Annual Session

KEY OUTCOMES OF THE SUMMIT OF NATO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT HELD IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, ON 11-12 JULY 2018

Information document
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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Heads of State and Government of the 29 member states of NATO met in Brussels on 11-12 July 2018 for an important Summit meeting. NATO Summits are generally held every other year – or more often if necessary. They serve to provide the highest level of political guidance about NATO’s priorities and adaptation. The previous NATO Summit took place in Warsaw in July 2016.

2. The Brussels Summit was the first full Summit held at NATO’s new Headquarters – which was formally inaugurated at a Special Meeting of NATO Heads of State and Government in May 2017.

3. Most commentaries ahead of the Summit had focused on the high uncertainties due to anticipated transatlantic tensions about defence spending and burden sharing, trade, Iran and others. The Summit indeed entailed some amount of confusion, particularly on the second day of the meeting, when the Secretary General had to cut short a meeting with the Presidents of Ukraine and Georgia to move into an impromptu closed-door meeting of Allied leaders on burden sharing.

4. Yet, the actual outcome of the Summit is very much in line with the priorities identified by Allied governments throughout 2018, and depicts a strong consensus among all 29 on a common vision of both the threat environment and NATO’s role.

5. As with every Summit, the key priorities and main decisions were presented in a Declaration which was issued by the 29 Heads of State and Government on the first day of the Summit. Notably, the Brussels Summit Declaration is more compact and “accessible” than its predecessors, with just 79 paragraphs – compared with the 139 paragraphs of the 2016 Warsaw Declaration.

6. Five other declarations / statements were adopted during or on the margins of the Summit:
   - A declaration on Transatlantic Security and Solidarity, which provides a quick-read summary of the main Summit declaration – this is reproduced in Appendix 3;
   - A Joint Declaration on NATO-EU Cooperation;
   - A NATO-Georgia Commission Declaration;
   - A Chairman’s statement on NATO-Ukraine; and

7. This information document aims to provide an analysis of the Summit’s key outcomes.

8. Five main priorities had been identified ahead of the Summit, and are clearly reflected in the Summit Declaration and related documents:
   - Burden Sharing;
   - Deterrence and Collective Defence, and NATO-Russia relations;
   - Projecting Stability and Combatting Terrorism;
   - Modernising the Alliance;
   - NATO-EU Cooperation.

9. The information document is structured around these five main themes, but starts with two short sections on NATO’s mission and values, and on the threat environment as presented in the Brussels Declaration. It is not meant as an exhaustive study, but is, by definition, selective, focusing on the most salient decisions. Appendix 1 provides a one-page summary.

10. Throughout the beginning of 2018, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO PA) prepared its own contribution to the Brussels Summit, which was also articulated around the abovementioned themes, to which were added the Open Door policy and communication and education about NATO – two long-standing Assembly priorities. The Assembly also met in Brussels on the eve of the NATO Summit for a special meeting. This provided a unique opportunity for members to have an exchange
with a number of high-level Allied and NATO officials about their expectations and priorities for the Summit.

11. The NATO PA’s Declaration on “Affirming NATO’s Unity and Credibility at the Brussels Summit” adopted at the Spring Session in Warsaw, Poland, on 28 May 2018, is reproduced in Appendix 2. Many of the issues identified in the Assembly’s declaration feature prominently in the Brussels Summit Declaration.

12. The Assembly’s Declaration was presented by then-NATO PA President Paolo Alli (Italy) to Allied Heads of State and Government at the Summit. The Vice-Presidents were also for the first time invited to attend the President’s address. In addition, the President and Vice-Presidents participated in a public conference on the margins of the Summit, at which the President was invited to discuss the future of the transatlantic relations with two members of the United States Senate.

II. NATO’S MISSION & VALUES

13. The Brussels Summit Declaration starts with NATO’s “mission statement”, and ends with a reaffirmation of the Alliance’s key values.

14. The mission statement includes the following enduring principles:

- The transatlantic bond as the bedrock of the Alliance;
- Collective defence as expressed in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty as the Alliance’s greatest responsibility;
- NATO as a defensive alliance.

15. It further reaffirms the three core tasks identified in the 2010 Strategic Concept – NATO’s guiding policy document:

- Collective defence;
- Crisis management; and
- Cooperative security.

Par. 1. (…) NATO remains the foundation for strong collective defence and the essential transatlantic forum for security consultations and decisions among Allies. The Alliance will continue to pursue a 360-degree approach to security and to fulfil effectively all three core tasks as set out in the Strategic Concept: collective defence, crisis management, and cooperative security. NATO is a defensive Alliance. NATO’s greatest responsibility is to protect and defend our territory and our populations against attack. Any attack against one Ally will be regarded as an attack against us all, as set out in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. We will continue to stand together and act together, on the basis of solidarity, shared purpose, and fair burden-sharing. [emphasis added]

16. The reference to NATO’s 360-degree approach is both geographical and functional: it reflects both the fact that the Alliance must be able to respond to challenges wherever they come from and that it must be able to perform a variety of tasks.

17. Significantly, the notion of fair burden sharing has been added as one of the key principles underlying the Allies’ common purpose.

