

**CIVIL DIMENSION  
OF SECURITY**

258 CDS 05 E  
Original: English



**NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

**SUMMARY**

of the meeting of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security  
*Faellessalen, Folketing, Copenhagen, Denmark*

Saturday 12 and Sunday 13 November 2005

**ATTENDANCE LIST**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Chairman</b>   | Michael Clapham (United Kingdom)   |
| <b>Vice-Persons</b>   | Lucio Malan (Italy)<br>Christine Boutin (France)   |
| <b>General Rapporteur</b>                                       | Vitalino Canas (Portugal)  |
| <b>Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance</b> | Bert Middel (Netherlands)  |
| <b>Special Rapporteur President of the NATO PA</b>              | Lord Jopling (United Kingdom)<br>Pierre Lellouche (France)   |
| <b>Secretary General</b>  | Simon Lunn   |
| <b>Member Delegations</b>                                       |  |
| Belgium   | Patrick Lansens  |
| Bulgaria  | Tchetin Kazak ( <i>elected chairman of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance during the meeting</i> ) |
| Canada  | Jane Cordy   |
| Croatia   | Marin Jurjevic   |
|   | Velimir Plesa  |
| Czech Republic  | Vitezslav Vavrousek  |
| Estonia   | Tiit Matsulevits   |
| France  | Jean Michel  |
|   | Jean Puech   |
| Germany   | Uwe Beckmeyer  |
|   | Kurt Bodewig   |
|   | Monika Heubaum   |
|   | Robert Hochbaum  |
|   | Erwin Marschewski  |
|   | Kurt J. Rossmanith   |
| Iceland   | Ossur Skarphedinsson   |
| Italy   | Guido Brignone   |
|   | Antonio Mereu  |
| Latvia  | Dzintars Rasnacs   |
| Lithuania   | Alvydas Sadeckas   |
| Luxembourg  | Mark Angel   |
|   | Mark Spautz  |
| Netherlands   | Bart van Winsen  |
| Norway  | Erin Faldet  |
| Poland  | Jerzy Wenderlich   |
| Portugal  | Luiz Fagundes Duarte   |
|   | Antonio Ramos Preto  |
|   | Joaquim vasconcelos Da Ponte   |
| Romania   | Mihail Lupoi   |
|   | Marcu Tudor  |
| Slovakia  | Ján Kovarcik   |
| Slovenia  | Franc Kangler  |
| Spain   | Hilario Caballero  |

|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Turkey         | Ahmet Faruk Ünsal |
|                | Emin Bilgiç       |
| United Kingdom | Bruce George      |
|                | Paul Keetch       |
|                | Peter Viggers     |
| United States  | John Boozman      |
|                | Dan Burton        |
|                | Ben Chandler      |
|                | Jo Ann Emerson    |
|                | Dennis Moore      |
|                | Mike Ross         |
|                | John Tanner       |
|                | Tom Udall         |

### **Associate Delegations**

|                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Armenia               | Aleksan Karapetyan |
|                       | Hranush Hakobyan   |
| Austria               | Katharina Pfeffer  |
| Finland               | Suvi-Anne Siimes   |
| Georgia               | David Gamkrelidze  |
|                       | Nicholas Rurua     |
| Russian Federation    | Valery Bogomolov   |
|                       | Oleg Tolkachev     |
|                       | Shamil Zainalov    |
|                       | Andrey Zhukov      |
| Switzerland           | Hermann Bürgi      |
|                       | Barbara Haering    |
| the FYR of Macedonia* | Esad Rahic         |
| Ukraine               | Stepan Khmara      |
|                       | Oleg Zarubinskyi   |

### **Mediterranean Associate Delegation**

|         |                  |
|---------|------------------|
| Algeria | Messaoud Chihoub |
|         | Mostefa Khiar    |

### **European Parliament**

Pawel Piskorski  
Teresa Riera Madurell

### **Parliamentary Observers**

|                                 |                        |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Japan                           | Shintaro Ito           |
|                                 | Asahiko Mihara         |
|                                 | Masataka Suzuki        |
| Kazakhstan                      | Rashit Akhmetov        |
|                                 | Toktarkhan Nurakhmetov |
| Palestinian Legislative Council | Mohammed Hegazi        |

---

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

**Speakers**

Jakob Scharf , Deputy National Commissioner  
of Police and Director of the National  
Police Department, Denmark

Shirin Akiner, Lecturer in Central Asian  
Studies, Department of the Languages and  
Cultures of Near and Middle East, School  
of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

Ambassador Ján Kubiš, EU Special  
Representative for Central Asia, Council of  
the European Union

