security remain high on the NATO PA's agenda. However, during Assembly deliberations, several NATO parliamentarians warned that recent achievements are not irreversible. In 2018, the Assembly also conducted – in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces – its fourth survey of parliamentary implementation of UNSCR 1325. Dr Audrey Reeves of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University was commissioned to analyse national responses and presented the results at the Annual Session in Halifax.

"I want to ensure that we remain in the vanguard of promoting awareness of the invaluable work women do for our collective security."

Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom), President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Encouragingly, Allied parliaments reported a greater and more diverse spectrum of contributions to the WPS agenda than they did in the two previous surveys. Joëlle Garriaud-Maylam (France) urged parliamentarians to replicate some of the best practices identified in the study.

In her report on democracy and human rights in the Black Sea area, Ulla Schmidt (Germany) includes overviews on the rights of women in the region. A visit to Qatar included a specific discussion on women's rights. Women are assuming important leadership positions in Qatari society. This is reflected in the high proportion of women studying at universities. In Abu Dhabi, members learned of women empowerment in the United Arab Emirates from Dr Amal Al Qubaisi, Speaker of the Federal National Council. She told her NATO PA peers that "no society can fly with only one wing".

In her report and resolution on NATO's science and technology edge, Leona Alleslev (Canada) urges NATO's Science and Technology Organization to improve the

gender balance in its network of scientists and engineers. She considers this an important element in reversing the erosion of the West's leadership in science and technology.

The Assembly continues to engage NATO officials as well. At the Annual Session, Clare Hutchinson, the NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for WPS, discussed NATO's new Policy and Action Plan, adopted by Allied leaders in July 2018. Currently, 12% of personnel in NATO deployments are women. "This is not enough, but we are getting there", Ms Hutchinson told the parliamentarians. "We need to mainstream gender in all aspects of our work."

Also addressing the Annual Session, NATO Deputy Secretary General Rose E. Gottemoeller highlighted the importance of pragmatic projects, such as NATO's support for the construction of Afghanistan's Women's Police Town, which is a complex designed to ensure that policewomen have a safe and secure environment to fully integrate into the police force.



Assembly members, including President Madeleine Moon (United Kingdom) and outgoing President Rasa Jukneviciene (Lithuania), at the conclusion of the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, 19 November 2018



# EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION ABOUT NATO



Dr Karl A. Lamers (Germany), Chairman of the Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO, speaking alongside Robert Pszczel from NATO's Public Diplomacy Division during the Working Group's meeting in Warsaw, Poland, 26 May 2018

"The Cold War ended in 1991 – this is now almost a generation ago. Then many, or perhaps most, schoolchildren had at least a general idea about what NATO was. [...] Of course, the world has changed – and so has the Alliance. [...] As NATO moves toward its seventh decade, engagement with our young generation is essential."

Karl A. Lamers (Germany), Chairperson of the Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO and of the Political Committee's Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations The Assembly serves as a vital link between NATO and its citizens. A long-standing commitment to help explain what NATO is and why it matters goes hand in hand with this mission.

Today, opinion polls show that young people in most NATO countries have limited knowledge of the Alliance and often take peace and security for granted. In an era where "fake news" can spread far and fast, NATO is often the target of disinformation campaigns by state and non-state actors alike. As a consequence, the Assembly created a Working Group on Education and Communication about NATO in late 2017, led by Dr Karl A. Lamers (Germany).

In the course of 2018, the Working Group moved beyond "needs assessment". The Group has already generated several recommendations and concrete projects. Early in the year, it introduced the Assembly's initiative to NATO communications experts and discussed common strategies to reach out to younger generations.



A workshop with NATO's Public Diplomacy's Division (PDD) provided a good opportunity to brainstorm on ways to generate synergies between the Working Group and PDD's own programmes. NATO PDD representatives welcomed the creation of the Assembly's Working Group and agreed to cooperate as closely as possible.

The Working Group has argued that any successful initiative to inform about NATO and related security issues requires the inclusion of these issues in school curricula. "If it's not in the text book, it's not a priority – and teachers do not have authority to talk about it," a NATO official agreed.

The Working Group's 2018 meetings have been very productive. Among others, the Group compiled an initial package of best national practices on teaching about NATO and related security topics. The compilation, along with an in-depth review of best practices, led to several possible leads. These include:

- more frequent visits of young people to NATO HQ;
- the launch of an international competition among schoolchildren about NATO;
- more frequent visits to universities by NATO PA delegates;
- the establishment of an equivalent of the Erasmus programme on NATO and security issues;
- proactive use of YouTube by, for example, inviting popular YouTubers to interview NATO leaders.

