NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

COMMITTEE ON THE
CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY
(CDS)

BORDER SECURITY

Special Report

by Lord JOPLING (United Kingdom)
Special Rapporteur

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

1.   In the past several years, the ability to protect the external borders of Europe has been tested by the extraordinary movement of people fleeing violence and poverty in parts of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. The security of borders has become a top priority for many Allies, from the United States to Southern and Central Europe. In his 2019 State of the Union Address, US President Donald Trump declared that "[t]he lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial well-being of all Americans". According to Italy's Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte, Europe's failure to show solidarity and address the problem of mass border crossings could "compromise the very fabric of a united Europe". During this Committee's visit to Budapest and Prague in October 2018, NATO parliamentarians were repeatedly told that the challenges of border security and illegal migration dominated the security and political agenda in both Hungary and the Czech Republic.

2.   NATO is not a lead player in border security, but the Alliance is affected by political and security developments on its borders, and it is adding value in several ways, not least through its naval missions in the Mediterranean. NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept identified "the illegal trafficking of people" as one of the challenges for the Alliance. The 2011 Alliance Maritime Strategy gives mandate to NATO maritime forces, *inter alia*, to conduct surveillance and patrolling, share information, support law enforcement, enforce embargo and no-fly zones, and provide urgent humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. Through its partnership mechanisms, NATO has contributed to capacity building in the border security field in the Western Balkans and Central Asia.

3.   This special report will take stock of existing border management strategies in the Euro-Atlantic area and will aim to identify potential gaps as well as areas for greater multilateral cooperation in all three border security domains: land, sea, and airports. The report will first discuss the challenges to land border security in three specific areas in the Euro-Atlantic space: the US-Mexico border, the Balkans corridor, and the Spanish enclaves in North Africa. The section on maritime borders will focus on the situation in the Mediterranean Sea. Finally, the report will provide an overview of how airport security has evolved since the 9/11 attack. It will also analyse how this process of securing external borders has raised questions in terms of human rights and civil liberties. It will aim to provide fact-based information on the problem of illegal crossings and smuggling. Investments in border security should be based on an understanding of the real scope of the problem, while avoiding the exaggeration and misrepresentation of these challenges for internal political purposes.

II. LAND BORDERS: THREE HOTSPOTS

A. US-MEXICO BORDER

4.   Security along the 3,145km US-Mexico border has long been a heated topic of debate in the United States. However, the issue gained particular political prominence in December 2018, when an impasse over US President Trump's demand for USD 5.7 billion to fund a border wall sparked the longest federal government shutdown in US history. The wall was a cornerstone of Mr Trump's 2016 election campaign and has since been presented as a key aspect of border security by the Trump administration. More broadly, the wall is a symbol of the executive's promise to limit immigration from the South. Throughout 2018 and 2019, a series of steps were taken to increase US-Mexico border security, including the deployment of National Guard personnel to the border and the institution of a "zero-tolerance" immigration policy towards those found crossing the border illegally.
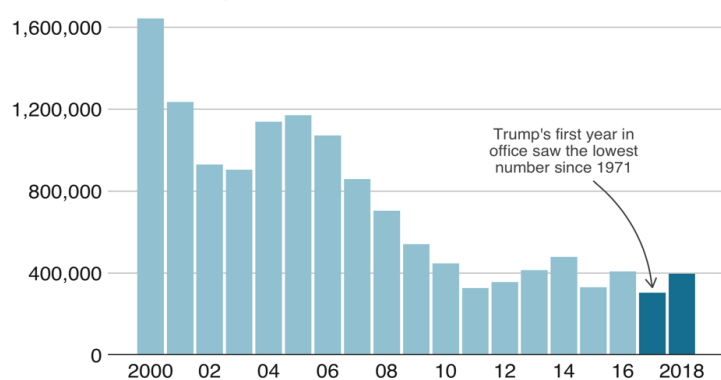
5.   About 700 miles (more than 1,100 km) of the border are already separated by physical barriers (including about 40-mile fences built under the current administration since 2017). The Trump

administration intends to build an additional 234 miles (377 km) of wall made of steel bollards and to gradually replace ageing fencing along more than 400 miles (more than 640 km). When, in February 2019, US lawmakers approved funding for just 55 miles (89 km) of new border barriers, President Trump declared a state of national emergency. This move allows the administration to gather additional funding for the construction of the wall – in March, for instance, the US Department of Defence allocated USD 1 billion to build 57 miles (92 km) of 5.5-metre fencing. In July 2019, the US Supreme Court overruled – by the majority of 5 justices against 4 – the decision of a lower court to prevent the use of Pentagon funds for border reinforcements thereby allowing the administration to allocate some USD 2.5 billion for these works. While because of this decision the construction works are expected to speed up, the Democrat-majority House of Representatives filed a new legal challenge, arguing that the border-wall funding violates the Appropriations Clause of the US Constitution (Farias, 2019). While the administration expects the reinforcement of the border with Mexico to cost about USD 8 billion in total, other estimates give a much higher figure (Rodgers and Bailey, 2019). The maintenance of the fences requires considerable expenses.

6.   Border security is seen as a policy priority by many across the US political spectrum, with Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer emphasising that "Democrats and the President both want stronger border security". However, Democrat leaders and even some Republican legislators propose alternative solutions to a wall and disagree that there really is an emergency on the US-Mexico border. A Pew Research Center survey revealed in January 2019 that 58% of Americans oppose substantially expanding the wall along the southern US border while 40% support doing so. Because people manage to enter the United States undetected, it is impossible to measure the exact number of illegal border crossings. However, estimates, including those by the US Border Patrol, indicate unequivocally that border apprehensions have declined significantly over the past two decades, from a high of over 1.64 million in 2000 to 303,916 in 2017 – the lowest figure since 1971. There was an increase in apprehensions in 2018 to a total of 396,579, and they have continued to grow on a monthly basis since. In May 2019 alone, some 144,000 people were apprehended after crossing the border illegally, an average of over 4,600 people a day. While the average numbers of 2017 and 2018 remain lower than the annual average during Barack Obama's presidency and considerably lower than the levels throughout most of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, the situation in the first half of 2019 "represents an acute and worsening crisis" (DHS, 2 July 2019). The surge in apprehensions in the first half of 2019 is attributed to the enhancement of logistical means allowing Central American migrants to cross Mexico, as well as to the temporary practice by the Mexican authorities of facilitating the issuance of "humanitarian visas". The root causes of Central American migration into the United States are related to extreme poverty and gang violence, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras (Lind, 2019).
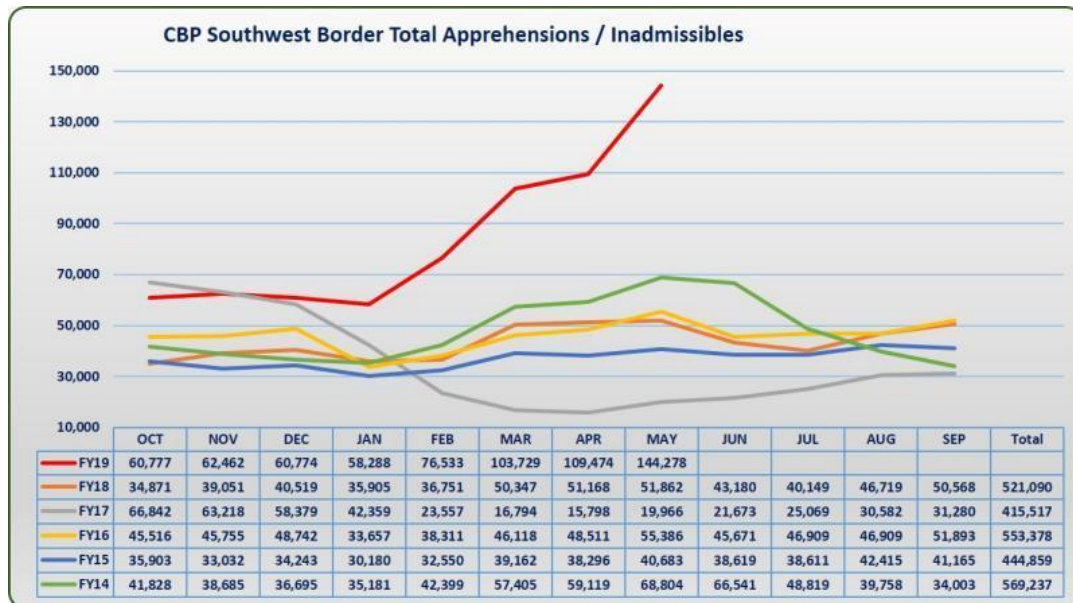
Apprehensions on US-Mexico border

Total number of migrants by US financial year (2000-2018)

Trump's first year in office saw the lowest number since 1971

Source: US Customs and Border Protection agency

BBC

CBP Southwest Border Total Apprehensions / Inadmissibles

	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	Total
FY19	60,777	62,462	60,774	58,288	76,533	103,729	109,474	144,278					
FY18	34,871	39,051	40,519	35,905	36,751	50,347	51,168	51,862	43,180	40,149	46,719	50,568	521,090
FY17	66,842	63,218	58,379	42,359	23,557	16,794	15,798	19,966	21,673	25,069	30,582	31,280	415,517
FY16	45,516	45,755	48,742	33,657	38,311	46,118	48,511	55,386	45,671	46,909	46,909	51,893	553,378
FY15	35,903	33,032	34,243	30,180	32,550	39,162	38,296	40,683	38,619	38,611	42,415	41,165	444,859
FY14	41,828	38,685	36,695	35,181	42,399	57,405	59,119	68,804	66,541	48,819	39,758	34,003	569,237

Source: US Customs and Border Protection agency, 2019

7. Statistics show that most illegal immigrants in the United States (62% in 2016) do not enter the country via land borders, but rather arrive legally by air or sea and then overstay their visas (AFP, 2019). Nevertheless, the share of those who crossed the border without inspection (38%) is rather high, and the concerns about the porousness of the US-Mexico border are not baseless.

8. A number of points have been advanced by the Trump administration to justify the border wall and/or curbing illegal immigration more generally. First, the president has asserted that the "US southern border is a pipeline for vast quantities of illegal drugs" and argued that physical barriers are needed to stem the flow of narcotics into the United States. Indeed, some 39% of all heroin seizures in the United States in 2017 took place at the US-Mexico border. Secondly, he has made a connection between illegal immigration and crime (stating that "63,000 Americans since 9/11 have been killed by illegal aliens") and even terrorism. Thirdly, during the campaign, Mr Trump justified a clampdown on illegal immigration through reference to "tremendous infectious disease […] pouring across the border".