Georgi Baramidze, State Minister on  
European and Euro-Atlantic Integration,  
Georgia

**Committee Secretary**

Emily Delfau

**International Secretariat**

Ruxandra Popa, Director  
Claire Watkins, Coordinator,  
Seda Ciftci, Research Assistant

## I. Introductory Remarks

1. Chairman **Michael Clapham** (UK) introduced the agenda of the meeting. **The draft agenda and the summary of the meeting of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security held in Ljubljana were adopted without comments.**

## II. Presentation on *Civil Protection and Terrorism Preparedness in Denmark*, by **Jakob Scharf**

2. In his presentation, **Mr Scharf** stressed the importance of efforts to improve counterterrorism preparedness and reinforce international co-operation. He also addressed the need for proper co-ordination of civilian and military structures in the fight against terrorism, insisting that the participation of the military should always come under strict political control.

3. Mr Scharf stated that major challenges for Western democracies include not only the identification of specific terrorist networks and activists, but also the ability to enforce efficient counterterrorist measures. Therefore, proactive intelligence, close co-operation between intelligence and other law enforcement services, as well as broad international co-operation on information and intelligence sharing are of vital importance.

4. Mr Scharf emphasised that emergency preparedness should not be the exclusive responsibility of a small number of public authorities, but rather a joint responsibility of the entire society. Coherence and co-ordination, both at the operational and the strategic levels, must be ensured. Denmark for example had set up a joint co-ordination centre with all stakeholders involved in an emergency in order to ensure swift decision-making.

5. Responding to a question by **Bert Middel** (NL) regarding the seemingly limited security in the Danish Parliament, Mr Scharf stated that the changing nature of the terrorist threat had made it very difficult to protect public areas in a traditional way. To respond to these new security threats, protection against terrorism had to rely on intelligence.

6. **Lord Jopling** (UK) asked about specific measures taken in Denmark to prepare for a biological or radiological terrorist attack. Mr Scharf replied that although Denmark had significantly enhanced its CBRN preparedness capabilities, it was impossible to prepare for every possible scenario.

7. Responding to a question by **Vitalino Canas** (PT) on the co-ordination between intelligence and law enforcement services in Denmark, Mr Scharf explained that intelligence services in Denmark are part of the police department, which facilitates national co-ordination and information-sharing.

## III. Presentations on *EU Policy towards Central Asia* by **Ambassador Ján Kubiš**, and on *Political and Economic Transformations in Kazakhstan since Independence*, by **Shirin Akiner**

8. **Ambassador Kubiš** noted the growing interest by the European Union towards Central Asia, particularly in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Following the speedy recognition of the newly independent states, the Union established consultative mechanisms and signed Partnership and Cooperation Agreements with the countries in the region. Recently, it also created the new position of Special Representative for Central Asia. According to Mr Kubiš, this reflects the Union's will to play a more active role in the region and engage in a more co-ordinated and coherent

approach, in partnership with other European and international institutions. He stressed in particular the importance of promoting good relations with Central Asian countries on the basis of common values and interests, while contributing to the strengthening of the rule of law, democracy and human rights.

9. **Ms Akiner's** presentation focused on the geo-strategic importance of Kazakhstan and on major political developments since independence. In her view, there were three main concerns after the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991. The first main issue related to the fate of Kazakhstan's nuclear arsenal. Kazakhstan responded favourably to international concerns by agreeing in 1994 to either destroy all nuclear weapons or repatriate them to Russia in return for substantial reward packages. On the second issue, the exploitation of Kazakhstan's rich energy resources, the country's leadership managed to sign very profitable contracts with Western-led consortiums for the development of Kazakhstan's oil fields. Finally, a third uncertainty related to Kazakhstan's future political orientation. This was decided early on in favour of a pro-Western model, but the country maintained strong links with other CIS countries. Kazakhstan joined the NATO Partnership for Peace program in 1994, while also participating in the CIS collective security arrangements.

10. Addressing the second point of her presentation on political developments in Kazakhstan since independence, Ms Akiner briefly described what she called the four layers of power in Kazakhstan, i.e. President Nazarbayev, his family, oligarchs, and opposition groups. In her view, President Nazarbayev has a remarkable political sense and managed to establish himself as a key figure in the international arena, while building strong support at home. His family, composed of three daughters and three son-in-laws, does not work as a unified body, and some characters play a more significant role than others. Oligarchs represent another very strong political and financial force in favour of the regime. However, should they withdraw their support to Nazarbayev, Ms Akiner claimed that it would be difficult for the President to stay in power. Finally, opposition groups include some young and Moscow-educated figures, several of which received support from Western powers.

