



DETECTING TO DEFEND :  
NATO AFTER THE WARSAW SUMMIT



**Hon. Michael R. Turner**

President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly





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President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly 2014-2016

### Biography

**C**ongressman Turner was first elected to the United States' Congress in 2002. In Congress, he serves as a member of the Armed Services Committee, Intelligence Committee, and the Oversight and Government Reform Committee. Congressman Turner is one of only two members of Congress to serve on both the House Intelligence Committee and as a Subcommittee Chairman on the House Armed Services Committee.

Currently, Congressman Turner serves as the Chairman of the House Armed Services Tactical Air and Land Forces Subcommittee, which oversees ammunition programs, Army and Air Force acquisition programs, all Navy and Marine Corps aviation programs, National Guard, and Army and Air Force National Guard and Reserve. Congressman Turner previously served as the Chairman of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Strategic Forces, where he had jurisdiction over the nation's nuclear arsenal, the Department of Defense's intelligence programs, and missile defense systems.

In January of 2011, Congressman Turner was appointed Head of the US Delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly, the interparliamentary organization of legislators from NATO's 28 member countries. In November 2014, Congressman Turner was elected President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Prior to his service in Congress, Congressman Turner served as Mayor of the City of Dayton for eight years. During his tenure, he was a strong proponent of neighborhood revitalization, crime reduction, increased funding for safety forces, economic development and job creation.

Congressman Turner received a bachelor's degree from Ohio Northern University; an MBA from the University of Dayton; and a Juris Doctorate from Case Western University School of Law. He practiced law in Dayton for over 17 years and opened his own private legal practice specializing in real estate and corporate law in 1991.

Congressman Turner is married to Majida Turner and is the proud father of two daughters, Carolyn and Jessica Turner.

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***Note from the author:** This publication is an updated and revised version of the report I published in June 2016 entitled “Deterring to Defend: Delivering on NATO’s Promise”. This earlier version aimed to provide an analysis of the challenges that NATO Heads of State and Government would have to grapple with at their summit meeting in Warsaw in July 2016. This revised and updated version provides an analysis of the decisions taken by Allied leaders in Warsaw, and suggests a number of priorities for the future. Both publications build upon two previous reports published ahead of the 2014 Wales Summit by my predecessor, the NATO PA’s former President, Sir Hugh Bayley of the United Kingdom: “Why NATO Matters? A Parliamentary Case for Strengthening the Transatlantic Pillars of the Alliance” and “A Citizen’s Guide to NATO’s Priorities after the Wales Summit”.*

## INTRODUCTION

Russia’s invasion and illegal occupation of parts of Ukraine in March 2014 was a wake-up call for the international community. It also shattered the already fragile relations between Russia and the West. With these actions, Vladimir Putin’s Russia had shown itself to be not just uncooperative but belligerent, unpredictable, and mendacious. Its rhetoric and its military posture became aggressive, and its word could no longer be trusted.

Yet Russia’s actions should not have come as a surprise. There were plenty of warning signs, but Western policy was for too long driven by a misguided belief that Russia was necessarily headed on a long-term path towards Western-type democracy, liberalism, and international cooperation. While collective defense remained the acknowledged central mission for NATO, forces were decreased and – gradually – reconfigured to meet the demands of more “expeditionary” contingencies from the Western Balkans to Afghanistan which were seen as more immediate and relevant to the post-Cold War security environment.

Even the occupation of 20 per cent of Georgia’s territory in 2008 was effectively swept under the carpet by the West which placed a higher value on its hopes for cooperation with Russia than on international law and supposedly inviolable principles.

Russia, it seemed, was a difficult and uncooperative partner but not a perceived risk. Thus, when the global financial crisis struck just a month after the Russia-Georgia war, there seemed to be no reason why investment in defense should escape the cuts and austerity which were applied to other areas of government spending. Indeed, in some countries, forces were reduced and capabilities abandoned with a haste which left little time for consideration of the collective consequences. Again, there were plenty of warning signs that these uncoordinated deep cuts were both weakening NATO’s ability to respond to increasingly unpredictable security challenges and creating tensions among NATO members. The sharing of the burden for defending the security of the Euro-Atlantic area had grown increasingly uneven.

It took President Putin’s hostile and brutal aggression against Ukraine, and a pattern of Russian provocation directed against NATO Allies and partners for Western leaders to question the premises of the policies implemented since the end of the Cold War, and rediscover the importance of NATO’s main mission: the collective defense of Allied populations and territory.

To achieve his goals, President Putin had blatantly ignored international law and any number of international treaties and agreements and shown that he is willing to use force to change

international borders. All this was done in the name of protecting Russian speakers who in reality faced no threat whatsoever. But it had the effect of alarming all those nations with substantial Russian-speaking minorities – including several NATO Allies. If Russia was prepared to intervene in Ukraine, one of the largest nations in Europe, would others suffer the same fate?

Russia – as it continually states – is a formidable military power, possessing the full spectrum of conventional and nuclear capabilities. Those capabilities – in conjunction with its behavior and rhetoric – place it at the forefront of the challenges facing NATO. No other challenge on the horizon raises the specter of such wholesale destruction. Deterring conflict and Russia's attempts to reassert its sphere of influence is therefore a central priority.

NATO, however, faces many other severe challenges which must also be addressed. International terrorism in particular is a grave concern and direct threat to all our nations. A growing number of Western cities have suffered terrorist attacks inspired and supported by Daesh<sup>1</sup> or other terrorist groups. In Syria, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Afghanistan and elsewhere, the spread of these terrorist groups threatens to undermine states and create dangerous regions of essentially ungoverned space. One consequence of this less stable environment is the greatest refugee crisis for over 70 years which as well as being a human tragedy threatens to undermine the European Union.

Today, NATO must continue to address these many actual and potential sources of instability while also reasserting the primacy of collective defense in the face of Russia's challenge.

And the first lesson of collective defense is that it should be a means to an end: its main purpose is not to mount a robust defense of NATO territory, nor to punish an aggressor with unacceptable damage. Its main purpose is to deter an attack against NATO territory by having the credible capacity to defend itself and ensure that an aggressor could be made to pay an unacceptable price for aggression.

In other words, the first purpose of collective defense is deterrence.

This report looks at the meaning and requirements of deterrence in today's environment. In so doing, it will see what lessons can be learned from yesterday and how they might apply to today and to tomorrow.

The Summit of NATO Heads of state and government in Warsaw in July 2016 marked a major milestone in strengthening NATO's deterrence and collective defense. As this report illustrates, many of the decisions which Allied leaders took in Warsaw are truly significant. The key challenge for Allied governments is now to follow through on these important decisions, and make clear that they are prepared to consider further steps if needed.

The NATO Parliamentary Assembly was the first interparliamentary organization to sanction Russia's unacceptable aggression against Ukraine. As early as April 2014, the Assembly decided to expel the Russian Parliament from its structures. At the same time, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has consistently warned of the risks that hasty and uncoordinated cuts in defense spending and capabilities pose to NATO's ability to fulfill its missions and to NATO solidarity.

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1 Arabic acronym of the terrorist organization "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria"



Before the NATO Summit, the Assembly adopted a strong declaration highlighting the need for enhanced deterrence, and I was honored to present our recommendations to NATO’s Heads of state and government in Warsaw. I am proud that many of our recommendations are reflected in the Summit’s conclusions. Both the Assembly’s declaration and the Summit’s conclusions are reproduced in the appendix.<sup>2</sup>

The unique commitment that Europe and North America have made to defend each other is a fundamental and irreplaceable guarantee of our citizens’ way of life and well-being. Members of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly are committed to doing all they can to preserve and reinforce the transatlantic bond. I hope this publication can contribute towards this important goal.



*The author with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg (left) and Polish President Andrzej Duda (right) in Warsaw (NATO)*

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<sup>2</sup> The views expressed in this report are my own, however. I have benefited enormously from many formal and informal meetings in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and from the advice of my many friends and colleagues within the Assembly. I suspect that some of my colleagues might take issue with elements of my analysis and some of my proposals, but I doubt that any will disagree with the central thesis which is that NATO has no choice but to enhance its defense and deterrent capabilities.



## I. NEW STRATEGIC REALITIES

In the aftermath of the Cold War, Western countries assumed that a more cooperative relationship with Russia would prevail, and invested heavily into creating the conditions for a new strategic partnership. However, Russia's invasion and illegal annexation of Crimea in March 2014 marked a major geopolitical shift which has profoundly transformed the Euro-Atlantic and global security environment. It was the most ambitious manifestation of a revisionist global strategy directed against the United States and against NATO. As such, it brought the importance of deterrence and collective defense back to the fore.

At the same time, however, Allies continue to grapple with many other difficult challenges: the prolonged conflict in Syria and the disintegration of Iraq which have created an environment where a worldwide terrorist threat can flourish; a major refugee crisis in the region and in Europe; widespread instability in an arc of crisis and state failure running across North Africa and the Middle East; rising tensions in Asia; accelerating proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile technology; the growing threat of cyberattacks; the risks of disruption of energy supplies; ongoing instability in Afghanistan which could put at risk the achievements of 15 years of international assistance; persistent fragility and tensions in the Western Balkans.

NATO, therefore, must address all these challenges while adapting to Russia's overt antagonism by refocusing on traditional deterrence as a matter of priority. Russia has long been given the benefit of the doubt, and concerns too quickly dismissed. But the evidence clearly shows that President Putin's Russia poses a challenge which is far more severe and extensive than the many others facing the Alliance.

### **A. 21st century security: a complex mix of old and new challenges**

The security environment in which Allied governments operate today is particularly complex, and combines old and new challenges. Russia's abandonment of partnership with NATO and violations of the norms and laws of international relations stand firmly at the forefront of these challenges. These actions are so serious that they are forcing an in-depth rethink of NATO's relations with today's Russia, which will have broad and lasting repercussions. The next sections review the various aspects of Russia's challenge in detail.

However, Allied governments do not have the luxury of focusing on this challenge alone. They face a range of other threats, which directly affect the security of citizens in Europe and North America, and which NATO must therefore address: regional instability in its neighborhood, globalized terrorism, the growing proliferation of advanced lethal technologies, cyber threats, potential disruption of energy supplies, etc.

An arc of instability has formed in the Alliance's neighborhood. While NATO continues to support long-term stability in the Western Balkans and Afghanistan, conflicts in Syria and Iraq confront Allies with a mix of interethnic rivalries, weakness of state institutions and globalized terrorism – to which one must add regional competition for influence. These conflicts have had tragic consequences for the countries and populations concerned, and have triggered repercussions, directly affecting the security of citizens in Europe and North America. Daesh and its affiliates have

drawn thousands of young people from around the world to fight in Iraq and Syria, and they have inspired terrorist attacks in a growing number of cities around the world. Lastly, they have caused a major humanitarian disaster, forcing millions out of their homes and into overcrowded camps in Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey. Large numbers have also sought refuge in Europe, overwhelming reception and hosting capabilities there.



*(NATO / Bundeswehr / NATO PA)*

The ongoing conflicts in Syria and Iraq therefore pose a number of immediate and direct challenges to Allied governments. The same is true of Libya, where local rivalries and the weakness of state institutions are providing fertile ground for Daesh's expansion.

All Allies support global efforts to combat Daesh, reach a lasting political settlement in Iraq, Syria and Libya, and address the humanitarian consequences of these conflicts. All Allies also contribute to the international military coalition against Daesh in Iraq and Syria. They have channeled some of their efforts in support of stability in these regions through NATO, which helps strengthen the capacity of local states, provides intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, and assists with the management of refugee flows in the Mediterranean.

Developments in the Middle East have also fueled fears about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The Syrian conflict has seen the confirmed use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime. Western governments also suspect that Daesh possesses chemical agents and weapons, and there have been plausible reports of their use, raising the alarming specter of potential terrorist attacks using WMDs.

Just as alarming are the proliferation risks posed by Iran and North Korea, despite persistent international condemnation. It remains to be seen what the actual impact of the 14 July 2015 international deal on Iran's nuclear program will be. Iran has a long history of deceiving the international community, and just weeks into the implementation of the agreement tested nuclear-capable missiles in violation of United Nations resolutions. North Korea also appears to have accelerated the development of its nuclear and ballistic missile programs, a progress which the international community has proved so far unable to stop.

The proliferation of missile technology in Iran and elsewhere confronts Allies with a particularly worrying prospect, a threat that NATO seeks to address through the development of a ballistic missile defense system which aims to protect Allied territory and populations against a ballistic missile attack.

## The Growing Threat from Ballistic Missile Proliferation

*Although rockets of various kinds have been used in warfare for centuries, the modern missile age began during the Second World War with the German V-2 which was used to attack cities mainly in Belgium and the United Kingdom.*

*In the 70 years since then, missile capabilities have increased dramatically, and an increasing number of nations are developing their own missiles with ever-greater ranges.*

*Today, over 30 countries either have or are acquiring the technologies needed to build military-capable ballistic missiles able to deliver significant payloads over hundreds or even thousands of kilometers.*

*Some of these already could threaten parts of NATO territory, and as capabilities continue to improve, there can be no doubt that all NATO nations will eventually be within reach of ballistic missiles being acquired by nations such as Iran and North Korea, or by terrorist groups such as Hamas or Hezbollah.*



*Iranian salvo launch / North Korean Taepo Dong II (DoD)*

*Just as ballistic missile technology is becoming more readily available, so are the technologies needed to produce nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. International treaties and agreements have succeeded in slowing the spread of such technologies, but technological progress continues to lower the technical barriers preventing more widespread proliferation.*

*For instance, there is strong evidence that Islamic State in Syria has already acquired chemical weapons and it is certainly possible that further threats could emerge from the anarchy of failing states or the ascent to power of hostile or even fanatical regimes in hitherto stable countries.*

*The uncomfortable conclusion is that it would be imprudent and irresponsible for NATO to assume that no new ballistic and cruise missile and WMD threats will emerge.*

Similarly, both states and non-state actors are developing advanced cyber capabilities, which have the potential to paralyze vital services, such as banking, electricity, emergency services, telecommunications, etc.

Last but not least, despite efforts to diversify energy markets, energy supplies could still be highly vulnerable to various forms of disruption – from maritime piracy to embargoes - with potentially disastrous consequences.

## B. Russia's challenge

In today's complex security environment, the first and most urgent priority for NATO is to take the full measure of the challenge posed by President Vladimir Putin's Russia. This challenge is serious, multi-faceted and long term.

Russia's annexation of Crimea effectively ended debates about Russia's political and strategic direction under Mr Putin. It also put a brutal end to 25 years of efforts by NATO to build a strategic partnership with Russia.

### 25 years of NATO-Russia partnership



*Former NATO Secretary General Javier Solana with former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, May 1997 (NATO) / Joint NATO-Russia naval exercise in St Petersburg, October 2013 (NATO)*

*Ever since the fall of the Berlin wall, NATO collectively and NATO Allies individually have sought to build a strategic partnership with Russia. Allies have gone to great lengths to try to integrate Russia in a common Euro-Atlantic space of peace, stability and freedom. As early as 1991, NATO established the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) as a forum for dialogue and cooperation with former members of the Warsaw Pact. In May 1997, the NATO-Russia Founding Act – the landmark document which laid the foundations of the post-Cold War NATO-Russia relationship – affirmed the shared commitment of both parties “to build a stable, peaceful and undivided Europe, whole and free, to the benefit of all its peoples”. In 2002, NATO-Russia cooperation was taken to the next level with the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council, a joint decision-making body bringing together the 28 Allies and Russia on an equal footing in a format “at 29”. Allies even went as far as suggesting that Russia could have a role in support of the missile defense system put in place to defend Allies against potential ballistic missiles attacks from the Middle East.*

In Ukraine, Russia used military force and other forms of warfare to acquire territory, decisively breaking international law, reneging on its commitments to international agreements, and unashamedly lying to the world in order to buy time for the implementation of its land grab.

Furthermore, Russia's actions rang alarm bells because the pretext for Russia's actions – protection of a Russian-speaking minority – might just as easily be used as a subterfuge for Russian action against many of its neighbors.

Russia has made no secret of its belief that its neighbors should be firmly within its “sphere of influence”, effectively denying their sovereignty by requiring Moscow's approval for their political decisions and orientation.

The reasons for all this become evident by looking at Russia's words – what it says about its intentions and about NATO.

## 1. Russia's words

Russia's track-record of the past 15 years shows that it is quite open about its intentions, its hostility to NATO and the European Union, and its scant regard for international law and norms. In fact, the international community should not have been surprised by Russia's actions in Crimea and its subsequent interference in Eastern Ukraine, or for that matter by the war it conducted against Georgia in 2008.

Russia's official strategic documents make its views very clear, for instance.

The December 2014 Military Doctrine and the December 2015 National Security Strategy states that **Russia sees the United States and NATO as adversaries and Russia as the leader of a new anti-NATO alliance in a multipolar world.**

## Comparing Russia's past promises with its stated intentions today

*There is a striking contrast between sections of the NATO-Russia Founding Act from 1997 and Russia's 2014 Military Doctrine and the 2015 National Security Strategy*



(NATO)

### **Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, May 1997**

*NATO and Russia do not consider each other as adversaries. (...) They intend to develop, on the basis of common interest, reciprocity and transparency a strong, stable and enduring partnership.*

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*"[NATO and Russia] share the goal of overcoming the vestiges of earlier confrontation and competition and of strengthening mutual trust and cooperation."*

### **The Russian Federation's Military Doctrine (December 2014) and National Security Strategy (December 2015)**

*"The main external military risks are:  
a) build-up of the power potential of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and vesting NATO with global functions carried out in violation of the rules of international law, bringing the military infrastructure of NATO member countries near the borders of the Russian Federation, including by further expansion of the alliance". (MD, par. 12)*

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*"The Russian Federation's implementation of an independent foreign and domestic policy is giving rise to opposition from the United States and its allies, who are seeking to retain their dominance in world affairs." (NSS, par. 12)*

Similarly, all the techniques of what is now referred to as **"hybrid warfare"** were signaled well before their use in Crimea.



## Hybrid Warfare Techniques Described by Russian General Valery Gerasimov, Chief of the General Staff in February 2013<sup>3</sup>



(Russian Ministry of Defense)

*“The very ‘rules of war’ have changed. The role of non-military means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness.*

*The focus of applied methods of conflict has altered in the direction of the broad use of political, economic, informational, humanitarian, and other non-military measures -- applied in coordination with the protest potential of the population.*

*All this is supplemented by military means of a concealed character, including carrying out actions of informational conflict and the actions of special operations forces. The open use of forces -- often under the guise of peacekeeping and crisis regulation -- is resorted to only at a certain stage, primarily for the achievement of final success in the conflict.”*

All this makes Russian statements about **nuclear weapons** especially disturbing. Although Russia’s military doctrine only envisages the use of nuclear weapons “in response to the use of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction against it and/or its allies, as well as in the event of aggression against the Russian Federation with the use of conventional weapons when the very existence of the state is in jeopardy”, Russian officials suggest a far less restrained approach to nuclear first use. A number of them have stated as early as 2003 and many times since that Russia would be prepared to consider a limited first use of nuclear weapons to force an adversary into ceasing hostilities. In other words, Russia says that it would use nuclear weapons as a preventive tool to “deescalate conflicts”. This is a shocking proposal to resort to the use of nuclear weapons effectively to end an opponent’s resistance to an attack. At the very least, such statements can be seen as efforts to intimidate and divide Allies, but they are actually more alarming because they dangerously blur the line between conventional and nuclear deterrence. Furthermore, contrary to NATO’s position that there can be no victors in a nuclear exchange, Russia’s view – as the Soviet Union’s before it – is that a nuclear war can be won.

Disturbingly, some statements explicitly threaten the use of nuclear weapons against NATO Allies. Russia’s nuclear threats have been aimed particularly at weakening Allied consensus on the development of the NATO missile defense system.

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3 General Valery Gerasimov, “The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Rethinking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations” in *Voyenno-Promyshlenny Kurier (VPK)* (Military-Industrial Courier), 27 February 2013, [http://vpk-news.ru/sites/default/files/pdf/VPK\\_08\\_476.pdf](http://vpk-news.ru/sites/default/files/pdf/VPK_08_476.pdf)

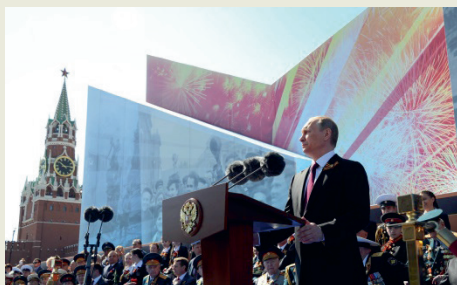
## What Russian officials have said about using nuclear weapons

*“In a situation critical for national security, we don’t exclude preventive nuclear strike at the aggressor.” (Gen. Nikolai Patryushev, Head of Russia’s National Security Council, June 2010)*

*“Let me remind you that Russia is one of the world’s leading nuclear powers...it’s best not to mess with us.” (President Putin, August 2014)*

*“We were ready to do this [put our nuclear forces on alert]... It was a frank and open position. And that is why I think no one was in the mood to start a world war.” (President Putin talking about Russia’s invasion of Crimea, March 2015)*

*“In a conventional war, they [the Strategic Nuclear Forces] ensure that the opponent is forced to cease hostilities, on advantageous conditions for Russia, by means of single or multiple preventive strikes against the aggressors’ most important facilities.” (Lieutenant General Andrey Shvaychenko, then-Commander of the Russian Strategic Missile Troops, December 2009)*



*(Russian Presidency)*

### ***Threatening NATO Allies with nuclear retaliation***

*“If Denmark joins the American-led missile defense shield, Danish warships will be targets for Russian nuclear missiles.” (Mikhail Vanin, Russian Ambassador to Denmark, March 2015)*

*“If yesterday in those areas of Romania people simply didn’t know what it means to be in the cross-hairs, then today we will be forced to carry out certain measures to ensure our security. And it will be the same with Poland.” (President Putin, May 2016)*

*“I cannot rule out that should the country’s military-political leadership make such a decision, some of our ICBMs could be targeted at missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic, and subsequently at other facilities.” (Col. Nikolai Solovtsov, then-Commander of Russia’s strategic military force, September 2008)*

## 2. Russia's deeds

### Russia's policy of coercion against its neighbors and global activism

As the people of Georgia and Ukraine know only too well, Russia readily resorts to threats and the use of force to impose its will on others. Every other country in Russia's neighborhood – from Belarus and the Republic of Moldova to the South Caucasus and Central Asia - has been subjected to increased pressure as Russia seeks to establish control over the former Soviet space.

Combining political and economic pressure and intimidation (nurturing of Russia-friendly political leaders, economic embargoes, energy blackmail) Russia has coerced Belarus, Armenia and parts of Central Asia to join its **Eurasian Union** – Russia's hollow reflection of the European Union – and its **Collective Security Treaty Organization** – Russia's wholly unconvincing equivalent to NATO.

Russia resorted to force, however, in efforts to crush Georgia and Ukraine's freedom of choice. In August 2008, invoking an alleged threat to its so-called "peacekeeping" forces in **Georgia's** provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, Russia engaged in a direct armed invasion and occupation of Georgia's sovereign territory. There is no doubt that this war was planned in advance as a way to punish Georgia for choosing the path of integration into the European Union and NATO. Russia's military aggression was totally disproportionate to the initial skirmish it contrived in South Ossetia, and allegedly included Russia putting its nuclear forces on alert. It allowed Moscow to expand and consolidate its military control over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Russia's actions were conducted in direct violation of international law, including no less than 32 resolutions of the United Nations Security Council – of which it is a permanent member – referring to Abkhazia as an integral part of Georgia. These counted for nothing, however, and Russia recognized the self-declared "independence" of the two entities, an action supported by only three UN member nations: Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Nauru.



*NATO PA visit to Gori district in Georgia, September 2008 (NATO PA)*

To this day, Russia maintains several thousand troops in both provinces. It continues to progressively expand and consolidate the areas under its *de facto* control in Abkhazia and South Ossetia through what is referred to as "borderization", i.e. fencing of the administrative boundary line beyond the officially recognized demarcation and setting up hardened crossing posts.

Emboldened by the West's weak and relatively short-lived response to its actions in Georgia, Russia had no hesitation in pressuring **Ukraine's** then President Viktor Yanukovich into abandoning

negotiations on an Association Agreement with the European Union. In the turmoil that followed, President Putin sent Russian troops in disguise to seize and later annex Crimea and attempt to take control of the Donbas province in Eastern Ukraine. Russia maintains a large and active military presence in both regions up to this day. Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations declared in August 2016 that there were 40,000 Russian troops in and around Crimea, and the Ukrainian President stated in September 2016 that Ukrainian forces were fighting 38,000 Russian and Russian-backed forces in Eastern Ukraine.<sup>4</sup>

### Hybrid Warfare in Practice

*Actions against Ukraine were a showcase for Russia's new hybrid warfare tactics. Moscow's actions combined:*

- *Political pressure;*
- *The massive use of propaganda to build support among the Russian-speaking populations of Crimea and the Donbas;*
- *An active campaign of cyberattacks;*
- *The deployment of "little green men" – special forces in unmarked uniforms – to serve as the advanced party for the full-scale occupation;*
- *Blatant lying to the international media by denying any connection with the "little green men" until this became unsustainable at which point President Putin himself stated that these were Russian troops on leave who spontaneously mobilized in support of their Ukrainian brethren;*
- *A series of large-scale snap military exercises on the border with Ukraine for intimidation purposes; and finally*
- *A major military invasion of Crimea and parts of Eastern Ukraine with tens of thousands of Russian troops and heavy equipment.*

*As a footnote, President Putin stated afterwards that, at the time, he was ready to put Russian nuclear forces on alert. He also later admitted that "of course" the little green men were Russian military personnel.*

The seriousness of Russia's actions in Ukraine cannot be overstated. The conflict has already cost the lives of 10,000 people, injured 22,000 and displaced almost two million.<sup>5</sup> Russia continues to ignore its obligations under the Minsk Agreements – the framework for ceasefire and conflict resolution signed by France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine – and to obstruct the work of international monitors. Despite a renewed effort to put in place a step-by-step ceasefire in Eastern Ukraine in September 2016, attacks continued to occur daily, resulting in further casualties, destruction, and an ongoing high risk of escalation.