18. Paragraphs 74 to 77 of the Brussels Declaration further reassert the Alliance’s commitment to values (“NATO leads by example in upholding the principles of democracy and human rights”), to protecting women, children and civilians generally and to promoting the active role of women for peace and security.
III. THREAT ENVIRONMENT

19. Paragraph 2 of the Brussels Declaration summarises the salient features of today’s threat environment. Like previous Summit Declarations, it identifies Russia’s renewed assertiveness and instability in the Alliance’s southern neighbourhood – a key driver of terrorism – as the two main sources of threats and challenges. Hybrid- and cyberattacks, disinformation, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and advanced missile technologies are also explicitly mentioned.

Par. 2. We face a dangerous, unpredictable, and fluid security environment, with enduring challenges and threats from all strategic directions; from state and non-state actors; from military forces; and from terrorist, cyber, and hybrid attacks. Russia's aggressive actions, including the threat and use of force to attain political goals, challenge the Alliance and are undermining Euro-Atlantic security and the rules-based international order. Instability and continuing crises across the Middle East and North Africa are fuelling terrorism. They also contribute to irregular migration and human trafficking. The ongoing crisis in Syria has a direct effect on the stability of the region and the security of the Alliance as a whole. We face hybrid challenges, including disinformation campaigns and malicious cyber activities. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced missile technology also continues to threaten the security of our nations. (…) [emphasis added]

20. Paragraph 78, towards the end of the Declaration, refers to the manipulation of energy as a potential threat. This is not the first reference to energy in a Summit Declaration, but it certainly bears particular significance given the strong focus placed on the issue of Nord Stream 2 during the Summit.

Par 78. (…) “We believe it is essential to ensure that the members of the Alliance are not vulnerable to political or coercive manipulation of energy, which constitutes a potential threat. Allies will therefore continue to seek diversification of their energy supplies, in line with their needs and conditions.” (…)

IV. PRIORITIES

21. As mentioned above, the Summit revolved around five key priorities:

- Burden Sharing;
- Deterrence and Collective Defence, and NATO-Russia Relations;
- Projecting Stability and Combatting Terrorism;
- Modernising the Alliance;
- NATO-EU Cooperation.

22. Of these, agreement on the first was arguably the most significant politically. However, important decisions were taken on the other four as well.

A. BURDEN SHARING

23. Although only one paragraph is dedicated specifically to burden sharing, this was probably the most eagerly awaited part of the declaration. As mentioned above, discussions on burden sharing were not exactly smooth, and a closed-door leaders-only meeting was necessary on the second day of the Summit to iron out any possible divergences in the interpretation of the agreement reached the day before. Yet, none of these “political turbulences” are reflected in the text of the main Declaration or that of the Declaration on Transatlantic Security and Solidarity, which were both adopted on the first day of the Summit and include clear guidance and decisions.
Par 3. We reaffirm our unwavering commitment to all aspects of the Defence Investment Pledge agreed at the 2014 Wales Summit, and to submit credible national plans on its implementation, including the spending guidelines for 2024, planned capabilities, and contributions. Fair burden sharing underpins the Alliance’s cohesion, solidarity, credibility, and ability to fulfil our Article 3 and Article 5 commitments. (...) As we take stock of the national plans that exist today, we appreciate the unprecedented progress and recognise that much work still remains. We are committed to improving the balance of sharing the costs and responsibilities of Alliance membership. [emphasis added]

24. Paragraph 3 of the Summit Declaration basically reaffirms the principles agreed by Allied Heads of State and Government at their Summit meeting in Wales in September 2014, but since the 2016 Warsaw Summit, the three-pronged commitment to move towards spending 2% GDP for defence, to dedicate 20% of this to new capabilities, and to enhance the deployability, sustainability and interoperability of Allied forces, has officially become a “pledge” – the “Defence Investment Pledge”.

25. The Brussels Summit Declaration recognises the unprecedented progress achieved on all three dimensions – cash, capabilities and contributions, while noting that more is needed. The Declaration on Transatlantic Security and Solidarity also reiterates that Allies’ national plans to fulfil the pledge will continue to be reviewed on an annual basis.

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1 Paragraph 14 of the 2014 Wales Summit Declaration read as follows:

“We agree to reverse the trend of declining defence budgets, to make the most effective use of our funds and to further a more balanced sharing of costs and responsibilities. Our overall security and defence depend both on how much we spend and how we spend it. (...) Taking current commitments into account, we are guided by the following considerations:

- Allies currently meeting the NATO guideline to spend a minimum of 2% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defence will aim to continue to do so. Likewise, Allies spending more than 20% of their defence budgets on major equipment, including related Research & Development, will continue to do so.
- Allies whose current proportion of GDP spent on defence is below this level will:
  - halt any decline in defence expenditure;
  - aim to increase defence expenditure in real terms as GDP grows;
  - aim to move towards the 2% guideline within a decade with a view to meeting their NATO Capability Targets and filling NATO’s capability shortfalls.
- Allies who currently spend less than 20% of their annual defence spending on major new equipment, including related Research & Development, will aim, within a decade, to increase their annual investments to 20% or more of total defence expenditures.
- All Allies will:
  - ensure that their land, air and maritime forces meet NATO agreed guidelines for deployability and sustainability and other agreed output metrics;
  - ensure that their armed forces can operate together effectively, including through the implementation of agreed NATO standards and doctrines.”
Measuring progress on burden sharing  
(figures as of July 2018)