Assembly members urged an emphasis on NATO as a values-based Alliance. NATO PDD and the Working Group agreed that education and information about NATO should be conducted in a prudent manner. It cannot be – or even be seen as – propaganda. Peter Juel Jensen, Head of the Danish delegation, stressed the "importance of teaching young people to think critically".

The Assembly's declaration for the Brussels Summit called on NATO governments "to enhance efforts [...] to promote [...] citizens' understanding of the challenges and requirements of our shared security with a particular focus on the next generation".

During its meeting at the 2018 Annual Session, the Working Group decided to continue its work with a dual track approach. First, it will complete its compilation of best practices on school education and recommend concrete projects for national consideration. The Working Group will make this compilation available to NATO PDD. Second, the Working Group decided to support NATO PDD's project NATO@70 in the framework of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NATO's founding in 2019. The Group will also evaluate how to help promote this project in member countries.

In parallel to the efforts of the Working Group, several Turkish schools, in cooperation with NATO Allied Land Command in Izmir, organised an educational simulation of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's proceedings.



# THE NATO PA'S BUDGET AND FINANCES FOR 2017-2018

#### **Funding sources**

Most of the Assembly's funding is provided by contributions from the parliaments or governments of member nations. National contributions are determined according to the same budget key used for the NATO civil budget (see the repartition below). The Assembly also receives a subsidy from NATO.

Over the past 20 years special contributions have been made at various points by the United States Agency for International Development, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed forces, the Government of Switzerland, Norway, Luxembourg, Denmark, and NATO to support the Assembly's Rose-Roth programme.

#### The Assembly's budget

The annual budget presented below is used to cover the International Secretariat's operating costs. National delegations are responsible for funding the participation of their members in Assembly activities.

The Assembly's budget amounted to EUR 3.8 million in 2017 and EUR 3.9 million in 2018. Execution of the budget led to a surplus of EUR 94,000 at the end of 2017.

#### **Budgetary process and audit**

The Assembly's Treasurer, a parliamentarian who is an elected officer of the Assembly, and who ensures that the budget is consistent with the Assembly's political objectives, is responsible for drafting the Assembly's budget. The Treasurer submits the draft budget to the Standing Committee and the full Assembly for consideration and adoption. The Secretary General implements the budget under the oversight of the Treasurer.

The Assembly's finances are audited by the International Board of Auditors for NATO (IBAN). In its audit, IBAN considers whether, in accordance with the Financial Reporting Framework adopted by the Assembly's Standing Committee, the information in the financial statements fairly presents the financial position at the year-end and the financial performance and cash flows for the year then ended, and whether accounts are properly supported by underlying records and source documentation. In addition, IBAN also considers whether transactions are in compliance with budgetary authorisations and the applicable NATO regulations.

Because the audit takes place in the spring of the year following the execution of each annual budget, the figures below are the audited financial statements for 2017. The 2018 audited finances will be made public on the NATO PA website in June 2019.

#### 2017 contributions from member countries

Based on the NATO Civil budget key

Member countries	New Key %	Contribution	
Albania	0,0837%	€ 3 152	
Belgium	1,9336%	€ 72 816	
Bulgaria	0,3262%	€ 12 284	
Canada	6,6092%	€ 248 891	
Croatia	0,2893%	€ 10 895	
Czech Republic	0,9389%	€ 35 357	
Denmark	1,1829%	€ 44 546	
Estonia	0,1085%	€ 4 086	
France	10,6339%	€ 400 455	
Germany	14,6500%	€ 551 694	
Greece	1,0874%	€ 40 950	
Hungary	0,6911%	€ 26 026	
Iceland	0,0519%	€ 1 955	
Italy	8,4109%	€ 316 740	
Latvia	0,1490%	€5611	
Lithuania	0,2281%	€ 8 590	
Luxembourg	0,1399%	€ 5 268	
Netherlands	3,1804%	€ 119 769	
Norway	1,6993%	€ 63 993	
Poland	2,7117%	€ 102 118	
Portugal	0,9798%	€ 36 898	
Romania	1,0726%	€ 40 392	
Slovakia	0,4681%	€ 17 628	
Slovenia	0,2122%	€ 7 991	
Spain	5,7804%	€ 217 680	
Turkey	4,3879%	€ 165 241	
United Kingdom	9,8485%	€ 370 878	
United States	22,1446%	€ 833 928	
	100,0000 %	€ 3 765 832	
Montenearo	€ 593 (pro-rata contribution)		