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4 See: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-russia-un-idUSKCN10M1K5> and <http://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-petra-poroshenka-na-zagalnih-deba-38237>

5 According to the United Nations and the President of Ukraine, as of September 2016: <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20496&LangID=E> <http://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-petra-poroshenka-na-zagalnih-deba-38237>



*Wreckage of Malaysian airlines flight MH17 in rebel-controlled area in Donetsk Oblast  
(OSCE Special Monitoring Mission in Ukraine)*

The situation remains tense in Crimea as well, as evidenced by Russia's military buildup in and around Ukraine following its claims in August 2016 of an alleged Ukrainian terrorist plot targeted at several sites on the peninsula.<sup>6</sup> Russian authorities acknowledged the deployment since 2013 of four new divisions, nine brigades and 22 regiments in the Southern Military District which includes Crimea.<sup>7</sup> They also openly admitted to deploying the S-400 air defense system to Crimea,<sup>8</sup> and in July 2016 unveiled new enhanced capabilities for the Black Sea fleet headquartered in Crimea.

Russia's annexation of Crimea is the first example of a state seizing territory from another sovereign state in Europe since the Second World War. It is a direct and blatant violation of the United Nations Charter and many of Russia's commitments under international law, first among which are the 1994 Budapest Memorandums through which Russia explicitly committed itself to respecting Ukraine's territorial integrity in exchange for Kyiv's decision to transfer all nuclear weapons on its territory to Russia.

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6 See for instance: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-build-and-around-ukraine-august-12-2016>

7 See for instance: <http://www.voanews.com/a/russia-troop-buildup-ukraine-border-raises-war-fears/3450445.html> and <http://tass.ru/en/defense/891017>

8 See for instance: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37062036> and <http://sputniknews.com/military/20160718/1043202385/russia-crimea-s400-defense.html>

## The 1994 Budapest Memorandums

*The dissolution of the Soviet Union took place formally on 26 December 1991 following declarations of independence and growing unrest in several of its constituent republics.*

*One immediate consequence was that the former Soviet Union's arsenal of some 37,000 nuclear weapons was dispersed among many of the new republics.*

*Approximately 14,000 tactical nuclear weapons were dispersed throughout the non-Russian states, and about 3,200 strategic nuclear warheads were deployed on missile systems in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.*

*Even before the dissolution, Soviet authorities had started to transfer tactical nuclear weapons onto Russian territory, and this process was continued by the Russian government. The United States in particular provided political, financial and technical assistance with the transfer of the former Soviet nuclear arsenal to Russia.*

*With one exception, the non-Russian republics had neither the capacity nor the desire to retain nuclear weapons. The exception was Ukraine where there was serious consideration of remaining a nuclear weapons state, mainly as a means of guaranteeing its continued independence from Russia.*

*Ultimately, however, concerns about the associated costs, the provision of international assistance, and security assurances persuaded Ukraine's leaders to renounce nuclear weapons and become a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapons state.*

*Among the security assurances were the Budapest Memorandums on Security Assurances, signed by Ukraine, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States in December 1994.*



*Signing of the Budapest Memorandum,  
December 1994*

*While not having the binding provisions of a treaty, the Memorandums represented political commitments by Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States to:*

- to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine;*
- to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;*
- to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.*

Russia has also stepped up its political activism and military presence well beyond its immediate neighborhood, ranging from the Middle East to Latin America, Asia and the Arctic.

The most visible example is its ongoing military operation in **Syria**. Presented as Russia's contribution to the global counterterrorist coalition, Russia's air campaign aims in reality to prop up the murderous regime of Bashar al-Assad, and has adopted similar indiscriminate tactics, including the bombardment of humanitarian convoys and the wholesale destruction of entire neighborhoods. In this effort, Moscow has also worked alongside Iran, which has allowed the Russian air force to use its military bases. Moscow was forced to drop any pretense of working towards peace in Syria when it torpedoed negotiations at the United Nations in September 2016.

### **Provocations and violations: Russia's conventional and nuclear saber-rattling**

Russia's rhetoric against NATO and individual Allies - including threats of a nuclear attack - is backed by provocative actions involving both conventional and nuclear capabilities. These are not isolated incidents; they are part of a deliberate strategy of intimidation and coercion.

First, Russia has increased the number of flights – including with strategic bombers – and maritime patrols close to the borders of several NATO Allies and partners, from the United States, across Northern and Southern Europe and all the way to Japan. In many cases, Russian planes turn off their transponders, thus creating a hazard for civilian air traffic. According to NATO, over the last two years, **Russian air activity** close to European airspace has increased by around 70%, leading to over 400 intercepts of Russian aircraft. In November 2015, one such incursion led to the downing by Turkey of a Russian plane which had violated Turkish airspace, a clear illustration of how destabilizing these incessant provocations can be.



*A Russian Su-24 buzzing the USS Donald Cook in the Baltic Sea, April 2016 (US Navy)*

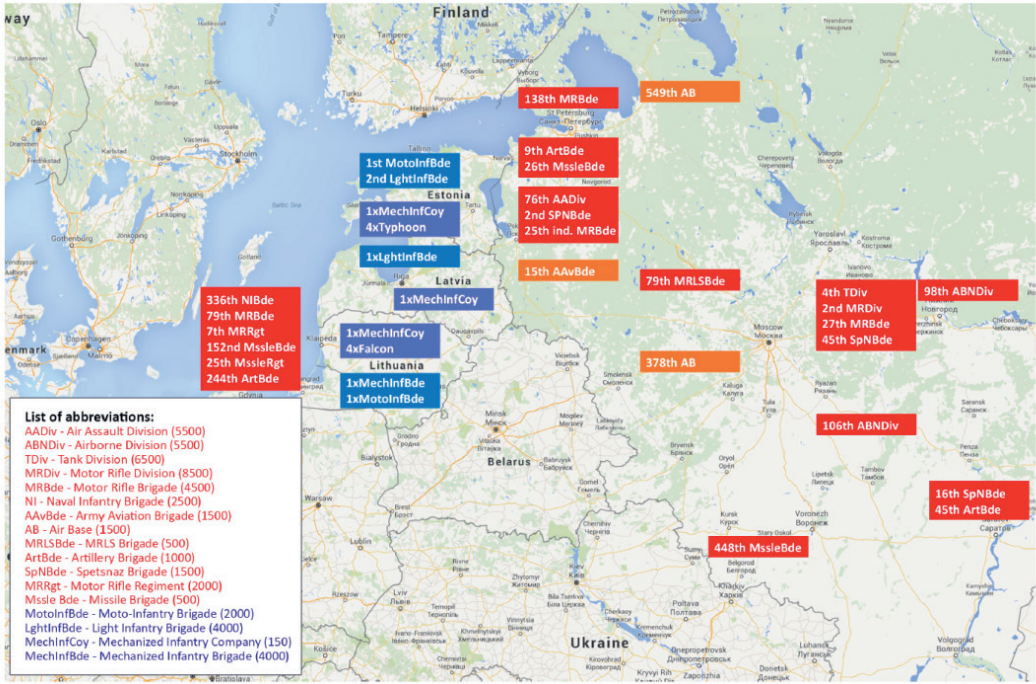
Second, Russia is conducting more **military exercises**, with a growing share simulating nuclear strikes against Allies or partners. Again according to NATO, between 2013 and 2015, Russia conducted at least 18 large-scale snap (unannounced) exercises, some of which involved more than 100,000 troops. In contrast, NATO's much-publicized 2015 Trident Juncture, though the largest in over a decade, only mobilized 36,000 troops.

Third, and even more worryingly, Russia has accelerated the **deployment of conventional capabilities along NATO's borders** aimed at intimidating Allies and turning the balance of forces to its advantage. In January 2016, the Russian Defense Minister announced the re-activation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Guards Tank Army and in May 2016, the planned deployment of two additional divisions of some 10,000 soldiers each in its Western military district adjacent to the Baltic States. These deployments

will bring the total number of troops in that district to some 300,000.<sup>9</sup> The new divisions will be equipped with the most recent armored combat platforms.

Other measures include deployments of air defense systems, coastal defense systems and other so-called “Anti-Access/Area Denial” (A2/AD) capabilities in Kaliningrad and Crimea. These systems’ reach extends into NATO airspace, a clear effort to increase the difficulty for NATO in reinforcing nearby areas in the event of a Russian attack on one of the Eastern Allies. Geography is on Russia’s side particularly in relation to the Baltic States. Any ground reinforcements would have to transit through the narrow land corridor of Suwalki linking Poland and Lithuania in-between Kaliningrad and Belarus.

**Current balance of conventional forces: the Baltic States (including NATO’s forward presence) compared to a part of Russia’s Western Military District**

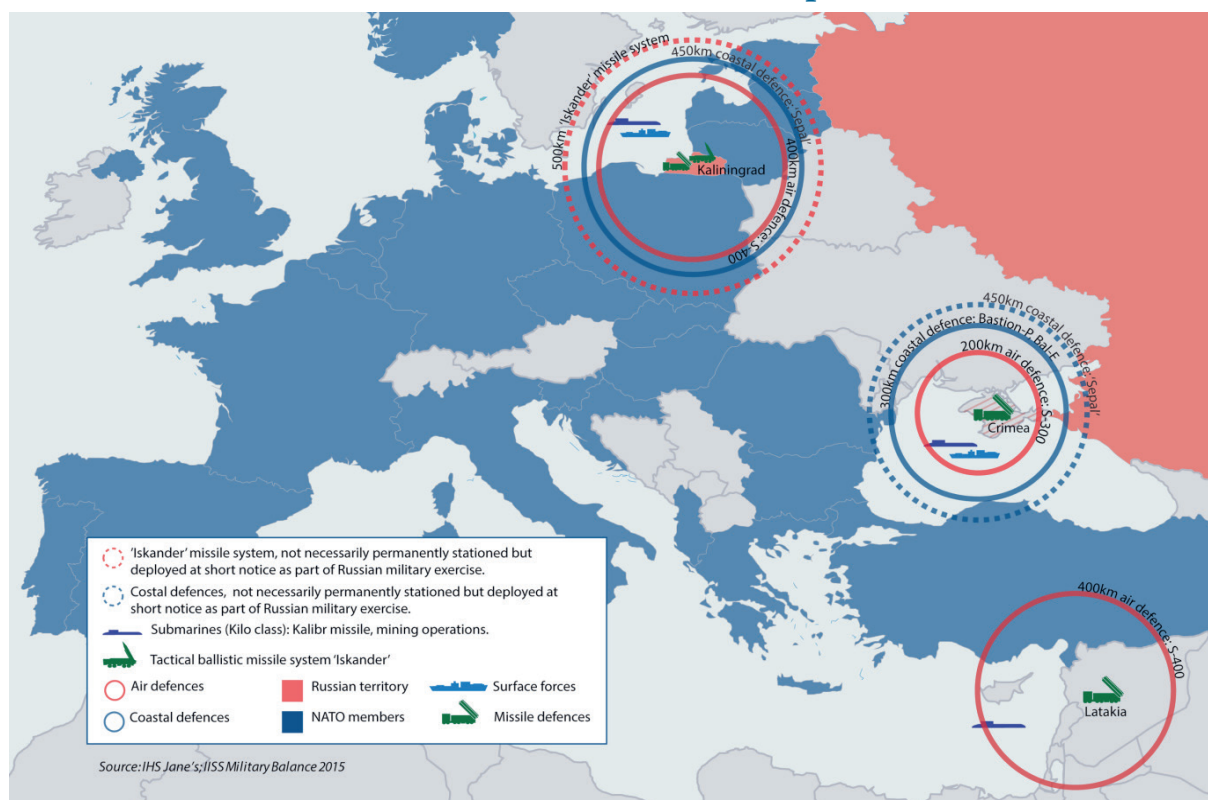


Source: Wesley K. Clark, Jüri Luik, Egon Ramms, Richard Shirreff, “Closing NATO’s Baltic Gap”, International Centre for Defence and Security, 12 May 2016, p.11, <http://www.icds.ee/publications/article/closing-natos-baltic-gap/>

9 See: Anna Maria Dyer, “Russia Beefs Up Military Potential in the Country’s Western Areas”, The Polish Institute of International Affairs, Bulletin No. 35 (885), 13 June 2016, [https://www.pism.pl/files/?id\\_plik=21937](https://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=21937)



## Russia's anti-access / area denial capabilities



Source: "No denial: How NATO can deter a creeping Russian threat" by Rem Korteweg and Sophia Besch, <http://www.cer.org.uk/insights/no-denial-how-nato-can-deter-creeping-russian-threat>, Designed by Kate Mullineux, Centre for European Reform.

Fourth, expanded conventional deployments along NATO's eastern flanks are complemented by Moscow's increasingly aggressive **nuclear saber-rattling**. In particular, Russia has repeatedly threatened to deploy nuclear-capable missiles and bombers in Kaliningrad and Crimea. In fact, reports suggest that some of these capabilities were indeed deployed to those regions during recent snap exercises. Whether the nuclear warheads themselves were moved to those locations remains unclear.<sup>10</sup> Combined with Moscow's new doctrine of pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons for de-escalating crises, these threatened deployments constitute a particularly dangerous development.

Fifth, despite its official statements, Russia has demonstrated a growing disregard for its international commitments. In the light of all other developments described in this section, Russia's numerous **violations of its international commitments** can only be seen as forming part of a pattern, and not as isolated incidents.

Worryingly, these violations extend to some of the landmark agreements on conventional and nuclear weapons limitations. Among these is the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987 which banned all nuclear-capable ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM) with

<sup>10</sup> See for instance:

<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/russian-forces-capable-of-being-nuclear-moving-to-crimea-nato-chief-says/>;  
<http://www.wsj.com/articles/moscows-nuclear-provocation-goes-unpunished-1415041417>;  
<http://sputniknews.com/military/20141017/194194493/Russian-Aviation-Regiment-Receives-New-Su-34-Fighter-Bombers.html>; [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=43711&cHash=330e25b4e1372af93c72f67eaa1d5242#.VsnYvfrLIU](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=43711&cHash=330e25b4e1372af93c72f67eaa1d5242#.VsnYvfrLIU)

a range between 500km and 5,550 km, as well as all launchers of these missiles. The United States administration stated in 2014 that Russia had violated the INF treaty by testing a prohibited missile, a concern repeated in 2015 and 2016.<sup>11</sup>

**Russian Violation of the INF Treaty**

*Several types of systems could constitute violations of the INF: either a short-range missile which would be tested at a range of above 500km, or a long-range system tested at a range lower than 5,500 km, or a sea-launched cruise missile tested from a mobile land-based launcher. Russia is currently developing a number of missile systems, such as the GLCM Iskander K, the sea-launched Kalibr or the ballistic missile RS-26 – presented in the following section – which indeed raise serious questions of compliance with, or at a minimum of circumvention of, the INF or other arms control agreements.<sup>12</sup> The US government has stated that the missile concerned is a GLCM<sup>13</sup>, but has failed to provide significant information. In addition, its response has so far been confined to officially communicating its concern to Russian authorities.*

The table below illustrates a broad range of Russian treaty violations. These highlight the obvious risk of a growing imbalance in doctrine, posture and capabilities between a compliant West and non-compliant Russia.

**Russian treaty violations... among others:**

***Respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states***

**United Nations Charter 1945 / Helsinki Final Act 1975**

<p><u>What the agreements say:</u>  <i>Affirm the principle of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and commit Russia to respecting this principle particularly in relations with its neighbors.</i></p>	<p><u>What Russia does:</u>  <i>Invades and illegally occupies parts of Georgia and Ukraine.</i></p>
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11 United States Department of State, “2016 Report on Adherence to and Compliance With Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments”, April 2016.  
 12 Amy F. Woolf, “Russian Compliance with the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty: Background and Issues for Congress”, Congressional Research Service, 13 April, 2016, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43832.pdf>  
 13 United States Department of State, “2016 Report on Adherence to and Compliance With Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments”, April 2016.

## **Budapest Memorandums 1994**

<p><u>What the agreement says:</u> <i>Commits Russia to respect Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity and to refrain from the use of economic coercion or the threat or use of force.</i></p>	<p><u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Invades, illegally occupies and annexes parts of Ukraine.</i></p>
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## **NATO Russia Founding Act 1997**

<p><u>What the agreement says:</u> <i>Affirms Allies and Russia's commitment to a common Euro-Atlantic "space of security and stability, without dividing lines or spheres of influence limiting the sovereignty of any state". Commits Russia to refrain from the threat or use of force against Allies as well as against any other state; to respect the inherent right of all states to choose their foreign policy priorities; and to mutual transparency in its defense policy and military doctrines.</i></p>	<p><u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Seeks to recreate the former Soviet Union in a different form. Coerces its neighbors. Invades and illegally occupies parts of Georgia and Ukraine.</i></p>
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## ***Conventional arms control commitments and transparency***

### **Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe 1990<sup>14</sup>**

<p><u>What the treaty says:</u> <i>Limits the number and type of conventional forces based in Europe.</i></p>	<p><u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Withdraws from the treaty to get a free hand.</i></p>
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### ***Istanbul commitments 1999***

<p><u>What the agreement says:</u><sup>15</sup> <i>Commits Russia to withdraw all its troops from the Republic of Moldova by 2002. Commits Russia to decrease its military presence in Georgia and close its bases in Gudauta and Vaziani by 1 July 2001. Commits Russia to complete negotiations with Georgia regarding its other military bases in the year 2000.</i></p>	<p><u>What Russia does:</u><sup>16</sup> <i>Still maintains so-called peacekeeping troops in the Republic of Moldova. Occupies parts of Georgia. Maintains an increasing number of military bases in the Georgian provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.</i></p>
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14 United States Department of State, "Compliance With the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Condition (5) (C) Report", January 2016.

15 OSCE, Istanbul Document 1999

16 United States Department of State, "Compliance With the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Condition (5) (C) Report", January 2016.

### Vienna Document 2011<sup>17</sup>

<u>What the agreement says:</u> <i>Commits Russia to transparency on military planning, forces and activities, prior notification of military exercises, observation of exercises, and inspection of certain military sites.</i>	<u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Develops an increasingly opaque defense policy. Repeatedly fails to respond to requests for explanation of unusual military activity, particularly in and around Ukraine. Fails to truthfully report military exercises.</i>
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### Treaty on Open Skies 1992<sup>18</sup>

<u>What the treaty says:</u> <i>Commits Russia to receive short-notice unarmed aerial observation flights of its military facilities by participating states.</i>	<u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Imposes restrictions on flights over certain areas, e.g. Kaliningrad, Chechnya and the border with Abkhazia and South Ossetia.</i>
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## Nuclear arms control commitments

### Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty 1987<sup>19</sup>

<u>What the treaty says:</u> <i>Bans all nuclear-capable ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM) with a range between 500km and 5,550 km, as well as launchers of these missiles.</i>	<u>What Russia does:</u> <i>The US administration has stated that Russia has developed a new GLCM in violation of the INF Treaty. Experts suggest that several other systems could be considered violations or circumventions of the Treaty as well.</i>
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### Presidential Nuclear Initiatives 1991-1992<sup>20</sup>

<u>What the agreement says:</u> <i>Commits Russia to eliminate battlefield nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Commits Russia not to develop new types of nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM). Commits Russia not to develop new heavy nuclear bombers.</i>	<u>What Russia does:</u> <i>Retains and modernizes some of its tactical nuclear weapons. Develops Kalibr, a nuclear capable SLCM. Announces the production of 50 new Tu-160 nuclear bombers.</i>
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17 United States Department of State, "2016 Report on Adherence to and Compliance With Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments", April 2016.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 National Institute for Public Policy, "Russian Strategy: Expansion, Crisis and Conflict", 2016, p.91.

## *Arms control commitments regarding other Weapons of Mass Destruction*

### **Chemical Weapons Convention - 1993<sup>21</sup>**

<i>What the Treaty says: Bans the production, possession and use of chemical weapons.</i>	<i>What Russia does: Submitted incomplete declaration of its facilities and stockpiles.</i>
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### **Biological Weapons Convention – 1972<sup>22</sup>**

<i>What the Treaty says: Bans the production, possession and use of biological weapons.</i>	<i>What Russia does: Has failed to satisfactorily document whether it has destroyed or diverted to peaceful purposes the offensive biological weapons program it has inherited from the Soviet Union.</i>
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Most recently, Russia suspended a bilateral agreement with the United States dating back to 2000 on the disposal of surplus weapons-grade plutonium. The conditions set by Moscow for resuming cooperation – lifting of US sanctions and compensation for the damage caused; reduction of the US force presence on the territory of the Eastern NATO Allies – clearly signal that this suspension has nothing to do with this particular agreement and all to do with Moscow’s revanchist global agenda.

### **Seeking to “divide and conquer” Allied leaders and public opinion**

The last pillar of Russia’s strategy against NATO is a traditional “divide and conquer” approach. Russia consistently seeks to create and exploit differences of opinion among Allies, and particularly to drive a wedge between Europe and North America. These efforts have naturally intensified following the adoption by all Allies and by NATO of sanctions against Russia in response to its aggression in Ukraine.

Besides the use of traditional diplomacy, Russia has engaged in a longer-term, intensive and comprehensive effort aimed at creating and nurturing pro-Russian constituencies and undermining political stability in Allied countries. It has done this through an active propaganda and lobbying campaign.

Russia has invested massive resources in its **information war**. Its flagship project is the TV channel Russia Today (recently renamed RT), a mouthpiece for the regime’s anti-NATO ideology. RT’s annual budget increased by more than 40% between 2014 and 2015. The channel claims a viewership of 700 million people in more than 100 countries, and provides content in German, French, Spanish and Arabic, in addition to English.

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21 United States Department of State, “Compliance With the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction Condition 10(C) Report”, April 2016.

22 United States Department of State, “2016 Report on Adherence to and Compliance With Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments”, April 2016.



Russia's media presence is not limited to RT, however. Russian outlets are actively investing in all types of media across Europe and North America. Furthermore, it is exploiting armies of online activists (so-called “trolls”) to post pro-regime anti-NATO comments on news and social media sites. It is increasing its outreach to Russian-speaking communities, and intensifying efforts to promote Russian culture abroad. More worryingly, it is infiltrating NGOs and think tanks in Allied countries, as well as developing increasingly close links with certain centers of power such as specific political parties. Furthermore, Moscow is perfecting its attempts to influence the outcome of elections abroad. Russia has interfered in electoral processes in what it considers as its zone of influence for many years. However, it now uses elaborate information and cyberwarfare in support of this effort, and is targeting NATO Allies. Its recent attempts to interfere in the United States electoral campaign vividly show the extent of Moscow's new ambition and self-confidence. Allied countries have so far failed to develop an adequate response to this aggressive policy.

### 3. Russia's means

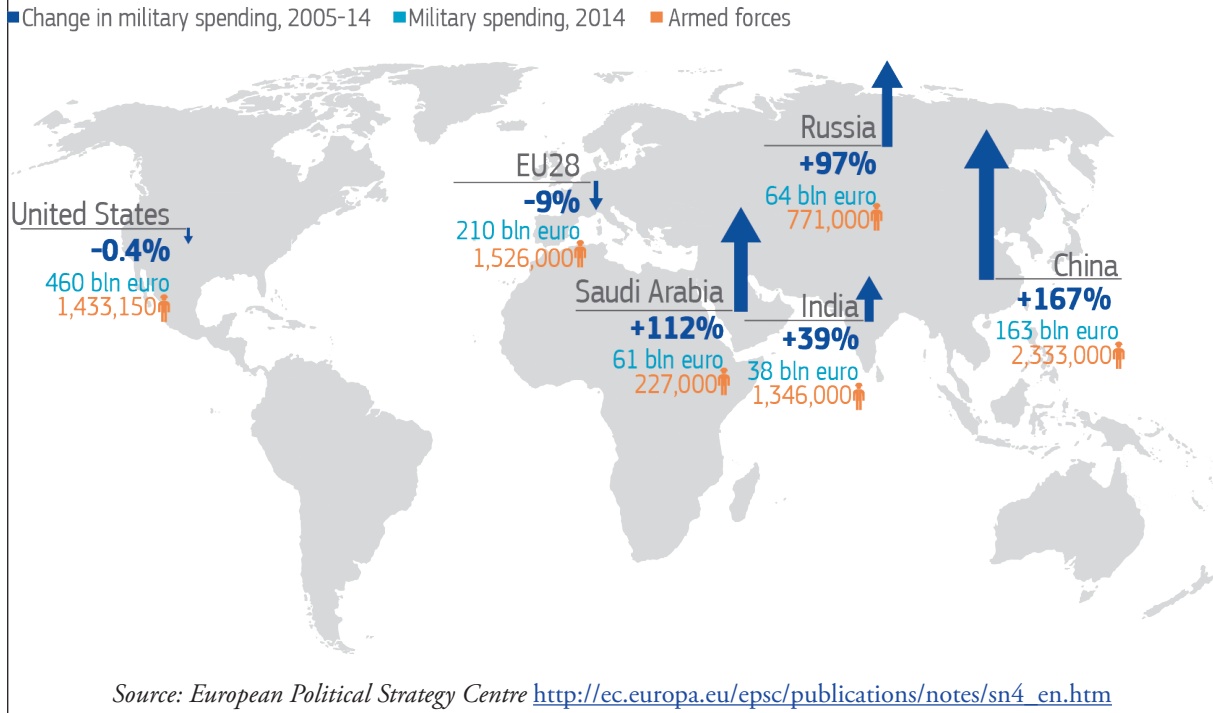
Since 2008 when Russian forces performed less well than expected against the greatly outnumbered Georgians, Russia has been engaged in a comprehensive effort to modernize its armed forces, labelled “New Look”. The centerpiece of this effort is the 2010 State Armaments Program (SAP) whose stated aim is the modernization of 70-80% of Russia's military equipment by 2020. The modernization program covers the full spectrum of its military capabilities and is intended to redress deficiencies in the readiness, effectiveness, structure and equipment of Russian armed forces.