Defence spending:
- All Allies have started to increase defence spending
- 2/3 have national plans to spend 2% GDP by 2024
- Europe and Canada will spend an additional USD266 billion on defence between now and 2024

Capabilities:
- > 50% are spending more than 20% of their defence budget on major equipment
- 24 will meet 20% by 2024

Graph 1: NATO Europe and Canada - defence expenditure  
(annual real change, based on 2010 prices and exchange rates)

Cumulative spending increase for the period from 2015 to 2018, above 2014 level: +87.6 Bn USD
26. It is worth noting that other references to burden sharing appear in the text of the Declaration in connection with the deterrence and defence posture, nuclear arrangements, and European defence.
B. DETERRENCE AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE, AND RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

27. The longest part of the Summit Declaration deals with the challenge posed by Russia’s ongoing aggressive policies, as well as measures taken to further strengthen NATO’s deterrence and defence posture.

1. Relations with Russia

28. The Brussels Summit Declaration reaffirms NATO’s dual-track policy vis-à-vis Russia as elaborated in the wake of Moscow’s illegal annexation of Crimea in March 2014: strong deterrence and defence on the one hand; periodic, focused and meaningful dialogue on the other. It is worth noting that while NATO suspended all practical cooperation with Russia in 2014, the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) has remained as the key channel for political consultation. Seven meetings of the NRC were held since 2016.

Par 5. We reaffirm our decisions towards Russia agreed at the Wales and Warsaw Summits. We continue to respond to the deteriorated security environment by enhancing our deterrence and defence posture, including by a forward presence in the eastern part of the Alliance. We have also suspended all practical civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia, while remaining open to political dialogue. NATO does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia.

Par. 8. We remain open to a periodic, focused, and meaningful dialogue with a Russia willing to engage on the basis of reciprocity in the NRC, with a view to avoiding misunderstanding, miscalculation, and unintended escalation, and to increase transparency and predictability. (…)

29. Allied leaders also set forth to define in paragraph 9 the conditions in which they would be prepared to reconsider their current policy towards Russia.

Par. 9. (…) There can be no return to “business as usual” until there is a clear, constructive change in Russia’s actions that demonstrates compliance with international law and its international obligations and responsibilities. (…)

2. Collective defence and deterrence

30. The Brussels Declaration, like its predecessors, makes clear that deterrence and collective defence remain NATO’s main responsibility. The 2014 Wales Summit and 2016 Warsaw Summit had taken a number of important steps to adapt NATO’s deterrence and defence posture in the East. The most emblematic measure in this regard was the deployment, on a rotational basis, of four multinational battalions in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, as well as the deployment of a multinational brigade in Romania. With these deployments now complete, questions remained about the Allies’ ability to reinforce this presence in the event of an escalating crisis. A key priority for the Brussels Summit was to address this challenge.

a. General principles

31. As with all key NATO documents, the Brussels Declaration reaffirms the centrality of the commitment to collective defence enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty.
Par. 33. The greatest responsibility of the Alliance is to protect and defend our territory and our populations against attack, as set out in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. No one should doubt NATO's resolve if the security of any of its members were to be threatened. Faced with a highly diverse, complex, and demanding international security environment, NATO is determined to maintain the full range of capabilities necessary to deter and defend against any threat to the safety and security of our populations, wherever it should arise.

32. It also reaffirms the statements made in previous Declarations that certain cyber or hybrid attacks could trigger Article 5 as in the case of an armed attack.

33. Furthermore, and for the first time, the Brussels Declaration lists space alongside the land, air, and sea domains as an area essential to effective deterrence and collective defence, and calls for the development of a NATO Space Policy.

34. As in previous Declarations, paragraph 34 of the Brussels Declaration reaffirms the three pillars of NATO's deterrence and defence posture, which relies on "an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional, and missile defence capabilities." As such, Allied leaders reiterate their aim to achieve the full maturity and operational capability of NATO's Ballistic Missile Defence system. The Declaration also reiterates that, as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance, and confirms the strengthened language adopted in the 2016 Warsaw Summit regarding NATO's nuclear deterrence doctrine.

Par. 36. The fundamental purpose of NATO's nuclear capability is to preserve peace, prevent coercion, and deter aggression. Given the deteriorating security environment in Europe, a credible and united nuclear Alliance is essential. Nuclear weapons are unique. The circumstances in which NATO might have to use nuclear weapons are extremely remote. NATO reiterates that any employment of nuclear weapons against NATO would fundamentally alter the nature of a conflict. If the fundamental security of any of its members were to be threatened, however, NATO has the capabilities and resolve to impose costs on an adversary that would be unacceptable and far outweigh the benefits that any adversary could hope to achieve. [emphasis added]

b. Deterrence and defence posture in the East

35. In response to Russia's aggression against Ukraine and its renewed global assertiveness, the Wales and Warsaw Summits had endorsed a package of assurance measures for Eastern Allies, and paved the way for the strengthening of NATO's deterrent presence in the East. This translated in particular to the deployment of the 4,500-strong enhanced Forward Presence in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, and the tailored Forward Presence in the Black Sea. The Brussels Summit took stock of these measures and confirmed their ongoing relevance. However, the main priority at the Summit was to ensure that NATO has the means to reinforce this presence rapidly in case of need, as discussed in the following section.

c. Readiness and reinforcements as key priorities

36. Some of the main decisions taken by Allied leaders in Brussels aim to increase the readiness of Allied forces and address possible obstacles to reinforcements and military mobility. The Declaration makes clear that this is relevant for all scenarios in which NATO might be called to intervene, whether in collective defence or crisis management. This effort is therefore not exclusively limited to reinforcements on the Eastern flank.