Montenegro

### Statement of Financial Performance for the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> December 2017

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
ANNUAL BUDGET	2017		2017
Contributions		Expenditure	
Contributions from Member Countries	€ 3 765 832,00	Chapter 1 Personnel Costs	€ 2 754 584,23
NATO Subsidy	€ 51 600,00	Chapter 2 Operational Costs	€ 352 602,47
		Chapter 3 Sessions	€ 336 334,93
		<b>Chapter 4</b> Missions, Seminars, External Relations	€ 327 608,52
	€ 3 817 432,00		€ 3 771 130,15
Financed By Provisions and Prior Year	Surplus		
Update of the budget	€ 20 716,90		
Use of provisions	€ 0,00		
Funding Outreach Programme			
Swiss Ministry of Defence	€ 30 000,00		
	€ 50 716,90		
Total Budget for the Year	€ 3 868 148,90		
Other Income			
Investment Income	€ 1 593,83		
Interest on Term Deposits	€ 692,19		
Gains (Losses) on Exchange	€ -5 894,22		
Other Income	€ 611,06		
	€ -2 997,14		
Total Income	€ 3 865 151,76	Total Expenditure	€ 3 771 130,15
		Excess of Receipts over Expenditure	€ 94 021,61



# APPENDIX 1: 2018 REPORTS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

#### REPORTS

### COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY (CDS)

- General Report Fostering Democracy and Human Rights in the Black Sea Region Ulla Schmidt (Germany)
- Report of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance Civil Protection in the High North and in the Mediterranean Jane Cordy (Canada)
- Special Report
   Countering Russia's Hybrid Threats:
   An Update
   Lord Jopling (United Kingdom)

#### DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (DSC)

- General Report
   Reinforcing NATO's Deterrence in
   the East
   Joseph A. Day (Canada)
- Report of the Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities

NATO Special Operations Forces in the Modern Security Environment Madeleine Moon

# (United Kingdom)

Report of the Sub-Committee
 on Transatlantic Defence and
 Security Cooperation
 Burden Sharina: New Commitments

in a New Era Attila Mesterhazy (Hungary)

• Special Report Afghanistan: The Nexus of Local and Regional Security Wolfgang Hellmich (Germany)

#### ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (ESC)

- General Report The Future of the Space Industry Jean-Marie Bockel (France)
- Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations

The International Trading System at Risk and the Need to Return to First Principles

# Faik Oztrak (Turkey) Report of the Sub-Committee

on Transition and Development The Energy Security Challenge in Central and Eastern Europe Ausrine Armonaite (Lithuania)

#### POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PC)

- General Report Instability in the South Julio Miranda Calha (Portugal)
- Report of the Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships Security in the Western Balkans Raynell Andreychuk (Canada)
- Report of the Sub-Committee
   on Transatlantic Relations
   North Korea's Challenge to
   International Security: Implications
   for NATO
   Gerald E. Connolly

# (United States)

#### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE (STC)

General Report
 Russian Meddling in Elections and
 Referenda in the Alliance
 Susan Davis (United States)

- Report of the Sub-Committee on Technology Trends and Security Dark Dealings: How Terrorists Use Encrypted Messaging, the Dark Web and Cryptocurrencies
   Matej Tonin (Slovenia)
- Special Report
   NATO Science and Technology: Maintaining the Edge and Enhancing Alliance Agility
   Leona Alleslev (Canada)

#### MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL GROUP (GSM) Change and Continuity in the Gulf Carlos Costa Neves (Portugal)

#### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Affirming NATO's Credibility and Unity at the Brussels Summit Standing Committee
- Updating the Responses to Russia's Hybrid Tactics CDS
- Security and Cooperation in the High North CDS
- Burden Sharing: New Commitments in a New Era DSC
- Reinforcing NATO's Deterrence in the East DSC
- Opportunities and Challenges in a Changing Space Arena ESC
- Energy Security: A Strategic Challenge For The Alliance ESC
- Reinforcing NATO's Contribution to Tackling the Challenges from the South PC
- Safeguarding Elections in the Alliance STC
- Maintaining the Science & Technology Edge and Enhancing Alliance Agility STC

All Assembly reports and policy recommendations are available on the NATO PA's website www.nato-pa.int.