9. With regard to drug smuggling, the US Drug Enforcement Administration has found that most drugs enter the United States either hidden in cars and trucks at legal ports of entry or through subterranean tunnels. This means that building a physical barrier will not tackle the illicit drugs problem head-on. In terms of terrorism, a US Department of State report found that, in 2017, "there was no credible evidence indicating that international terrorist groups have established bases in Mexico, worked with Mexican drug cartels, or sent operatives via Mexico into the United States", and it underlined that terrorist groups were likely to enter the United States through routes other than the US-Mexico border. Arguments linking immigration and infectious disease are also not supported by evidence, with a two-year international medical research project finding that international migrants are "less likely than people in their host countries to die of heart disease, cancer, respiratory diseases, and other ills", bar hepatitis, tuberculosis, and HIV (Fox, 2018). Finally, two studies published in 2018 (by the Cato Institute and the "Criminology" journal, respectively) found no correlation between crime rates and undocumented immigrants, while data from the US Sentencing Commission suggests the opposite – that non-US citizens committed a disproportionate share of federal crimes between 2011 and 2016 in the United States.

10. The problem of illegal immigration across the US-Mexico border should not be dismissed as a non-issue. Even for a country the size of the United States, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants every year, including the influx of larger-than-normal groups like the 7,000-people migrant caravan from Central America, is a legitimate source of concern. Few dispute

the necessity of improved infrastructure along the southern border. The homeland security funding proposed by Democrats at the end of 2018 included USD 1.3 billion for both new and replacement border fencing (Morgan, 2018).

11.   The most relevant debate – with a potential to draw useful lessons for other Euro-Atlantic nations – is whether physical barriers are the most efficient way to protect borders. Reportedly, a wall built in the Yuma sector, Arizona, in the mid-2000s led to a decrease in border apprehensions by 90%; and arrests also dropped significantly in the San Diego area when the wall was completed in the 1990s (Long, 2019). The current US government also argues that the absence of borders in more remote regions directs migrants through desert areas, where they are likely to experience great sufferings. In fiscal year (FY) 2016, US border guards saved nearly 4,000 near-death individuals in the desert (Duke, 2017). Nevertheless, a few years ago, the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) examined the efficiency of the wall and did not find strong evidence that the erection of physical barriers is the most efficient way to secure the US-Mexico border. GAO found that between 2013 and 2015, more arrests occurred in places that already had fencing.

12.   A number of alternative measures have been proposed. The first involves the recruitment of additional border staff, which is particularly important given that the number of Border Patrol and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) employees has fallen in recent years. According to GAO, CBP ended FY 2017 "more than 1,100 CBP officers below its target staffing level". In 2013, it was estimated that every additional field officer at a port of entry would help reduce wait times and thus bring "annual benefits of a $2 million increase in GDP, $640,000 saved in opportunity costs, and 33 jobs added to the economy per officer added" (DHS, 2014). Illegal immigration can, moreover, be reduced by dedicating more resources to tackling visa overstays, a responsibility of US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The Center for Immigration Studies reports that, over the past few years, under 10% of ICE enforcement capability has been channelled towards overstay enforcement.

13.   In addition, there is an increasing range of technological innovations that can be used to bolster the border, some of which are already in use and should be expanded. CBP makes use of video cameras, pressure sensors, drones, infrared goggles, and aerostat blimps, as well as licence plate readers, drug detection devices, and X-ray scanners at ports of entry. More thorough deployment of these technologies, as well as investment in artificial intelligence to analyse camera data, could increase border security at a lower estimated cost than physical barriers. However, technology has its limits. Storms and strong wind hinder aerostat flight, thick brush obstructs the vision of cameras, wildlife can activate sensors, and unprotected devices can be vandalised. Lessons in this regard could be learned from Israel, which has a particularly sophisticated approach to border technology along its border with Egypt. This border is marked mostly by a "smart fence" which is layered with sensors, radar, and cameras, and by an "invisible network of underground wireless sensors" that are advanced enough to differentiate between people and moving animals or plants (Etter and Weise, 2018). However, even if well-functioning, the widespread adoption of technology in border towns raises ethical questions about surveillance and privacy intrusion.

14.   Finally, the United States faces the challenge of accelerating the asylum procedures. During FY 2018, US border authorities handled 92,959 claims of "credible fear" of going back home, mainly from nationals of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador – a large increase as compared to the 55,584 claims made the previous year (BBC News, January 2019; Associated Press, 2019). The backlog with regard to asylum cases in the immigration court system is increasing. As of November 2018, there were 775,510 pending cases, and the average wait time for an immigration hearing was 710 days, as compared to 296,173 cases and 538 days at the end of FY 2012. This backlog is largely due to the CBP's "metering" process, which started under the Obama administration and aims to limit the daily number of asylum requests that can be processed. The rate of asylum denials is growing: in FY 2018, 65% of asylum cases were denied, up from 42% in FY 2012 (TRAC, 2018). The Trump administration has attempted to curb the flow of asylum

seekers across the US-Mexico border in several additional ways. These include narrowing the criteria for asylum, placing asylum seekers with pending cases in detention centres as part of a "zero tolerance" policy, and denying the right to seek asylum outside official ports of entry. However, all three moves were blocked by federal courts.

15.   The 1952 US Immigration and Nationality Act reaffirms the right of asylum. In November 2018, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reminded the United States of its duties in this regard and pointed out that many Central American and Mexican arrivals are "fleeing life-threatening violence or persecution". There are a number of steps that can be taken to ensure sufficient protection for all who need it in the United States. Firstly, more asylum officers, immigration judges, and clerks should be hired so as to increase reception capacity at ports of entry and reduce the existing backlog in the courts. Secondly, there is scope to streamline the largely paper-based immigration courts' record-keeping and case-management systems. Overall, as the UNHCR notes, "national security and dignified reception of refugees and asylum seekers are not mutually exclusive, but rather mutually reinforcing".

16.   As of January 2019, the administration began a "Remain in Mexico" policy. Therefore, the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) decided to expand the implementation of the existing Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) across its entire southern border. The MPP apply to aliens who "attempt to enter the U.S. illegally or without documentation, including those who claim asylum" and allow the border agencies to return foreign individuals entering the United States from Mexico illegally or without proper documentation to Mexico (DHS, January 2019). Asylum seekers have to remain in Mexico whilst their cases are considered by US courts. The stated aim is to discourage false asylum claims, but it is not clear that the policy will be upheld in court as it faces some legal issues (Harrington and Smith, 2019).

17.   In a further attempt to deal with immigration at the US-Mexico border, both governments jointly declared on 7 June 2019 that they were going to step up their efforts to "curb irregular immigration" (US Department of State, 2019). Mexico agreed to increase enforcement by intensifying its efforts to dismantle human trafficking and by deploying its national guard throughout the country. It agreed to send 6,000 national guard personnel to its southern border and 15,000 troops to the US-Mexico border (Reuters, 2019). The attempt to stem the flow of undocumented migrants led to an increase in deportations from Mexico and detentions, which raised concerns among advocates regarding the compliance with immigrant rights (Shoichet, 2019).

18.   Further legislative steps have been undertaken by the US Congress to better deal with the rising number of apprehensions. Both the Democrats-dominated House of Representatives and the Republican-led Senate passed emergency border-funding bills. While both versions suggested a similar budget of USD 4,5bn and USD 4,6bn, respectively, the House bill included more stringent requirements on how to spend the money and envisaged more rigorous time limits for the detention of unaccompanied alien children (UAC). However, due to strong opposition in the Senate against the more restrictive bill and the urgent need to provide US agencies with more funding, the Democrats led by the Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, dropped their "insistence on stronger protections for migrant children in overcrowded border shelters" (Robert, 2019; Hirschfield and Cochrane, 2019). On 27 June 2019, Congress adopted the Senate Border Bill. It provides USD2.88bn for the Health and Human Services Department, which provides housing for UAC, enabling it to expand its housing capacity. In addition, the bill funds the US military's border operations with USD 145m and provides roughly 1 billion to improve housing conditions and migrant care (Hirschfield and Cochrane, 2019).

19. The swift adoption of the bill was linked to the challenging humanitarian situation at the US-Mexico border, especially in the Rio Grande Valley. A delegation of the Office of Inspector General of the DHS that visited the Border Patrol Facilities on the Texas-Mexico border in early June observed that four of the five facilities were overcrowded. Moreover, all of the facilities held detainees

in custody for longer than permitted – among them families and UAC – even though the CBP is only authorised to provide short-term detention of 72 hours maximum. The official report later warned that prolonged detention and overcrowding may pose an immediate risk to the health and safety of both staff and detainees, as the latter initiate incidents to be released from their cells. Senior managers called the situation "a ticking time bomb" (DHS, 2 July 2019).

20.   The instances of separating migrant children from their parents – some 2,000 children in mid-2018 – have been causing public outcry. In line with a "zero tolerance" policy introduced in April 2018, adults illegally crossing the US-Mexico border were criminally charged and jailed, while their children were placed in shelters. According to witnesses, conditions in some of these shelters were traumatising. The president ended this policy by signing an executive order in June 2018, promising to keep families together and arguing that the origins of this policy stem from the legislative framework inherited from previous administrations. There were reports, however, that due to certain legal loopholes, instances of family separation continued to persist (Reality Check, 2019).

21.   While border security has turned into a sensitive and polarising political issue in the United States, the disagreements do not appear to be irresolvable. As President Trump is no longer advocating for a physical wall along the entire US-Mexico border, the United States will likely be opting for a layered approach, combining physical barriers, technology, and personnel, although the proportions and geographic locations of various types of border defence systems have yet to be determined. As Congresswoman Xochitl Torres Small put it, "barriers work when they're strategically placed based on smart and careful analysis – but a wall from sea to shining sea is fiscally irresponsible." In any case, the deliberations in the United States have certainly enriched the broader border security debate and provided valuable lessons and expertise for transatlantic partners.

22.   The next two sections and Chapter III will address the security of European borders. The Special Rapporteur would like to briefly discuss two factors that are common in the context of these next sections. Firstly, Frontex was established by the EU in 2004 to guarantee efficient and homogenous management of the Schengen borders, but it has evolved significantly since the migration crisis in 2015. The Warsaw-based Frontex has a database of assets such as vessels, helicopters, or surveillance aircraft, as well as personnel that is pledged by member states and can be summoned for Frontex operations. In 2018, some 11,000 officers, 21 vessels, 8 aircraft, and 70 patrol cars were deployed in Frontex operations. The agency also has access to satellite images from the European Satellite Centre. Frontex also has its own 643 employees. The agency also seeks to rely less on equipment from member states and deploys its own equipment, which is acquired, leased or sometimes co-owned with EU member states. In 2018, for example, it leased surveillance planes and tested the use of Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems. Currently, the agency has standing missions in Italy, Greece, and Spain, where Frontex border guards screen migrants, establish their digital identity, and store the gathered information in relevant EU databases. In 2018, Frontex rescued about 37,000 people in the Mediterranean Sea (Frontex, 18 February 2018). Moreover, Frontex provides third countries with technical assistance – so far in the Eastern Partnership region, the Western Balkans and Turkey, and parts of Africa.