37. The landmark decision regarding readiness is the NATO Readiness Initiative: a stated ambition to identify 30 major combat ships, 30 heavy or medium manoeuvre battalions, and 30 kinetic air squadrons, with enabling forces, ready for deployment within 30 days or less.
Par. 14. From within the overall pool of forces, Allies will offer an additional 30 major naval combatants, 30 heavy or medium manoeuvre battalions, and 30 kinetic air squadrons, with enabling forces, at 30 days’ readiness or less.

38. As for reinforcements and military mobility, Allied leaders set five key priorities:

- ensuring the freedom of movement of Allied forces across all NATO territory – this requires in particular countering any anti-access area-denial (A2/AD) capabilities;
- addressing legislative and procedural hurdles to reinforcement;
- enhancing command and control;
- increasing transport capabilities; and
- upgrading infrastructure.

39. Paragraph 17 includes a detailed plan to improve military mobility with specific timelines, and an injunction to cooperate closely with the European Union on these matters.

Par. 17. We (...) aim to improve military mobility by land, air, or sea as soon as possible, but no later than 2024. This requires a whole-of-government approach, including through national plans, with cross-government cooperation of civil and military actors, in peacetime, in crisis, and in conflict. Defence Ministers will review progress annually. As a priority, we aim to:

- Shorten border crossing times and, to that end, provide diplomatic clearances for land, sea, and air movement within five days by the end of 2019, and will consider bringing this period further down for rapid reinforcement;
- Identify main and alternative supply routes capable of handling military transport by the end of 2018;
- Use suitable existing exercises to practise more regularly military mobility;
- Set up a network between NATO, national entities, civil and military, including the single National Points of Contact, by the end of 2019, to facilitate and speed up communications and coordination with regard to border crossing.

d. Proliferation challenges

40. Also related to NATO’s deterrence and defence, the Brussels Declaration includes a large section dealing with proliferation challenges (paragraphs 42 to 49). This highlights, among others:

- Ongoing challenges to the prohibition of chemical weapons (CW), and the need for Allies to continue to develop deterrence, defence, response and mitigation capabilities; the Declaration cites in particular the use of CW in the conflicts in Syria and Iraq, as well
in the context of attempted / actual assassinations conducted by third countries on the territories of Malaysia and the United Kingdom;
- Allies’ suspicion that Russia’s 9M729 missile system violates the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and call on Moscow to address these concerns;
- Allies’ call on Moscow to return to full compliance with the letter and the spirit of conventional arms control commitments, particularly the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, the Vienna Document and Open Skies Treaty;
- Allies’ condemnation of North Korea’s ongoing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missile programmes call to maintain international pressure on Pyongyang, and support for efforts to achieve the complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula, including through recent intra-Korean and US-North Korea talks;
- Allies’ continued vigilance regarding the possible military dimensions of Iran’s nuclear programme and call for full cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the Declaration also refers to Allies’ concerns about Iran’s missile programme, destabilising activities in the Middle East and support to terrorism.

C. PROJECTING STABILITY AND COMBATTING TERRORISM

41. A third key set of priorities for the Brussels Summit related to the Alliance’s role in projecting stability in its neighbourhood.

42. One major outcome in this regard is the Package on the South detailed in paragraph 55. This includes three strands of work corresponding to the Alliance’s three core tasks:
- Deterrence and defence against threats from the South;
- Contribution to crisis management efforts in the South;
- Partnerships and capacity-building.

43. Terrorism is clearly identified as the main threat emanating from instability in the Alliance’s southern neighbourhood. In this regard, the Brussels Declaration attempts to better spell out NATO’s specific role and contribution to the fight against terrorism. Paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Declaration mention specifically the following areas:
- awareness and analysis, including better intelligence sharing and a newly announced biometric data policy to help identify returning foreign fighters;
- preparedness and responsiveness;
- capabilities – particularly in the field of Improvised Explosive Devices and Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) weapons;
- capacity building and partnerships; and
- operations – including support for the Global Coalition to Defeat Daesh.

44. A strong emphasis is placed in the Declaration on cooperation with key partners in the South on the fight against terrorism and capacity-building, with a number of significant announcements.

45. First, the Summit provided an opportunity to declare the full capability of NATO’s Regional Hub for the South – a unit embedded within NATO’s Joint Force Command Naples – whose main goal is to analyse and anticipate developments in the Alliance’s South and to foster outreach to southern partners.

46. Second, the Summit endorsed a new NATO non-combat training and capacity-building mission in Iraq. NATO was already supporting Iraqi armed forces with out-of-country training and in-country advisers. The new mission takes this effort to a new level, though the Declaration makes it clear that the new presence entails a “modest and scalable footprint”, and that NATO’s action will be conducted in close coordination with the United Nations, the European Union and others. Between 2004 and
2011, NATO had already deployed a NATO Training Mission in Iraq which helped train 15,000 Iraqi officers.