#### Russian Defense Investment and Output

*To achieve its objectives, Russia is planning to spend RUB 20.7 trillion over a decade for new armaments. While Allies cut their defense spending by 20% between 2008 and 2014, Russia increased hers by 50%. Between 2014 and 2015 alone, Russia's defense spending increased by some 20 % to USD 65 billion, accounting for over 5% of GDP in 2015. The gap in terms of actual dollars devoted to defense remains significant with NATO, whose members spend a total of USD 900 billion on defense – equivalent to 2.4% of GDP. However, as the graphs below show the trend is clearly one of massive Russian reinvestment in defense. In addition, while Russia's economy suffers from the impact of economic sanctions and historically low oil prices, the Kremlin chose to preserve levels of defense spending and investment to the detriment of other sectors of the economy<sup>23</sup>. As a result, and despite delays in some flagship programs, six years into the implementation of the 2010 armaments program, Russia is on track or even ahead of the interim objectives set in the SAP. The Russian defense industry also adapted quickly to sanctions targeting defense sales to Russia by developing domestic production. As a result, military equipment output grew by a record 20% in 2014.*

23 Startlingly, military expenditure exceeded 9% of GDP in the first quarter of 2015. <http://uk.businessinsider.com/russian-economist-kremlin-military-spending-is-indefensible-2015-5?r=US&IR=T>

## Defense spending trends and military strength around the world



### Conventional forces

Reforms of the conventional forces have focused on **restructuring and professionalizing the force** – with a goal of reaching a ratio of two thirds professionals-one third conscripts by 2020, and a fully professional Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) corps. Russia is also investing in a broad range of new systems for ground, air and naval forces, including the procurement of 1,150 helicopters, over 4,000 Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), over 2,300 tanks, and some 30,000 other armored and unarmored vehicles by 2020.

New **ground** vehicles – such as the flagship Armata Universal Combat Platform – will bring improvements in armor protection and crew survivability.



*Military Parade in Moscow, 9 May 2016 (Russian Presidency)*

New **navy** capabilities already include a modernized submarine force, as well as plans to modernize the coastal defense fleet; procure large destroyers for long-range, blue-water missions; and build new classes of amphibious ships.

**Air force** modernization includes the new T50 stealth fighter aircraft – branded as a competitor to the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter - three new types of combat UAVs of one, five and twenty tons respectively, and by 2020 a thirty-fold increase in the stockpile precision-guided missiles compared with 2013 levels.<sup>24</sup>

In the field of **air defense**, Russia has two “flagship” air and theatre missile defense projects: the S-400 and S-500, with operational ranges of 400 and 600km respectively. Russia is also upgrading its nuclear-armed ballistic missile defense system around Moscow with the A-235 Samolyet-M, which includes a new road-mobile element.

Missile system	Operational range	Function	Stage of development
S-400	400km	Air defense Defense against short- and medium range missiles	Objective of 56 battalions by 2020
S-500	600km	Air defense Defense against long-range ballistic missiles	In development

Some of Russia’s new conventional capabilities have been on display in Eastern Ukraine with worrying effectiveness. Among these, observers cite the use of the particularly destructive thermobaric weapons; T-90 tanks equipped with reactive armor and active protection systems which significantly increase the tanks’ survivability; the extensive and skillful use of drones; and a dense network of mobile air defenses.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, Moscow is investing heavily in **electronic warfare** capabilities aimed at jamming the adversary’s communications, surveillance, targeting systems and command and control. These were again used extensively in Russia’s military operations in Ukraine and Syria. Western military officials have recognized Russia’s expertise in this area, with US Army Lt Gen Hodges calling Russia’s capabilities “eye- watering”.<sup>26</sup> The situation is doubly worrying: first, because their post-Cold War experience of military interventions in largely non-contested environments has led Allied forces to invest less in electronic warfare; and second, because their technologically-advanced militaries are increasingly dependent upon electronics-enabled capabilities.

### Cyber and information warfare

Russia is also investing in the cyber domain which it sees as an essential new dimension of modern warfare. Its strategic documents and military doctrine make the development of cyber capabilities a central priority and Russia’s recent actions demonstrate that it has indeed taken this objective very seriously. Russia’s concept of cyberwarfare is particularly broad, encompassing not only military defensive and offensive capabilities, but also the use of cyberattacks and information warfare as part

24 [http://www.pravdareport.com/russia/economics/10-07-2013/125077-high\\_precision\\_weapons\\_russia-0/](http://www.pravdareport.com/russia/economics/10-07-2013/125077-high_precision_weapons_russia-0/)

25 See for instance: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/russia-using-ukraine-battlefield-to-rehearse-for-war-with-west-32bgm7xmq> and <http://www.thepotomacfoundation.org/russias-new-generation-warfare-2/>

26 On this issue, see for instance: <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/warfare/2015/08/02/us-army-ukraine-russia-electronic-warfare/30913397/>; <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/how-russias-edge-electronic-warfare-could-ground-the-us-air-15932>; <http://intersectionproject.eu/article/security/do-not-underestimate-russian-military>



of its broader hybrid warfare strategy. Again, its aggression against Ukraine provides a particularly enlightening case study, in which covert infiltration by “little green men” and full scale military aggression were preceded and accompanied by a massive propaganda operation – using traditional media, social media, but also simply mass campaigns of text messages -, as well as a broad range of cyberattacks conducted against Ukrainian and Western official websites, and Ukrainian civilian infrastructure and media. For purposes of deniability, cyberattacks are largely sub-contracted to a private army of “trolls” and cyber-hacktivists.



*Logo of the Cyberberkut hacktivist group (Cyberberkut) / (NATO)*

Russia’s cyberwar against Ukraine built upon previous large-scale cyberattacks against Estonia in 2007 – which targeted government institutions, as well as the banking sector and other essential services – and against Georgia in 2008 – in conjunction with Russia’s military aggression. However, the scope, scale, and sophistication of attacks conducted against Ukraine show how far Russia has gone since 2007-2008. Two recent incidents are particularly worrying, and illustrate how Western governments may have for too long underestimated Russia’s cyber capabilities. In December 2015, a cyberattack conducted against the Ukrainian electricity grid provoked the first known power outage caused by a cyberattack. Three electricity distribution centers and 30 substations supplying 230,000 residents were taken down for up to six hours.<sup>27</sup> While Russia naturally denies any responsibility, this incident raises serious concern that Russia has mastered the ability to conduct cyberattacks capable of damaging physical infrastructure. A cyberattack conducted against Kyiv’s main international airport in January 2016 raises further concerns.<sup>28</sup> Russian authorities recently announced they were planning to invest USD 200 to 250 million per year into the development of offensive cyber capabilities.<sup>29</sup>

27 See for instance; <https://www.wired.com/2016/03/inside-cunning-unprecedented-hack-ukraines-power-grid/>

28 See for instance: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-cybersecurity-malware-idUSKCN0UW0R0>

29 See: <http://www.scmagazineuk.com/russia-to-spend-250m-strengthening-cyber-offensive-capabilities/article/470733/>

## Nuclear forces

Alongside conventional forces modernization and the development of cyber capabilities, Russia is investing in each component of its strategic nuclear triad (air, ground and sea), as well as its non-strategic (short-range / theater) nuclear capabilities, with the aim of replacing aging Soviet-era systems. Estimates are that Russia's current nuclear weapons stockpile stands at around 7,700 warheads, including some 1,735 deployed strategic warheads. In comparison, the United States inventory is estimated at around 7,200 warheads, of which 1,481 are deployed strategic warheads. There is, however, a striking imbalance in tactical nuclear weapons: Russia is suspected of deploying some 2,000 tactical weapons, or ten times the United States' estimated deployment.<sup>30</sup>

In this context, serious questions must be asked about the timeliness and effectiveness of any effort to engage Russia in nuclear arms reductions or of any relaxing of Allies' nuclear posture. All the developments described below have taken place during or since the conclusion of the New START treaty which commits the United States and Russia to further reductions of their nuclear arsenals. In other words, while seeking to bind the United States' hands, Russia was itself investing in new systems, some of which certainly violate the spirit, if not the letter, of New START, INF and other arms control agreements. The following sections highlight the breadth of Russia's nuclear modernization.

### Air:

Russia is currently modernizing three classes of strategic bomber aircraft and investing in a new stealth bomber.

Type of aircraft	Upgrade or new model	Prospected completion
Tu-95MS (Bear)	upgrade	2020
Tu-160 (Blackjack)	upgrade	
Tu-160M2	upgrade / new	50 new planes to be delivered after 2023
PAK-DA stealth bomber	new	2030



*Russian Tu-95MS  
and Tu-160 strategic  
bombers (Russian MoD)*

<sup>30</sup> Data for the total number of US warheads based on information released by the Department of State, US National Report to the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty Review Conference 2015, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/242102.pdf> Data for deployed US and Russian strategic warheads based on the New START Treaty latest exchange of data, April 2016. <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/rls/2016/255377.htm>

Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs):

Russia is renewing its ICBM force, with a heavy emphasis on increasing its mobility. In addition, it is developing a hypersonic glide vehicle (HGV), intended to maneuver aerodynamically upon entering the atmosphere and thereby evade interception.

Type of missile	Existing or new	Prospected completion
RS-24 Yars (SS-27 Mod 2)	Existing – but development of silo-based and rail-mobile	2020 – will replace SS-19
RS-26 Rubezh / Yars-M	New – road-mobile, multiple warheads	2016
Sarmat	New – heavy, liquid-fuelled, silo-based, multiple warheads	2020 – will replace SS-18
Barguzin	New – rail-mobile, multiple warheads	2040



*Yars and Rubezh Russian missile launchers (Russian MoD)*

Sea-based force

As to the maritime component of the force, Russia is aiming to replace its entire fleet of Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs) with a new fleet equipped with new Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). It is also reportedly developing a nuclear-armed submarine drone / torpedo with a range of 10,000 km, known as Oceanic Multipurpose System – Status 6.

Type of capability	Upgrade or new	Units contracted / delivered
Borei class SSBN	New	8 to be delivered by 2020 to replace the current Delta class SSBNs
RSM-54 Sineva and Liner SLBM	Upgrade – for Delta class SSBNs	
RSM-56 Bulava SLBM	New multiple warheads for Borei class SSBNs	



*The new Borei class Russian SSBN Alexander Nevsky (Russian MoD)*

### Non-strategic nuclear weapon systems

Many elements of Russia's non-strategic nuclear arsenal are being modernized. This includes upgrades to the Tu-22M3M (Backfire) and Su-24 M (Fencer) bombers, as well as the development of the new SU-34 (Fullback) fighter bomber. Russia is also introducing a number of new ground-, sea- and air-launched ballistic and cruise missile systems, several of which could pose new and direct threats to NATO Allies. Among these are the R-500 Iskander K system carrying nuclear-capable cruise missiles and the Iskander-M road-mobile ballistic and cruise missile launcher. Moscow has on several occasions threatened to permanently deploy the Iskander M in Kaliningrad and Crimea. From these locations, the nuclear-capable missiles whose range extends to 500km could hit parts of NATO's territory. Worryingly, reports suggest that Iskander-M have already been deployed to Kaliningrad and Crimea as part of snap exercises. Moscow has ordered 120 of these systems.



*The Iskander M missile launcher (Russian MoD)*

Furthermore, the new Kalibr sea-launched cruise missile, which can carry either conventional or nuclear payloads, enhances Russia's ability to strike targets on land from both surface ships and submarines. Russia is suspected to have already used Kalibr as part of its military intervention in Syria, firing the missile at targets inside Syria from warships over 1,500km away in the Caspian Sea. If deployed in the Black Sea or the Baltic Sea, Kalibr- equipped warships could

easily reach targets within Europe. Similarly, one could very well imagine Kalibr-equipped submarines deployed all the way to the Atlantic and able to reach the continental United States.<sup>31</sup>

### C. NATO, Russia and Missile Defense

No analysis of the relationship between NATO and Russia can be complete without addressing the subject of missile defense. NATO viewed this as a likely area of fruitful cooperation but Russia chose to make it a profoundly divisive issue by willfully misrepresenting the facts of the matter.

NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept stated that the Allies would “develop the capability to defend our populations and territories against ballistic missile attack as a core element of our collective defense, which contributes to the indivisible security of the Alliance. We will actively seek cooperation on missile defense with Russia and other Euro-Atlantic partners”.

NATO's rationale for developing and deploying missile defenses is to provide protection from the type of limited missile attack that could plausibly be mounted in the years ahead by a nation such as North Korea or Iran, or even by a terrorist group such as ISIL if it managed to occupy a country which had developed missile capabilities. Such missile defenses would make NATO less susceptible to intimidation by states or groups with relatively small arsenals which could nevertheless otherwise threaten to inflict substantial casualties and damage. They also provide protection against an attack by a “non-rational” aggressor – perhaps sharing ISIL's “ideology” – who would not be deterred by possible consequences, as well as against an accidental or unauthorized launch.

Russia, too, has already developed a variety of highly capable missile defense systems, and NATO's concept was that systems could be coordinated to maximize opportunities for interception, with Russia and NATO each benefiting from the other's detection, tracking, and – if necessary – interception systems.

However, Russia has stalled efforts to cooperate, insisting that NATO's missile defense system was aimed at undermining Russian security. Despite the evidence of the laws of physics, and the development of its own impressive missile defense systems, Russia has not wavered from the view that NATO's missile defenses would somehow erode Russia's defenses and indeed even pose a threat, recently adding the extravagant accusation that NATO's missile defense system would violate the INF Treaty.

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31 See for instance: <http://freebeacon.com/national-security/russia-nearing-deployment-of-new-intermediate-range-naval-missile/> [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/09/world/middleeast/russias-kalibr-cruise-missiles-a-new-weapon-in-syria-conflict.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/09/world/middleeast/russias-kalibr-cruise-missiles-a-new-weapon-in-syria-conflict.html?_r=1) <http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/could-us-face-cruise-missile-threat-gulf-mexico/>

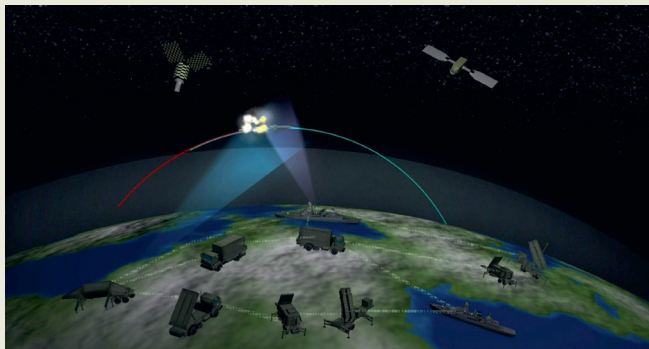
## Debunking Russian myths about NATO's missile defense system

*In 2010, when NATO decided to develop its missile defense system, Allies offered for Russia to be associated with this effort. In fact, efforts to cooperate on missile defense with Russia made little or no progress due to Russia's repeated insistence that NATO's missile defense system was aimed at undermining Russian security. Indeed, Russia's 2014 military doctrine lists missile defenses as the fourth external military risk to Russia.<sup>32</sup>*

*Why is this fantasy?*

*Russian strategic nuclear missiles launched towards the United States would follow trajectories over the polar regions, nowhere near the operating area of NATO's missile defenses.*

*If any did pass close to their operational areas, their speed and trajectory would put them beyond the reach of those defenses.*



(NATO)

*NATO's missile defenses are intended to defend against a limited ballistic missile attack launched against Western Europe by a rogue state, Russia's large tactical weapons capability would circumvent or overwhelm NATO's few tens of interceptors. And why would Russia's missiles be aimed at Western Europe in the first place?*

*The NATO missile defense system is a purely defensive system which would be triggered in response to a ballistic missile attack; it is in no way an offensive capability. In addition, the interceptors are not fitted with warheads; they use "hit-to-kill" technology, destroying the incoming missile through the impact of the collision. Russia's claims that deployment of these interceptors would somehow constitute a violation of the INF Treaty are therefore groundless.*

*Despite Russia's intense criticism of NATO's missile defense, it has itself developed extremely effective missile defense systems, and NATO had hoped that these could be coordinated with NATO's so the systems could work in concert to defeat threats emanating from beyond Russian and NATO territory.*

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.nato.int/docu/Review/2015/Russia/Ballistic-Missile-Defence-Putin/EN/index.htm>  
and <http://www.theatrum-belli.com/the-military-doctrine-of-the-russian-federation/>

The first risk is the build of the "power potential" of NATO and vesting NATO with global functions in violation of the rules of international law. Second is the destabilization of individual states. Third is the deployment of foreign military contingents in states and waters neighboring Russia.

*The Russian S-300 is a highly capable mobile air defense system able to intercept aircraft and short-range missiles. The newer S-400 is described by Russian sources as being able to intercept air targets at ranges of up to 400 kilometers and missiles at altitudes of 60 kilometers and speeds of up to 4.8 kilometers a second.<sup>33</sup>*

*Russia also has its A-135 (designated ABM-3 by NATO) missile defense system around Moscow. This currently consists of 68 SH-08 “Gazelle” nuclear-armed interceptors, plus associated radars and control systems.*

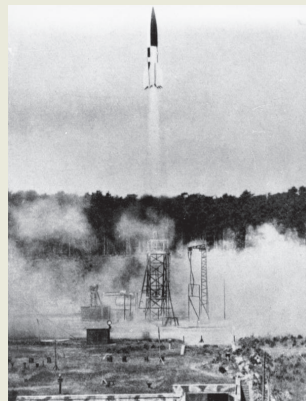
*Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has never objected to Russia’s missile defenses or its right to protect itself from missile attack. Indeed, it sought to cooperate in missile defense.*

## Missile Defense – A Short History

*Ballistic missiles are more like stones and spears than aircraft. After a large initial “push” from their engines, they “coast” to their destination following a trajectory governed mainly by gravity.<sup>34</sup> They are thus ballistic projectiles. Like a stone, the harder it is “thrown”, the further it will go. And to go as far as possible, it has to be thrown quite steeply upwards.*

*The V-2 used in the Second World War had a range of about 320 kilometers and reached an altitude of about 80 kilometers. Its speed at impact – about five minutes after launch – was almost 3,000 kilometers per hour.<sup>35</sup>*

*There was no defense against the V-2 and attacks only ceased when their launch sites were overrun by the Allied advance in Europe.*



*Launch of a V2, 1943 (Bundesarchiv, Bild 141-1880 / CC-BY-SA 3.0)*

*During the Cold War, ballistic missiles – launched from land or from submarines – were seen as an essential means for delivering nuclear weapons. The only feasible defenses against them were interceptors armed with a nuclear warhead which would have been detonated in the vicinity of an*

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<sup>33</sup> <http://sputniknews.com/military/20151111/1029903504/russia-s400-missile-defense-weaponry.html>  
<https://www.rt.com/news/323596-s400-russia-syria-airbase-turkey/>

<sup>34</sup> Aerodynamic forces – “wind resistance” for instance - must be taken into account for the portions of the trajectory within the atmosphere, in the same way that a ball or a bullet might be buffeted by the wind and slowed down by air resistance, but ballistic missiles do not fly like airplanes.

<sup>35</sup> “V-2 Rocket Facts” in “World War 2 Facts” Will Harney, 7 April 2013.  
<http://www.worldwar2facts.org/v2-rocket-facts.html>

*incoming warhead. It was simply not technically or economically feasible to provide nationwide protection using the technology available.<sup>36</sup>*

*In the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to limit their defenses to two sites each employing no more than 100 interceptors. This was reduced to one site each in a 1974 protocol. The following year, the United States shut down its only operational missile defense site because the costs were deemed too high for the limited protection it offered. The Soviet Union maintained its missile defense system with nuclear-armed interceptors around Moscow and continues to operate and update it to this day.*

*The microelectronic revolution effectively reopened the missile defense issue. During the late 1970s, research indicated that tracking and guidance technologies were improving to the point where missile interception might be possible without the need for the interceptor to employ a nuclear weapon to destroy the incoming warhead. In other words, it appeared possible to steer an interceptor into a direct collision with an incoming warhead. With closing speeds of almost 10 kilometers per second, this has been described as like hitting a bullet with another bullet.*

*On 23 March 1983, then US President Ronald Reagan announced the “Strategic Defense Initiative” (SDI), a research program intended to establish whether missile defense technologies could be developed which would render nuclear-armed missiles obsolete.*

*In fact, the large-scale interception of strategic ballistic missiles remains a far-off prospect, but technology has progressed to the point where defenses against short-range systems are now well established. The MIM-104 “Patriot”, for instance, first saw action in the 1991 Gulf War where it was used to provide protection against Iraqi “Scud” missiles. The “Patriot” and similar systems are now in service in many countries, and other systems are being developed and deployed to defend against longer-range missile threats.*

*As noted earlier, Russia maintains a fixed missile-defense system with nuclear-armed interceptors around Moscow, and it has deployed the highly capable S-400 missile defense system. The even more capable S-500 is in advanced development.*

*The United States has deployed the Ground-Based Midcourse Defense System in Alaska and California to provide protection against the type of limited attack that might be mounted by a state such as North Korea. This system consists of 30 interceptors plus a network of support components such as early-warning satellites, ground and sea-based radars, and a variety of command and communications systems. The United States also has deployed the Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense system aboard certain cruisers and destroyers. This is designed to intercept short – to intermediate – range ballistic missiles.*

*NATO has decided to deploy missile defenses to protect its territory. A key element of these defenses is the Aegis system, with current plans calling for four ship-based systems to be based in Spain, along with two “Aegis Ashore” land-based sites in Romania and Poland. Various other components – “Patriot” batteries, air-defense frigates, land-based radars, and eventually a missile defense variant of the European “Aster 30” air defense missile – will be incorporated into a NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defense System (NATINAMDS).*

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<sup>36</sup> The Nike-Hercules interceptors used in the US “Safeguard” system, for instance, had a range of about 140 kilometers so thousands would have been needed to cover the land area of the United States.





*Elements of NATO's missile defense system (NATO)*

*Many other nations have also decided to deploy missile defenses. Israel has a particularly well-developed “multi-layered” set of systems as a result of its strategic situation which includes regular missile attacks from the Gaza Strip. Many other countries in the Middle East have acquired the “Patriot” system, and elsewhere, China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan are all developing or acquiring missile defenses.*

## **D. Russia's Goals**

As early as 2005, in his address to the nation, President Putin called the collapse of the Soviet Union “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century”<sup>37</sup>, and Russia is evidently seeking to regain the status of a global power. This status would in part be achieved by regaining control over its neighborhood and recreating a modern version of the Soviet Union. However, Russia is also seeking to expand its influence and presence globally, and, despite major strains in its economy, it is continuing to invest massively in the modernization of its armed forces.

In Russia's official view, these objectives can only be achieved in opposition to the United States and to NATO. Moscow has stated in terms that leave no room for ambiguity that it views NATO as a threat and has issued aggressive statements on the role of nuclear weapons.

Russian forces have shown the ability to mobilize large numbers extremely rapidly in “snap” exercises. Their “Crimea-style” infiltration, subversion, and then occupation also shows a sophisticated ability to blur the distinction between a civil emergency and an external threat, potentially complicating NATO decisions on collective defensive military counter-action. Last but not least, Russia has deployed conventional forces – and threatened to deploy nuclear forces – on NATO's borders, thereby complicating Allies' ability to come to the rescue of its Eastern members in the event of an attack.

All these developments make the scenario of a Russian intervention in NATO's East a disturbingly realistic threat. One could for instance imagine an attempt at a limited takeover of part of a NATO

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<sup>37</sup> See for instance: <http://fas.org/irp/news/2005/04/putin042505.html> and <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4481455.stm>. The Kremlin's official translation of the address uses the wording “a major geopolitical disaster of the century” <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22931>

nation, under the pretext of protecting ethnic Russians, and in the hope this would create a division among NATO Allies with some wavering about when or even whether to invoke Article 5 over an initially ambiguous territorial incursion. For obvious reasons, those NATO member nations bordering Russia and with substantial ethnic Russian populations feel especially vulnerable to such a “Crimea-style” contingency.