11. Regarding the presidential elections planned for December, Ms Akiner claimed that Kazakhstan had made significant progress in reforming its electoral processes. Unless international criticism was well founded, it would not have much impact.

12. **Bruce George** (UK) underlined the importance of Central Asian countries, while drawing attention to Kazakhstan's incomplete implementation of democratic standards. He expressed strong doubts regarding the transparency and fairness of upcoming elections and called upon international observers to play their part seriously and professionally. Kazakhstan should be aware of the potential consequences of its breaking its commitment to hold free and fair elections, particularly in terms of its bid for the chairmanship of the OSCE in 2009.

13. Mr Clapham stressed that achieving value neutrality is important, although one's values necessarily influence one's assessments and judgements.

14. Mr Canas enquired about the governability of the political system in Afghanistan after the recent parliamentary elections. He also asked about the impact of the re-election of President Nazarbayev on the democratic process in Kazakhstan. Mr Kubis replied that if the elections in Afghanistan were deemed fair, it would encourage President Karzai in his reform projects. As for Kazakhstan, elections were a major step in the process of gradual democratisation of the country. Ms Akiner argued however that unless something extraordinary happens, President Nazarbayev would be re-elected. The consequence would be political stability and continuity in the limited reforms already engaged by President Nazarbayev.

15. Responding to a question from Mr Clapham about prospects for EU-China co-operation on Kazakhstan, Mr Kubis insisted that, although co-operation was desirable, China and the EU were also competitors in the region. Ms Akiner described China as the rising star of the global economy. China had also been investing very large amounts in Central Asia.

16. **Stepan Khmara** (UA) asked whether, given the picture described by Ms Akiner regarding the layers of power, the development of civil society in Kazakhstan was still possible. Ms Akiner acknowledged that it was very difficult to predict today what form of civil society would prevail in Kazakhstan. However, Kazakhstanis were getting increasingly aware of and concerned about their rights and freedoms, albeit not necessarily following Western models. Kazakhstanis should be able to consider various alternatives and choose which one best suits their own traditional identity.

17. **Toktarkhan Nurakhmetov** (KZ) acknowledged that Ms Akiner's assessment of the situation in his country was correct. He also agreed that oligarchs were powerful, whereas there was no constructive opposition, but rather young figures hungry for power. He assured the Committee that Kazakhstan would have free and transparent elections in December. However, he cautioned that changing the leader halfway through a major reform process would be unwise.

#### **IV. Consideration of the draft General Report on *NATO and Kazakhstan* [165 CDS 05 E] by Vitalino Canas (Portugal), General Rapporteur**

18. The General Rapporteur introduced the report, which underlines major challenges and developments in Kazakhstan since independence. He insisted that the report reached a balanced conclusion. Relations between Kazakhstan and NATO were part of a dynamic process, fed by both Kazakhstan's transition and NATO's transformation. The report called upon Kazakhstan to demonstrate that it can play the role to which it aspires of a model for the region.

19. **Rashit Akhmetov** (KZ) claimed that the report is biased in its assessment of Kazakhstan's democratic structures and uses second-hand and unverified data. He objected in particular to paragraph 27, which concludes that the human rights situation in Kazakhstan is deteriorating. He acknowledged that corruption was a major challenge, but underlined recent measures adopted by the authorities to combat corruption. Mr Akhmetov finally asked for allegations regarding the president and his family to be taken out from the report.

20. Mr Canas replied that the report did not only contain critical aspects, but that, on the contrary, the concluding remarks were very encouraging. He insisted that the report was based on reliable and neutral information.

21. Lord Jopling suggested several corrections to the report to emphasize lagging democratic reforms, pervasive corruption, as well as Kazakhstan's worries on China's encroachment in its internal affairs. He also requested a correction in paragraph 22 regarding the final number of registered candidates for the presidential election.

22. **Ahmet Faruk Ünsal** (TR) suggested the replacement of all references to the Xinjiang region by "Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region". In paragraph 70, he argued that "international Islamic extremist organisations" should be replaced by "extremists claiming an affiliation with Islam". Finally, he supported the addition of a sentence in the concluding remarks balancing Kazakhstan's progress and shortcomings in the implementation of democratic standards.

23. **Ossur Skarphedinsson** (IS) also expressed concerns about violations of human rights and press freedom, as well as the repression of opposition groups.

24. **Tchetin Kazak** (BG) stressed that the report provided an accurate and balanced picture of Kazakhstan's situation. It encouraged the country to fully comply with international standards and underlined why and how Kazakhstan can be an important partner for both NATO and the EU.