47. NATO’s other capacity-building initiatives in the region are in support of Jordan and Tunisia. The Resolute Support mission in Afghanistan also contributes to the fight against terrorism by helping Afghan forces prevent the resurgence of al-Qaeda or the implantation of Daesh or other terrorist groups. In addition, the Declaration reiterates NATO’s long-standing offer to support Libya with capacity-building; this offer is however conditioned and dependent on progress towards national reconciliation.

48. Other partnerships closer to home also directly contribute to stability in Europe and in the Alliance’s neighbourhood. The Brussels Declaration makes specific reference to cooperation with Finland and Sweden (par. 52), as well as cooperation with Serbia and NATO’s ongoing operation in Kosovo, KFOR (par. 59 and 60). It also reaffirms NATO’s commitment to cooperating with other leading international organisations as part of a comprehensive approach to security (par. 68).

49. Last but not least, following the accession of Montenegro to NATO in June 2017, the Brussels Declaration reaffirms NATO’s Open Door policy – Allies’ openness to welcoming new members. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\(^2\), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia and Ukraine all aspire to NATO membership. Skopje’s bid saw a significant breakthrough with the historic name agreement concluded by the Prime Ministers of Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in June 2018. As a result, Allied leaders decided at the Summit to officially open accession negotiations with Skopje (par. 63). The speed and final outcome of this process, however, is dependent on the full ratification by both Skopje and Athens of the name agreement – a prospect which at the time of writing remains uncertain\(^3\).

50. Bosnia and Herzegovina’s membership prospect is currently at a roadblock, as Bosnian authorities have been unable to move beyond obstacles to the registration to the state of all immovable defence property. The Brussels Declaration, however, registers progress at the state level, while calling on Republika Srpska authorities to lift remaining obstacles for property located on the entity’s territory (par. 64).

51. As for Georgia and Ukraine, the Brussels Declaration (par. 65 and 66) reaffirms the decision taken by Allied leaders ten years earlier at the Bucharest Summit that both countries “will become members of NATO” and that the “MAP [Membership Action Plan] is the next step for Ukraine and Georgia on their direct way to membership”. Heads of State and Government recognise the significant progress made by Georgia since 2008 and take note of Ukraine’s renewed aspiration for membership – affirmed by Ukrainian authorities in 2017 in a reversal of the country’s previous seven-year pause in its NATO membership bid.

**D. MODERNISING THE ALLIANCE**

52. The fourth key priority for the Brussels Summit related to NATO’s modernisation. In addition to the measures taken in connection with enhanced deterrence and the Package on the South, three decisions should be mentioned under this heading.

53. First, Allied leaders confirmed that NATO’s military command structure will be strengthened with the addition of a Joint Command for the Atlantic based in Norfolk, United States – to oversee security in the Atlantic and protect transatlantic lines of communication, particularly in response to increased Russian undersea activity in the Atlantic Ocean; a Support and Enabling Command based in Ulm, Germany – to oversee reinforcements across Europe; and a Cyber Operation Centre in Belgium – to coordinate NATO operations in cyberspace.

\(^2\) Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

\(^3\) 19 October 2018.
Current command structure (operations only) + Additions

Source: NATO

54. The Summit also placed particular emphasis on improving NATO’s ability to respond to hybrid threats. Allied leaders thus decided to establish Counter Hybrid Support Teams which could be drawn upon if requested to assist national governments with prevention and response efforts.

Lastly, Allied leaders commissioned a Functional Review of NATO Headquarters (par. 79) in order to further enhance the effectiveness, efficiency and adaptability of the Organisation.

E. NATO-EU COOPERATION

55. The 2016 Warsaw Summit marked a major breakthrough in NATO-EU relations with the adoption of a landmark joint declaration co-signed by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission. The joint declaration was complemented through the adoption of a common set of 74 proposals for enhanced cooperation on a wide range of issues.

56. These documents truly marked a political turning point and mindset change in NATO-EU relations. Since then, significant progress has been achieved in implementing the common set of proposals, but a lack of resources in particular has hampered further advances.

57. The Brussels Declaration thus sought to give the implementation of commonly agreed objectives new impetus. A new joint NATO-EU declaration adopted on the eve of the Summit reaffirms some of the previously identified areas of work, such as maritime security; hybrid warfare and capacity-building for partners. It also lists priorities for further progress, notably military mobility, the fight against terrorism, CBRN threats, and the role of women in peace and security.