It is impossible and imprudent to ignore Russia’s efforts to intimidate its neighbors; its use of force against Georgia and Ukraine; its often-stated antagonism to NATO; its numerous Cold War style military provocations; its disregard for international law, treaties and agreements; its flagrant use of misinformation and disinformation; and its impressive build-up of military capabilities.

Russia has abandoned any pretense at partnership with NATO leaving NATO little choice but to ensure that Russia excludes the use of force as a policy option in its dealings with NATO. Unfortunately, under current circumstances the only reliable means of achieving that is through deterrence: ensuring that in making a decision to use force the likely benefits would be outweighed by the likely costs.

## II. STRENGTHENING NATO'S DETERRENT POSTURE

As the previous chapter illustrates, Russia has made clear through both words and deeds that it perceives NATO as a threat, that it is prepared to use force, that it has the capacity to do so, and that if its strategic interests require, it will not hesitate to violate its obligations under international law.

It is more than a quarter of a century since the Alliance has had to contemplate the conduct of a major collective defense mission, and – equally importantly – consider how best to deter threats to its territorial integrity.

And unfortunately, it is not possible just to blow the dust off Cold War plans, update them, and put them into practice. Since the end of the Cold War, all NATO nations have – understandably – reduced the proportion of GDP spent on defense, and the global financial crisis which began in 2007 led to still more severe cuts in overall defense spending by Allies. As a result, the armed forces personnel in the larger European NATO nations are at about half their level at the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, the mainstay of NATO's Cold War defense and deterrent - United States forces in Europe - have been reduced even more dramatically. For instance, the United States Army had some 220,000 personnel in Europe at the end of the Cold War compared with 28,000 today – less than the number of policemen in New York City. US European Command is also the second smallest of the United States' component commands.<sup>38</sup>

NATO's first and most important mission is to provide for the collective defense of its members. Allied leaders must therefore urgently prepare NATO to address the renewed threat to Allies' territories and populations.

The NATO Summit in Warsaw in July 2016 endorsed a number of significant decisions, which must now be implemented fully and swiftly. Allied leaders must also make clear that they are prepared to take further steps if needed.

The following sections review the requirements of credible collective defense and deterrence, and the steps taken by Allied leaders in Warsaw to enhance NATO's deterrent strategy and posture, while at the same time outlining some of the key priorities going forward.

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<sup>38</sup> Wesley K. Clark, Jüri Luik, Egon Ramms, Richard Shirreff, "Closing NATO's Baltic Gap", International Centre for Defense and Security, 12 May 2016, p.11, <http://www.icds.ee/publications/article/closing-natos-baltic-gap/>

## A. The requirements of credible collective defense and deterrence

### 1. Collective defense: NATO's raison d'être

Collective defense - the principle whereby a group of nations commits themselves to defending any member of the group should they come under attack - is enshrined in **Article 5 of the NATO founding Treaty**, signed on 4 April 1949 by ten Western European nations, the United States and Canada. Four years after the end of the Second World War, and in the context of rising tensions in an increasingly divided Europe, the creation of NATO helped seal the United States' continued commitment to European security. The 28 – and with the upcoming accession of Montenegro, soon to be 29 - members that make up NATO today remain bound by this unique, exceptional bond which states that an attack on any NATO Ally would be considered as an attack on them all.

#### NATO's Article 5



*The North Atlantic Treaty (NATO)*

*“The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.*

*Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.”*

On 11 September 2001, Al-Qaeda terrorists conducted a horrific series of attacks against the United States. For the first time in its history, NATO invoked Article 5 – the collective defense commitment - of the NATO Treaty. Thereby, Allies indicated that collective defense extends not only to instances of traditional conventional armed attacks – as was thought before, but also to other forms of attacks even if not conducted with military means nor by a state.

## The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the invocation of Article 5



*10 year commemoration ceremony for the victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks at NATO Headquarters (NATO)*

*Who would have thought that Article 5, which had always been envisioned first and foremost as a US guarantee in the event of an attack against Europe, would first be invoked following a terrorist attack directed against the United States?*

*To demonstrate their solidarity with the United States, NATO Allies deployed surveillance aircraft to the United States' airspace to help prevent any further attacks, and surveillance ships in the Mediterranean to intercept any potential terrorist-related traffic.*

*The 9/11 attacks marked the emergence of the threat from non-state actors – individuals and groups acting independently from state structures and interests. By invoking Article 5 in response to a terrorist attack, Allies effectively adapted NATO's collective defense to this new reality. Since 2001, they also confirmed that a cyberattack or a hybrid attack of the type used by Russia in Ukraine could be considered an "armed attack" as defined in Article 5, and thus could trigger collective action.*

*Because the 9/11 attacks were planned by Al-Qaeda from its base in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, they led the United States to intervene in Afghanistan to dismantle Al-Qaeda and deny it a safe haven. As of 2003, NATO took over the leadership of the multinational coalition in Afghanistan. While NATO's combat mission in Afghanistan ended on 31 December 2014, the Alliance retains a training and assistance mission in the country.*

## 2. The concept of deterrence

Better than having to repel an attack, however, is to convince potential adversaries that the cost of an attack would be prohibitive: in other words, to deter a potential aggressor. NATO's concept of collective defense is therefore not just about being prepared to defend Allies, but to deter an attack by ensuring that NATO forces could plausibly inflict sufficient damage on an attacker that he would consider that the potential costs of aggression would be higher than the potential gains. To achieve this, NATO Allies have, since 1949, sought to maintain strong, credible defenses able to provide **deterrence**.

To be effective a deterrent must be both **capable** and **credible**. In other words, an effective deterrent must convince a potential adversary that in the face of aggression, the victim would use a capability that would make the cost of aggression unacceptable. This concept is simple in principle, but complex in practice largely because although capabilities can be assessed and quantified with some confidence, credibility is essentially subjective. A great deal of debate about deterrence – particularly nuclear deterrence – therefore focuses on how to ensure the credibility of deterrent forces as perceived by a potential adversary.

For those countries which possess **nuclear weapons** – i.e. within NATO: the United States, the United Kingdom and France -, the concept of deterrence must include both conventional and nuclear dimensions. Nuclear forces naturally provide the ultimate guarantee of those states' security, but the devastating lethality which constitutes the distinct feature of these weapons also adds a layer of complexity when defining the state's deterrence posture.

### Some concepts and principles of deterrence

**Deterrence by denial:** convince the adversary that its attack would necessarily fail to achieve its intended goals. For instance, a potential aggressor would be deterred from attacking if he judged that his forces could not prevail against the defending forces.

**Deterrence by retaliation:** convince the adversary that if its attack succeeded, the victim would nevertheless have the ability and the will to retaliate by inflicting unacceptable damage on the aggressor. For instance, a potential aggressor possessing no nuclear-weapons capability would be deterred from attacking a nuclear-armed state because its attack could provoke a nuclear response.

In both cases, the goal is to prevent conflict by convincing a potential aggressor that the costs of aggression would exceed the gains. Deterrence by denial focuses on minimizing the gains, while deterrence by retaliation focuses on increasing the cost.

#### **Credibility: the heart of deterrence**

The effectiveness of deterrence lies in convincing the adversary that it faces a credible threat. Credibility depends upon military posture and capabilities and - just as importantly – ensuring that an aggressor believes that his opponent is willing to use those capabilities.

**Extended deterrence** is the notion that one nation's deterrent forces will deter not only an attack on that nation itself but also upon an ally or allies. The best example, of course, is the extension of the United States' nuclear "umbrella" over its NATO Allies.

**Shared risks and burdens.** There are several ways of bolstering the credibility of extended deterrence, both conventional and nuclear. Most obviously, committing armed forces to the defense of allies – especially by placing forces on allies' territory – shows solidarity and greatly complicates an aggressor's calculations because an attack would engage the forces of additional allied nations. Those calculations can be further complicated by the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of allies.

**Separate centers of decision.** Within an Alliance like NATO, decisions are made not by any supranational authority but by 28 sovereign nations. The same is true naturally on nuclear matters. While SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) - NATO's top commander - has authority over the nuclear weapons assigned to NATO, the nations which own these weapons each retain the sovereign right to use them independently as well. The fact that each nuclear-weapon state within the Alliance acts as a separate center of decision means that a potential aggressor must assess how each would respond, and would not be able to determine which of these nuclear-capable nations had responded.

**Survivability and Stability.** Generally speaking, a conventional military attack involves a concentration of forces close to the area of operations. However, when forces are concentrated, they are also vulnerable, particularly to certain forms of attack. Traditional "Cold War" thinking, for instance, was that an opponent might well consider using tactical nuclear weapons against heavily concentrated conventional forces in order to preempt an attack. Similarly, certain types of nuclear delivery system were seen as potentially destabilizing "first-strike" weapons because they were considered particularly vulnerable to **preemptive attack**. In other words, there would be temptation to use them early and quickly, a situation referred to as "Use 'em or lose 'em".

To minimize the risk of conflict, therefore, force concentrations and systems which provide an incentive to strike first are best avoided.

For nuclear systems in particular, survivability is a crucially important factor. For the United States, that means having a diverse nuclear "triad" (described below in this report) while nations with more modest arsenals favor nuclear-armed submarines which are deemed to be the most invulnerable to hostile action.

All nuclear weapon states have a stated policy regarding the use of their nuclear weapons. Just as for conventional forces, however, nuclear doctrines preserve a certain level of "strategic ambiguity" so that the adversary cannot readily predict the exact scenarios in which the use of nuclear weapons would be envisaged.

### Some examples of declared nuclear policies

As part of their deterrence strategy, nuclear weapons states sometimes choose to openly reveal elements of their nuclear doctrine through statements of intent. Below are three examples of such statements:

**"No first use":** indicates that a state will not be the first party in a conflict to resort to the use of nuclear weapons. Superficially, this might appear to be a stabilizing measure but in practice it could embolden the side which felt it had an advantage in conventional forces and therefore be destabilizing.

**Negative security assurance:** a commitment not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear weapon state. The five major nuclear weapons states have all issued various forms of negative security assurances.

**Positive security assurance:** a commitment to support a non-nuclear weapon state if threatened or attacked by a nuclear weapon state.

## The Cold War experience: the archetype of traditional deterrence

The goal of deterring Warsaw Pact aggression was central to NATO's Cold War security strategy. That experience provides a useful illustration of the requirements of traditional deterrence in a scenario of confrontation between two clearly defined adversaries.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact were divided by opposing ideologies. On the one hand, the NATO nations represented a community of free, democratic nations which voluntarily committed themselves to mutual defense. On the other hand, the Warsaw Pact was an undemocratic Soviet hegemony which maintained an aggressive, expansionist rhetoric backed up by military forces and a force posture which were based on providing the Warsaw Pact the ability to overrun and overcome Western Europe.

The Warsaw Pact maintained levels of conventional forces which greatly outnumbered those of the West and which were clearly structured for the offensive. As a defensive Alliance, NATO did not need to match Warsaw Pact forces by seeking to pose an equivalent threat. NATO's forces and strategy were based on robust defense and deterrence through a combination of conventional and nuclear forces.

As Soviet policies and capabilities developed, NATO's deterrence strategy evolved from the threat of massive retaliation using nuclear weapons to the concept of flexible response. At the same time, the United States increased its presence in Europe so as to leave no doubt about its commitment to defend European Allies.



*(US Army, EUCOM Comd Rept, 1951, p. 214-A)*

The two dimensions of credible deterrence – strong defenses and the perceived willingness to use them – were therefore at the forefront of NATO's deterrent strategy.



## **NATO's Cold War Deterrent Strategies: from massive retaliation to flexible response**

*Several months after NATO was formed in 1949, the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic device. Even so, for several years, the United States continued to enjoy a clear and unchallenged nuclear superiority because the Soviet Union lacked the means of large-scale delivery.*

*The balance of conventional forces, however, was very much in the Soviet Union's favor. NATO's conventional forces would have been unable to hold back a Soviet advance into Western Europe. However, it was reasoned, they would not have to. NATO would retaliate with a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. NATO strategy was therefore based - implicitly at first - on the threat of massive nuclear retaliation. In other words, nuclear weapons served as the ultimate guarantee of Allies' security and the United States committed its nuclear arsenal to provide "extended deterrence" to the other Allies.*

*Inevitably, as the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear delivery capabilities grew, doubts arose about the credibility of extended deterrence. The threat of massive retaliation could reasonably be expected to deter a nuclear attack against the United States, but did that necessarily apply to an attack against the United States' Allies? Crucially, would the Soviet Union believe that an attack on Western Europe would be met with American nuclear retaliation?*

*The appearance of Soviet nuclear forces targeted on Europe fueled these doubts and in 1959 the United States stationed nuclear missiles in Europe to supplement its strategic nuclear forces and to bolster European confidence. But faith in the strategy of massive retaliation waned on both sides of the Atlantic as the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal continued to grow.*

*In 1967, NATO formally adopted the strategy of 'flexible response', which had de facto started to emerge many years earlier. Flexible response committed NATO to respond to an attack by matching its "level" and, if necessary, increasing the level in order to bring about the termination of the conflict in defense of NATO territory. Deterrence thus relied on the threat of progressive escalation rather than the threat of immediate, massive retaliation.*

## **NATO's Cold War military posture and the United States' commitment to the defense of Europe**

*During the Cold War, the United States' commitment to defending Europe was demonstrated through a variety of means:*

- A permanent presence of US forces stationed in Europe, which at its peak numbered some 220,000 personnel;*
- The deployment of US nuclear forces in Europe: at its peak, this deployment numbered 7,300 nuclear warheads;*
- Prepositioned equipment to support reinforcements of up to six divisions ready to deploy from the United States within 10 days (POMCUS – Prepositioning of Material Configured in Unit Set);*

- *An annual large-scale exercise simulating the deployment of US troops to Germany (REFORGER - Return of Forces to Germany); in 1988, REFORGER involved 125,000 troops, 7,000 light armored vehicles and 1,000 tanks.*



*(US Army Europe)*

## **B. The July 2016 Warsaw Summit: a welcome and significant strengthening of NATO's collective defense and deterrence**

The end of the Cold War naturally brought about enormous changes in Allies' policies and capabilities. The confrontational relations with former Cold War adversaries were replaced by cooperation and partnerships. Accordingly, Allied forces were reduced to reflect this new strategic environment.

Meanwhile, the single massive and global threat posed by the Warsaw Pact gave way to diverse and multidirectional risks: interethnic conflict – as in the former Yugoslavia, instability and state failure, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, to name just a few. While Allies' attention focused on these new threats, the prospect of a traditional military attack by a conventional army against a NATO member was seen as very unlikely.

While these adaptations seemed well founded in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Allied governments are now having to place renewed emphasis on deterrence, while not losing sight of the need to be able to address a broad array of other challenges. The Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government which took place in the United Kingdom in September 2014 drew the lessons from Russia's actions in Ukraine and made far-reaching decisions on both capabilities and resources. However, Allied leaders also recognized that the decisions they took in Wales were the beginning of a long process.

The Warsaw Summit has now taken NATO several large steps further down the adaptation path. Allied leaders endorsed a range of important measures in five key areas:

- Acknowledging Russia's threat and reaffirming the centrality of NATO's collective defense and deterrence;
- Strengthening NATO's nuclear deterrence posture;
- Enhancing NATO's forward defense;
- Moving forward on missile defense;
- Recommitting to reverse cuts in defense spending and capabilities.

The following sections review the decisions taken in Warsaw in each of these five areas. In doing so, the report highlights the challenges which Allies will face as they move to implementation as well as the areas which might require further adaptation.

## 1. A reaffirmation of the centrality of collective defense and deterrence in the face of Russia's threat

One of the most significant achievements of the Warsaw Summit is the unambiguous recognition of the reality and extent of the threat that Russia's renewed aggressiveness poses to Allies' security. This threat is described in detail over 14 paragraphs in the Warsaw Summit communiqué, which address in turn Russia's aggression against Ukraine, its reinforced military presence and activity in Syria, the Baltic and Black Seas, the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean, as well as its record of violations of international law. The communiqué stresses that Russia's actions "changed the security environment" and "fundamentally challenge the Alliance".

### **The Warsaw Summit communiqué – 9 July 2016: defining the threat from Russia**

#### **Russia's actions are a threat to Allies' security**

5. "(...) Russia's aggressive actions, including provocative military activities in the periphery of NATO territory and its demonstrated willingness to attain political goals by the threat and use of force, are a source of regional instability, fundamentally challenge the Alliance, have damaged Euro-Atlantic security, and threaten our long-standing goal of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. (...)"

9. (...) Russia's recent activities and policies have reduced stability and security, increased unpredictability, and changed the security environment. (...)

#### **Russia's global challenge**

10. Russia's destabilizing actions and policies include: the ongoing illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, which we do not and will not recognize and which we call on Russia to reverse; the violation of sovereign borders by force; the deliberate destabilization of eastern Ukraine; large-scale snap exercises contrary to the spirit of the Vienna Document, and provocative military activities near NATO borders, including in the Baltic and Black Sea regions and the Eastern Mediterranean; its irresponsible and aggressive nuclear rhetoric, military concept and underlying posture; and its repeated violations of NATO Allied airspace. In addition, Russia's military intervention, significant military presence and support for the regime in Syria, and its use of its military presence in the Black Sea to project power into the Eastern Mediterranean have posed further risks and challenges for the security of Allies and others.

16. (...) We strongly condemn Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine and its continued violation of international law and its international obligations, which have serious implications for the stability and security of the entire Euro-Atlantic area.

23. We face evolving challenges in the Baltic and Black Sea regions, the North Atlantic, as well as in the Mediterranean, which are of strategic importance to the Alliance and to our partners. Russia continues to strengthen its military posture, increase its military activities, deploy new high-end capabilities, and challenge regional security. (...)

Allied leaders made clear that Russia's actions call into question the fundamentals of its relations with NATO, and have rendered the previous aspiration for a strategic partnership meaningless. Thus, they reaffirmed the suspension of all practical cooperation which was endorsed at the Wales Summit in 2014, and stressed that there could be no return to business as usual unless and until Russia returns to international legality.

### **Redefining the fundamentals of NATO-Russia relations**

9. (...) Russia has breached the values, principles and commitments which underpin the NATO-Russia relationship, (...) broken the trust at the core of our cooperation, and challenged the fundamental principles of the global and Euro-Atlantic security architecture. (...)

14. The Alliance does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia. But we cannot and will not compromise on the principles on which our Alliance and security in Europe and North America rest. NATO will continue to be transparent, predictable and resolute.

15. (...) we continue to believe that a partnership between NATO and Russia, based on respect for international law and commitments, including as reflected in the NATO-Russia Founding Act and Rome Declaration, would be of strategic value. We regret that despite repeated calls by Allies and the international community since 2014 for Russia to change course, the conditions for that relationship do not currently exist. The nature of the Alliance's relations with Russia and aspirations for partnership will be contingent on a clear, constructive change in Russia's actions that demonstrates compliance with international law and its international obligations and responsibilities. Until then, we cannot return to "business as usual".

Allied leaders stopped short of calling Russia an adversary, however, and reaffirmed their willingness to keep the door open for dialogue. NATO defines its policy towards Russia as a two-track approach balancing deterrence – to demonstrate Allied resolve – and dialogue – to help de-escalate tensions. To demonstrate this willingness to engage in dialogue, Allies agreed to hold a meeting of the NATO-Russia Council only days after the Warsaw Summit.<sup>39</sup> However, Allies agree that NATO should conduct dialogue from a position of strength, and the Warsaw Summit made clear that there can be no trade-off between dialogue and deterrence.

In this regard, one of the fundamental achievements of the Warsaw Summit is a clear affirmation of the centrality of NATO's collective defense and deterrence in the face of Russia's threat.

In Warsaw, Allied leaders acknowledged that the fundamental shifts in the security environment called for a revision of NATO's two key strategic documents: the 2010 Strategic Concept and the 2012 Defense and Deterrence Posture Review (DDPR).

Both of these documents were adopted in a strategic environment characterized by an attempt to "reset" relations with Russia following its 2008 war with Georgia, and a global economic and financial crisis. The analysis and prescriptions in these documents clearly reflected that environment.

Without explicitly replacing the Strategic Concept, the long and detailed Summit conclusions reinterpret fundamental aspects of NATO's doctrine, and can certainly be seen as an implicit but profound and much-needed revision of the DDPR.

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<sup>39</sup> Commenting on the outcome of the meeting, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg noted: "There was not a meeting of the minds today. But it was an important opportunity to clarify our positions to each other".

The Warsaw Summit reaffirmed the three core tasks which the Strategic Concept had identified for NATO:

- Collective defense;
- Partnerships and cooperative security; and
- Crisis management.

However, the Summit's conclusions clearly acknowledge the need to "put renewed emphasis" on deterrence and collective defense in the light of the renewed threat from Russia.

### **Restating the centrality and the principles of collective defense and deterrence**

6. (...)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. And so renewed emphasis has been placed on deterrence and collective defense. (...)

51. 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. NATO will 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.

52. As a means to prevent conflict and war, credible deterrence and defense is essential. Therefore, deterrence and defense, based on an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional, and missile defense capabilities, remains a core element of our overall strategy. A robust deterrence and defense posture strengthens Alliance cohesion, including the transatlantic link, through an equitable and sustainable distribution of roles, responsibilities, and burdens.

The Warsaw Summit also adapted the meaning of collective defense and deterrence to the new types of threat emanating from Russia. In particular, it took the full measure of the challenge that a Crimea-type hybrid attack could pose to Allies. It recognized for the first time that a hybrid attack could be considered an "armed attack" in the sense of Article 5 of the NATO Treaty, and thus trigger a collective response from the Alliance. The Summit further endorsed a resilience pledge, a commitment by Allies to strengthen their ability to resist any attempt by Russia or others to exploit vulnerabilities in their societies – political, economic, social/societal, media, etc. –with a view to destabilizing them from the inside.

### **Defending against hybrid warfare and strengthening Allies' resilience**

72. We have taken steps to ensure our ability to effectively address the challenges posed by hybrid warfare, where a broad, complex, and adaptive combination of conventional and non-conventional means, and overt and covert military, paramilitary, and civilian measures, are employed in a highly integrated design by state and non-state actors to achieve their objectives. Responding to this challenge, we have adopted a strategy and actionable implementation plans on NATO's role in countering hybrid warfare. The primary responsibility to respond to hybrid threats or attacks rests with the targeted nation. NATO is prepared to assist an Ally at any stage of a hybrid campaign. The Alliance and Allies will be prepared to counter hybrid warfare as part

of collective defense. The Council could decide to invoke Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The Alliance is committed to effective cooperation and coordination with partners and relevant international organizations, in particular the EU, as agreed, in efforts to counter hybrid warfare.

73. Today we have made a commitment to continue to enhance our resilience and to maintain and further develop our individual and collective capacity to resist any form of armed attack. Civil preparedness is a central pillar of Allies' resilience and a critical enabler for Alliance collective defense. While this remains a national responsibility, NATO can support Allies in assessing and, upon request, enhancing their civil preparedness. We will improve civil preparedness by achieving the NATO Baseline Requirements for National Resilience, which focus on continuity of government, continuity of essential services, security of critical civilian infrastructure, and support to military forces with civilian means. In this context, we welcome the Resilience Guidelines approved by Defense Ministers in June 2016.

Russia's threats against Allies called for a firm and resolute response from NATO. In this regard, it was essential for Allies to demonstrate to Russia – as well as to each other – their unwavering commitment to collective defense and deterrence. They did so by adopting the strong political statements detailed above, and backing these up with a strengthening of NATO's nuclear deterrent and forward presence – described in the following sections.

Russia's immediate reaction following the Warsaw Summit was fairly muted. This vindicates NATO's strategy of strength. However, Moscow will undoubtedly seek to test the solidity of Allied consensus, and in fact already has with its escalation of tensions in and around Crimea in August 2016 and rejection of efforts to achieve a ceasefire in Syria in September 2016. It will also no doubt continue to work against the economic sanctions which the EU will need to renew at the end of 2016. Allies must imperatively preserve the strong consensus which they reached in Warsaw and demonstrate that they are serious about the commitments they made at the Summit.

## **2. The strengthening of NATO's nuclear deterrent**

Nuclear weapons have always formed part and parcel of NATO's collective defense and deterrence. Since the end of the Cold War, the number of nuclear weapons assigned to NATO and deployed in Europe has declined dramatically. Russia, however, is believed to maintain about 2,000 operational tactical nuclear weapons and is believed to hold many more in reserve. Furthermore, the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons has grown and is likely to continue doing so. It is more than 70 years since the first nuclear weapons were designed and built, and the necessary expertise and technology could be acquired by many nations if they so choose.

For all these reasons, NATO has stated very clearly that it intends to remain a nuclear-weapons Alliance.