23.   Secondly, the EU-Turkey Statement (also referred to as an agreement or a deal), was reached on 18 March 2016. According to the deal, Turkey would stem the flow of migrants embarking towards Greek islands, while the EU would accelerate the visa liberalisation process for Turkish citizens and mobilise funding (EUR 6 billion) to support Turkey's hosting of more than 3.6 million Syrian refugees. Moreover, the deal allows for all undocumented irregular migrants arriving in Greek islands to be transferred back to Turkey. For each Syrian being returned to Turkey from Greek islands, another Syrian would be resettled from Turkey to the EU. The EU is currently in the process of disbursing its second tranche of EUR 3 billion for the Facility for Refugees in Turkey.

B.   THE WESTERN BALKANS ROUTE

24.   Throughout 2015 and the first quarter of 2016, an estimated 920,000 migrants and refugees took the so-called Western Balkans route with the goal of reaching the European Union. Most arrived in Greece by land or sea from Turkey and made their way northward through North Macedonia, Serbia, and EU Member State Hungary, although other Balkan countries were also implicated. This transit corridor towards Hungary was closed in autumn 2015, as the country erected a razor-wire fence along its border with Serbia and Croatia. The Hungarian measures and North Macedonia's action to close its border with Greece prompted a domino effect across the region; as a result of the deflection, a new migration route opened towards Croatia. The closure of borders in combination with the EU's deal with Turkey led to a sharp fall in the number of illegal border crossings on the Western Balkan route, from over 260,000 in 2016 (most of which occurred in the first quarter) to about 19,000 in 2017 according to Frontex estimates. The numbers further declined in the first half of 2019, with only 5060 migrants and refugees using the Western Balkan route. This group consisted mainly of people from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria (Frontex, 2019b).

25.   Although the transit corridor described above remains largely impermeable, by 2018 it became clear that a new Balkan route implicating Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina had been forming. Throughout 2018, about 24,000 people arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the aim of travelling further to Western Europe, mainly through EU/NATO member Croatia (ECHO, 2019). Most of these people come from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) experts, 80-85% of these people are "economic migrants rather than people in need of international protection" (von der Brelie and Salfiti, 2018). Before reaching the borders of Croatia from their home countries, these people had to cross the territories of some five or six states on their way, suggesting that they used the services of smugglers. There is anecdotal evidence that each person had to pay several thousand euros to smugglers. However, smugglers are largely ineffective on the Croat-Bosnian border due to advanced border control mechanisms – the arriving groups are watched by motion detectors, thermo-vision cameras, high-tech drones, and a Frontex surveillance plane. Yet, given the long journey these people have travelled to get to the vicinity of the EU border, it is highly likely that they will keep trying to probe the Croatian border for blind spots.

26.   Croatia has increased its security personnel at the borders and been very assertive in denying these people entry into the Croatian territory. Some human rights watchdogs have complained that Croatia's actions were overly harsh. Several thousand people remained stranded on the Bosnian side of the border in appalling conditions during the winter of 2018-2019. Concerned about this situation, the European Commission granted EUR 2 million in humanitarian assistance to refugees and migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2018. This short-term assistance is complemented by a mid-term response amounting to EUR 7.2 million, which covers the provision of food, emergency shelter, water and sanitation, warm clothing, and education (ECHO, 2019).

27.   The emergence of the new Balkan route has also caused discussions among some Balkan nations, including NATO Allies Albania and Montenegro. The implementation of the Readmission Agreement between Montenegro and Albania has been enhanced subsequently, but there is room for further improvement.

28.   The Visegrad countries (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia) have been the most vocal NATO members in their calls to curb the inflow of migrants and refugees across the Alliance's southern flank, including and especially through the Western Balkans. All four countries have rejected the UN Global Compact on the treatment of migrants and refused to comply with the EU's mandatory refugee quota scheme. Regarding the new European Commission's proposal to bolster Frontex, the Visegrad countries highlighted that border protection is an issue of national security and sovereignty, and external border surveillance should therefore remain the primary responsibility of the member states. Frontex should support national border guards in carrying out

their tasks but not replace them. Furthermore, Visegrad governments have often associated migration with crime and terrorism. They have argued that abusers of asylum procedures could represent security risks and called for enhanced vigilance of all competent authorities in order to identify those among them who might potentially be involved in terrorist attacks. Notably, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of Poland's Law and Justice party, emphasised the need to "prevent a wave of aggression, especially toward women" on the part of asylum seekers, whereas Robert Fico, Slovak Prime Minister until March 2018, stated that there was an "absolute link between migration and terrorism". Moreover, migrant influxes have been opposed by governments in the Visegrad countries on cultural grounds, with Czech President Milos Zeman, for instance, asserting that "the integration of the Muslim community [into European society] is practically impossible", and Mr Orban arguing that Europe's "Christian identity" is under threat from Muslim migrants. Finally, Mr Kaczynski has warned that migrants may carry "very dangerous diseases long absent from Europe".

29.   Currently, the number of migrants and refugees reaching Central European countries is low, in part, of course, due to border protection arrangements put in place in 2016. According to Eurostat, Hungary registered 41.560 illegal migrants residing within its borders in 2016 and 18.915 in 2018. According to the International Organization for Migration[1], only 56 migrants were recorded entering Hungary illegally in 2018, compared to 543 in 2016. In the Czech Republic, only 172 irregular migrants were detained in 2017 (Reuters, January 2018). However, the memories of the influx in 2015-2016 were still acute in the societies and politics of both countries, as members of this Committee witnessed during the visit to Budapest and Prague in October 2018. While nearly all migrants and refugees planned to move on to Western Europe rather than stay in Central Europe, Visegrad governments felt it was their duty to stop the flow of migrants at their borders. As the chairman of the Hungarian parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, Zsolt Nemeth, told the NATO PA delegation: "When we defend NATO's and EU's borders with billions of euros, this is solidarity – we seek to respect the legal norms and protect our common community." An official in Prague said that the 2015 migration crisis has fuelled fears of terrorism at home in the Czech Republic. Despite the fact that there has not been a single terrorist incident in the country, there is a widespread consensus among the population that the government must consider this the most pressing threat to domestic security. The seemingly exaggerated reaction in the Visegrad bloc to the challenge of migration could be related to the ethnic, religious, and cultural homogeneity of these countries, which contrasts with the West's long exposure to multiculturalism. Also, interestingly, while some Central European leaders refer to the protection of Christian culture in their opposition to migration, Western European Catholic organisations are often supportive of a more inclusive approach to this issue – for instance, several Spanish Catholic associations condemned the quick expulsion of the migrants from the Spanish enclaves in North Africa. Pope Francis also assumed a firmly compassionate stance towards asylum seekers.

30.   The closure of the Western Balkans route produced several side effects that were worrying from a humanitarian point of view. As noted, police use of force against migrants and asylum seekers in Croatia has been criticised by the Commissioner for Human Rights at the Council of Europe. Amnesty International criticises the fact that Croatia sends immigrants back to Bosnia and Herzegovina without giving them access to an asylum procedure. Croatia repeatedly rejected allegations of excessive police violence and of breaches of basic refugee rights (Pundy, 2019). The Council of Europe and the UNHCR have criticised Hungary for its "push-back" laws, according to which illegal migrants are escorted back to the other side of the Hungarian border fence, where they are able to lodge their asylum application in one of the transit zones. Hungary's so-called "Stop Soros" laws treat the fostering and support of illegal immigration as a criminal offence. These laws sanction those who can carry out activities that aim to assist a person in obtaining international protection in Hungary either by deceiving the public authority or by providing a residence permit to a person illegally entering or illegally staying in Hungary. The European Commission deemed the

---

[1]   Hungary argues that IOM data is incomplete as national authorities do not have the obligation to share all relevant information with the organisation.

legislation to be in breach of EU law and decided to open an infringement procedure against Hungary. Also, in addition to the appalling situation regarding the accommodation of migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thousands of migrants have found themselves stranded in "under-resourced camps and reception centres" in Serbia and Bulgaria (Greider, 2017).

31.   The EU is extending its help to the Western Balkan countries via Frontex, having signed so-called "status agreements" on border management cooperation over the past year with the Republic of North Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the current EU Regulation on the European Border and Coast Guard, it is possible to act on the territory of a third country only a border section it shares with a member state. The new proposal submitted by the Commission in 2018 would permit broader deployments in the willing third countries to help national border authorities conduct checks on migrants, with the aim of curbing illegal migration and cross-border crime. The new regulation would also provide for a complaints mechanism and the principle of *non-refoulement*[2], the prohibition of arbitrary detention and the prohibition of torture and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In May 2019, Frontex put the first agreement into action when it deployed 50 officers from 12 EU member states to Albania to enhance European cooperation at the Albanian-Greek land border and to tackle human trafficking. Albania became a highly frequented transit country for refugees and migrants in 2018 after the original Balkan route through Serbia became inaccessible (EWB, 2019).

C.   CEUTA AND MELILLA: SPANISH ENCLAVES IN NORTH AFRICA

32.   As the trends of migratory flows in the Mediterranean region shift westwards, Spain finds itself as the leading point of entry to the EU for migrants crossing the Mediterranean, with a reported 56,914 people arriving in the country in 2018 – over twice as many as the previous year (CBS News, 2019). The recent popularity amongst migrants of the Western Mediterranean route is linked to the increased difficulty of traversing the Mediterranean elsewhere, notably due to the EU-Turkey deal, EU cooperation with the Libyan Coast Guard, and the strict in immigration policy of the new Italian government. Although most migrants come to Spain by sea, some 13% of total illegal migrant arrivals are in two autonomous Spanish cities located in North Africa: Ceuta and Melilla (Reuters, August 2018). These enclaves are the only places where Europe has land borders with Africa, and they are both separated from Morocco by heavily guarded, razor-wire-topped fences. Given the high risks associated with crossing the Mediterranean through the narrow straits of Gibraltar, where there are particularly strong currents, attempting to reach Spain by climbing these fences has become increasingly attractive, even though many cut their hands on the razor wire. Migrants who successfully make it into the territories can apply for asylum and wait in a migrant holding centre. Those with proper paperwork also have the option of simply walking into Ceuta and Melilla's official border checkpoints, where thousands of Moroccans and Spaniards cross each day to shop and work. Most Palestinians, Syrians, Yemenis, and Iraqis can expect to receive asylum, while the applications of most Moroccans and Algerians are often rejected on the grounds that the applicants are classified as economic migrants.