58. As they did in previous declarations, Allied leaders also recognised that recent efforts to strengthen European defence were essential and contributed to fairer burden sharing within the Alliance.
Par 71. “NATO recognises the importance of a stronger and more capable European defence. The development of coherent, complementary and interoperable defence capabilities, avoiding unnecessary duplication, is key in our joint efforts to make the Euro-Atlantic area safer. (…)"

Joint Declaration on EU-NATO Cooperation, par. 9. “EU efforts will also strengthen NATO, and thus will improve our common security. For NATO Allies, such efforts foster an equitable sharing of the burden, benefits and responsibilities, in full accordance with their commitment undertaken in the Defence Investment Pledge. (…)”

V. 70TH ANNIVERSARY AND 2019

59. 2019 will mark NATO’s 70th anniversary, and the concluding paragraph of the Brussels Summit Declaration hints at the fact that a special event will mark this important anniversary. Current indications are that NATO Foreign Ministers will be invited to Washington, DC – the city in which the NATO Treaty was signed – for a commemorative meeting. In addition, plans to hold a further Summit meeting of Allied Heads of State and Government towards the end of 2019 are currently under consideration. This new Summit would provide an opportunity for Allied leaders to take stock of progress achieved among others on those decisions for which the Brussels Summit set clear timeframes.
APPENDIX 1: SOME OF THE BRUSSELS SUMMIT’S KEY DECISIONS

✓ Reaffirmation of the Defence Investment Pledge: spend 2% GDP for defence by 2024; dedicate 20% of this to new capabilities; enhance contributions to operations

✓ No return to business as usual with Russia – Continuation of NATO’s dual-track approach: deterrence and dialogue

✓ NATO Readiness Initiative: 30 major combat ships, 30 heavy or medium manoeuvre battalions, and 30 kinetic air squadrons, with enabling forces, ready for deployment within 30 days or less

✓ Commitment to enhance military mobility no later than 2024 with intermediate milestones at the end of 2018 and 2019

✓ Package on the South, including a new non-combat training and capacity-building mission in Iraq and declaration of full capability for the Regional Hub for the South

✓ Opening of accession talks with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

✓ Recognition of Ukraine’s renewed membership aspirations

✓ Creating of new commands for the Atlantic and for support and enablement of reinforcements across Europe, and of a new cyber operation centre

✓ New Joint Declaration on NATO-EU Cooperation

✓ Special meeting to celebrate NATO’s 70th anniversary in 2019 and a possible new Summit in 2019
APPENDIX 2: NATO PA DECLARATION 444 ON AFFIRMING NATO’S UNITY AND CREDIBILITY AT THE BRUSSELS SUMMIT

The Assembly,

1. **Emphasising** that the upcoming Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government in Brussels on 11-12 July 2018 offers an important opportunity to demonstrate NATO’s unity and credibility;

2. **Welcoming** the significant progress achieved since 2014 in adapting NATO to a new security environment characterised by Russia’s political and military assertiveness, and non-compliance with fundamental principles of the rules-based international order; widespread instability from Libya to Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan which breeds a multifaceted terrorist threat and mass migration; the emergence of hybrid warfare, the spread of cyber attacks and disinformation, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced missile technology;

3. **Stressing** that Allies are united in their conviction that NATO is and remains the cornerstone of transatlantic security, and that its unique strength lies in Europe and North America’s commitment to defend each other’s security, and reaffirming that all Allies are committed to the fundamental principle enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty that an attack against one is an attack against all;

4. **Convinced** that, in addition to defending Allies, NATO makes unique and invaluable contributions to responses to today’s complex security challenges, including the fight against terrorism, in partnership with other states and organisations;

5. **Applauding** the important steps taken to develop NATO-European Union (EU) cooperation and coordination, and recognising the strategic potential that could be realised by implementing the agreed common set of proposals;

6. **Acknowledging** the continuing need to modernise NATO’s structures and processes to ensure that it adapts to evolving security challenges;

7. **Determined** that all Allies must contribute to addressing shared challenges, assume their fair share of responsibilities, and commit the resources necessary;

8. **Reaffirming** its commitment to, and support for, NATO’s Open Door policy;

9. **Highlighting** the importance of explaining and demonstrating to citizens in Europe and North America how the resources invested in defence – including NATO – contribute to their security;

10. **Emphasising** that NATO’s response to threats is rooted in its commitment to individual freedom, the rights of men, women and children, democracy, and the rule of law;

11. **URGES** the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the North Atlantic Alliance at their Summit meeting in Brussels on 11-12 July 2018;

* Presented by the Standing Committee and adopted by the Plenary Assembly on Monday 28 May 2018, Warsaw, Poland
I. DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE, AND DIALOGUE WITH RUSSIA

i. to reaffirm the conventional, nuclear and missile defence pillars of NATO’s deterrence and collective defence posture;

ii. to continue to ensure the sustainability and readiness of NATO’s Enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltic States and Poland, Tailored Forward Presence in the Black Sea region, Tailored Assurance Measures for Turkey as well as other Assurance Measures in force, Very High Readiness Joint Task Force, and enhanced NATO Response Force;

iii. to remove without delay legal and regulatory impediments to the mobility of Allied forces in Europe, and create the conditions for investments in the infrastructure needed to ensure swift troop and materiel reinforcements across Alliance territory;

iv. to develop Allied forces’ ability to operate in anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) environments;

v. to continue to bolster the Alliance’s situational awareness in the Baltic, North, Black and Mediterranean Seas and in the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans, including through further cooperation, as appropriate, with partners in these regions;

vi. to maintain NATO’s policy towards Russia, based on strong deterrence and defence, and openness to a meaningful dialogue, as stated in the Wales and Warsaw Summit declarations, while addressing and holding Russia accountable for its unacceptable violations of international laws and norms;