## NATO's nuclear weapons

*Since its very beginning, NATO has been a nuclear Alliance. Indeed, in the early days of the Cold War, nuclear weapons were viewed as being the only practical way that NATO could deter the Soviet Union from using its much larger conventional forces to occupy or at the very least intimidate Western Europe.*

*Maintaining the credibility of NATO's strategy meant deploying a wide variety of nuclear systems, ranging from very short-range weapons for use at the level of the battlefield, through longer-range systems based in Europe but able to strike targets deep behind the front line, all the way up to strategic weapons systems embodied most evidently in the United States "triad" of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), nuclear-armed bomber aircraft, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.*

*While most systems were exclusively under the control of the United States, many in Europe were operated under "dual-key" arrangements whereby the United States retained custody of the nuclear warheads to be fitted on delivery systems – missiles or aircraft – operated by a NATO Ally.*

*Such arrangements were an important demonstration of Allied solidarity. They ensured that many Allies were directly engaged in the implementation of NATO's nuclear strategy, and this had the effect of sharing risks and capabilities while also complicating the planning of a potential adversary.*

*Today the United States' strategic "triad" remains the "backbone" of NATO's nuclear deterrent. While this triad has been radically reduced since the end of the Cold War, it retains the essential mix of systems that provide varied capabilities – including survivability – essential to a solid and stable deterrent posture.*



*USS Tennessee (US Navy) / HMS Victorious (Royal Navy)*

*Mention must also be made of France and the United Kingdom's independent nuclear systems which play a vital – most would argue, indispensable – role in ensuring the credibility of NATO's deterrent posture. Both have fleets of four nuclear powered ballistic missile carrying submarines (SSBNs) and France also possesses air-launched nuclear systems. All the United Kingdom's nuclear weapons are assigned to NATO although they could still be used uniquely by the United Kingdom if necessary. France does not assign any of its nuclear weapons to NATO. As a member of NATO, however, its nuclear forces contribute significantly to the Alliance's nuclear posture.*





*French Rafale ASMP-A (French MoD)*

*In addition, several Allies continue to host elements of the United States' tactical nuclear arsenal and/or provide the delivery vehicles for these weapons. These arrangements for nuclear burdensharing provide a fundamentally important demonstration of Allied solidarity.*

*NATO's Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) is the body responsible for nuclear policy and deployment issues. Created in 1966, it originally consisted of seven Allies with the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy and West Germany as four permanent members and the three other seats rotating among other eligible nations on a yearly basis. The rotational arrangement was ended in 1979 in recognition of the increasing importance to all members of NATO's nuclear policy and posture. Today, all Allies are members of the NPG except France which decided not to participate.*

*France and the United Kingdom each have their own nuclear policies and doctrine, but both provide separate "centers of decision" within NATO. This must be taken into account by any potential aggressor and could only be seen as increasing the risks and costs of aggression.*

The Warsaw Summit confirmed the statements made in the Strategic Concept and the DDPR that NATO's nuclear deterrent is the supreme guarantee of Allies' security, and that "as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance".

Allied leaders took NATO's nuclear policy one important step further, however, by adapting the previous language regarding the possible use of nuclear weapons. While NATO policy previously stated that "the circumstances in which any use of nuclear weapons might have to be contemplated are extremely remote", the Warsaw Summit conclusions read "the circumstances in which NATO *might have to use* nuclear weapons are extremely remote" (emphasis added). The Summit communiqué also includes an unprecedented statement as to the type of circumstances in which such use could be contemplated. It reads: "*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 an adversary could hope to achieve" (emphasis added).

The threshold beyond which Allies would contemplate the use of nuclear weapons thus remains very high. However, with this change in wording, Allies sent an important signal to Russia that, if necessary, they are prepared to defend each other by any means.

Furthermore, the Warsaw Summit communiqué offers a sharp response to Russia's stated readiness to use nuclear weapons to "de-escalate" conflicts, a policy which seeks to blur the line between conventional and nuclear weapons. Paragraph 54 recalls the distinct nature of nuclear weapons. It reads: "The fundamental purpose of NATO's nuclear capability is to preserve peace, prevent coercion, and deter aggression. Nuclear weapons are unique. Any employment of nuclear weapons against NATO would fundamentally alter the nature of a conflict."

## **The strengthening of NATO's nuclear policy in words**

### ***DDPR 2012***

*8. Nuclear weapons are a core component of NATO's overall capabilities for deterrence and defense alongside conventional and missile defense forces. The review has shown that the Alliance's nuclear force posture currently meets the criteria for an effective deterrence and defense posture.*

*9. The circumstances in which any use of nuclear weapons might have to be contemplated are extremely remote. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. The supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the strategic nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France, which have a deterrent role of their own, contribute to the overall deterrence and security of the Allies.*

### ***Warsaw Summit Communiqué 2016***

53. Allies' goal is to bolster deterrence as a core element of our collective defense and to contribute to the indivisible security of the Alliance. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. The strategic forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States, are the supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies. The independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France have a deterrent role of their own and contribute to the overall security of the Alliance. These Allies' separate centers of decision-making contribute to deterrence by complicating the calculations of potential adversaries. NATO's nuclear deterrence posture also relies, in part, on United States' nuclear weapons forward-deployed in Europe and on capabilities and infrastructure provided by Allies concerned. (...)

54. The fundamental purpose of NATO's nuclear capability is to preserve peace, prevent coercion, and deter aggression. Nuclear weapons are unique. Any employment of nuclear weapons against NATO would fundamentally alter the nature of a conflict. The circumstances in which NATO might have to use nuclear weapons are extremely remote. 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 an adversary could hope to achieve.

At a time when several Allies face difficult decisions regarding the renewal of their nuclear or nuclear-enabling capabilities, the Warsaw Summit communiqué further reaffirms the importance of preserving the arrangements for nuclear burdensharing by investing in the modernization of NATO's nuclear deterrent. In particular, it reaffirms the essential contribution of the United States' tactical weapons based in Europe to NATO deterrence. As stated in the communiqué: "NATO's

nuclear deterrence posture also relies, in part, on United States' nuclear weapons forward-deployed in Europe and on capabilities and infrastructure provided by Allies concerned. These Allies will ensure that all components of NATO's nuclear deterrent remain safe, secure, and effective. That requires sustained leadership focus and institutional excellence for the nuclear deterrence mission and planning guidance aligned with 21st century requirements. The Alliance will ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies concerned in their agreed nuclear burden-sharing arrangements.” In line with these statements, Allies should continue to invest in NATO's nuclear deterrent and avoid any further reductions taking place “by design” or “by default”.

### **The necessary modernization of Allies' nuclear deterrent**

*Retaining a nuclear weapons capability is an ongoing process. As with any technologically advanced system, regular maintenance is needed to ensure that the systems remain viable. Even so, degradation and obsolescence cannot be staved off indefinitely. The decay of nuclear materials in the warheads affects the viability of the nuclear material itself, and the decay products can degrade a weapon's other components. In addition, the conventional explosive and various other components also suffer from age-related breakdown and degradation. These natural processes mean that it eventually becomes impractical to keep an old warhead in service.*

*The United States' B61 tactical nuclear warheads assigned for delivery by European NATO nation aircraft are part of the oldest family of nuclear weapons in the country's inventory. They are being refurbished as part of a life extension program, which will lead to the consolidation of different versions of the B61 weapon into the B61-12. The life extension program includes refurbishment of both the nuclear and non-nuclear components to address aging, assure extended service life (for an additional 20 years), and improve the bomb's safety, effectiveness, and security. The refurbishment will not only allow a reduction in the number of gravity bombs, but also reduce the amount of special nuclear material in deployed weapons.<sup>40</sup>*



*B-61 warhead undergoing tests (Sandia National Laboratories)*

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40 United States National Nuclear Security Administration, FY 2016 Stockpile Stewardship and Management Plan, Report to Congress, March 2015, [http://www.nnsa.energy.gov/sites/default/files/FY16SSMP\\_FINAL%203\\_16\\_2015\\_reducedsize.pdf](http://www.nnsa.energy.gov/sites/default/files/FY16SSMP_FINAL%203_16_2015_reducedsize.pdf)

*Nuclear delivery systems too have finite operational lives. Indeed, decisions will have to be made in the not-too-distant future regarding the replacements for the aircraft available for nuclear missions by certain European Allies, and there are inevitable extra expenses involved in acquiring “dual-capable” aircraft – able to perform both conventional and nuclear missions.*

*Both the United Kingdom and France are due to modernize key elements of their nuclear deterrent in the coming years. In an important decision, the British Parliament approved in July 2016 the replacement of its four Trident SSBNs. France is due to start work on its third-generation SSBN in 2020, and is upgrading both its submarine and air-launched nuclear-armed missiles.*

*Many US systems are also ageing and cannot be expected to remain operationally effective indefinitely. Perhaps the most remarkable example is the B-52 bomber which first entered service in 1955 and which is expected to remain in service until the 2040s. However, other elements of the triad are hardly in the first flush of youth: the most modern United States strategic bomber, the B-2 “Spirit”, entered service in 1997; the AGM 129 Air-Launched Cruise Missile in 1982; the Minuteman III ICBM in 1968; and the Ohio-class SSBN in 1981.*



*B-52 bomber (DoD)*

*Such weapons systems have a long gestation period so work has already begun on certain of their replacements.*

Lastly, recognizing Russia’s demonstrated disregard for international law, including its arms control obligations, the Warsaw Summit rightfully set aside cooperation on disarmament and arms control. In doing so, the Warsaw Summit provided a welcome and much-needed update to the DDPR. NATO’s nuclear arsenal has been reduced dramatically since the Cold War and - if and when Russia decides to abide by the laws and norms of the rest of the international community – further reductions might well be realized. For the moment, however, Russia’s behavior and nuclear posture as well as the growing threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction mean that it would be imprudent to the point of folly for Allies to neglect their nuclear deterrent.

## A more realistic approach to nuclear arms reduction

The Warsaw Summit rightfully moved the Alliance's policy on arms control and reduction away from the excessively conciliatory approach endorsed in the 2012 DDPR. While reaffirming the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in principle, the Warsaw Summit conclusions make clear that current circumstances are not appropriate for further disarmament.

### 2012 DDPR

*24. The Alliance is resolved to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in accordance with the goals of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, in a way that promotes international stability, and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all. (...)*

*25. Allies look forward to continuing to develop and exchange transparency and confidence-building ideas with the Russian Federation in the NATO-Russia Council, with the goal of developing detailed proposals on and increasing mutual understanding of NATO's and Russia's non-strategic nuclear force postures in Europe.*

*26. Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has dramatically reduced the number, types, and readiness of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and its reliance on nuclear weapons in NATO strategy. Against this background and considering the broader security environment, NATO is prepared to consider further reducing its requirement for non-strategic nuclear weapons assigned to the Alliance in the context of reciprocal steps by Russia, taking into account the greater Russian stockpiles of non-strategic nuclear weapons stationed in the Euro-Atlantic area.*

*28. In addition, Allies support and encourage the United States and the Russian Federation to continue their mutual efforts to promote strategic stability, enhance transparency, and further reduce their nuclear weapons.*

### 2016 Warsaw Summit

*64. The Alliance reaffirms its resolve to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in full accordance with all provisions of the NPT, including Article VI, in a step-by-step and verifiable way that promotes international stability, and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all.*

*65. After the end of the Cold War, NATO dramatically reduced the number of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and its reliance on nuclear weapons in NATO strategy. We remain committed to contribute to creating the conditions for further reductions in the future on the basis of reciprocity, recognizing that progress on arms control and disarmament must take into account the prevailing international security environment. We regret that the conditions for achieving disarmament are not favorable today.*

The Warsaw Summit thus endorsed important and timely changes to NATO's nuclear doctrine. As Russia's threats of pre-emptive strikes against Allies, and violations of arms control agreements continue, and as threats increase in other regions, particularly in Asia, it is essential for Allies to maintain their consensus on nuclear policy, modernization and burdensharing. As was reaffirmed in Warsaw, nuclear deterrence provides the ultimate safeguard of Allies' security, a safeguard in which all Allies share a stake.

### 3. NATO's enhanced forward presence

In line with the recognition of the threat that Russia poses to Euro-Atlantic security, and the reaffirmation of the centrality of NATO collective defense and deterrence, Allied leaders agreed a further strengthening of NATO's forward military presence in the Alliance's East. This builds upon a series of decisions taken at and since the 2014 Wales Summit.

At their Summit in Wales, NATO's leaders agreed upon a "Readiness Action Plan" (RAP) along three main lines of effort:

- Immediate deployments of land, air and maritime forces in the NATO members neighboring Russia to provide a reassuring visible NATO presence and deter a potential Russian aggression;
- A process of adaptation of NATO's military posture, combining an increased forward deployed presence on the Alliance's eastern flank, and an improved ability to project and sustain forces rapidly in the event of an attack;
- An enhanced schedule of exercises, including a greater focus on scenarios aimed at testing preparedness for collective defense.

#### The 2014 NATO Readiness Action Plan

*The RAP's assurance measures include air, sea and land activities and exercises in and around NATO's eastern flank. Examples include more fighter jets on air-policing patrols over the Baltic States, additional maritime patrols in the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the deployment of ground troops to eastern parts of the Alliance for training and exercises on a rotating basis.*



*Baltic Air Policing Mission (NATO)*

*The RAP also includes longer-term adaptation measures to NATO's forces and command structure. Key examples are the tripling of the strength of the NATO Response Force (NRF), from 13,000 to 40,000, and within that the creation of a Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) consisting of 5,000 ground troops supported by air, maritime, and Special Operations Force component with lead elements able to begin deploying in just 48 hours.*

*Eight NATO Force Integration Units (NFIU) consisting of about 40 specialists are being created to facilitate the deployment of the VJTF and any subsequent forces, and enhance cooperation and coordination between NATO and national forces. Two high-readiness multinational headquarters in Poland and Romania will provide command and control capabilities for these units.*

*The RAP also involves improvements in logistics – including the prepositioning of equipment and supplies.*

*The third line of effort is an increased number of military exercises with a stronger focus on collective defense. Over 100 of the nearly 300 exercises conducted in 2015 were in support of NATO's assurance measures.*



*(NATO / JF Brunssum)*

In addition to the NATO measures, several Allies have shown their support by increasing their military presence in the eastern parts of the Alliance. The United States' main initiatives include Operation Atlantic Resolve – an enhanced series of military cooperation activities with Eastern Allies conducted by a small persistent rotational US presence, and the European Reassurance Initiative (ERI) – a \$3.4 billion investment in enhanced presence, prepositioned equipment, infrastructure and exercises.

The Warsaw Summit built upon the RAP package, but shifted the effort from assurance to full-fledged deterrence, or in other words, from a temporary set of measures aimed at reassuring Eastern Allies to a genuine reconfiguration of the Alliance's defensive posture.

The Enhanced Forward Presence (EFP) agreed to in Warsaw will include the deployment starting in early 2017 of four battalion-sized battlegroups, one in each of the Baltic states and Poland, or the equivalent of 4,000 additional NATO troops. The United States offered to lead the battalion to be deployed in Poland, Canada will lead the one in Latvia, Germany will be the lead nation in Lithuania, and the United Kingdom will lead the deployment in Estonia.

To strengthen NATO's ability to command and control an increased force presence in the East, Poland offered one of its existing division headquarters to serve as the core for a future multinational division headquarters.

A parallel but smaller so-called Tailored Forward Presence (TFP) was also agreed for the Southeast, built around a Bulgarian-Romanian framework brigade based in Romania whose mission would be to help improve integrated training in the area.

These measures bring important improvements to NATO's ability to deter and defend against a possible attack by Russia against one of the Eastern Allies. It is the first deployment of NATO troops in a genuine deterrence role and the largest deployment of NATO forces in the region since the end of the Cold War. However, many questions and challenges remain.

**First**, while lead nations have been identified for each of the four new battalions, Allies must now promptly generate the forces to man them fully. **Each battalion should include a mix of forces from different Allied nations, and the timeline for deployment should be shortened as much as possible.** The agreed target date of a deployment by early 2017 leaves open a dangerous window at a sensitive time.

**Second**, several studies tend to show that the agreed levels remain vastly inadequate and that the four battalions should be seen as the core of a future, larger force, rather than an endpoint.

A study conducted by the RAND Corporation before the Warsaw Summit argued that it would take the deployment of a force of about six or seven brigades, including at least three heavy armored brigades, backed by air and naval power, supported by adequate artillery, air defenses, and logistics, and ready to fight from day one, for Allies to hope to change Russia's calculus in the East.<sup>41</sup> Short of that, in all the scenarios tested by the RAND team, Russian forces reached the outskirts of Riga and Tallinn within 60 hours, an advance NATO forces would be unable to stop.

According to the study, not all those forces would need to be forward stationed but could be transported in from locations elsewhere in Europe and some even from the United States. The study thus notes that “[g]iven even a week of warning, NATO should be able to deploy several brigades of light infantry to the Baltics. Soldiers from the US 173rd Airborne Brigade Combat Team in Italy and the 82nd Airborne Division in North Carolina could be airlifted in within a few days, as could similar units from other NATO countries, including the United Kingdom and France. US Army combat aviation assets rotationally based in Germany could self-deploy to provide some mobile antiarmor firepower”.

However, it makes clear that certain heavy assets could not be moved into theater rapidly. According to the authors: “The quickest-responding NATO heavy armor force would likely be a US combined arms battalion, the personnel for which would fly in and mate up with the prepositioned equipment of the European Activity Set stored in Grafenwoehr, Germany. Getting this unit into the fight is a complicated process that will not be instantaneous. Breaking out the equipment (...) preparing it for movement, transporting it by rail across Poland, offloading it, and roadmarching it forward into the battle area are unlikely to take less than a week to 10 days.” The study thus suggests four possible options for ensuring that heavy assets would be available early on in a crisis situation: “NATO could permanently station fully manned and equipped brigades forward in the Baltic states; could preposition the equipment in the Baltics, Poland, or Germany and plan to fly in the soldiers in the early stages of a crisis; could rely on rotational presence; or could employ some combination of these approaches.”

Another conclusion of the RAND study was that, in order to prevent a quick Russian victory in the Baltics, land and air forces through a complex NATO command structure would have to execute a highly dynamic campaign that would require careful planning, preparation and training.<sup>42</sup>

Another study conducted by a group of former NATO civilian and military officials argues for the deployment of one multinational brigade in each of the Baltic States, i.e. roughly 12,000 troops instead of the 4,000 agreed in Warsaw.<sup>43</sup>

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41 Shlapak, David A. and Michael Johnson. Reinforcing Deterrence on NATO's Eastern Flank: Wargaming the Defense of the Baltics. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016. [http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1253.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1253.html).

42 Ibid.

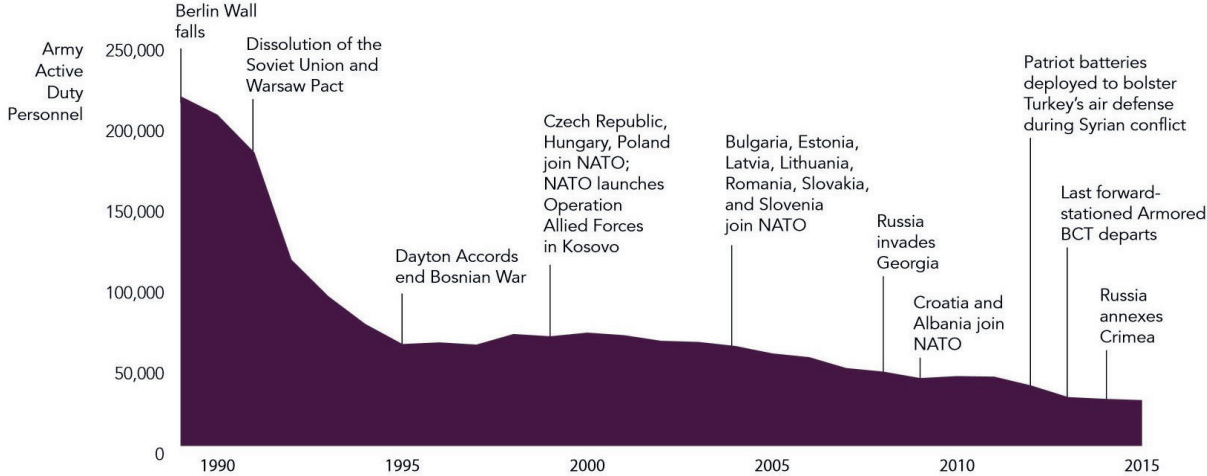
43 Wesley K. Clark, Jüri Luik, Egon Ramms, Richard Shirreff, “Closing NATO's Baltic Gap”, International Centre for Defence and Security, 12 May 2016, <http://www.icds.ee/publications/article/closing-natos-baltic-gap/>



Like the RAND study, it also insists on the importance of mobilizing maritime and air assets in support of the land component in a fully integrated manner. In this regard, it recommends transitioning NATO’s current air policing mission over the Baltic States into a genuine air defense mission.

The same study calls on the United States to add to the NATO presence by deploying one battalion in each of the Baltic States as well. Indeed, the increases in the US footprint since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine barely make up for the cuts enacted before, including the 2012 decision to withdraw the two US Army heavy brigades previously stationed in Europe (170<sup>th</sup> and 172<sup>nd</sup>) together with all their tanks and other heavy vehicles. As a result the US Army presence in Europe was reduced by 10,000 between 2012 and 2015 to some 28,500 today. As Lt. Gen. Ben Hodges, Commander of the United States Army Europe, recently put it: “We used to have 300,000 soldiers in Europe and the mission then was to deter the Soviet Union. We have 30,000 soldiers in Europe now and the mission is to deter Russia -- ten times more space, but with about 10 percent of the troops. So, our task is to make 30,000 look and feel like 300,000.”

### Reduction of US Army Forces in Europe 1990-2015



*Source: Report of the National Commission on the Future of the Army, 28 January 2016*

As part of its revised \$3.4 billion European Reassurance Initiative for 2017, the United States would deploy an Armored Brigade Combat Team (ABCT) through Europe on a heel-to-toe rotational basis. This would come in addition to the US-led battalion to be deployed in Poland as part of the NATO enhanced forward presence.

This raises a **third issue**: transatlantic burdensharing. With two of the new battalions led by the United States and Canada, and two by the United Kingdom and Germany, Allies have sent an important signal of transatlantic solidarity. At the same time, however, the United States has quadrupled funding for its European Reassurance Initiative, with more deployments, more prepositioned equipment, more exercises, more investment in infrastructure and more assistance to Eastern Allies. **It is essential that the sharing of responsibility between Europe and North America be reflected further in the composition of the NATO battalions as well as in the forces and equipment required for the follow-on forces, and be sustained in the future.**

## The United States' bilateral measures

Under the **European Reassurance Initiative (ERI)**, the United States has enacted a series of programs which complement NATO's own efforts to provide reassurance and visible presence in NATO's East. In 2015 and 2016, the ERI funded a range of measures aimed at reassuring Eastern Allies. These included a persistent, rotational presence in Central and Eastern Europe, exercises, pre-positioning of equipment, and capacity building for Allies and partners.

The most visible pillar of the ERI was **Operation Atlantic Resolve**, which involved the deployment of a small persistent rotational presence of around 150 US troops in Poland and each of the three Baltic States, as well as periodic rotational deployments to Romania and Bulgaria. These forces conducted continuous, enhanced multinational training and security cooperation activities with allies and partners in Eastern Europe on land, air and sea. In 2015, this included 50 exercises at battalion level or larger.



*US 2<sup>nd</sup> cavalry regiment, mounted march through Romania, May 2015 (NATO)*

In 2017, the ERI's budget would be quadrupled, to a total of \$3.4 billion, and its scope and purpose expanded. Similar to the NATO effort, the ERI's focus would thus shift from reassurance to deterrence, with five key priorities:

### 1) Increased presence

In 2017, the ERI would fund the continuous rotation of an Armored Brigade Combat Team into Europe.

### 2) Increased prepositioning of equipment

In June 2015, the United States decided to augment the European Activity Set - a combined-arms, battalion-sized group of vehicles and equipment pre-positioned at the US Army's Training Area in Grafenwoehr, Germany - with 250 armored vehicles (M1 Abrams tanks, Bradley fighting vehicles and M109 howitzers) as well as other tracked and wheeled support systems. This additional equipment, sufficient to support a brigade-sized group, was to outfit US Army forces when they deploy to Europe for training, exercises or operations as part of the ERI.

In 2017, the US Army would deploy two additional equipment sets to Europe with a view to building a division's worth of equipment by 2022. This equipment would also be moved from the European Activity Set into pre-positioned stock.

3) *Investment in infrastructure*

*The FY 2017 ERI would fund improvements to existing military infrastructure in Europe, as well as new military construction.*

4) *Exercises*

*The US Army in Europe is planning over 50 exercises in 2017.*

5) *Capacity building*

*US forces would continue in 2017 to build the capacity of Allied and partner forces to resist and respond to Russia's threats.*

**Fourth,** Allies in the Southeast rightfully insist that **more attention needs to be paid to the defense of NATO's borders on the Black Sea.** The Warsaw Summit conclusions recognize the challenge posed by Russia's military build-up in the region, and, as mentioned, Allies agreed to the deployment of a small additional military presence in Romania, as well as the principle of an increased air and sea presence in the region. However, this effort remains insufficient to reassure Allies on NATO's southeastern flank and deter a Russia which has directly threatened these Allies and is actively expanding its own footprint in the region in connection with its involvement in both Ukraine and Syria. NATO should consider increasing the level of its presence in Romania, as well as guarantee the multinational character of this deployment, which needs to go beyond only Romanian and Bulgarian forces.

**Fifth, and crucially, Allies must continue to enhance their rapid response capability.** For good reasons, the Warsaw Summit focused on enhancing NATO's military presence in the East. However, this is a deterrent presence. It would not on its own be sufficient to counter an actual attack. Allies must therefore engage in a parallel effort to enhance their ability to deploy large reinforcements quickly. **Enhanced forward presence and enhanced reinforcements are the two indispensable and indivisible dimensions of deterrence.** The reinforcement pillar of NATO's deterrence posture now requires urgent consolidation. Priorities must include:

- addressing the issue of the cost-sharing for the NRF and the VJTF;

Under current arrangements, costs for the deployment of those forces would fall exclusively on those nations which make up the force at the time when it is deployed (according to the principle of "costs lie where they fall"). There should be a mechanism for cost-sharing or else NATO might run the risk that Allies will be reluctant to commit to future rotations.