33.   Over the past year, Spain has been increasingly concerned about border security in Ceuta and Melilla. According to Spanish police in Melilla [in January and October 2018], over 200 people stormed the border fence, whereas about 800 attempted this in Ceuta in July and then over 100 in August. In May 2019, over 50 people successfully forced entry into Melilla by climbing over its border fence. Migrants used shears and hammers to smash the fence and threw all kinds of substances at police officers. Furthermore, Spanish authorities point out that they have insufficient resources to

---

[2]   The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of refugees defines the principle of "non-refoulement" as the prohibition to "expel or return ["refouler"] a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion".

accommodate the high numbers of recent arrivals, both in the enclaves and on the southern Spanish coast.
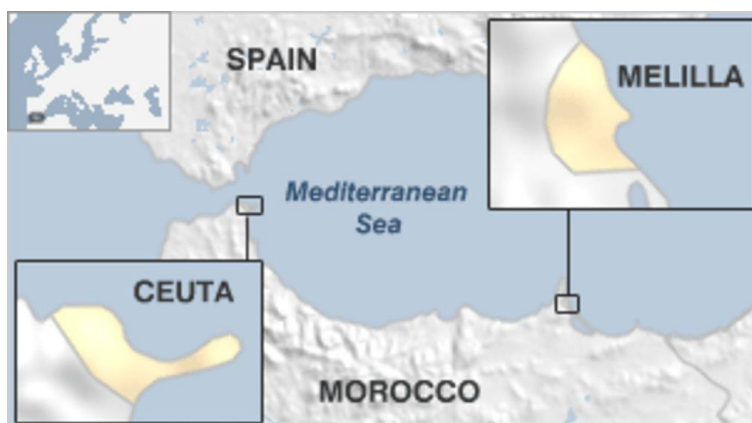

Source: BBC.com

34.   The humanitarian aspects of the situation must also be noted. Migrant holding centres in Ceuta and Melilla have been heavily overcrowded. They reportedly offer asylum seekers inferior living conditions to those of Spain's mainland centres and are especially inappropriate for unaccompanied minors. Moreover, in the past, human rights groups, as well as the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, have expressed their concern about the rapidity with which Spain has expelled migrants in these enclaves back to Morocco (Stolton, 2018; Wriedt, 2019). That said, Pedro Sanchez's government, which entered office in June 2018, has been praised for adopting a more welcoming stance towards migrants. Spain's Interior Minister, Mr Fernando Grande-Marlaska, commissioned a report to find "the least bloody possible means" of preserving border security and to replace the dangerous razor-wire fences in Ceuta and Melilla (BBC News, 2018).

35.   Spain has asked for more financial support from the EU for both itself and Morocco to better respond to the current migrant influx as well as to bolster border management in North Africa. In November 2018, it was announced that an additional EUR 140 million would be delegated to Morocco from the EU Trust Fund for Africa to help stem irregular migration across its border (Valdivia, 2018). Moroccan authorities claim they have stopped some 54,000 attempts by migrants to cross into Spain in 2018 (Euractiv, August 2018). However, Morocco's crackdown on thousands of migrants on its side of the border has been criticised heavily by Amnesty International, which described the move as "cruel and unlawful".

III.   MARITIME ROUTES: AN UPDATE ON THE SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
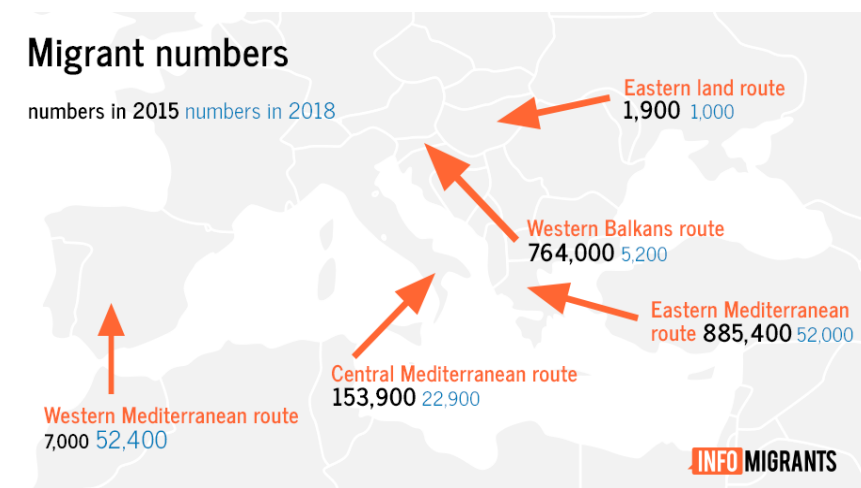
Source: Infomigrants.

36.   In 2015, over 1 million refugees and migrants crossed the Mediterranean to reach Europe, provoking a humanitarian and political crisis. The number of sea arrivals has decreased significantly since then, falling to 171,635 in 2017 and to 113,145 in 2018 (IOM, 2018). This trend continued in the first half of 2019, when 29,785 people tried to reach the European mainland by sea (UNHCR, 8 July 2019). Furthermore, the geography of migratory flows has changed. Until 2016, the so-called Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece was the most travelled, primarily by people fleeing conflict in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. In 2015, 885,386 irregular arrivals were registered by Frontex on this route (Frontex, 2019a). The second-busiest path taken by migrants has been the Central Mediterranean route from North Africa to Italy, mainly to the island of Lampedusa. In 2018, as noted earlier, the Western Mediterranean route from Morocco to Spain proved the most popular. The majority of people travelling along this corridor are from sub-Saharan Africa.

Irregular border crossings on the three main routes
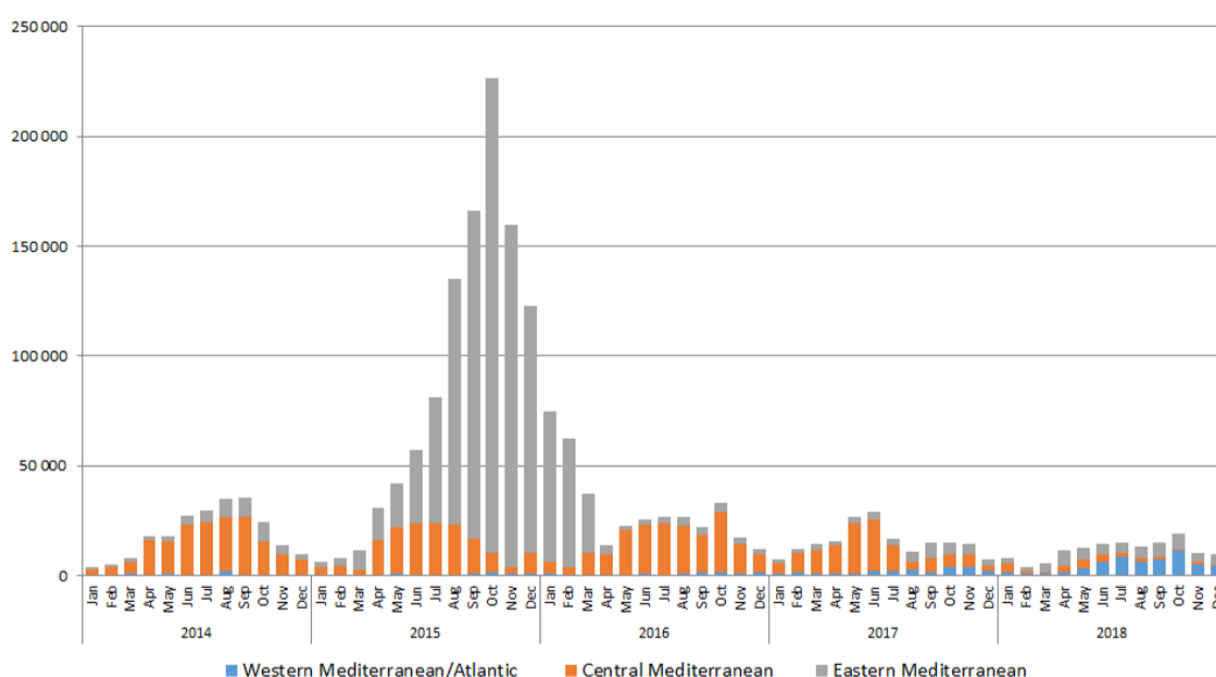
European Commission: Progress Report on the Implementation of the European Agenda on Migration

37.   These geographical shifts in migratory flows across the Mediterranean are the result of a series of agreements and border closures that have made it difficult to access Europe in the same manner as before. The 2016 EU-Turkey Statement aiming to end irregular migration flows was particularly instrumental in this regard. The number of people who irregularly travelled from Turkey to the Greek islands dropped by 97%, from 6,360 daily arrivals in October 2015 to an average of 83 daily arrivals since March 2016 (European Commission, March 2019).

38.   The recent fall in irregular arrivals along the Central Mediterranean route (from 118,912 in 2017 to 23,276 in 2018 and 3,071 till June 2019) also comes as a result of political action. In February 2017, an agreement was signed by Italy and Libya's internationally recognised Government of National Accord which extended aid and training to the Libyan coast guard in exchange for a crackdown on illegal migration from Libya's shores. The EU has contributed financially to this initiative and vowed to further "step up its support" for the Libyan coast guard in June 2018. This has largely had the intended effect, as demonstrated by the fact that the Libyan coast guard intercepted and returned an estimated 20,000 migrants in 2017 (Heller et al., 2018).

39.   The other form of political action that has contributed to the decrease in sea arrivals from North Africa to Italy has been internal, as Italy's new coalition government has taken a tougher stance regarding migration. In June 2018, the government forbade private boats from bringing rescued migrants and asylum-seekers into Italian ports. Then Interior Minister Matteo Salvini accused NGO rescue boats of aiding human traffickers and disrupting the coast guard. Malta, too, announced that it was closing its harbours to NGO boats in June 2018, although it has since made some concessions on this – notably in allowing the stranded Aquarius ship (operated by SOS Méditerranée and *Médecins Sans Frontières*) to dock in August 2018. In a coordinated move with Libya, Italy also renounced its responsibility for search and rescue missions in the entire maritime area between its own coast and Libya's. As a result, Libya has been in charge of its own search and rescue zone since mid-2018.