II. PROJECTING STABILITY, AND COMBATTING TERRORISM

vii. to pursue full implementation of the Framework for the South which remains an essential integral part of both the Alliance Deterrence and Defence posture and the Alliance contribution to Projecting Stability;

viii. to fill manning requirements for the Hub for the South at Joint Forces Command Naples, so it can rapidly reach full capability;

ix. to prepare, for the Summit, the transformation of NATO’s assistance to Iraq into a non-combat training and capacity-building mission;

x. to strengthen support to defence capacity-building in the partner countries of the southern shore and the sub-Saharan area so as to enhance their stability by encouraging political dialogue and institutional stabilisation; this process could include Libya - should the conditions for a future government of national unity be in place - by fostering all possible opportunities for engagement in the spirit of the NATO PA’s Mediterranean and Middle East Special Group;

xi. to continue to develop political and practical cooperation with the United Nations, the African Union, the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council;

xii. to rapidly fill troop requirements for the Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan;

xiii. to maintain NATO and Allies’ support for the anti-Daesh coalition and continue to share assessments about the possible future evolutions of the terrorist threat;

xiv. to highlight for our citizens NATO’s contribution to the fight against terrorism, as part of the Alliance’s multifaceted response to this threat;
xv. to continue complementing efforts that deal with the refugee and migrant crisis caused by the instability in the Middle East and North Africa regions, and activities aiming at limiting illegal crossings in the wider Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea;

xvi. to continue working on ways of further assisting Allies in their individual counterterrorism efforts, underscoring that this would contribute to the security in the Euro-Atlantic area as a whole;

xvii. to pay tribute to and support the intensified commitment of certain Allies to the fight against terrorism, in particular in the Sahel-Saharan strip;

III. NATO-EU COOPERATION

xviii. to continue to encourage the development of NATO-EU cooperation and coordination, and to implement the identified measures to enhance NATO and EU members' response to common challenges and prevent duplication;

xix. to provide support for a joint statement by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission, in which NATO and the EU undertake to continue and to deepen their cooperation, particularly on military mobility in Europe;

xx. to strengthen the European and transatlantic defence technological and industrial base, and encourage increased defence industrial cooperation;

xxi. to ensure the fullest involvement of non-EU Allied countries in efforts to enhance European security and defence in the spirit of full mutual openness and in compliance with the decision-making autonomy and procedures of the two organisations;

IV. MODERNISING THE ALLIANCE

xxii. to maintain a flexible and responsive posture, allowing NATO to respond to all challenges from wherever they emanate, and to preserve the Alliance’s ability to accomplish its three core tasks of collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security;

xxiii. to expedite and improve the quality of political and military decision-making procedures in the Alliance to ensure their democratic nature, political ownership by the countries and rapid decision-making in the event of an imminent threat;

xxiv. to complete without delay and implement the design for the adaptation of the NATO Command Structure, including the establishment of new commands and structures, and to fill their manning requirements;

xxv. to continue to refine and exercise the Alliance’s response to hybrid and cyber threats as undertaken at the Warsaw Summit;

xxvi. to continue to assist Allies in building their resilience to disinformation and other attempts at undermining democratic processes;

xxvii. to enhance NATO’s situational awareness in the Arctic, including through greater information sharing, the creation of an Arctic working group, assistance to the development of Allies’ search and rescue capabilities, and exercises;
xxviii. to launch discussions on a new Political Guidance and a new NATO Strategic Concept to take stock of the fundamental shifts in the security environment since 2014, and set the future course of NATO’s modernisation;

xxix. to encourage further progress in the implementation by NATO and Allies of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, as well as UNSCR 1612 on Children and Armed Conflict;

V. **BURDEN SHARING**

xxx. to recognise that the persistence of a multifaceted and particularly challenging threat environment makes it even more necessary that nations increase defence expenditure in real terms as GDP grows and move towards the guideline of spending 2% GDP for defence by 2024, increase annual investments to 20% or more of total defence expenditures, and meet NATO agreed guidelines for deployability and sustainability, as agreed at the Wales and Warsaw Summits;

xxxi. to encourage all Allies, as agreed, to continue to present to the Alliance national plans including data on defence spending, capabilities, and contributions to capacity-building missions and NATO and other operations;

VI. **OPEN DOOR POLICY**

xxxii. to reaffirm NATO’s Open Door policy and the right of partners to make independent and sovereign choices on their foreign and security policy free from external pressure and coercion;

xxxiii. to outline a clear membership perspective for aspiring countries in a forward-looking manner, while preserving the criteria for membership;

xxxiv. to continue rendering strong political and practical support to Georgia in the process of NATO integration and to advance further the political dimension of Georgia’s NATO membership process;

xxxv. to assist Bosnia and Herzegovina in creating the conditions for activating its first Membership Action Plan without further delay;

xxxvi. to underline NATO’s firm commitment to the Euro-Atlantic integration of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached within the framework of the United Nations;

xxxvii. to reaffirm Allies’ condemnation of Russia’s illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, destabilisation of eastern Ukraine, and ongoing occupation of Georgian and Ukrainian territories, and their unwavering support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia and Ukraine in their internationally recognised borders;

xxxviii. to reiterate support for Ukraine’s membership aspiration;

xxxix. to continue to encourage all aspirants to enhance both military and political readiness, and to assist them through intensified political exchanges and military cooperation;