- addressing the issue of decision-making;

For the VJTF to act as a credible rapid reaction force, it must be ready to deploy within 48 hours as per the force's original concept. Allies already agreed to give SACEUR the authority to alert, stage and prepare the force on his own authority. The actual deployment of the force requires a decision by the 28 Allied governments, however. Allies should consider whether they are prepared to give SACEUR pre-authorization to deploy the VJTF. At a minimum, governments and parliaments should regularly exercise rapid decision-making, a habit lost since the end of the Cold War.

- reviewing NATO's command and control arrangements;

Since 2010, NATO has been engaged in a profound reorganization and downsizing of its military command structure. This was driven in large part by the assumptions made in the Strategic Concept about the strategic environment, as well as by budgetary constraints. These assumptions

should now be reviewed in the light of a fundamentally changed security environment. In this regard, the decision taken by Allies at the Warsaw Summit to commission an assessment of the NATO command structure should be welcomed. Poland's offer to provide the core for a future multinational division headquarters will also strengthen NATO's ability to command a large force that would be deployed in the East in the event of an attack.

- finding ways to circumvent or counter Russia's A2/AD capabilities;

In the current situation, the A2/AD capabilities that Russia is consolidating on NATO's borders as described in Chapter I would make reinforcements particularly challenging. NATO needs to develop a strategy to counter Russia's A2/AD capabilities.

- increasing the prepositioning of equipment;

Follow-on forces must be able to have ready access to prepositioned equipment. Much of the necessary equipment is in long-term storage so would not need to be acquired from scratch. But this should not all fall upon the shoulders of the United States: effective deterrence and Alliance cohesion would both be enhanced by substantial contributions from other Allies. The equipment must also be moved as close as possible to the Alliance's borders.<sup>44</sup>

- addressing logistics obstacles.

Another habit lost since the end of the Cold War is that of crossing NATO's land borders with heavy equipment, and all the logistics involved in the rapid deployment of large contingents. The creation of the Joint Logistic Support Group Headquarters Core Staff Element at NATO's Joint Forces Command Brunssum is a good first step. However, more needs to be done to ensure reinforcements can be deployed quickly without legal or other types of obstacles – what US Army Lt. Gen. Ben Hodges has called a “military Schengen zone”. This effort includes three equally important pillars: first ensuring that the road and rail infrastructure along reinforcement routes is adequate; second that military convoys can move quickly across borders; and third that the countries receiving reinforcements have the necessary structures and procedures in place to do so. Civilian authorities must be fully engaged in this effort, which is indispensable from a military point of view, but also carries potential long-term economic benefits.

**The sixth priority is logically for NATO forces to regularly conduct larger and more realistic exercises to train their ability to respond quickly and effectively to a threat coming from Russia.** These must include a strong focus on the land component in order to develop responsive, adaptive and interoperable NATO land forces.

**Seventh**, as signaled at the Warsaw Summit, the Alliance should capitalize on the readiness of partners to cooperate in response to the Russian threat. NATO can never rely on partners for its own defense, but both Allies and partners can benefit from an enhanced shared situational awareness. **A more structured cooperation should thus be put in place with Finland and Sweden in the Baltic area, and with Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine in the Black Sea.**

**Lastly, building an effective conventional deterrent might well require a very serious reconsideration of NATO's policy regarding force deployments on the territory of former Warsaw Pact members which have joined the Alliance.** Currently, the NATO presence in the East is based on what the Alliance calls a persistent rotational presence, i.e. forces that are

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44 Former NATO officials have argued for a battalion-worth of heavy equipment to be prepositioned in each of the Baltic States and no further than 300km from the border – the Cold War norm. Current plans are for a deployment at 1,600km. See Wesley K. Clark, Jüri Luik, Egon Ramms, Richard Shirreff, “Closing NATO's Baltic Gap”, International Centre for Defence and Security, 12 May 2016, <http://www.icds.ee/publications/article/closing-natos-baltic-gap/>

not permanently stationed in the region but which rotate in and out so that there is always a presence at any one time. The four future multinational battalions to be deployed in the Baltic States and Poland would follow the same principle. The only permanent Alliance footprint is the small multinational logistics hubs – the NATO Force Integration Units – which are based on the territory of eight Eastern Allies. Perhaps, time has come to consider taking the next step and deploying permanent NATO forces. These would provide a more credible “trip-wire”, and go a long way towards changing Russia’s calculus, even if numbers and speed would still favor Russia. As then SACEUR (and Commander of EUCOM) Gen. Philip M. Breedlove noted in October 2015, “The temporary presence of rotational forces complements, but does not substitute for an enduring forward deployed presence that is tangible and real. Virtual presence means actual absence.” It is worth pointing out as well that permanent stationing mobilizes less forces than a rotational presence. Unlike basing, rotations typically involve three units at any one time: one deployed, one preparing to deploy and one returning from deployment.

### **Would a permanent NATO presence in the East violate the NATO-Russia Founding Act?**

Some argue that NATO permanent deployments on the territory of Eastern Allies would contravene the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act.

In the Act, NATO states that it has “no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members”, but the wording on conventional forces and facilities is more qualified: “NATO reiterates that in the current and foreseeable security environment, the Alliance will carry out its collective defense and other missions by ensuring the necessary interoperability, integration, and capability for reinforcement rather than by additional permanent stationing of substantial combat forces. (...) Russia will exercise similar restraint in its conventional force deployments in Europe.”

Russia’s actions have certainly exceeded the bounds of the “current and foreseeable security environment”, and – as illustrated in the previous chapter – have surely violated other provisions of the Act.

Furthermore, the parties committed themselves to concluding a framework agreement on an adapted CFE Treaty, a Treaty from which Russia has withdrawn.

NATO has retained the moral “high ground” – including at the Warsaw Summit - by pretending that the NATO-Russia Founding Act is still applicable and adhering to its terms, but there is little doubt that Russia has already torn this Act apart, and has indeed for the first time recently hinted at possibly scrapping the Act altogether.

## 4. Declaration of Initial Operational Capability for NATO's missile defense

In light of the growing threat of missile proliferation, in its 2010 Strategic Concept, NATO made the development of ballistic missile defense the third pillar of its collective defense strategy alongside conventional and nuclear capabilities. At the Warsaw Summit, Alliance leaders reaffirmed their commitment to provide “full coverage and protection for all NATO European populations, territory, and forces against the increasing threats posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles” and they underlined this by announcing that NATO's Ballistic Missile Defense system had achieved “Initial Operational Capability”.

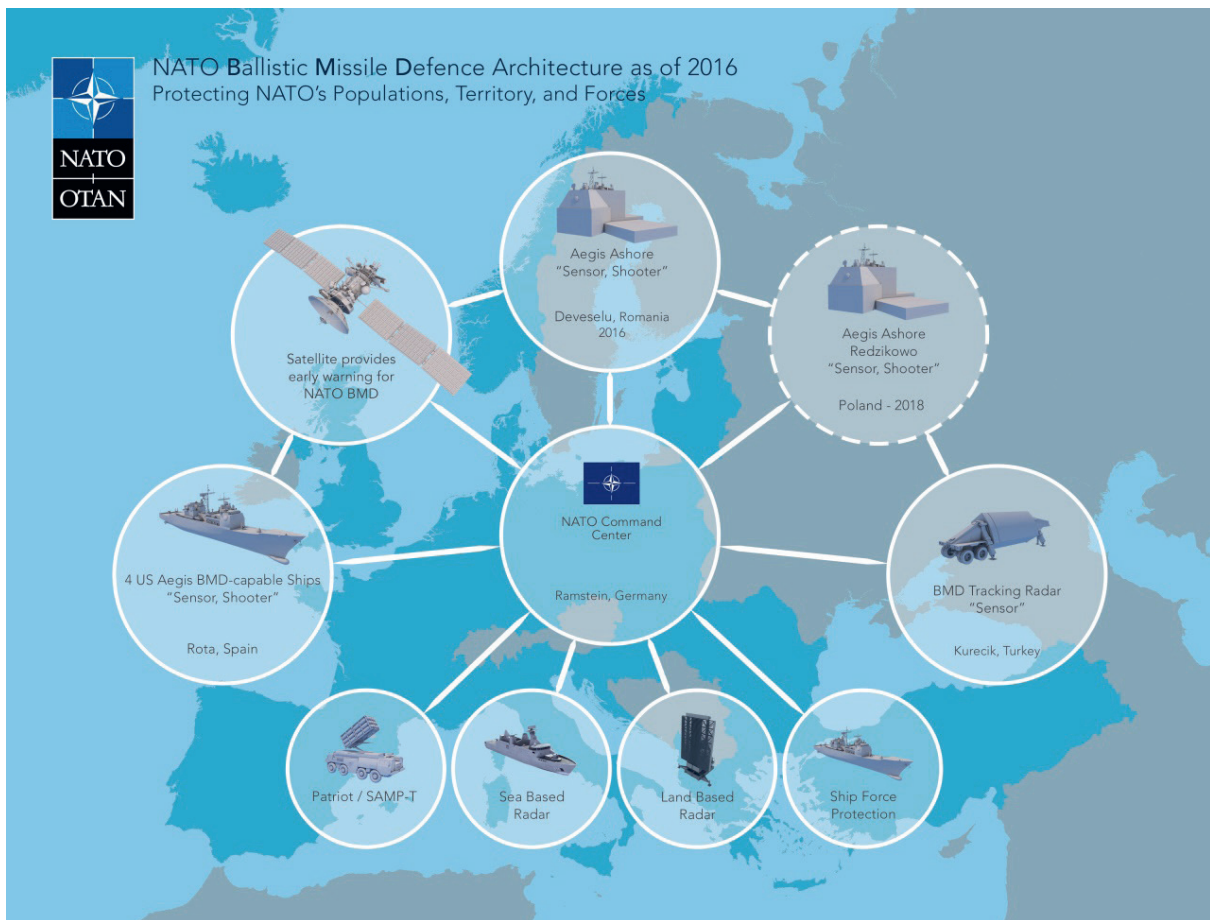
This was based on the activation in May 2016 of the “Aegis Ashore” installation in Deveselu, Romania, and the declaration that the command and control of this site was being transferred to NATO, a process which was completed in August with the transfer of command authority to Allied Air Command in Germany.

The transfer of command to NATO represents an even more significant milestone in the development of NATO's BMD plans than the achievement of the Initial Operational Capability. It is not possible simply to “copy and paste” NATO's long-standing arrangements for air defense because missile defense brings some different factors into play, including the need for much shorter decision times. The command arrangements ensure that decisions are made within clear political guidelines and that the levels of authority are clearly defined according to the prevailing circumstances.

Another welcome trend is the broadening of contributions to NATO's BMD program. At present, protection of European territory from missile attack depends heavily on United States capabilities developed for its European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA). This includes the missile defense site at Deveselu, a similar facility being built at the Redzikowo military base in Poland, four BMD-capable Aegis ships based at Rota in Spain, and a BMD radar at Kürecik in Turkey.

The contributions of other Allies to NATO's missile defenses are set to increase as several nations deploy BMD-capable systems such as the SAMP/T “Aster” and the MIM-104 “Patriot” missiles. In addition, the Netherlands and Denmark are acquiring frigates with BMD-capable radars and the United Kingdom plans to build a ground-based BMD radar.

## NATO's Missile Defense System



(NATO)

Alliance leaders in Warsaw also declared that NATO remains open to discussions about BMD with Russia. This was preceded by a declaration of NATO's continued openness to willingness to engage with third states "to enhance transparency and confidence and to increase ballistic missile defense effectiveness" and a restatement of the fact that NATO missile defense "is not capable against Russia's strategic nuclear deterrent and there is no intention to redesign this system to have such a capability in the future. Hence, Russian statements threatening to target Allies because of NATO BMD are unacceptable and counterproductive."

This contrasts sharply with the optimistic tone of NATO's 2010 Lisbon Summit where NATO's leaders declared that NATO would "explore opportunities for missile defense co-operation with Russia in a spirit of reciprocity, maximum transparency and mutual confidence. We reaffirm the Alliance's readiness to invite Russia to explore jointly the potential for linking current and planned missile defense systems at an appropriate time in mutually beneficial ways".

In sum, therefore, the Warsaw Summit marked technical and political milestones in the development of NATO missile defenses. There remains no doubt that this effort is an appropriate and important response to the growing threat posed by the proliferation of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction, and an essential demonstration of Allied solidarity and burdensharing. The Alliance showed that it remains committed to developing missile defenses and it effectively dismissed Russia's efforts to undermine the program through propaganda, misinformation and intimidation.

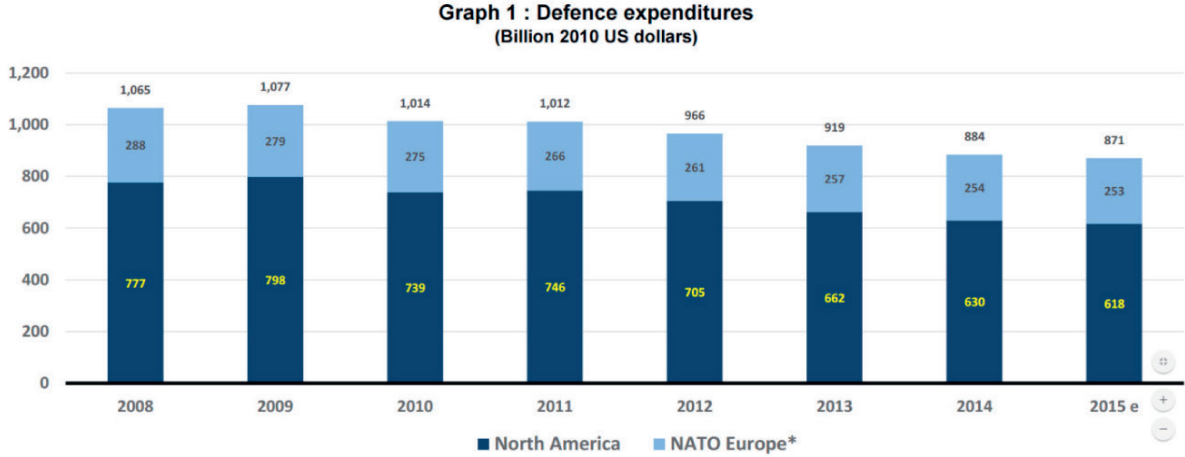
More Allies are committing resources and assets to the program, and NATO’s command and control capabilities are being adapted to ensure that they keep in step with progressively increasing capabilities.

NATO should now accelerate preparations to bring the system promptly to Full Operational Capability.

### 5. The question of resources: reversing cuts in defense spending

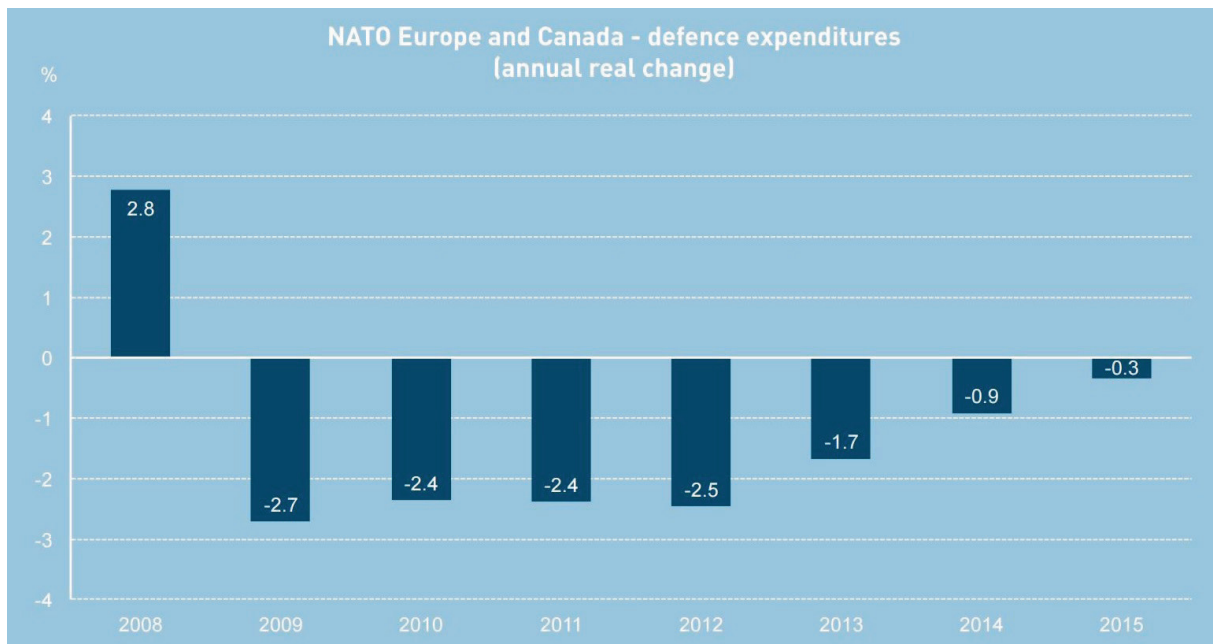
The armed forces of all NATO states have undergone major reductions since the end of the Cold War. The 2008 global financial crisis dealt a further severe blow to Allies’ investment in defense. Allies’ overall defense spending was cut by close to 20% between 2008 and 2015. As a result, at the beginning of 2014, at the time when Russia invaded Ukraine, only four Allies – the United States, the United Kingdom, Greece, Estonia – were still reaching the NATO agreed guideline of 2% of GDP spent on defense.

#### Defense spending trends in NATO countries



Source: NATO; Defense Expenditure of NATO Countries 2008-2015





Source: NATO Secretary General Annual Report 2015

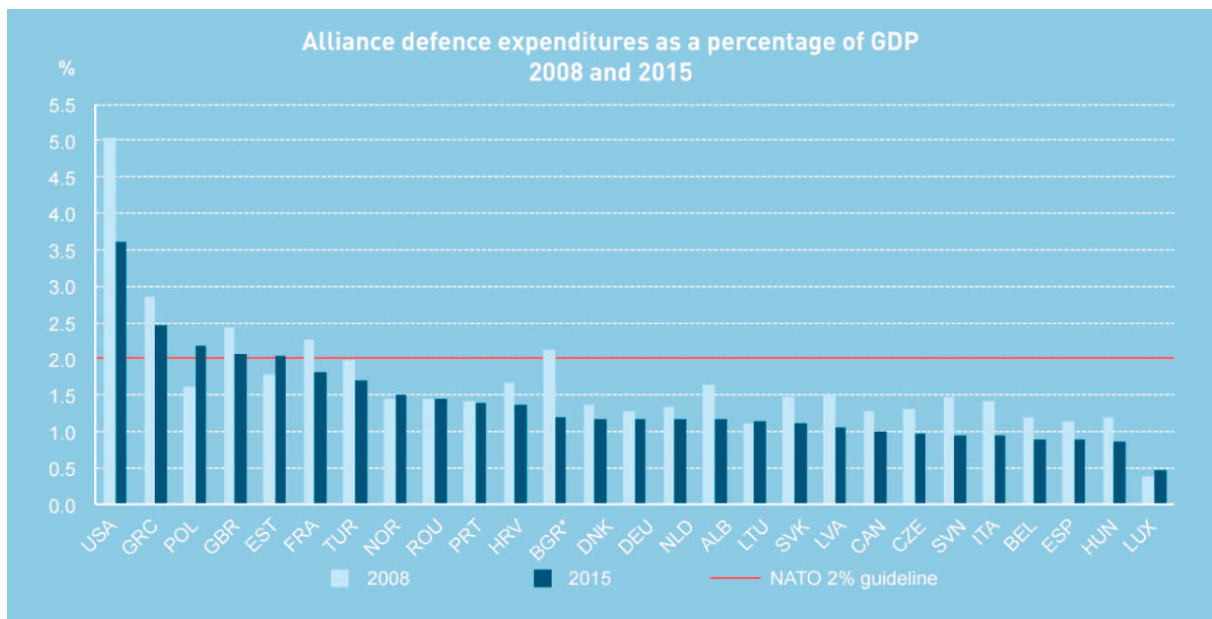
At the 2014 NATO Summit, Allied governments pledged to seek to stop defense budget cuts, and progressively move towards meeting the 2% guideline by 2024. They also made a commitment to devote 20% of their defense spending to defense investment - equipment, in other words.

Welcome progress has been achieved since then. According to NATO, in 2016 defense spending in real terms is now increasing in 23 of NATO's 28 members.

Only five NATO members, however, are meeting the 2% spending target, but ten Allies are at or above the 20% target for defense investment expenditure (France, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Romania, Poland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States).

Overall, after many years of progressive declines, defense expenditures in NATO's European Allies and Canada rose by 0.6% in 2015 and by 3% in 2016.

## Defense spending as a share of GDP in NATO countries



Source: NATO Secretary General's Annual Report 2015

These are welcome trends but they will have to continue for many years to come – and through election cycles – for NATO to even begin to compensate for the massive cuts of the past years.

In Warsaw, Allied leaders rightly pointed to the progress which has been made in reversing declines in defense expenditure and – equally rightly – noted that there is still much work to be done.

Not only is there a pressing need to ensure that NATO's overall spending and capabilities are sufficient, this effort must be better balanced between Europe and North America as well as among Europeans. In the current environment, NATO cannot afford another crisis of solidarity over the question of burdensharing. The American public and decisionmakers are prepared to defend Europe's security, but they still need to see Europeans doing more for their own security.

Furthermore, increased resources should translate into actual capabilities suited for today's threats. Allies should take better advantage of the valuable forum that NATO provides for the development of shared capabilities – so-called "smart defense". This seeks to "defragment" national defense efforts, in effect by increasing economies of scale so that nations – and their taxpayers – get better value for money (or "more bang for the buck") in defense.

The new strategic environment means that NATO will have to redress deficiencies in all operational domains. Allies must reinvest in and modernize their land capabilities, which have been most affected by recent cuts, yet provide an indispensable dimension of territorial defense. As mentioned above, several Allies will also face costly decisions regarding the modernization of their nuclear deterrent.

In practice, NATO still needs to increase the resources devoted to defense and the efficiency of its spending in order to provide an adequate deterrent capacity in the face of the many challenges and threats it faces. This report has shown how Russia is prepared to divert resources from other sectors of its economy to fund its comprehensive military modernization program. It is already ahead of NATO Allies in certain aspects of electronic warfare, for instance.

In a similar vein, NATO and the European Union will have to work together in a true partnership so that the unique competences of each organization can be applied to addressing common challenges.

This was recognized at the Warsaw Summit, both in the final communiqué and in a joint declaration issued by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council, and the President of the European Commission.

Substantial progress has been achieved in recent years, and there is a clear recognition of the benefits from cooperation in “countering hybrid threats, enhancing resilience, defense capacity building, cyber defense, maritime security, and exercises.”

The Warsaw communiqué encouraged further progress and asked for a report on all aspects of the NATO –EU strategic partnership for the next Summit.

This provides time for analysis of the implications of the United Kingdom’s decision to leave the European Union, and should also address issues such as long-standing concerns about the need to avoid duplicating NATO and EU capabilities, particularly when there are such substantial demands on resources.

## CONCLUSIONS

Russia's aggression against Ukraine which began in 2014 was a reflection of Russia's rejection of fundamental international laws and norms. This has changed the nature of Russia's relations not just with NATO but with the overwhelming majority of the international community. There is no short-term prospect of a return to a partnership with Russia.

In light of this new situation, at their Wales Summit in September 2014, NATO's leaders set out an ambitious agenda to provide immediate reassurance to Allies and at the same time begin the longer term process of enhancing NATO's deterrent capabilities and posture.

The Summit in Warsaw in July 2016 took these efforts further, and endorsed a much-needed strengthening of NATO's deterrent.

Allied leaders acknowledged the scope and seriousness of Russia's global challenge and effectively revised NATO's key strategic documents – the 2010 Strategic Concept and 2012 Deterrence and Defense Posture Review – to reflect the realities of today's strategic environment and put renewed emphasis on deterrence and collective defense.

As a concrete contribution to this strengthened deterrence, Allies agreed to deploy, on a rotational basis, four multinational battalions spread across the Baltic States and in Poland.

They also reaffirmed that NATO remains a nuclear Alliance, and, as part of NATO's revised nuclear doctrine, firmly responded to Russia's attempt to blur the line between conventional and nuclear warfare.

These measures were important and necessary. However, they should be seen as part of a process, not as an endpoint. Allies must continue to speak to Russia from a position of strength. **The enhanced forward presence must be increased, more forces must be deployed to the Southeast, and Allies must engage a parallel effort to strengthen their capacity for rapid reinforcement** – including prepositioning more equipment and addressing logistics and legal obstacles to reinforcements.

Allies should also **keep under continuous review the balance between rotational deployments on the one hand, and the need for additional permanent facilities** on the territory of Eastern Allies on the other. It should be clear to all that even short of the establishment of permanent bases, forward presence is needed to allow for, and manage, rotational deployments.

Allies should also regularly **exercise collective defense scenarios and practice their governmental decision-making and parliamentary approval processes** to ensure that these would be in keeping with the timescales envisaged for the rapid deployment of forces.