40.   It is important to support and train the Libyan coast guard in order to improve its capacity to prevent deaths at sea. Moreover, the negative humanitarian implications of migrant disembarkation in Libya must also be addressed. International organisations and NGOs have highlighted the "appalling conditions" in Libyan detention centres to which migrants rescued at sea are often sent (UN News, 2019). The serious human rights violations reported there have included beatings by guards, gang rapes by armed men, and forced labour. The IOM reported that the number of people held in these overcrowded centres increased from 5,500 to 9,300 between 2017 and 2018, with thousands more stranded in unofficial detention centres run by smugglers. As of June 2019, the sanitary conditions in the detention centres had still not improved. In particular, detainees from Zintan, a city south of Tripoli, suffer from diseases closely linked to overcrowding and malnutrition such as tuberculosis. The lack of medical treatment led to the death of 22 of them. The ongoing "inhumane conditions" in the detention facilities prompted officials from the IOM and the UNHCR as well as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, to call for their closure and the immediate release of the detainees (UN News, July 2019).

41.   The Libyan Civil War between the UN-backed Government of National Accord under Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj and the Libyan National Army (LNA) under commander Khalifa Haftar further threatens the lives of the detained migrants and refugees in Libya. Even though the coordinates of the detention facilities had been communicated to the conflict parties, an air raid on the second of July hit a cell of the Tajoura Detention Centre in a suburb of Tripolis. The attack killed at least 53 detainees – among them six children – and injured more than 130. Both conflict parties deny responsibility. UN General Secretary, António Guterres and the UN Security Council condemned the attack and called on the parties to return to the negotiation table. The UNHCR and the IOM called for an international inquiry and reaffirmed their calls to close the detention centres and to bring the refugees and migrants to safe areas far from where the hostilities take place (UN News, July 2019).

42.   The EU-IOM Joint Initiative on Migrant Protection and Reintegration seeks to "ensure minimum decent living standards in targeted detention centres and […] scale up voluntary humanitarian return and reintegration" (European Commission, 2016). Between January and July 2018, the IOM safely returned nearly 11,000 migrants stranded in Libya to their home countries through the Initiative. From January to June 2019, 4,820 migrants voluntarily returned to 26 countries across Africa and Asia (IOM, June 2019). These efforts should be scaled up and the Libyan coast guard given further training with regard to international humanitarian protection.

43.   Another very concerning trend has been the recent increase in drownings in the Mediterranean. Although 2018 saw the lowest number of irregular migrants arrive in Europe since 2013, an estimated 2,275 individuals drowned or were reported missing at sea, which amounts to about 1 in 18 migrants (UN News, 2019). This represents a marked escalation in deaths as compared to previous years. The UNHCR and international NGOs have attributed the escalation to "substantially reduced search and rescue capacity" and have linked the fall in rescue missions to the closure of ports by the Italian and Maltese authorities (UNHCR, 2018). The Central Mediterranean

route, which links North Africa and Italy, is the deadliest one. From January to June 2019, 13% (423 out of 3,202) of refugees and migrants choosing this route went missing or are dead. In comparison, on the Eastern Mediterranean route – the most frequented one in the first half of 2019 – "only" 0,4% (51 out of 12,914) of the passengers did not reach European territory (UNHCR, 9 July 2019). The Central Mediterranean route, of course, involves far greater distances to be covered over sea than the Eastern and Western Mediterranean routes.

44.   The first recent large-scale search and rescue (SAR) mission in the Mediterranean occurred under the umbrella of *Mare Nostrum*, an Italian naval operation conducted in 2013-204 following the Lampedusa boat tragedy. The termination of *Mare Nostrum* led to the launch of SAR operations by a number of humanitarian NGOs. The European Commission reports that "NGOs were responsible for as many as 22% of all rescues in the Central Mediterranean in 2016". However, NGOs conducting SAR missions have faced an increasing number of legal and logistical restrictions, including the aforementioned closure of Italian ports to private vessels carrying rescued migrants. Over the past year, multiple NGO boats full of people picked up at sea have been stranded for days on end, waiting for permission to dock in an EU country. Just recently, in July 2019, rescue ships from the aid groups Sea-Watch and Mediterranea carrying migrants attracted public attention as they disobeyed the bans and docked at Italian ports without authorisation. The Italian authorities subsequently arrested the captain of the Sea-Watch vessel, who was later released by an Italian judge (The Guardian, July 2016). Overall, the humanitarian contribution of NGOs in the Mediterranean is laudable but must occur within a more structured framework.

45.   Concern over the adequacy of SAR capabilities in the Mediterranean has become particularly acute in 2019, when it was announced that the EU's flagship mission in the region, *Operation Sophia*, would be transformed into an exclusively aerial one, losing the maritime component. The change was prompted by Italy's reluctance to accept people rescued at sea in the context of what Italy saw as a lack of solidarity and uneven burden sharing among the EU members. The critics of this decision point out that surveillance drones, which are expected to replace ships, will not be able to provide assistance to people in distress at sea. Some EU members such as Luxembourg have been urging the EU to consider this and bring back ships for *Operation Sophia*. On the other hand, the naval EU mission has been criticised by some EU members, notably the United Kingdom. A 2016 report by the UK Parliament argued that "[a]n unintended consequence of *Operation Sophia*'s destruction of vessels has been that the smugglers have adapted, sending migrants to sea in unseaworthy vessels, leading to an increase in deaths." The UK parliamentary report also noted that "[t]here is little justification for the deployment of high-end naval and air assets for the tasks being undertaken by *Operation Sophia*" and that "there are cheaper and more suitable ships to continue the essential task of search and rescue". *Operation Sophia* was launched in June 2015 with the core mandate of helping to "disrupt the business model of migrant smugglers and human traffickers in the Southern Central Mediterranean". According to the European Council, as of 2019, the operation has resulted in the arrest of 143 suspected smugglers and the destruction of 545 boats. The mission has also contributed to training the Libyan coastguard and implementing the UN arms embargo on Libya. At the time of writing, it is not clear if the mandate of *Operation Sophia* will be extended beyond the end of September 2019.

46.   In addition to *Operation Sophia*, which is a military European Union Naval Force Mediterranean (EUNAVFOR MED) operation, Frontex has conducted two large-scale border control and surveillance missions - *Operation Triton* (2014-18) and *Operation Themis* (from 2018 onwards). *Operation Themis* concentrates on intelligence gathering and preventing foreign fighters from entering the EU. The operation's area of responsibility stretches across the Mediterranean from Morocco to Turkey. SAR does not represent a primary tenet of any of these EU operations, but the European Council reports, in 2019, that over 450,000 people have nonetheless been rescued at sea since 2016 thanks to the two Frontex missions and to *Operation Sophia*.

47.   NATO has been actively supporting the EU's efforts in the Mediterranean through its *Operation Sea Guardian*. Launched in October 2016, this maritime security operation helps *Operation Sophia* with regard to maritime situational awareness and counterterrorism. It is led by NATO's Allied Maritime Command. Since February 2016, NATO has also been active in the Aegean Sea. Its Standing Maritime Group 2 conducts surveillance, reconnaissance, and intelligence-gathering activities related to illegal trafficking and migration. *Sea Guardian* cooperates closely with Frontex and shares its information with the Greek and Turkish coast guards. NATO's involvement has been credited with helping substantially reduce the flow of migrants from Turkey to Greece. However, Turkey has asserted that there is no longer any need for it (Ekathimerini, 2016). On the other hand, some European countries, and particularly Greece, are in favour of continuing the NATO mission there as an additional reinforcement of border security on the EU's South-eastern flank.

48.   NATO's deployment in the Aegean and the Mediterranean has been advantageous on many fronts. NATO ships are able to access a broader geographical zone than those of the EU. The Libyan government did not grant the EU's *Operation Sophia* permission to operate in its waters, whereas NATO has no such restrictions and is, therefore, able to operate in the area where migrant ships depart. Furthermore, NATO vessels are larger than Frontex's and their radars have a broader reach. As a result, NATO's involvement is an important asset for Frontex. During this Committee's visit to Greece in March 2019, Frontex representatives praised the level of cooperation with NATO. It is important to embed NATO and EU naval operations in wider, non-maritime efforts and to ensure that military approaches do not crowd out political ones. The EU's Dublin Regulation mandates that a migrant's asylum claim be processed by the EU country where the person first arrives. It has proven very controversial in recent years, as frontline countries like Italy and Greece have objected to what they believe is an unfair burden the Regulation places on them. As a stopgap measure to address this, the European Commission approved a plan in September 2015 to relocate 160,000 refugees amongst EU member states over a period of 24 months via a system of mandatory quotas. This plan proved very unpopular amongst the Visegrad Group, and by the time the system expired in September 2017, only 35,000 refugees had been relocated (Barigazzi and Randerson, 2018). Since then, no permanent relocation system has been proposed.

49.   At a mini summit in June 2018, EU member states struck a new migration deal. Although this deal lacked many concrete details, it called for the EU to bolster Frontex and proposed the establishment of two new types of migrant processing facilities: "regional disembarkation platforms" for migrants outside the EU and "controlled centres" to accommodate migrants within the EU. As part of the deal, more funds were also allocated for migration management in North Africa.

50.   Italy's Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte declared the mini summit a success and announced that "Italy is not alone anymore", but the actual progress in implementing the EU's migration deal has been disappointing. Firstly, enthusiasm for the "controlled centres" has been lacking amongst member states. The goal was to set up these centres on a voluntary basis across Europe, so as to relieve frontline states of the burden of processing large numbers of asylum claims. The European Commission offered to pay countries EUR 6,000 per person hosted from the EU common budget (Stone, 2018). However, France, Germany, and Italy soon declared they did not intend to host any reception centres.

51.   Secondly, the idea of "regional disembarkation platforms" in North Africa has been even more controversial. These platforms were conceived as places where the asylum eligibility of migrants could be assessed in a way that did not incentivise migrants and smugglers to cross the Mediterranean first. However, the proposal hinges on cooperation with third countries, and no EU partner in North Africa has thus far expressed willingness to set up a platform on its territory. A common African Union position paper leaked to *The Guardian* in February 2019 criticised the planned creation of "*de facto* detention centres" on African soil and sought to dissuade any North African country from volunteering to host the platforms. Third countries worry that such platforms could be magnets for migrants from elsewhere, who may then be stranded on their

territories indefinitely. The idea of processing asylum claims outside the EU has, furthermore, been criticised on legal and humanitarian grounds. The International Rescue Committee and others have expressed doubts about whether these centres could "uphold European standards" (Ariès and Harlan, 2018). Finally, there is no indication as to which EU member states would accept responsibility for those asylum claims that are successfully processed outside EU borders.

52.   Third, the efforts to beef up Frontex are proceeding slower than expected. In mid-2018, the European Commission proposed increasing the Frontex staff from its current 1,500 to 10,000 officers[3]. Even though the increase of staff was planned for 2020, the members of the European Parliament (EP) passed a law in April 2019 that sets 2027 as a more realistic target for this endeavour. Frontex struggles to receive all national pledges from member states: in 2018, only 49% of border guards and 45% of equipment needed for the Agency's land border activities were covered. The situation is far better in terms of sea border operations, with 96% of guards and 60% of technical assets covered (Tammikko, 2019). The Commission also proposes some EUR 11.3 billion budget for the Frontex budget for the 2021-2027 period, of which EUR 2.2 billion would be earmarked for purchasing equipment (Angelescu and Trauner, 2018). As noted earlier, the law passed by the EP also allows the EU to conclude agreements with non-EU countries, especially with the Balkan States, to cooperate on border control and tackling cross-border crime. In May 2019, Frontex launched its first operation outside EU territory in Albania (Euractiv, 2019).