** Turkey recognises the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.
VII. CONNECTING NATO WITH ITS CITIZENS

xl. to enhance efforts, working closely with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, to promote the transparency and efficient governance of NATO, as well as citizens’ understanding of the challenges and requirements of our shared security with a particular focus on the next generation;

xli. to increase the focus and resources of NATO’s public diplomacy to enhance and expand NATO engagement, education and communication through all social media and traditional media platforms with NATO member and partner countries, and with citizens.
APPENDIX 3: BRUSSELS DECLARATION ON TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY AND SOLIDARITY

Adopted by NATO Heads of State and Government on 11 July 2018

1. NATO guarantees the security of our territory and populations, our freedom, and the values we share – including democracy, individual liberty, human rights and the rule of law. Our Alliance embodies the enduring and unbreakable transatlantic bond between Europe and North America to stand together against threats and challenges from any direction. This includes the bedrock commitment to collective defence set out in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. NATO will continue to strive for peace, security and stability in the whole of the Euro-Atlantic area, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

2. We face a prolonged period of instability. Russia is challenging the rules-based international order by destabilising Ukraine including through the illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea; it is violating international law, conducting provocative military activities, and attempting to undermine our institutions and sow disunity. At the same time, a multitude of threats emanate from NATO’s Southern periphery. While significant progress has been made in defeating ISIS/Daesh, terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations, continues to threaten Allies and the international community and to undermine stability. Instability contributes to irregular migration, trafficking and other challenges for our countries. Allies stand firmly in unity and solidarity in the fight against terrorism.

3. We will share fairly the responsibilities of defending each other. Real progress has been made across NATO since our last Summit in Warsaw, with more funding by all Allies for defence, more investment in capabilities, and more forces in operations. But even if we have turned a corner, we need to do more, and there will be further progress. We are committed to the Defence Investment Pledge agreed in 2014, and we will report annually on national plans to meet this Pledge.

4. Today we are strengthening further our deterrence and the collective defence of all NATO territory and populations, building on our Forward Presence and consistent with the decisions taken in Warsaw. Our deterrence and defence is based on an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defence capabilities, which we continue to adapt. We will increase the readiness of our forces and improve our ability to reinforce each other within Europe and across the Atlantic. As part of that, we have agreed an adapted and strengthened NATO Command Structure. We are also further reinforcing the cyber defence capabilities of Allies and of NATO itself.

5. We are strengthening our capacity to prepare against, deter and respond to hybrid threats. Hybrid tactics increasingly target our political institutions, our public opinion and the security of our citizens. Allies are making our societies more resilient against them, and we will respond with resolve when necessary.

6. NATO poses no threat to any country. All these measures are defensive, proportionate and transparent, and within NATO’s legal and political commitments. We remain fully committed to arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation.

7. We remain ready for a meaningful dialogue with Russia to communicate clearly our positions and, as a first priority, to minimize risk from military incidents, including through reciprocal measures of transparency. We continue to aspire to a constructive relationship with Russia, when Russia’s actions make that possible.

8. We are boosting NATO’s contribution to the international fight against terrorism. We have decided, on request of the Iraqi Government and in coordination with the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, to establish a training mission in Iraq. We will increase our assistance to the Afghan Security Forces, providing more trainers and extending financial support, as the Government makes an unprecedented political effort to seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict. NATO will do more to
help Allies, on their request, to tackle terrorism at home; to provide advice and support to partners, including through the new Hub for the South; and will continue to contribute to the Global Coalition.

9. We are strengthening NATO’s contribution to projecting stability, because we know that our security is best assured if it is shared beyond our borders. We have agreed a Package on the South to deepen our political dialogue and practical cooperation with our partners in the region, including Jordan and Tunisia. We provide tailored support to our eastern partners Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, as well as to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We will also boost NATO’s cooperation with Finland and Sweden in the Baltic Sea, as well as with our partners in the Black Sea, Western Balkans and Mediterranean regions, each of which is important to Alliance security. We are maintaining our important operation in Kosovo. And while remaining a transatlantic Alliance, NATO will retain its global perspective.

10. The NATO-EU strategic partnership is essential for the security and prosperity of our nations and of the Euro-Atlantic area. The European and North American Allies contribute significantly to European security and defence. We recognize that a stronger and more capable European defence will lead to a stronger NATO. We therefore welcome the Joint Declaration signed by the NATO Secretary General and the Presidents of the European Council and Commission, which sets out the unprecedented progress being made in NATO-EU cooperation, including on military mobility. We welcome the significant contributions of the members of both organisations to Euro-Atlantic security.

11. We are committed to NATO’s Open Door policy because it strengthens the Alliance and contributes to Euro-Atlantic security, in keeping with the Bucharest Summit. We warmly welcome the agreement between Athens and Skopje; this success will benefit both countries, the region and NATO. We have decided to invite the Government in Skopje to begin accession talks to join the Alliance once the terms of the agreement are met.

12. We continue to modernize the Alliance. To face evolving security challenges, we have taken steps to ensure that NATO can continue to act at the speed required. Our new policies on NATO’s support for Women, Peace and Security, and for the protection of civilians and children in armed conflict, demonstrate our determination to step up NATO’s role in these areas.

13. We pay tribute to all the men and women who serve, and who have served, in NATO operations and missions. Their service and sacrifice has been essential to keep our territories and populations safe.