25. **The draft General Report was adopted unanimously, with the changes agreed by the General Rapporteur.**

**V. Consideration of the draft Special Report on *Chemical, Biological, Radiological or Nuclear (CBRN) Detection: A Technological Overview* [167 CDS 05 E and 186 CDS 05 E] by Lord Jopling, United Kingdom, Special Rapporteur**

26. Lord Jopling briefly introduced the report, stating that it stresses the importance of an early and prompt reaction against CBRN agents. The report identifies various forms of CBRN threats and examines available techniques, focusing largely on the US and UK responses. The purpose of the report was to raise awareness of currently available techniques, while underlining that none of these are perfect and totally comprehensive.

27. **Jo Ann Emerson** (US) thanked Lord Jopling for his presentation and announced that her delegation would submit some changes in writing.

28. **The draft Special Report was adopted unanimously.**

**VI. Presentation on *Reform Processes in Georgia, Two Years after the Rose Revolution*, by Giorgi Baramidze, State Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Georgia.**

29. **Mr Baramidze** opened his intervention by stating Georgia's strong commitment to becoming a full-fledged member of the European Union and NATO. Following the Rose Revolution, the Georgian government had set as priorities for the country the establishment of a democratic state, the fight against corruption and the revival of the economy. Mr Baramidze highlighted recent steps taken by the Georgian government in favour of the peaceful resolution of the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. He called upon the international community to start a new dialogue with Russia, which, in his view, still played an unconstructive role by providing military and financial support to separatist forces. The Georgian government was promoting a "win-win" solution, including broad autonomy for the two regions, as well as essential social, cultural and economic guarantees.

30. Regarding the issue of NATO and EU membership, Mr Baramidze acknowledged that although EU integration was a long-term prospect, NATO integration could be achieved relatively soon. In that sense, NATO would take a historic decision by granting Georgia and Ukraine Membership Action Plans in 2008. Mr Baramidze pleaded for a joint decision on Georgia and Ukraine. Leaving out Georgia would unleash very negative dynamics in the region.

31. Mr Middel asked for additional information on three issues. He first enquired about which resources were used to finance the Georgian government's anti-corruption measures. He then raised concern about the potential risk that President Saakashvili would be tempted to use his high popularity rates – about 90% - to introduce a strong presidential regime in Georgia. Finally, Mr Middel asked about current efforts in Georgia to define the rights of religious minorities.

32. On the first question, Mr Baramidze replied that the fight against corruption had produced its own revenues, since the great amounts that were embezzled by corrupt officials in the past were



now re-injected in the economy. As a result of increased incomes and tax revenues, the state had tripled its budget within a year. Private foundations and governments also provided Georgia with some financial assistance. Mr Baramidze argued that President Saakashvili's scores were only due to the enthusiasm of the Georgian people for his election and ambitious reform programmes. Georgia was considering a decentralisation of power rather than a strengthening of the centre. Local elections to be held next year would reinforce the powers granted to local authorities. Finally, regarding the protection of minorities, Mr Baramidze pointed out that Georgia had ratified the main international conventions, thereby ensuring equal rights for every citizen and a culture based on tolerance.

## **VII. Brief Presentation by Michael Clapham on *The Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan***

33. Mr Clapham briefly presented the NATO PA's participation in an election observation mission to Azerbaijan and shared his observations regarding the pre-election situation, the co-ordination between international organisations participating in the joint observation mission, as well as the conduct of the elections. He also presented the common findings and conclusions of the international election observation mission on the election process.

34. Azerbaijan's Ambassador to NATO, **Kamil Khasiyev**, argued that these elections were a clear departure from previous ones. Several presidential executive orders had introduced new measures to improve the electoral process, which was monitored very closely from the start. He also underlined that his government was investigating the allegations of voting irregularities and had already dismissed 2 regional governors and 4 elected officials.

35. Mr George argued that the way the November parliamentary elections were conducted was bad, although certainly better than previous presidential elections, which were truly appalling. This was all the more distressing, since, given the weakness of the opposition, President Aliyev could have won even without cheating. Mr George warned that, if Azerbaijan continued to run shady elections, it would never be taken seriously by the international community.

## **VIII. Consideration of the draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance, *Minorities in the South Caucasus: Factor of Instability?* [166 CDS DG 05 E], by Bert Middel, Netherlands, Rapporteur**

36. The Rapporteur briefly introduced the context and rationale for a report on the situation of ethnic and religious minorities in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The situation of minorities was indicative of many other challenges facing the region, including democratic, economic and social transition, the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the issue of unresolved conflicts. The report addressed all these issues and provided a balanced assessment of the three countries' efforts to integrate and protect their minority populations.