53.   Finally, the EU has seemingly lost hope of reaching a deal on reforming the Dublin asylum system during the term of this Commission and Parliament. Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs, and Citizenship Dimitris Avramopoulos admitted that instead of a substantial overhaul of the Dublin system in order to distribute the burden of hosting and processing asylum seekers, member states would be expected to pledge support "on a voluntary basis". The Commission nevertheless proposes to introduce a safety net to ensure that in the absence of sufficient voluntary pledges, real support could be guaranteed to the concerned member state.

54.   As the number of arrivals to Europe has dropped to pre-crisis levels, the urgency of reinforcing the protection of Europe's southern borders has somewhat subsided. Both Commissioner Avramopoulos and the Director of Frontex, Fabrice Leggeri, announced the end of the migration crisis. However, whether Europe is better prepared for potential future crises of this magnitude remains an open question.

IV.   AIRPORT SECURITY 18 YEARS AFTER 9/11: NEW CHALLENGES

55.   The 9/11 terrorist attacks demonstrated the vulnerability of the United States' airport security system at the time and catalysed significant improvements in global aviation security. Since 2001, the regulatory framework in this field has developed considerably both at the national and international levels. The US government created the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), an agency of the Department of Homeland Security focused primarily on airport security, as a direct response to 9/11. The European Commission passed a regulation establishing common EU rules on civil aviation security in 2002 and has supplemented this with further regulation since. Globally, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) tightened its recommendations, although it has no jurisdiction to enforce these.

56.   A number of tangible changes were introduced in airports across the world after the attacks. Firstly, aircraft cockpits have been fortified and sealed off in an attempt to make hijackings more difficult. Secondly, all checked baggage is now screened using large-scale x-ray machines and kept

---

[3]   It is expected that 7,000 of these officers will continue to serve in their national structures but will be available to be summoned on a short notice. The remaining 3,000 will be either directly employed by Frontex or on long-term secondment from member states. With time, the share of those directly employed by Frontex and those on long-term secondment should increase.

separate from passenger areas in airports. Passengers are now required to pass through metal detectors whilst their carry-on bags are x-rayed. In the United States, the airport screener workforce was trebled, federalised, and given more training as well as better pay. The TSA finds, on average, nearly 12 weapons every day (Williams, 2019). Furthermore, a pre-screening system called Secure Flight was introduced in 2010 to better identify passengers who might pose a risk before they even arrive at the airport. This system requires airlines to submit passengers' personal information (the so-called Passenger Name Record – PNR) to the TSA and matches it against watch lists and trusted traveller lists. The United States also imposes tougher security requirements on flights arriving from certain countries. Notably, the TSA announced additional screening procedures for air cargo from five Middle Eastern countries in January 2018. In the EU, all airport workers have to be screened every time they enter secure areas, according to a 2004 regulation. No such requirement exists in the United States. In addition, supplementary procedures have been introduced in response to particular security incidents that have occurred since 2001. Following Richard Reid's attempt to ignite an explosive device hidden in his shoe whilst on board an American Airlines plane, passengers in US airports have been required to remove their shoes during screening. In 2006, a plan to stage a number of attacks on transatlantic planes using liquid explosives was foiled, ushering in strict EU and US limits on the volume of liquids allowed on board. In 2009, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab smuggled a bomb onto a Detroit-bound plane in his underwear. This prompted the deployment of full-body scanners as a primary screening method at airports in the United States and beyond.

57.   Despite the strides that have been made in improving aviation security worldwide over the past 18 years, airports continue to be threatened by new and old challenges. In countries which do not impose mandatory screening for airport employees entering secure areas, there is the so-called "insider threat". It is believed that an airport mechanic planted the bomb on the Russian Metrojet flight which crashed above northern Sinai in 2015, while two airport insiders helped smuggle a laptop bomb onto a flight from Somalia to Djibouti in 2016. Furthermore, terrorists adapt to new regulations, and recent attacks on the Brussels and Istanbul airports have shown that "the threat has shifted to other, less-secure areas of the airport: check-in lobbies, checkpoint entrances, and arrivals areas" (Peterson, 2016).

58.   A chemical weapons attack in Salisbury, United Kingdom, demonstrated the inability for airport security systems to detect highly dangerous substances such as *Novichok*, which the UK authorities believe was smuggled by two alleged Russian spies through London Gatwick airport in a perfume bottle[4]. Former UK Minister of State for Security Ben Wallace told the House of Commons that efforts to detect such substances can be hampered significantly if the country of origin – in this case Russia – does not assure proper baggage checks on its end and, in fact, assists the smugglers. "When a hostile state is determined to try and use its full resources to penetrate another state the challenge is much greater", Mr Wallace said (Dearden, 2018).

59.   After terrorists, using a man-portable air defence system (MANPADS), attempted to shoot down an Israeli airliner as it took off from Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002, concerns increased about MANPADS falling into the wrong hands, especially after stockpiles of these weapons were looted from Libya post-2011. However, the anticipated increase in MANPADS attacks using Libyan weapons has not materialised – indeed, MANPADs misuse has thus far occurred almost exclusively in active war zones. NATO is helping countries such as Mauritania and Ukraine to destroy their MANPADS stockpiles.

60.   Drones have represented another recent challenge to airport security. Their disruptive effect was demonstrated by the repeated suspension of aircraft operations at Gatwick Airport in December 2018 following drone sightings. Drones cause serious physical damage to aircraft, with tests revealing that a 400g drone could smash a helicopter's windscreen, whereas a 2kg drone could do "critical damage" to a passenger jet's windscreen (Coulter and Rovnick, 2018). The fact that

---

[4]   Among ample evidence linking these two individuals with the poisoning in Salisbury is the fact that traces of *Novichok* were found in the East London hotel room where these men stayed.

drones can be controlled from far away suggests that the distance from which malicious actors can target aviation assets is now considerably larger than previously thought.

61.   Although the recent automation of airport systems has been advantageous for both passengers and airport operators on efficiency grounds, it has created new risks in terms of cybersecurity. Air traffic control systems and airport technology systems represent "critical transportation infrastructure", and the consequences of cyber-attacks on them can be very serious. On average, there are 1,000 attacks on aviation systems every month, according to the European Aviation Safety Agency (Caldes-Casas, 2018).

62.   In the context of a growing shared economy, manifesting itself in the rise of platforms such as Uber and Airbnb, the notion of flight sharing is becoming a reality. Using online platforms, licensed pilots post information about the empty seats on their private aircraft and potential clients can book a seat and share the flight expenses with the pilot. Currently, the US Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) outlaws flight sharing, but the European market for flight-sharing is growing, the most prominent start-ups being the UK-based Wingly and the French-based Coavmi. Wingly reportedly has about 3,000 UK pilots on its books, and the figure for the rest of Europe is around 10,000 (Jones, 2018). To prevent security risks, the development of flight-sharing practices will need to be underpinned by an adequate legislative framework.

63.   Whilst some new forms of technology pose a danger to airports and their safe functioning, others represent opportunities for airport security. The development of computed tomography scanners could potentially lead to a relaxation of the "liquids ban". New scanners are also being developed that would allow for electronics to be left in hand baggage during scanning. Recently, biometric technology is being harnessed for passenger authentication and identification, with 77% of airports and 71% of airlines planning to invest heavily in it in the next three years (The Economist, 2018). Facial, iris, and fingerprint recognition, in particular, are being piloted and implemented. They offer a means to process passengers faster and at a lower cost. However, the use of biometric technology is not uncontroversial, with critics voicing concerns about how governments could use resulting biometric databases. Groups like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) worry that facial recognition scanners, video analytics technology, and other such innovations are being implemented too quickly, without being fully vetted and protected against misuse.

64.   Another controversial technological solution in the field of airport security came in the form of the aforementioned full-body x-ray scanners, which, in the United States, were accompanied by enhanced pat-down procedures. A number of public interest groups campaigned against the use of full-body x-ray scanners that enabled officials to see through passengers' clothing on the grounds that they represented an invasion of privacy as well as a health risk, given the radiation that one of the main types of scanners exposed passengers to. The backscatter x-ray machines that were associated with radiation risks were almost immediately banned by European authorities. They were banned by the TSA in 2013. European and American airports now rely on millimetre-wave body scanners, which produce cartoon-like outlines rather than naked images.

65.   Privacy concerns have also been raised with regard to PNR data collection and transfer. An EU-wide PNR system proposed in 2007 sought to collect information on all passengers entering or departing from the EU by aeroplane, for the purpose of crime prevention and detection. Furthermore, in 2012, MEPs approved an agreement to transfer the PNR data of passengers arriving in North America from the EU to the US Department of Homeland Security. Both the proposed system and the agreement were controversial amongst some MEPs on the grounds that the collected data could be exploited for other "vague and unspecified purposes, such as immigration and border controls" (European Parliament, 2012). Those who supported the system argued that contemporary crime and terrorist activity frequently involves international travel, noting the useful role played by PNR data in the United Kingdom's investigation of the 7/7 London bombings and other such operations. Following the 2015 Paris attacks, the European Parliament's Civil Liberties Committee

voted to drop its seven-year opposition to an EU-wide PNR system. This paved the way for the European Council's adoption of the PNR Directive in April 2016. Under the agreed Directive, PNR data on passengers entering or departing from the EU will be retained for a maximum of five years but anonymised after six months. Investigators will only be allowed to "unmask" a suspect's data following this half-year period if they are pursuing a serious crime case (BBC News, 2016). Furthermore, the collection of PNR data related to intra-EU flights was made voluntary rather than mandatory.

66.   Recently, there has been considerable public debate about an approach to airport security that does not rely on technology. This is commonly referred to as profiling. A crude distinction can be made between two types of profiling: behavioural, based on someone's actions, and automatic, based on name, nationality, method of ticket purchase, and other such information. Israel, for example, has implemented the former as a routine procedure. At its airports, officers frequently pull aside people who exhibit suspicious behaviour – such as wearing multiple layers in warm weather or using a payphone in areas with cellular reception – for a targeted interview and search. The TSA also has a programme called "Screening Passengers by Observation Techniques" (SPOT). Behavioural profiling can be useful in that it focuses on people rather than weapons and therefore adds another, less predictable layer of security that terrorists may find harder to evade. However, it is a technique that relies on human judgement and therefore requires specially trained, well-paid screeners who are experts in psychological observation techniques. Otherwise, there is a risk of crude stereotyping and of exposing innocent passengers to humiliation and abuse. Moreover, the line between behavioural and ethnic/racial profiling is fine, and the ACLU has criticised the TSA's aforementioned SPOT programme for disproportionately targeting Arabs, Muslims, and Latinos.