# APPENDIX 2: THE ASSEMBLY'S ELECTED OFFICERS<sup>1</sup>

#### **BUREAU OF THE ASSEMBLY**

PRESIDENT



Madeleine MOON (United Kingdom)

#### **VICE-PRESIDENTS**





Vitalino CANAS (Portugal)

### The Rt Hon. Richard BENYON (United Kingdom)

SECRETARY GENERAL



Osman Askin BAK (Turkey)



Hon. Michael R. TURNER (United States)



Franklin van KAPPEN (Netherlands)

#### TREASURER



Marc ANGEL (Luxembourg)





David HOBBS

1. As of February 2019, following the elections held at the Assembly's Annual Session in Halifax, Canada, in November 2018.



#### COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY

#### Chairperson

Joëlle GARRIAUD-MAYLAM
 (France)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Marc ANGEL (Luxembourg)
- James SENSENBRENNER (United States)
- Mary Helen CREAGH (United Kingdom)

#### General Rapporteur

• Ulla SCHMIDT (Germany)

#### Special Rapporteur

The Rt Hon. Lord JOPLING
 (United Kingdom)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

#### Chairperson

• Vitalino CANAS (Portugal)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Brett GUTHRIE (United States)
- Linda SANCHEZ (United States)
- Brigitte GROUWELS (Belgium)

#### Rapporteur

Jane CORDY (Canada)

#### DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE

#### Chairperson

• Michael R. TURNER (United States)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Paul COOK (United States)
- Pierre PAUL-HUS (Canada)
- Andreas LOVERDOS (Greece)

#### General Rapporteur

• Joseph A. DAY (Canada)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON FUTURE SECURITY AND DEFENCE CAPABILITIES

#### Chairperson

Joao REBELO (Portugal)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Rob BISHOP (United States)
- Juozas OLEKAS (Lithuania)

#### Rapporteur

• Lara MARTINHO (Portugal)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TRANSATLANTIC DEFENCE AND SECURITY COOPERATION

#### Chairperson

Attila MESTERHAZY (Hungary)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Marko MIHKELSON (Estonia)
- Rick LARSEN (United States)
- Franklin van KAPPEN (Netherlands)

#### Rapporteur

 Sir Nicholas SOAMES (United Kingdom)

#### ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE

#### Chairperson

Ivans KLEMENTJEVS (Latvia)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Richard BENYON (United Kingdom)
- Joe WILSON (United States)
- Menno KNIP (Netherlands)

#### General Rapporteur

 Christian TYBRING-GJEDDE (Norway)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TRANSITION AND DEVELOPMENT

#### Chairperson

• Michal SZCZERBA (Poland)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Luk VAN BIESEN (Belgium)
- James COSTA (United States)
- Matteo Luigi BIANCHI (Italy)

#### Rapporteur

Ausrine ARMONAITE (Lithuania)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TRANSATLANTIC ECONOMIC RELATIONS

#### Chairperson

Faik OZTRAK (Turkey)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Jean-Luc REITZER (France)
- John SPELLAR (United Kingdom)
- Lois FRANKEL (United States)

#### Rapporteur

• Jean-Marie BOCKEL (France)

#### **POLITICAL COMMITTEE**

#### Chairperson

 The Rt. Hon. Lord CAMPBELL OF PITTENWEEM (United Kingdom)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Thomas MARINO (United States)
- Plamen MANUSHEV (Bulgaria)
- Liv Signe NAVARSETE (Norway)

#### General Rapporteur

• Julio MIRANDA CALHA (Portugal)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON NATO PARTNERSHIPS

#### Chairperson

Miro KOVAC (Croatia)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Ahmet Berat CONKAR (Turkey)
- Rasa JUKNEVICIENE (Lithuania)
- Adam BIELAN (Poland)

#### Rapporteur

Raynell ANDREYCHUK (Canada)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

#### Chairperson

• Prof. h. c. Dr Karl A. LAMERS (Germany)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Michael GAPES (United Kingdom)
- Vergil CHITAC (Romania)
- Ahmet Berat CONKAR (Turkey)

#### Rapporteur

 Gerald E. CONNOLLY (United States)

#### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE

#### Chairperson

Maria MARTENS (Netherlands)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Njall Trausti FRIDBERTSSON (Iceland)
- Jean-Christophe LAGARDE (France)
- Kevan JONES (United Kingdom)

#### General Rapporteur

Susan DAVIS (United States)

#### Special Rapporteur

Leona ALLESLEV (Canada)

#### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TECHNOLOGY TRENDS AND SECURITY

#### Chairperson

Hannes HANSO (Estonia)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Marta DEMETER (Hungary)
- Dr Karl-Heinz BRUNNER (Germany)
- Bruno VITORINO (Portugal)

#### Rapporteur

Matej TONIN (Slovenia)

#### MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL GROUP

#### Chairperson

• Philippe FOLLIOT (France)

#### Vice-Chairpersons

- Luis RODRIGUEZ-COMENDADOR
   (Spain)
- Bob STEWART (United Kingdom)
- Gilbert ROGER (France)

#### Rapporteur

Ahmet Berat CONKAR (Turkey)





2018 ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

# PRESIDENCY OF MADELEINE MOON (UNITED KINGDOM) (SINCE NOVEMBER 2018)





# PRESIDENCY OF RASA JUKNEVICIENE (LITHUANIA) (SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER 2018)



2018 ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

# PRESIDENCY OF PAOLO ALLI (ITALY) (JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 2018)





# COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY (CDS)



## **DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (DSC)**





# ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (ESC)



## **POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PC)**





# SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE (STC)



2018 ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

# MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST SPECIAL GROUP (GSM)





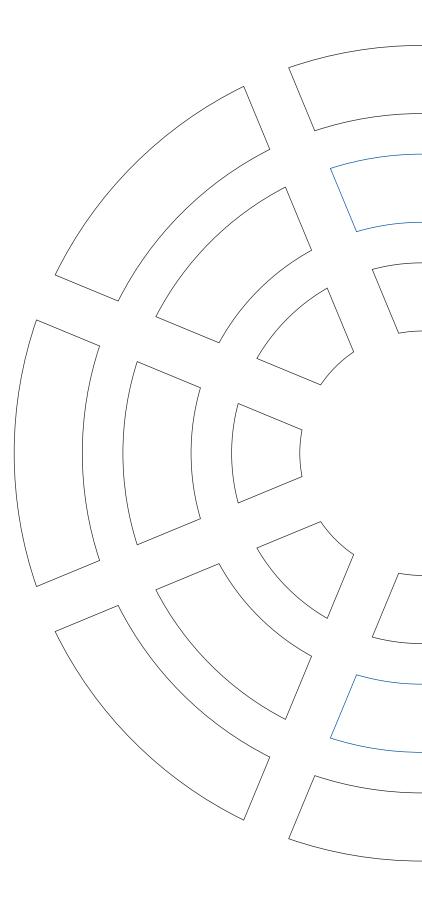
# **GEORGIA-NATO INTERPARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL (GNIC)**

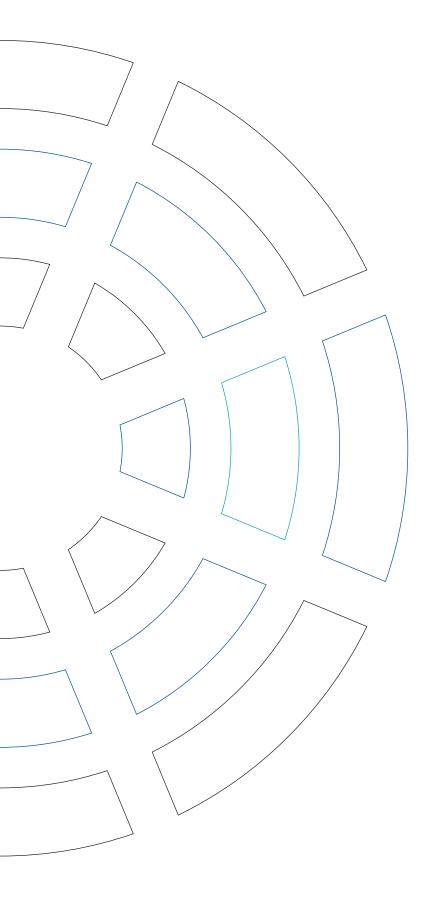


# **UKRAINE-NATO INTERPARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL (UNIC)**











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