Further efforts must be deployed to robustly explain to Allied publics the need to **extend the life of the United States' tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and modernize the means of their delivery** as and when necessary bearing in mind that Russia's tactical nuclear arsenal is approximately ten times as large as NATO's.

The United States European Reassurance Initiative represents an additional commitment to defense and deterrence. All other NATO members should enhance their commitments in order to provide additional capabilities, enhance deterrence, and help **redress the transatlantic imbalance in providing capabilities and resources to NATO**.

In that regard, **the Wales defense spending pledge, renewed in Warsaw – 2% of GDP for defense and 20% of that for defense investment – should be seen as a minimum commitment, and Allies**

**should** make every effort to **reach agreed targets** ahead of the original 10-year deadline, **by 2020**. These additional resources must be directed towards filling ongoing capability gaps. Allies must work to retain their technological edge across the board. Further synergies should be developed between NATO and the EU's processes supporting capability development.

In order to address the growing threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of their delivery, **NATO must ensure that its missile defense system meets its schedule for becoming fully operational. Additional efforts should be made to incorporate European contributions to the system.**

Most importantly, NATO nations must resist the growing attempts – both from within and by third parties – to undermine Allied values and unity. Parliamentarians have an essential role to play in this regard. The citizens of our nations need to understand the challenges that we face, and what their leaders are doing to address them. It is one of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's essential missions to help promote transparency and democratic debate on the requirements and priorities of our defense. I offer this document as my contribution.

## APPENDIXES

*NATO Parliamentary Assembly*

*DECLARATION 428*

*on*

*A UNITED AND RESOLUTE AGENDA FOR NATO AT THE WARSAW SUMMIT<sup>45</sup>*

*Preamble*

- i. On 8 and 9 July 2016, NATO Heads of State and Government will meet in Warsaw to review the whole range of challenges facing Allies, and NATO's role in addressing them.*
- ii. In the past two years, the strategic environment has experienced profound shifts. With its aggression against Ukraine and illegal annexation of Crimea as well as the continuing illegal occupation of the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region (South Ossetia), Russia put an abrupt end to 25 years of efforts by Allies to build a genuine strategic partnership. Russia's recent actions have also included other forms of intimidation targeted at its neighbors, dangerous behavior and provocations directed against Allies, multiple violations of international norms and an extensive rearmament program. NATO's door has remained open for dialogue throughout, and we welcome the recent NATO-Russia Council meeting as far as it demonstrates shared interest in dialogue. However, this dialogue has so far delivered no concrete outcome of a strategic nature. Nevertheless, we welcome further efforts to promote a dialogue, which we consider as the most appropriate path for de-escalating the current tension;*
- iii. At the same time, ongoing conflicts and instability in the Alliance's southern neighborhood, from Libya to Iraq and Syria, and more generally in the arc of crisis from Pakistan to the Gulf of Guinea, directly threaten the security of our citizens and indeed global security. They have been a breeding ground for Daesh and other terrorist groups, which have seized control of large swathes of land and whose hateful ideology continues to attract some of our own citizens. They have also caused a humanitarian disaster and the largest mass migration since World War II. NATO needs a comprehensive strategy to support stability in the South.*
- iv. In Afghanistan, NATO continues to assist with development of the framework and institutions which will provide security for the Afghan people while ensuring that Afghanistan no longer exports insecurity.*
- v. In today's complex security environment, none of these challenges can be addressed in isolation. Neither is NATO necessarily the sole or most appropriate framework. Rather, these challenges form part of a broader range of threats and risks which we must address simultaneously and in cooperation with others, especially the European Union (EU). Among these are the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, various forms of trafficking and organized crime, cyber-attacks, and threats to energy security and the environment.*
- vi. Our Governments' and parliaments' first responsibility is to provide security for our people. This declaration reflects the consensus among the elected representatives of NATO's 28 member parliaments on how we can ensure that our Alliance continues to serve as the cornerstone of our nations' security. Building on the important foundations laid down at the 2014 Wales Summit, the Warsaw Summit must make clear that the Alliance is one and indivisible, prepared and able to address the entire range of challenges to our security at 360 degrees.*

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45 Presented by the Standing Committee and adopted by the Plenary Assembly on Monday 30 May 2016, Tirana, Albania

The Assembly,

1. **Recalling** that NATO's core mission is the collective defense of its members in Europe and North America, and that all Allies remain committed to the fundamental principle enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty that an attack against one is an attack against all;
2. **Regretting** that Russia's use of force against its neighbors and attempted intimidation of Allies have left NATO no choice but to consider the prospect of aggressive Russian action against an Alliance member as a potential threat, and to adopt measured, proportionate responses;
3. **Stressing** that these measures are structured to be non-provocative, are in compliance with the NATO-Russia Founding Act, despite Russia's violations of the provisions of that Act, and leave the door open for dialogue;
4. **Noting** that conflict and state failure in the Alliance's southern neighborhood, from Libya to Iraq and Syria, directly threaten the security of its citizens by feeding terrorism, human and other forms of trafficking, and mass migration;
5. **Convinced** that, in addition to defending Allies, NATO has a role in addressing the roots and consequences of this instability in partnership with others, as it continues to do in the Western Balkans and in Afghanistan;
6. **Determined** that the security of Allies is indivisible, and that all must contribute to addressing shared challenges, assume their fair share of responsibilities concerning conventional, nuclear and missile defense, and commit the resources necessary;
7. **Emphasizing** 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;
8. **URGES** the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the North Atlantic Alliance at their Summit meeting in Warsaw:
  - a. to ensure that all 28 Allies continue to provide reassurance to those Allies who feel their security is under threat, focusing on the Eastern and Southern flanks of the Alliance;
  - b. to continue NATO's political, military and institutional adaptation by strengthening conventional and nuclear deterrence, and enhancing a robust, balanced and persistent forward presence on a rotational basis and rapid response arrangements so as to make clear to any potential aggressor that any threat against any Ally would be met with utmost resolve and the Alliance's collective might;
  - c. to heighten NATO's preparedness by increasing the frequency and size of exercises based on Article 5 scenarios, enhancing its ability to anticipate crises, further improving its response to hybrid warfare, and developing its ability to operate in anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) environments;
  - d. to continue to strengthen cooperation with NATO partners Sweden and Finland in order to increase situational awareness of the security situation in the Baltic Sea region and further interoperability;
  - e. to reaffirm that the Black Sea remains an important component of Euro-Atlantic security, to continue monitoring and assessing the Black Sea security situation, and to strengthen cooperation with Georgia, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova on this issue;
  - f. 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;
  - g. to bolster arrangements ensuring that all Allies share the burden for defense, and to accelerate efforts to redress inequalities in defense spending among Allies, and meet the defense spending and investment guidelines agreed in Wales ahead of schedule and no later than 2020;
  - h. to develop a comprehensive strategy for supporting stability in the Alliance's southern neighborhood;
  - i. to step up, if requested, assistance to partners and regional organizations in North Africa and the Middle East to strengthen their capacity to deal with challenges in their neighborhood and operate side by side with NATO;

- j. to seek expanded bilateral and multilateral partnerships, especially with the United Nations, for a comprehensive approach, as well as with regional organizations such as the African Union, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab League;
- k. to consider further measures to support the international anti-ISIL coalition's efforts;
- l. to prepare for a potential request from the Libyan Government of National Accord for appropriate support including security assistance and counterterrorism;
- m. to expand further cooperation on the management of migration flows with Frontex, and consider a similar agreement to cover NATO's maritime activities in the Mediterranean;
- n. to enhance the European dimension of the Alliance, including by ensuring the fullest involvement of non-EU Allies in the EU's relevant efforts, and consequently to build on recent milestones in the cooperation with the EU on cybersecurity, hybrid warfare, intelligence, and migration, and seek further synergies in other areas, such as counterterrorism, strategic communication, resilience, and security assistance, as part of the EU's future Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy;
- o. to maintain their commitment to enhancing the effectiveness and sustainability of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces through operation Resolute Support and other partnership activities;
- p. to welcome the signing of Montenegro's accession protocol, to reaffirm all the elements of the 2008 Bucharest Summit decision that Georgia will become a member of NATO with a Membership Action Plan (MAP) as an integral part of the process, to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts towards meeting the requirements set in April 2010 so that its first MAP can be activated as soon as possible, and to reiterate NATO's firm commitment to the EuroAtlantic integration of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>46\*</sup> as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached within the framework of the UN;
- q. to continue to denounce Russia's ongoing occupation of Georgian and Ukrainian territories, and assist both countries with much-needed domestic reforms;
- r. to continue to explore ways to reduce tensions with Russia and avoid miscalculations and incidents, while addressing Russia's unacceptable violations of international norms;
- s. to continue to support the right of partners to make independent and sovereign choices on their foreign and security policy free from external pressure and coercion;
- t. to enhance efforts to promote the transparency and efficient governance of NATO, and citizens' understanding of the challenges and requirements of our shared security.

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



## **Warsaw Summit Communiqué Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw 8-9 July 2016<sup>47</sup>**

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, have gathered in Warsaw at a defining moment for the security of our nations and populations. We are pleased to have been joined by Montenegro, which we have invited to become the 29th member of our Alliance.

### **NATO's essential mission**

2. NATO's essential mission is unchanged: to ensure that the Alliance remains an unparalleled community of freedom, peace, security, and shared values, including individual liberty, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. We are united in our commitment to the Washington Treaty, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations (UN), and the vital transatlantic bond. To protect and defend our indivisible security and our common values, the Alliance must and will continue fulfilling effectively all three core tasks as set out in the Strategic Concept: collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security. These tasks remain fully relevant, are complementary, and contribute to safeguarding the freedom and security of all Allies.

### **Tribute to service men and women**

3. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to all the brave men and women from Allied and partner nations who have served or are serving in NATO-led missions and operations and in Allies' missions and operations that contribute to the security of the Alliance. We honor all those who have been wounded or paid the ultimate sacrifice while serving our common purposes and values.

### **NATO in a diverse and unpredictable security environment**

4. Since our last Summit in Wales in 2014, we have taken a range of steps to reinforce our collective defense, enhance our capabilities, and strengthen our resilience. We have committed to providing our armed forces with sufficient and sustained resources. Today, faced with an increasingly diverse, unpredictable, and demanding security environment, we have taken further action to defend our territory and protect our populations, project stability beyond our borders, and continue the political, military, and institutional adaptation of our Alliance.

5. There is an arc of insecurity and instability along NATO's periphery and beyond. The Alliance faces a range of security challenges and threats that originate both from the east and from the south; from state and non-state actors; from military forces and from terrorist, cyber, or hybrid attacks. Russia's aggressive actions, including provocative military activities in the periphery of NATO territory and its demonstrated willingness to attain political goals by the threat and use of force, are a source of regional instability, fundamentally challenge the Alliance, have damaged Euro-Atlantic security, and threaten our long-standing goal of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. Our security is also deeply affected by the security situation in the Middle East and North Africa, which has deteriorated significantly across the whole region. Terrorism, particularly as perpetrated by the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)/Da'esh, has risen to an unprecedented level of intensity, reaches into all of Allied territory, and now represents an immediate and direct threat to our nations and the international community. Instability in the Middle East and North Africa also contributes to the refugee and migrant crisis.

6. The changed and evolving security environment demands the ability to meet challenges and threats of any kind and from any direction. Based on solidarity, Alliance cohesion, and the indivisibility of our security, NATO remains the transatlantic framework for strong collective defense and the essential forum for security consultations and decisions among Allies. 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. And so renewed emphasis has been placed on deterrence and collective defense. At the same time, NATO must retain its ability to respond to crises beyond its borders, and remain actively engaged in projecting stability and enhancing international security through working with partners and other international organizations.

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<sup>47</sup> The Warsaw Summit Communiqué, together with the other documents adopted at the Warsaw Summit, are available on the NATO website: <http://www.nato.int>

## **Countering the threat of ISIL/Da'esh terrorism**

7. Allies confront a wide range of terrorist challenges that pose a direct threat to the security of our populations, and to international stability and prosperity more broadly. In the past months, we have faced terrible terrorist attacks on our soils and in our cities. In particular, ISIL/Da'esh poses a grave threat to the wider Middle East and North Africa region and to our own nations. In response, all NATO Allies and many NATO partners are contributing to the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL. Thanks to that determined action, the Global Coalition campaign has made considerable progress, building on our experience in working together and with partners in NATO-led operations, training, and exercises. ISIL/Da'esh is losing territory, control of strategic supply routes and resources, as well as its leaders, fighters, and followers. To ensure ISIL/Da'esh's lasting defeat, our nations remain committed to sustaining the momentum and work of the Global Coalition. In this context, it is important for the Iraqi authorities to continue to promote policies to ensure inclusivity at all levels of government, including the defense and security forces. We also recognise that an effective and enduring fight against ISIL/Da'esh in Syria will only be possible with a legitimate government in place, and stress the need for an immediate and genuine political transition in this country. We condemn ISIL/Da'esh's unrelenting barbaric attacks against all civilian populations, in particular the systematic and deliberate targeting of entire religious and ethnic communities. We also condemn in the strongest terms ISIL/Da'esh's violent and cowardly acts in Allied territory. If the security of any Ally is threatened, we will not hesitate to take all necessary steps to ensure our collective defense. In light of the dramatic humanitarian consequences of this crisis and its repercussions on regional stability and security, Allies are offering security and humanitarian assistance across the region.

8. The global threat of terrorism knows no border, nationality, or religion. We will continue to fight this threat in accordance with international law and the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, with determination, and in solidarity with those Allies and partners that have been victims of terrorist attacks. We are ready to do more to counter this threat, including by helping our partners provide for their own security, defend against terrorism, and build resilience against attack. While we enhance our cooperation to prevent, mitigate, and respond effectively to terrorist attacks, including through our efforts to project stability, we are also mindful of the need to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.

## **Relations with Russia – Russia's destabilizing actions and policies**

9. For over two decades, NATO has striven to build a partnership with Russia, including through the mechanism of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC). Russia's recent activities and policies have reduced stability and security, increased unpredictability, and changed the security environment. While NATO stands by its international commitments, Russia has breached the values, principles and commitments which underpin the NATO-Russia relationship, as outlined in the 1997 Basic Document of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act, and 2002 Rome Declaration, broken the trust at the core of our cooperation, and challenged the fundamental principles of the global and Euro-Atlantic security architecture. Decisions we have taken, including here at our Summit, are fully consistent with our international commitments, and therefore cannot be regarded by anyone as contradicting the NATO-Russia Founding Act.

10. Russia's destabilizing actions and policies include: the ongoing illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, which we do not and will not recognise and which we call on Russia to reverse; the violation of sovereign borders by force; the deliberate destabilization of eastern Ukraine; large-scale snap exercises contrary to the spirit of the Vienna Document, and provocative military activities near NATO borders, including in the Baltic and Black Sea regions and the Eastern Mediterranean; its irresponsible and aggressive nuclear rhetoric, military concept and underlying posture; and its repeated violations of NATO Allied airspace. In addition, Russia's military intervention, significant military presence and support for the regime in Syria, and its use of its military presence in the Black Sea to project power into the Eastern Mediterranean have posed further risks and challenges for the security of Allies and others.

11. NATO has responded to this changed security environment by enhancing its deterrence and defense posture, including by a forward presence in the eastern part of the Alliance, and by suspending all practical civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia, while remaining open to political dialogue with Russia. We reaffirm these decisions.

12. As we agreed, talking to Russia allows us to communicate clearly our positions, with the crisis in and around Ukraine being, in current circumstances, the first topic on our agenda. 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. We also have military lines of communication. We have agreed to continue to use all these channels to address the critical issues we face, and call on Russia to make good use of all lines of communication.

13. Reciprocal military transparency and risk reduction has the potential to improve stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. In this context, we call on Russia to constructively engage in the ongoing discussions in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to modernize the Vienna Document, to help close the loopholes that reduce military transparency.

14. The Alliance does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia. But we cannot and will not compromise on the principles on which our Alliance and security in Europe and North America rest. NATO will continue to be transparent, predictable and resolute.

15. As we agreed at our Wales Summit, we will continue our strategic discussion on Euro-Atlantic security and our approach to Russia. As we also agreed at Wales, we continue to believe that a partnership between NATO and Russia, based on respect for international law and commitments, including as reflected in the NATO-Russia Founding Act and Rome Declaration, would be of strategic value. We regret that despite repeated calls by Allies and the international community since 2014 for Russia to change course, the conditions for that relationship do not currently exist. The nature of the Alliance's relations with Russia and aspirations for partnership will be contingent on a clear, constructive change in Russia's actions that demonstrates compliance with international law and its international obligations and responsibilities. Until then, we cannot return to "business as usual".

16. An independent, sovereign, and stable Ukraine, firmly committed to democracy and the rule of law, is key to Euro-Atlantic security. We stand firm in our support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognised borders and Ukraine's right to decide its own future and foreign policy course free from outside interference, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act. We strongly condemn Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine and its continued violation of international law and its international obligations, which have serious implications for the stability and security of the entire Euro-Atlantic area.

17. Russia bears full responsibility for the serious deterioration of the human rights situation on the Crimean peninsula, in particular the discrimination against the Crimean Tatars and other members of local communities. We demand that the Russian de facto authorities take the necessary measures to ensure the safety, rights, and freedoms of everyone living on the peninsula. International monitoring structures must be allowed to carry out their essential work in view of the protection of human rights. We condemn Russia's ongoing and wide-ranging military build-up in Crimea, and are concerned by Russia's efforts and stated plans for further military build-up in the Black Sea region.

18. We are committed to a peaceful solution to the conflict in eastern Ukraine, which has claimed nearly 10 000 lives, and reintegration of the areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions controlled by the Russian-backed militants. This will require full implementation of the Minsk Agreements based on a comprehensive ceasefire and an internationally verified withdrawal of weapons. We urge all signatories to fully comply with the commitments they signed up to.

19. Russia, as a signatory to the Minsk Agreements, bears significant responsibility in this regard. Despite its declared commitment to the Minsk Agreements, Russia continues its deliberate destabilization of eastern Ukraine, in violation of international law. Russia continues to provide weapons, equipment, and personnel, as well as financial and other assistance to militant groups, and to intervene militarily in the conflict. We are extremely concerned by the destabilization and deteriorating security situation in eastern Ukraine. We call on Russia to desist from aggressive actions and to use its considerable influence over the militants to meet their commitments in full, especially to allow for the observation of the ceasefire regime, implementation of confidence-building measures, and disarmament.

20. We fully support the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM), which has a key role in helping to de-escalate the conflict and stress the importance of full and unhindered access by the OSCE monitors. Impediments to the SMM's work, which continue to occur overwhelmingly in areas under the control of the Russian-backed militants, represent a violation of the Minsk Agreements and seriously hamper the monitoring function of the SMM. We call on those responsible to stop any attacks against OSCE observers, and for the perpetrators to be held accountable. We also commend the work of the EU Advisory Mission to assist Ukraine in the field of civilian security sector reform, including police and the rule of law.

21. We welcome the efforts of the Normandy format and the Trilateral Contact Group to advance the implementation of the Minsk Agreements to open the way to the full reintegration of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, including passing a local election law for eastern Ukraine; carrying out local elections, when the security situation allows, in accordance with Ukrainian law and relevant OSCE standards and with a strong presence of international observers; implementation of special status and amnesty; withdrawal of foreign forces; and restoration of Ukraine's control over its side of the international border. We condemn the militants' use of residential areas to launch heavy weapons. We urge all parties to take concrete steps to reduce civilian casualties and to adhere strictly to the requirements of international humanitarian law.

22. We remain committed to a continued coherent international approach, in particular between NATO and the European Union (EU). NATO's response is in support of this overall effort, which includes sanctions as decided by the EU, the G7 and others, to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict and to address Russia's actions.

23. We face evolving challenges in the Baltic and Black Sea regions, the North Atlantic, as well as in the Mediterranean, which are of strategic importance to the Alliance and to our partners. Russia continues to strengthen its military posture, increase its military activities, deploy new high-end capabilities, and challenge regional security. These developments have resulted in increased unpredictability that could be mitigated through reciprocal transparency and risk reduction measures. Recognising the indivisibility of Allied security, we will continue to closely monitor the situation in these regions. Our response will be tailored to specific circumstances in each region. We will also work with interested partners to enhance our situational awareness and to develop common approaches to evolving challenges.

In the Baltic Sea region, where the security situation has deteriorated since 2014, the Alliance has developed mutually beneficial partnership relations with Finland and Sweden on a broad range of issues. We appreciate the significant contributions of Finland and Sweden to NATO-led operations. We are dedicated to the continuous process of further strengthening our cooperation with these enhanced opportunities partners, including through regular political consultations, shared situational awareness, and joint exercises, in order to respond to common challenges in a timely and effective manner.

In the Black Sea region, the security situation has also deteriorated in recent years. We will continue to address the implications for NATO of developments in the region and take them into account in the Alliance's approaches and policies. We will continue to support, as appropriate, regional efforts by the Black Sea littoral states aimed at ensuring security and stability. We will also strengthen our dialogue and cooperation with Georgia and Ukraine in this regard.

In the North Atlantic, as elsewhere, the Alliance will be ready to deter and defend against any potential threats, including against sea lines of communication and maritime approaches of NATO territory. In this context, we will further strengthen our maritime posture and comprehensive situational awareness.

24. We continue to support the right of all our partners to make independent and sovereign choices on foreign and security policy, free from external pressure and coercion. We remain committed in our support for the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the Republic of Moldova. In this context, we continue to support efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the South Caucasus, as well as in the Republic of Moldova, based upon these principles and the norms of international law, the UN Charter, and the Helsinki Final Act. We urge all parties to engage constructively and with reinforced political will in peaceful conflict resolution, within the established negotiation frameworks.

## **Crises and instability across the Middle East and North Africa**

25. The continuing crises and instability across the Middle East and North Africa region, in particular in Syria, Iraq and Libya, as well as the threat of terrorism and violent extremism across the region and beyond, demonstrate that the security of the region has direct implications for the security of NATO. In addition to the spill-over of conflict from failing and failed states, terrorism and violent extremism, we face other common transnational security threats and challenges, including trafficking of small arms and light weapons, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means, and threats against maritime security and energy supply. Criminal trafficking gangs have exploited this situation at the expense of displaced people. Peace and stability in this region are essential for the Alliance. Therefore, we emphasize the need to do more to achieve lasting calm and an end to violence.

26. We are adapting our defense and deterrence posture to respond to threats and challenges, including from the south. At the same time, we are continuing to draw on our cooperative security network to enhance political dialogue, to foster constructive relationships in the region, and to increase our support for partners through practical cooperation, as well as defense capacity building and crisis management. We are also exploring options for possible NATO contributions to international efforts to bring stability in the region, building on decisions taken by our Foreign Ministers in May.

27. We remain concerned and vigilant towards the ongoing crisis in Syria, which has direct ramifications for regional stability and for the security of NATO's south-eastern border. The dynamics of this conflict – including terrorism and violent extremism in all their forms and manifestations, the humanitarian tragedy it has caused, and the massive flow of migrants – present challenges and threats for international stability, security, and prosperity. We reiterate our full commitment and determination to defend NATO territory and borders against any threats and address challenges emanating from the Syrian conflict. We condemn all kinds of indiscriminate violence against civilians and civilian infrastructure. We also condemn in the strongest terms the unabated and indiscriminate campaign of bombardment, including the use of incendiary weapons, and violence by the Assad regime and its supporters deliberately targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure. We also condemn indiscriminate violence against civilians, in particular by ISIL/Da'esh, the Al Nusra Front, and other groups designated as terrorist organizations by the UN.

28. We call on the Syrian regime to fully comply with the provisions of all relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs), and to immediately take steps for a genuine political transition in accordance with UNSCR 2254 and the 30 June 2012 Geneva Communiqué. We underline that stability and security cannot be reinstated in Syria without a genuine political transition to a new, representative leadership, based on an inclusive and Syrian-led political process. In this vein, we support the political process under the auspices of the UN and the efforts of the International Syria Support Group to assist the political process. We call for full implementation of the humanitarian provisions of the UNSCR 2254 and the Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) agreement. We strongly condemn the violations of the CoH, in particular by the regime and its supporters. These violations constitute a serious hindrance for the political process. We call upon the parties to the CoH to remain committed to the agreement and its full implementation.

29. We stand in support of Iraq in its efforts to build institutions that could restore stability and security in the country. We commend the success to date of the Iraqi security forces in pushing back and reclaiming key territories from ISIL/Da'esh. The participation of all Iraqis through national reconciliation and inclusive governance is crucial, and we therefore encourage the Iraqi authorities to continue to implement policies to bridge ethnic, sectarian, and religious divisions, and ensure inclusive representation in all governmental institutions, and to develop the country's security forces.

30. We welcome the political developments that have taken place in Libya since December 2015: we support the UN and Libyan-led efforts, which have led to the Libyan political agreement, and recognise the Government of National Accord as the sole legitimate government of Libya. We encourage full implementation of the political agreement, and we express support to efforts by the Prime Minister and Chairman of the Presidency Council towards an inclusive political process aimed at promoting national reconciliation in order to establish functioning state structures. These efforts mark an important step to strengthen Libya's democratic transition. The unification of all Libyan forces under the authority of the Presidency Council will be key for Libya's ability to fight terrorism.