37. Mr Middel also acknowledged receipt of written comments from the Azerbaijani delegation, who was unable to attend the session due to the recent parliamentary elections in the country. He insisted that some of these comments had been taken into account in the latest draft of the report.

38. **Nicholas Rurua** (GE) argued that data used in several portions of the report needed an update. He suggested modifications in paragraphs 16, 19, 21, 24, 29 and 43, to remove excessive statements and take into account recent developments in Georgia following the Rose Revolution, which brought about a radical shift in policy in many areas, including the protection of minorities.

39. Mr Ünsal suggested that the problems of Meskhetian Turks should be emphasised. He also argued that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh should be referred to as a case of occupation, not conflict. Finally, he requested that the reference to the “Armenian genocide” be put in quotation marks or replaced by “so-called genocide.”

40. **Hranush Hakobyan** (AM) objected to the inclusion within the report of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh under the title of minorities and requested modifications in paragraphs 44 (address the real origins of the conflict), 45 (replace “occupy” by “control”), 46 (clarify that Armenia does not consider the conflict over), 49 (insist on the destabilising effect of Azerbaijan’s war rhetoric), 51 (balance the statement by explaining that Armenian refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh were also unable to participate in land privatisation), 55 (remove the excessive statement regarding exclusive ethnic identity and suspicion of outsiders among the Armenian minority of Samtskhe-Javakheti), 59 (acknowledge Armenia’s opposition to the Kars-Akhalkalaki railroad), 93 (distinguish Armenia’s situation from that of the other countries of the South Caucasus in terms of ratification of relevant treaties).

41. Lord Jopling thanked the Rapporteur for improving the report and suggested minor modifications in paragraphs 16 (replace “paralysed by the fear of” by “wary of”), 22 and 93 (update the report following Georgia’s ratification of the Council of Europe Framework Convention).

**42. The draft Report was unanimously adopted with the amendments agreed to by the Rapporteur.**

43. **Shintaro Ito** (JP) stressed that the democratisation and stability of the South Caucasus is crucial. He said that his country has been co-operating with the countries in the region and supplied refugees with humanitarian aid. He asked how Japan could make its assistance more effective.

**IX. Consideration of the draft Resolution on *The Protection and Integration of Minorities as a Contribution to Stability in the South Caucasus* [197 CDS 05 E], by Bert Middel, Netherlands, Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance**

44. The Rapporteur presented the principles underlying the resolution, which are strongly related to the findings and conclusions of the report.

45. Mr Clapham presented the amendments that had been introduced by members of the Committee. He suggested new language to take into account amendments number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10, which were all found acceptable and approved by the Rapporteur and the Committee. Amendments 7 and 9 were withdrawn.

46. Mr Clapham then asked the Committee to accept the Resolution as amended. **The draft Resolution was unanimously adopted as amended.** Mr Clapham thanked all delegations for their goodwill and the good spirit of the discussion. He commented that accepting this type of resolutions is crucial in building hope and confidence.

47. Lord Jopling expressed his gratitude to the Chairman and thanked him for working so hard to find a common ground among the delegates.

**X. Tentative Summary of the Future Activities of the Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security and of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance**

48. The preliminary working programme of the Committee was adopted as follows:

| <b>Report</b>                           | <b>General Report</b>                             | <b>Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance</b>   | <b>Special Report on Civil Protection</b> |
|---|---|---|---|
| <b>Rapporteur</b>                       | Vitalino CANAS                                    | Bert MIDDEL   | Lord JOPLING                              |
| <b>Preliminary title of the reports</b> | Bosnia, 10 Years After Dayton                     | Regional Co-operation in the Black Sea Region   | NATO and Civil Protection                 |
| <b>Visits</b>                           | - Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>- The Hague (Netherlands) | - Georgia / Armenia / Azerbaijan<br>- Ukraine   |   |
| <b>Time of the visit</b>                | End of February / Beginning of March 2006         | - South Caucasus: beginning of June 2006 (joint visit with DCS)<br>- Ukraine: September 2006 (joint visit with ESC) |   |

**XI. Elections**

49. All Committee and Sub-committee officers eligible for re-election were re-elected. **Tchetin Kazak** (Bulgaria) was elected as the Chairman for the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance to replace Jon Lilletun (Norway).

50. **Jane Cordy** (Canada) was elected member of the Ukraine-NATO Interparliamentary Council to replace Jon Lilletun (Norway) and **Lucio Malan** (Italy) was elected as alternate member.