V.   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

67.   Border management is, for the most part, a sovereign prerogative. States face understandable difficulties when having to cope with the entry of unusually large groups of foreigners, as was made apparent during the peak of the migration crisis in 2015. In these situations, states have the right to secure their own frontiers. There are no clearly defined areas of international responsibility when it comes to border security, which means NATO, as an intergovernmental alliance, has a limited remit on this front.

68.   Nevertheless, collective action involving NATO should be considered in crisis situations, where military assets such as surveillance capabilities can provide significant value. NATO's role in addressing the migration crisis in the Mediterranean and Aegean was instrumental and even natural, considering that it already had assets in the area. This role is even more relevant given the recent decision by the EU to wrap up its maritime operation in the Mediterranean. NATO can also add value by using its partnership mechanisms and assisting the border and coast guard services of partners in Europe's southern and southeastern flank with capacity building – building upon its experience in the Balkans[5] and Central Asia[6]. NATO's Science for Peace and Security Programme could be utilised to promote research in new border security technologies both in NATO member and partner countries. Finally, NATO's Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) can be used to coordinate humanitarian response in refugee crisis situations, as was the case in 1999, when the EADRCC was activated to coordinate relief supplies and assist the UNHCR during the Kosovo crisis.

---

[5]   In 2003, NATO, the OSCE, the European Union, the then Stability Pact for South-East Europe and five Western Balkans countries launched a Common Platform aiming to enhance border security in the region.

[6]   NATO and OSCE cooperated in the area of border security in Central Asia, where the two organisations carry out complementary projects and programmes and seek to support respective activities with expertise.

69.   That said, political rather than military solutions must be emphasised. Border management should primarily be a law enforcement matter. If security issues do arise at borders, the involvement of armed forces must be considered a last resort. The involvement of the military may send a strong public relations signal, but soldiers are not necessarily trained to deal with an influx of unarmed people. The EU and its Frontex–European Border and Coast Guard Agency are increasingly critical actors in European border security. Having a 10,000-strong Frontex with state-of-the-art equipment on standby would be a significant reassurance to European nations if future surges in migration from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe were to occur. While, due to national sovereignty considerations, Frontex is unlikely to receive a mandate to conduct operations without the consent of frontline EU member states, with its growing competence, technological capabilities, and manpower, it is not impossible that, with time, Frontex will take over as the main provider of European border security. A stronger Frontex brings a series of advantages, including a more coordinated response to transnational crises and a higher degree of reassurance that border and coast guards will respect fundamental human rights in their actions. The effective protection of Europe's external borders is a necessary pre-condition for the existence of open borders among EU member states.

70.   On a national level, NATO and EU member states should be encouraged to share best practices. The individual experiences of nations facing the most serious border security problems show that an integrated, layered approach to border management is the most efficient option, and that no single physical structure or operational concept will be sufficient. In particular, the Euro-Atlantic nations should share lessons learned about the use of technology in border security. Technological solutions at airports and along land borders have facilitated irregular arrival apprehension and crime detection. New technology can reduce border-crossing procedures while ensuring that no illicit materials enter undetected. However, given their imperfections and the risk of malfunction, they should supplement rather than replace human border management. Furthermore, technology typically relies heavily on the collection of personal data, which in turn raises concerns about privacy and surveillance. As a result, new data-driven approaches must be fully vetted and accompanied by stringent legislation that protects against their misuse.

71.   It is important to stress that investing in protecting borders might buy more time, but that, ultimately, people will continue to try to enter illegally as long as stark inequality on the other side of the border exists. Therefore, any long-term border security strategy must be accompanied by a robust and ambitious asylum and development assistance policies. US officials argue, for instance, that US assistance to El Salvador in training police officers, funding after-school programmes and improving local governance has been a major factor in reducing the number of Salvadorans apprehended crossing the US border from 72,000 in 2016 to 32,000 in 2018 (Sieff, 2019). Given how politically contentious a reform of the EU's Dublin asylum system has proven, embracing voluntary action on the part of a coalition of the willing seems like the most realistic way to ensure that legitimate asylum applications are given due consideration by the EU. The provision of EU budget support for voluntary relocations by certain EU member states will help to reduce the burden currently being shouldered by frontline states.

72.   Long-term border security and migration management strategies must take into account the migration and climate change nexus. In 2018, a World Bank report found that the negative consequences of global warming could prompt the displacement by 2050 of some 140 million people in three regions: Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. The report argued that a concerted global action to cut greenhouse gas emissions could reduce this number by as much as 80% (World Bank, 2018). It would be advisable for Western policymakers to take into account climate factors when developing their relations with countries where migratory flows tend to originate. For instance, the US Government Accountability Office recommends the Department of State resume the requirement to conduct climate change risk assessments when developing integrated country strategies, a practice that was stopped in 2017 (GAO, 2019).

73.   Unfortunately, over the past few years, border management has involved occasional breaches of international humanitarian law by recipient or transit nations. It is important for all Euro-Atlantic nations to reaffirm their commitment to the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and to provide asylum to people with a well-founded fear of persecution. Access to asylum measures for those in need must be streamlined; human rights violations in reception facilities tackled; police violence at borders condemned; potential disembarkation centres in third countries closely scrutinised; and profiling on the basis of race or ethnicity avoided. National security and a fair asylum policy should be understood as mutually reinforcing rather than mutually exclusive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AFP. "UN denounces EU cooperation with Libya to stem migrant flow as 'inhuman'". Euractiv.com. 15.11.2017. https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/un-denounces-eu-cooperation-with-libya-to-stem-migrant-flow-as-inhuman/.

AFP. "Pentagon authorises $1bn transfer of funding for US-Mexico border wall". The Telegraph. 29.03.2019. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/03/26/pentagon-authorises-1bn-transfer-wall-funding-first-national/.

Angelescu, Irina and Florian Trauner. "10,000 border guards for Frontex: why the EU risks conflated expectations". European Policy Centre. 21.09.2018. https://www.ies.be/files/pub_8745_frontex.pdf.

Ariès, Quentin and Chico Harlan. "E.U. leaders agree on outline of migration deal". The Washington Post. 29.06.2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/eu-leaders-agree-on-the-outline-of-a-migration-deal/2018/06/29/ced6c3e8-787d-11e8-ac4e-421ef7165923_story.html?utm_term=.5a0b3c9d567a.

Associated Press. "Official: asylum seekers to wait in Mexico starting Friday". The New York Times. 24.01.2019. https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2019/01/24/us/ap-us-united-states-mexico-asylum.html.

Barigazzi, Jacopo and James Randerson. "What is Europe's migration fight about?" Politico. 22.06.2018. https://www.politico.eu/article/europe-migration-crisis-fight-explained/.

BBC News. "Passenger Name Record: EU to harvest more data to stop crime". BBC News. 13.04.2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36035698.

BBC News. "Ceuta and Melilla: Spain wants rid of anti-migrant razor wire". BBC News. 14.06.2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44485995.

BBC News. "Government shutdown: is there a crisis on the US-Mexico border?" BBC News. 08.01.2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44319094

BBC News. "US immigration: Drowning exposes risks of illegal crossing." BBC News. 26.06.2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48767529

BBC News. (2019, July 9). *Migrant crisis: UN criticises Hungary over border controls*. Retrieved from BBC News: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36753648

Caldes-Casas, Javier. "Airport cybersecurity, are we there yet?" Airport Business. 21.11.2018. http://www.airport-business.com/2018/11/airport-cybersecurity-yet/.

CBS News. "Fortified Morocco-Spain border fence is under pressure from African migrants". CBS News. 18.01.2019. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/fortified-morocco-spain-border-fence-is-under-pressure-from-african-migrants/.

CNN World. "Crisis at the US-Mexico border. CNN. 26.06.2019. https://edition.cnn.com/us/live-news/immigration-us-mexico-border-june-2019/index.html.

Coulter, Martin and Naomi Rovnick. "How big a threat are drones at airports?" The Financial Times. 20.12.2018. https://www.ft.com/content/ee9bb576-0455-11e9-99df-6183d3002ee1.

Dearden, L. (2018, September 12). *Salisbury novichok attack: Russian spies smuggled chemical weapons through airport baggage checks, UK security minister admits*. Retrieved from Independent: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/novichok-attack-russian-spies-airport-security-how-smuggled-chemical-weapon-russia-uk-a8534511.html

DHS. "Management Alert – DHS Needs to Address Dangerous Overcrowding and Prolonged Detention of Children and Adults in the Rio Grande Valley (Redacted). DHS. 02.07.2019. https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/2019-07/OIG-19-51-Jul19_.pdf.

DHS. "Southwest Border Migration FY 2019." U.S. Customs and Border Protection. 03.07.2019. https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/sw-border-migration.

DHS. "Written testimony of CBP Office of Field Operations acting Assistant Commissioner John Wagner for a House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security hearing titled 'Port of entry infrastructure: how does the federal government prioritize investments?'". US Department of Homeland Security. 16.07.2014.

https://www.dhs.gov/news/2014/07/16/written-testimony-cbp-house-homeland-security-subcommittee-border-and-maritime.

DHS. "Migrant Protection Protocols". US Department of Homeland Security. 24.01.2019. https://dhs.gov/news/2019/01/24/migrant-protection-protocols

Duke, E. (2017, August 23). *Homeland Security secretary: Border walls work. Yuma sector proves it.* Retrieved from USA Today: https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/08/22/homeland-security-secretary-border-walls-work-yuma-sector-proves-it-elaine-duke-column/586853001/

ECHO. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Factsheet". European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations. 16.01.2019. https://ec.europa.eu/echo/where/europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina_en.

Ekathimerini. "NATO to boost efforts in Aegean to stop migrants". Ekathimerini. 27.10.2016. http://www.ekathimerini.com/213231/article/ekathimerini/news/nato-to-boost-efforts-in-aegean-to-stop-migrants.

Etter, Lauren and Karen Weise. "America's virtual border wall is a 1,954-mile-long money pit". Bloomberg Businessweek. 09.04.2018. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-04-09/the-race-to-cash-in-on-trump-s-invisible-high-tech-border-wall.

EuroActiv. (2018, October 23). *Spain returns migrants to Morocco after storming of Melilla enclave*. Retrieved from EuroActiv: https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/spain-returns-migrants-to-morocco-after-storming-of-melilla-enclave/

Euractiv. "Frontex launches first joint operation outside EU, in Albania." 22.05.2019. Euractiv. https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-elections-2019/news/frontex-launches-first-joint-operation-outside-eu-in-albania/.

European Commission. "EU-Turkey Statement. Three years on". European Commission. March 2019. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20190318_eu-turkey-three-years-on_en.pdf

European Commission. "Supporting protection and humanitarian repatriation and reintegration of vulnerable migrants in Libya". European Commission. 16.12.2016. https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/north-africa/libya/supporting-protection-and-humanitarian-repatriation-and-reintegration_en.

European Council. "Saving lives at sea and targeting criminal networks". European Council. 03.01.2019. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/migratory-pressures/sea-criminal-networks/.

European Parliament. "MEPs battle it out over controversial agreement to transfer air passenger data to the US". European Parliament. 16.04.2012. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20120413STO42885/meps-battle-it-out-over-controversial-air-passenger-data-agreement.

EWB. "Frontex launches first operation in Western Balkans". European Western Balkans. 21.05.2019. https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2019/05/21/frontex-launches-first-operation-western-balkans/.

Farias, C. (2019, August 2). *A Green Light on the Border Wall as Trump's Supreme Court Victories Mount*. Retrieved from The New Yorker: https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-green-light-on-the-border-wall-as-trumps-supreme-court-victories-mount

Fox, Maggie. "Migrants don't bring disease. In fact, they help fight it, report says". NBC News. 06.12.2018. https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/immigration-border-crisis/migrants-don-t-bring-disease-fact-they-help-fight-it-n944146.

Frontex. "Western Balkans annual risk analysis 2018". Frontex. 07.08.2018. https://frontex.europa.eu/publications/wb-ara-2018-eW3T1c.

Frontex. "2018 in brief". Frontex. 18.02.2019. https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/briefreport2018/38/.

Frontex. (2019a). *Eastern Mediterranean route*. Retrieved from Frontex: https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/eastern-mediterranean-route/

Frontex. "Migratory Map". Frontex: European Border and Coast Guard Agency. 2019b. https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-map/.

Frontex. "Risk Analysis for 2019". Frontex: European Border and Coast Guard Agency. Feb 2019. file:///C:/Users/Susanne/Desktop/Risk_Analysis_for_2019_Frontex.pdf.

GAO. "US Customs and Border Protection. Progress and challenges in recruiting, hiring and retaining law enforcement personnel". US Government Accountability Office. June 2018. https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/692832.pdf.

GAO. (2019, January). *Climate Change: Activities of Selected Agencies to Address Potential Impact on Global Migration*. Retrieved from GAO: https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/696460.pdf

Greider, Alice. "Outsourcing migration management: the role of the Western Balkans in the European refugee crisis". Migration Policy Institute. 17.08.2017. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/outsourcing-migration-management-western-balkans-europes-refugee-crisis.

Harrington, Ben ; Smith, Hillel R. "'Migrant Protection Protocols': Legal Issues Related to DHS's Plan to Require Arriving Asylum Seekers to Wait in Mexico." Congressional Research Service. 09.05.2019. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homesec/LSB10251.pdf.

Heller, Charles et al. "'It's an act of murder': how Europe outsources suffering as migrants drown". The New York Times. 26.12.2018. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/12/26/opinion/europe-migrant-crisis-mediterranean-libya.html.

Hirschfield Davis, Julie; Cochrane, Emily. "House Passes Senate Border Bill in Striking Defeat for Pelosi." The New York Times. 27.06.2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/us/politics/border-funding-immigration.html

IOM. "Mixed migration flows in the Mediterranean – compilation of available data and information, January 2018". International Organization for Migration. January 2018. http://migration.iom.int/docs/Flows_Compilation_Report_January_2018_%20.pdf.

IOM. "Immigration and border management". International Organization for Migration. 2019. https://rovienna.iom.int/div/immigration-and-border-management.

IOM. "Libya Update 01-15 June 2019". International Organization for Migration. 15.06.2019. https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/situation_reports/file/iom_libya_biweekly_update_1-15_june.pdf.

Jones, Rupert. "Wingly: will the 'Uber of the skies' take off?". The Guardian. 14.07.2018. https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2018/jul/14/wingly-flight-sharing-channel.

Lind, D. (2019, June 5). *The border is in crisis. Here's how it got this bad.* Retrieved from Vox: https://www.vox.com/2019/4/11/18290677/border-immigration-illegal-asylum-central-america-mexico-trump

Long, Colleen. "The reality on the border: How much will a wall really help?". AP News. 08.01.2019. https://www.apnews.com/ca193261ed0643fb98a83f258601f867.

Marcuzzi, Stefano. "NATO-EU maritime cooperation: for what strategic effect?" Carnegie Europe. 14.01.2019. https://carnegieeurope.eu/2019/01/14/nato-eu-maritime-cooperation-for-what-strategic-effect-pub-78171.

Morgan, David. "Democrats manoeuvre to end shutdown, without Trump wall money". Reuters. 31.12.2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-shutdown/house-democrats-ready-bills-to-reopen-government-with-13-billion-for-border-security-idUSKCN1OU0WE.

Peterson, Barbara. "How airport security has changed since 9/11". Conde Nast Traveler. 10.09.2016. https://www.cntraveler.com/story/how-airport-security-has-changed-since-september-11.

Pundy, Doris. "Refugees face violence, abuse on Europe's new Balkan route". 15.04.2019. https://www.dw.com/en/refugees-face-violence-abuse-on-europes-new-balkan-route/a-48334427-0.

Reality Check. (2019, June 26). *US border: Who decided to separate families?* Retrieved from BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44303556

Reuters. "Migration drops near zero in Czech Republic but sways election campaign". Reuters. 23.01.2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-czech-election-president-migration/migration-drops-near-zero-in-czech-republic-but-sways-election-campaign-idUSKBN1FC25N.

Reuters. "EU to support Spain, Morocco on migration, but funds limited". Reuters. 01.08.2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-spain/eu-to-support-spain-morocco-on-migration-but-funds-limited-idUSKBN1KM5FI.

Reuters. "U.S.-Mexico migrant deal includes regional asylum plan: document." Reuters. 11.06.2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-mexico-document/u-s-mexico-migrant-deal-includes-regional-asylum-plan-document-idUSKCN1TC2GU

Roberts, William. "US Senate passes its own $4.6bn border aid bill" Aljazeera, 26.06.2019. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/06/senate-rejects-house-backed-version-border-aid-bill-190626183641894.html.

Rodgers, Lucy and Dominic Bailey. "Trump wall - all you need to know about US border in seven charts". BBC News. 06.03.2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46824649.

Sieff, K. (2019, April 1). *U.S. officials said aid to El Salvador helped slow migration. Now Trump is canceling it.* Retrieved from The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/us-officials-said-aid-to-el-salvador-helped-slow-migration-now-trump-is-canceling-it/2019/04/01/5a8ca570-540a-11e9-aa83-504f086bf5d6_story.html

Shear, Michael D; Haberman, Maggie. "Mexico Agreed to Take Border Actions Months Before Trump Announced Tariff Deal." The New York Times. 08.06.2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/08/us/politics/trump-mexico-deal-tariffs.html.

Shoichet, Catherine E. "What's happening now at the border." CNN. 26.06.2019. https://edition.cnn.com/2019/06/26/americas/mexico-immigration-crackdown/index.html.

Stolton, Samuel. "Spain defends hard line on North African border immigration". Euractiv. 29.08.2018. https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/spain-defends-hard-line-on-north-african-border-immigration/.

Stone, Jon. "EU offers to pay countries €6,000 per person to take in migrants rescued from Mediterranean". The Independent. 24.07.2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/eu-migrant-crisis-immigration-refuge-accept-country-fund-migration-policy-a8461676.html.

Tammikko, Teemu. "Proposed Frontex reform and its impact: border politics and the external security nexus in the EU". ETH Zurich Center for Security Studies. 15.02.2019. http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/17574040-6831-47d9-9494-ac28e15809a3.

The Economist. "How airports use biometric technology". The Economist. 12.11.2018. https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2018/11/12/how-airports-use-biometric-technology

The Guardian. "Second migrant rescue boat defies Salvini and docks in Italy". The Guardian. 06.07.2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/06/second-migrant-rescue-boat-defies-salvini-and-docks-in-italy.

TRAC. "Immigration court backlog tool". Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. November 2018. https://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/court_backlog/.

UNHCR. "EUROPE. Dead and missing at sea". United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 09.07.2019. https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/70224.

UNHCR. "Operational Portal Refugee Situations. Mediterranean Situation". United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 08.07.2019. https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean.

UNHCR. "2000 lives and counting: Mediterranean death toll in 2018". United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 06.11.2018. https://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2018/11/5be15cf34/2000-lives-counting-mediterranean-death-toll-2018.html.

UN News. "Libya's migrants and refugees with tuberculosis 'left to die' in detention centres". United Nations News. 07.06.2019. https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/06/1040011.

UN News. "Six children among 53 confirmed fatalities after Libya detention centre airstrikes: Security Council condemns attack". July 2019. https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/07/1041911.

UN News. "Mediterranean migrant drownings should spur greater action by European countries, urge UN agencies". UN News. 22.01.2019. https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/01/1030982.

US Department of State. "U.S.-Mexico Joint Declaration." United States Department of State. 07.06.2019. https://www.state.gov/u-s-mexico-joint-declaration/.

Valdivia, Ana Garcia. "The externalization Of European borders: Morocco becomes A key EU partner In migration control". Forbes. 26.12.2018. https://www.forbes.com/sites/anagarciavaldivia/2018/12/26/the-externalization-of-european-borders-morocco-becomes-a-key-partner-for-the-eu/#73f95c832657.

Von der Brelie, Hans and Jad Salfiti. "'Western Balkan route' for migrants, refugees stuck at borders". Euronews. 30.11.2018. https://www.euronews.com/2018/11/30/western-balkan-route-for-migrants-refugees-stuck-at-borders.

Williams, Pete. "US airport security found record number of firearms in 2018". Euronews. 08.02.2019. https://www.euronews.com/2019/02/08/tsa-screeners-found-record-number-firearms-carry-bags-2018-n968826.

World Bank. (2018, March 19). *Climate Change Could Force Over 140 Million to Migrate Within Countries by 2050.* Retrieved from The World Bank: https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2018/03/19/climate-change-could-force-over-140-million-to-migrate-within-countries-by-2050-world-bank-report

Wriedt, Vera. "Push-backs Rejected: D.D. v. Spain and and the rights of minors at EU borders." EU migration law blog: EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy. 29.04.2019. http://eumigrationlawblog.eu/push-backs-rejected-d-d-v-spain-and-the-rights-of-minors-at-eu-borders/.

_____

www.nato-pa.int