31. Terrorist acts and the trafficking of arms, drugs, and human beings across the Sahel-Sahara region continue to threaten regional and our own security. We welcome the efforts of the UN and the EU, and underscore the importance of a strong commitment by the international community to address the complex security and political challenges in this region. In Mali, we welcome the endorsement of the peace agreement, the steps taken in its implementation, and the support of the international community to the stabilisation of the country. We also welcome the robust military commitment of Allies in the Sahel-Sahara region, in support of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries in the region, and of the security of the Alliance. We commend our African partners' action to deepen regional cooperation to confront security issues in the Sahel.

### **Defense and deterrence**

32. The Alliance military posture is defensive in nature. Deterrence and defense are at the heart of the Alliance's mission and purpose – as the fundamental means of preventing conflict, protecting Allied territories and populations, and maintaining the Alliance's freedom of decision and action at any time, as well as upholding the principles and values enshrined in the North Atlantic Treaty. We will ensure that NATO has the full range of capabilities necessary to deter and defend against potential adversaries and the full spectrum of threats that could confront the Alliance from any direction.

33. All of the actions that we have taken to strengthen our deterrence and defense posture require appropriate investment in capabilities and the development of highly-capable and deployable forces. Our overall security and defense depend both on how much we spend and how we spend it. Increased investments should be directed towards meeting our capability priorities. It is essential that Allies display the political will to provide required capabilities and deploy forces when they are needed. Allies also need to ensure forces are deployable, sustainable, and interoperable. The Defense Investment Pledge we agreed at the Wales Summit is an important step in this direction and today we reaffirm its importance. Through this Pledge we agreed to reverse the trend of declining defense budgets, to make the most effective use of our funds, and to further a more balanced sharing of the costs and responsibilities.

### **Allies' defense expenditures**

34. Since Wales, we have turned a corner. Collectively, Allies' defense expenditures have increased in 2016 for the first time since 2009. In just two years, a majority of Allies have halted or reversed declines in defense spending in real terms. Today, five Allies meet the NATO guideline to spend a minimum of 2% of their Gross Domestic Product on defense. Ten Allies meet the NATO guideline to spend more than 20% of their defense budgets on major equipment, including related Research & Development. Output is also important, in particular deployability and sustainability of Allied forces. Allies continue to make important contributions to NATO operations, missions, and activities, as well as the NATO Command and Force Structures. Allies invest considerable resources in preparing their forces, capabilities, and infrastructure for Alliance activities and Allies' operations that contribute to our collective security. There is still much work to be done. Efforts to achieve a more balanced sharing of the costs and responsibilities continue. Defense Ministers will continue to review progress annually.

### **Readiness Action Plan**

35. In Wales, we approved our Readiness Action Plan (RAP) to respond swiftly to the fundamental changes in the security environment on NATO's borders and further afield that are of concern to Allies. It responds to the challenges posed by Russia and their strategic implications. It also responds to the risks and threats emanating from our southern neighborhood, the Middle East and North Africa. Less than two years later, it has already contributed to a substantial adaptation of NATO's military posture. The RAP has significantly enhanced our readiness, responsiveness, and flexibility required to deal with the changed security environment. We welcome the Plan's implementation.

36. The Readiness Action Plan Assurance Measures have provided continuous military presence and meaningful activity in the eastern part of the Alliance, on a rotational basis, for the past two years. These defensive measures demonstrate our collective solidarity and resolve to protect all Allies. Assurance Measures provide the fundamental baseline requirement for assurance and deterrence. In addition, tailored assurance measures for Turkey to respond to the growing security challenges from the south contribute to the security

of the Alliance as a whole, and will be fully implemented. Assurance Measures are flexible and scalable in response to the evolving security situation, and will be kept under annual review by the Council.

37. Through the longer term Adaptation Measures of the Readiness Action Plan, we have:

- a. Enhanced the NATO Response Force (NRF), increasing its readiness and substantially enlarging its size, making it a more capable and flexible joint force comprised of a division-size land element with air, maritime, and special operations forces components.
- b. Created a new Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF), able to begin deployment within two to three days. It has been certified, exercised at short notice, and on stand-by since 2015. Seven VJTF framework nations<sup>1</sup> have been identified and a VJTF rotation plan established through 2022.
- c. Established eight multinational NATO Force Integration Units on the territory of Allies in the eastern part of the Alliance to assist in training of Alliance forces and in the reception of reinforcements when needed.
- d. Taken the necessary steps to increase NATO's ability to reinforce through new infrastructure projects and increased flexibility in the rapid movement of forces across national territory.
- e. As part of the NATO Force Structure, made the Headquarters of a Multinational Corps Northeast in Poland fully operational, and established the Headquarters of a Multinational Division Southeast in Romania to take command of the NATO Force Integration Units and to provide flexible command and control options in their regions.
- f. Decided to enhance NATO Standing Naval Forces with additional capabilities.
- g. Delivered a more ambitious NATO exercise program. National exercises are an important part of this effort. In 2015 alone, NATO and Allies conducted 300 exercises, including NATO's largest and most complex exercise in over a decade – Trident Juncture 2015 in Italy, Portugal, and Spain.
- h. Enhanced advance planning and enabled accelerated decision-making to ensure both military and political responsiveness.
- i. Agreed a strategy on NATO's role in Countering Hybrid Warfare, which is being implemented in coordination with the EU.
- j. Established a framework for NATO's adaptation in response to growing challenges and threats from the south.

These Adaptation Measures will remain a major driver of NATO's military adaptation and need to be sustained over time.

38. In light of the changed and evolving security environment, further adaptation is needed. Therefore, we have decided to further strengthen the Alliance's deterrence and defense posture. Building on the success of the Readiness Action Plan, today we are adopting a broad approach to deterrence and defense which draws upon all of the tools at NATO's disposal. This will provide the Alliance with a range of options to be able to respond to any threats from wherever they arise. Given the different nature, types and origins of threats, we will tailor our response to specific circumstances. Taken together, the measures we are approving at this Summit will enhance the security of all Allies and ensure protection of Alliance territory, populations, airspace and sealines of communication, including across the Atlantic, against all threats from wherever they arise. In this context, our response is united and adequate to the new security environment, demonstrating our ability and willingness to defend one another. As part of the Alliance posture, these measures are defensive in nature, proportionate, consistent with our international commitments and demonstrate our respect for the rules-based European security architecture.

39. As a means to prevent conflict and war, credible deterrence and defense is essential. At the same time, as part of the Alliance's overall approach to providing security for NATO populations and territory, deterrence has to be complemented by meaningful dialogue and engagement with Russia, to seek reciprocal transparency and risk reduction. Those efforts will not come at the expense of ensuring NATO's credible deterrence and defense.

40. We have decided to establish an enhanced forward presence in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland to unambiguously demonstrate, as part of our overall posture, Allies' solidarity, determination, and ability to

act by triggering an immediate Allied response to any aggression. Beginning in early 2017, enhanced forward presence will comprise multinational forces provided by framework nations and other contributing Allies on a voluntary, sustainable, and rotational basis. They will be based on four battalion-sized battlegroups that can operate in concert with national forces, present at all times in these countries, underpinned by a viable reinforcement strategy. We welcome the offers of Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States to serve as framework nations for the robust multinational presence in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Poland respectively. We have also accepted the Polish offer to provide an existing division headquarters as a basis for the establishment of a multinational division headquarters, pending agreement on the modalities by the Council. We recognise the integral role host nations will play in enhanced forward presence. We further welcome additional contributions from across the Alliance to support this important endeavour. We recognise the significant resource commitments of Allies.

41. We will also develop tailored forward presence in the southeast part of the Alliance territory. Appropriate measures, tailored to the Black Sea region and including the Romanian initiative to establish a multinational framework brigade to help improve integrated training of Allied units under Headquarters Multinational Division Southeast, will contribute to the Alliance's strengthened deterrence and defense posture, situational awareness, and peacetime demonstration of NATO's intent to operate without constraint. It will also provide a strong signal of support to regional security. Options for a strengthened NATO air and maritime presence will be assessed.

### **Defense and deterrence**

42. As part of the Readiness Action Plan and as a contribution to our deterrence and defense posture, we have established a framework for NATO's adaptation in response to growing challenges and threats emanating from the south. The framework focusses on better regional understanding and situational awareness, the ability to anticipate and respond to crises emanating from the south, improved capabilities for expeditionary operations, and enhancing NATO's ability to project stability through regional partnerships and capacity building efforts. We will proceed with the implementation of this framework.

43. As part of a broader approach and the concerted efforts of the international community, we also need to deter and defend against non-state actors that have state-like aspirations, capabilities, and resources, and that threaten or affect the security of Allied populations and the integrity of Allied territory. We have agreed a series of measures to respond to this threat, including ensuring that it is appropriately monitored and assessed and that relevant plans will be updated as necessary.

44. We will not accept to be constrained by any potential adversary as regards the freedom of movement of Allied forces by land, air, or sea to and within any part of Alliance territory. Alliance capabilities, training, and exercises contribute to our ability to operate freely. We remain ready to rapidly reinforce any Ally that comes under threat, when needed, to counter all contingencies.

45. We will ensure that NATO has the full range of capabilities necessary to fulfil the whole range of Alliance missions, including to deter and defend against potential adversaries, and the full spectrum of threats that could confront the Alliance from any direction. In line with our defense planning priorities, we are committed to delivering heavier and more high-end forces and capabilities, as well as more forces at higher readiness. The primary responsibility for achieving this remains with Allies, individually. Multinational approaches are valuable in meeting these vital needs.

### **Robust and agile NATO Command Structure**

46. We will ensure that the NATO Command Structure remains robust and agile, and able to undertake all elements of effective command and control for simultaneous challenges across the full spectrum of missions. In light of the changed and evolving security environment and the increased overall requirements, we will conduct a functional assessment of the current structure.

### **Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities**

47. We will further improve our strategic anticipation by enhancing our situational awareness, particularly in the east and south and in the North Atlantic. Our ability to understand, track and, ultimately, anticipate, the actions of potential adversaries through Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities and comprehensive intelligence arrangements is increasingly important. These are essential to enable timely



and informed political and military decisions. We have established the capabilities necessary to ensure our responsiveness is commensurate with our highest readiness forces.

### **Alliance maritime posture**

48. The Alliance maritime posture supports the four roles consisting of collective defense and deterrence, crisis management, cooperative security, and maritime security, and thus also contributes to projecting stability. The Standing Naval Forces are a core maritime capability of the Alliance and are the centerpiece of NATO's maritime posture. They are being enhanced and will be aligned with NATO's enhanced NATO Response Force to provide NATO's highest readiness maritime forces. We will continue to reinforce our maritime posture by exploiting the full potential of the Alliance's overall maritime power. Work is under way on the operationalization of the Alliance Maritime Strategy, as well as on the future of NATO's maritime operations, which are key to NATO's maritime posture. Allies are also considering complementary maritime governance initiatives to contribute to this endeavor.

### **Interoperability**

49. Interoperability of our armed forces is fundamental to our success and an important added value of our Alliance. Through training and exercises, the development of NATO standards and common technical solutions, the NATO Response Force, Assurance Measures, forward presence in the eastern part of the Alliance, and joint operations in Afghanistan, Kosovo and the Mediterranean, all Allies are also reinforcing their interoperability within NATO as well as with partners, as appropriate. This enables our armed forces to work together successfully, be it in NATO operations or in national, coalition, EU or UN formats, which contributes to our common security.

### **Deterrence and defense based on nuclear, conventional and missile defense capabilities**

50. We welcome the many concrete multinational and national initiatives, carried out independently or under the auspices of Smart Defense or the Framework Nations Concept, which strengthen the Alliance. They contribute directly to capability development and to our strengthened deterrence and defense posture. We will ensure overall coherence and unity of effort across all elements of Allied capability development and military presence, including between forward presence and Allies' multinational and national military activities and initiatives.

51. 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. NATO will 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.

52. As a means to prevent conflict and war, credible deterrence and defense is essential. Therefore, deterrence and defense, based on an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional, and missile defense capabilities, remains a core element of our overall strategy. A robust deterrence and defense posture strengthens Alliance cohesion, including the transatlantic link, through an equitable and sustainable distribution of roles, responsibilities, and burdens. NATO must continue to adapt its strategy in line with trends in the security environment – including with respect to capabilities and other measures required – to ensure that NATO's overall deterrence and defense posture is capable of addressing potential adversaries' doctrine and capabilities, and that it remains credible, flexible, resilient, and adaptable.

### **Nuclear capability**

53. Allies' goal is to bolster deterrence as a core element of our collective defense and to contribute to the indivisible security of the Alliance. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. The strategic forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States, are the supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies. The independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France have a deterrent role of their own and contribute to the overall security of the Alliance. These Allies' separate centers of decision-making contribute to deterrence by complicating the calculations of potential adversaries. NATO's nuclear deterrence posture also relies, in part, on United States' nuclear weapons forward-deployed in Europe and on capabilities and infrastructure provided by Allies concerned. These Allies will ensure that all components of NATO's nuclear deterrent remain safe, secure, and effective. That requires sustained

leadership focus and institutional excellence for the nuclear deterrence mission and planning guidance aligned with 21st century requirements. The Alliance will ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies concerned in their agreed nuclear burden-sharing arrangements.

54. The fundamental purpose of NATO's nuclear capability is to preserve peace, prevent coercion, and deter aggression. Nuclear weapons are unique. Any employment of nuclear weapons against NATO would fundamentally alter the nature of a conflict. The circumstances in which NATO might have to use nuclear weapons are extremely remote. 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 an adversary could hope to achieve

### **Ballistic Missile Defense**

55. Missile defense can complement the role of nuclear weapons in deterrence; it cannot substitute for them. The capability is purely defensive. The threat to NATO populations, territory, and forces posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles continues to increase, and missile defense forms part of a broader response to counter it.

56. At our Summit in Lisbon in 2010, we decided to develop a NATO Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) capability to pursue our core task of collective defense. The aim of this capability is to provide full coverage and protection for all NATO European populations, territory, and forces against the increasing threats posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles, based on the principles of indivisibility of Allies' security and NATO solidarity, equitable sharing of risks and burdens, as well as reasonable challenge, taking into account the level of threat, affordability, and technical feasibility, and in accordance with the latest common threat assessments agreed by the Alliance. Should international efforts reduce the threats posed by ballistic missile proliferation, NATO missile defense can and will adapt accordingly.

57. At our Summit in Chicago in 2012, we declared the achievement of an Interim NATO BMD Capability as an operationally significant first step. At the Wales Summit, we welcomed the forward deployment of BMD-capable Aegis ships to Rota, Spain that could be made available to NATO. Today a new milestone in the development of NATO BMD has been reached and we are pleased to declare the achievement of the NATO BMD Initial Operational Capability. This is a significant step toward the aim of NATO BMD that offers a stronger capability to defend our populations, territory, and forces across southern NATO Europe against a potential ballistic missile attack. The Aegis Ashore site in Deveselu, Romania represents a significant portion of this increase in capability, and the command and control (C2) of the Aegis Ashore site is being transferred to NATO. We also welcome that Turkey hosts a forward-based early-warning BMD radar at Kürecik and that Poland will be hosting an Aegis Ashore site at the Redzikowo military base. We are also pleased that additional voluntary national contributions have been offered by Allies, and we encourage further voluntary contributions, all of which will add robustness to the capability.

58. As with all of NATO's operations, full political control by Allies is essential and will be ensured over the BMD capability. We will continue to deepen political oversight of NATO BMD as the capability develops. It is essential that the functionality of the Alliance C2 network for BMD matches that development. In this context, the next necessary major milestone for NATO BMD capability will be the completion of the next core element of the NATO BMD C2. Overall completion of the NATO BMD C2 will then provide the additional functionalities required for the BMD system to reach maturity.

59. We will develop further our engagement with third states, on a case-by-case basis, to enhance transparency and confidence and to increase ballistic missile defense effectiveness. This could involve information exchange, consultation, and cooperation. NATO missile defense is not directed against Russia and will not undermine Russia's strategic deterrence capabilities. NATO missile defense is intended to defend against potential threats emanating from outside the Euro-Atlantic area. We have explained to Russia many times that the BMD system is not capable against Russia's strategic nuclear deterrent and there is no intention to redesign this system to have such a capability in the future. Hence, Russian statements threatening to target Allies because of NATO BMD are unacceptable and counterproductive. Should Russia be ready to discuss BMD with NATO, and subject to Alliance agreement, NATO remains open to discussion.

60. NATO BMD is based on voluntary national contributions, including nationally funded interceptors and sensors, hosting arrangements, and on the expansion of the BMD capability. The command and control systems for NATO BMD are the only portion for NATO BMD that is eligible for common funding.

61. We also task the Council to regularly review the implementation of the NATO BMD capability, including before the Foreign and Defense Ministers' meetings, and prepare a comprehensive report on progress and issues to be addressed for its future development by our next Summit.

### **Arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and WMD**

62. Arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation continue to play an important role in the achievement of the Alliance's security objectives. Both the success and failure of these efforts can have a direct impact on the threat environment of NATO. In this context, it is of paramount importance that disarmament and non-proliferation commitments under existing treaties are honored, including the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, crucial to Euro-Atlantic security. Allies therefore continue to call on Russia to preserve the viability of the INF Treaty through ensuring full and verifiable compliance.

63. We remain deeply concerned by the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD), as well as their means of delivery, by states and non-state actors, which continues to present a threat to our populations, territory, and forces. Addressing serious proliferation challenges remains an urgent international priority.

64. Allies emphasize their strong commitment to full implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Alliance reaffirms its resolve to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in full accordance with all provisions of the NPT, including Article VI, in a step-by-step and verifiable way that promotes international stability, and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all. Allies reiterate their commitment to progress towards the goals and objectives of the NPT in its mutually reinforcing three pillars: nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

65. After the end of the Cold War, NATO dramatically reduced the number of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and its reliance on nuclear weapons in NATO strategy. We remain committed to contribute to creating the conditions for further reductions in the future on the basis of reciprocity, recognising that progress on arms control and disarmament must take into account the prevailing international security environment. We regret that the conditions for achieving disarmament are not favorable today.

66. We call on all states to commit to combatting effectively the proliferation of WMD through the universalization of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, negotiation of the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, and through the Proliferation Security Initiative. Continued use of chemical weapons in Iraq and Syria, which we condemn, further underscores the evolving and increasing WMD threat to the Alliance.

67. We are deeply concerned about the persistent provocative behavior by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and we strongly condemn the DPRK's nuclear test of 6 January 2016, the 7 February 2016 launch using ballistic missile technologies, and multiple tests of ballistic missiles since then. We urge rigorous implementation of UNSCR 2270 and other relevant Security Council resolutions. We call on Pyongyang to immediately cease and abandon all its existing nuclear and ballistic missile activities in a complete, verifiable, and irreversible manner and re-engage in international talks.

68. We commend the conclusion of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) between the E3/EU+3 and Iran, signed on 14 July 2015, and its ongoing implementation since 16 January 2016. We also underscore the importance for Iran to fully cooperate in a timely manner with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in implementation of the JCPOA. However, we remain seriously concerned by the development of Iran's ballistic missile program and continuing missile tests that are inconsistent with UNSCR 2231.

69. We remain committed to conventional arms control as a key element of Euro-Atlantic security. Full implementation and compliance with these commitments is essential to rebuild trust and confidence in the Euro-Atlantic region. Russia's unilateral military activity in and around Ukraine continues to undermine

peace, security, and stability across the region, and its selective implementation of the Vienna Document and Open Skies Treaty and long-standing non-implementation of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty have eroded the positive contributions of these arms control instruments. Allies call on Russia to fully adhere to its commitments. Allies are determined to preserve, strengthen, and modernize conventional arms control in Europe, based on key principles and commitments, including reciprocity, transparency, and host nation consent. We underscore the importance of modernizing the Vienna Document to ensure its continued relevance in the evolving security environment, including through its substantive update in 2016.

### **Cyber defense**

70. Cyber attacks present a clear challenge to the security of the Alliance and could be as harmful to modern societies as a conventional attack. We agreed in Wales that cyber defense is part of NATO's core task of collective defense. Now, in Warsaw, we reaffirm NATO's defensive mandate, and recognize cyberspace as a domain of operations in which NATO must defend itself as effectively as it does in the air, on land, and at sea. This will improve NATO's ability to protect and conduct operations across these domains and maintain our freedom of action and decision, in all circumstances. It will support NATO's broader deterrence and defense: cyber defense will continue to be integrated into operational planning and Alliance operations and missions, and we will work together to contribute to their success. Furthermore, it will ensure more effective organization of NATO's cyber defense and better management of resources, skills, and capabilities. This forms part of NATO's long term adaptation. We continue to implement NATO's Enhanced Policy on Cyber Defense and strengthen NATO's cyber defense capabilities, benefiting from the latest cutting edge technologies. We reaffirm our commitment to act in accordance with international law, including the UN Charter, international humanitarian law, and human rights law, as applicable. We will continue to follow the principle of restraint and support maintaining international peace, security, and stability in cyberspace. We welcome the work on voluntary international norms of responsible state behavior and confidence-building measures regarding cyberspace.

71. We will ensure that Allies are equipped for, and meet requirements tailored to, the 21st century. Today, through our Cyber Defense Pledge, we have committed to enhance the cyber defenses of our national networks and infrastructures, as a matter of priority. Each Ally will honor its responsibility to improve its resilience and ability to respond quickly and effectively to cyber attacks, including in hybrid contexts. Together with the continuous adaptation of NATO's cyber defense capabilities, this will reinforce the Alliance's cyber defense. We are expanding the capabilities and scope of the NATO Cyber Range, where Allies can build skills, enhance expertise, and exchange best practices. We remain committed to close bilateral and multilateral cyber defense cooperation, including on information sharing and situational awareness, education, training, and exercises. Strong partnerships play a key role in effectively addressing cyber challenges. We will continue to deepen cooperation with the EU, as agreed, including through the on-going implementation of the Technical Arrangement that contributes to better prevention and response to cyber attacks. We will further enhance our partnerships with other international organizations and partner nations, as well as with industry and academia through the NATO Industry Cyber Partnership.

### **Hybrid warfare challenges**

72. We have taken steps to ensure our ability to effectively address the challenges posed by hybrid warfare, where a broad, complex, and adaptive combination of conventional and non-conventional means, and overt and covert military, paramilitary, and civilian measures, are employed in a highly integrated design by state and non-state actors to achieve their objectives. Responding to this challenge, we have adopted a strategy and actionable implementation plans on NATO's role in countering hybrid warfare. The primary responsibility to respond to hybrid threats or attacks rests with the targeted nation. NATO is prepared to assist an Ally at any stage of a hybrid campaign. The Alliance and Allies will be prepared to counter hybrid warfare as part of collective defense. The Council could decide to invoke Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The Alliance is committed to effective cooperation and coordination with partners and relevant international organizations, in particular the EU, as agreed, in efforts to counter hybrid warfare.

### **Civil preparedness and resilience**

73. Today we have made a commitment to continue to enhance our resilience and to maintain and further develop our individual and collective capacity to resist any form of armed attack. Civil preparedness

is a central pillar of Allies' resilience and a critical enabler for Alliance collective defense. While this remains a national responsibility, NATO can support Allies in assessing and, upon request, enhancing their civil preparedness. We will improve civil preparedness by achieving the NATO Baseline Requirements for National Resilience, which focus on continuity of government, continuity of essential services, security of critical civilian infrastructure, and support to military forces with civilian means. In this context, we welcome the Resilience Guidelines approved by Defense Ministers in June 2016.

#### **Countering Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) threats**

74. We will ensure that NATO continues to be both strategically and operationally prepared with policies, plans, and capabilities to counter a wide range of state and non-state Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) threats, based on NATO's Comprehensive Strategic-Level Policy for Preventing the Proliferation of WMD and Defending Against CBRN Threats that we endorsed in 2009, and look forward to a report on its continued implementation at our next Summit.

#### **Joint Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (JISR) initiative**

75. At Chicago in 2012, we launched the Joint Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (JISR) initiative. JISR is a high-value, complex, and wide-reaching capability area. Following up on our commitments, we welcome the February 2016 declaration of the initial operational JISR capability, centered upon enhancing the situational awareness of the NATO Response Force through heightened proficiency in collecting and exchanging information and intelligence. Allies also intend to work together to promote intelligence-sharing, as appropriate, by using NATO platforms and networks and optimizing use of multilateral platforms and networks to enhance overall JISR efforts, including but not limited to the JISR Smart Defense project.

76. Moving forward, we will sustain these achievements and support future NATO Response Force rotations with the necessary JISR capabilities. We will also expand the scope of our JISR initiative, making the most effective use of Allies' complementary JISR contributions to enhance both strategic anticipation and awareness. It is within this context that we also note the significant progress made on NATO Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS). This capability will become operational in 2017 as planned, and will be complemented in some cases by Allies' contributions in kind.

77. NATO's Airborne Early Warning and Control Force (AWACS) continues to prove itself instrumental not only to monitoring our airspace, but also as a critical part of NATO's command and control capabilities. NATO AWACS will continue to be modernized and extended in service until 2035. By 2035, the Alliance needs to have a follow-on capability to the E-3 AWACS. Based on high-level military requirements, we have decided to collectively start the process of defining options for future NATO surveillance and control capabilities.

#### **Multinational and national capability initiatives**

78. Multinational and national initiatives provide an important contribution to capability development and our strengthened posture. NATO will continue to work closely with the EU, as agreed, to ensure that our Smart Defense and the EU's Pooling and Sharing initiatives are complementary and mutually reinforcing, and to support capability development and interoperability with a view to avoiding unnecessary duplication and maximizing cost-effectiveness. At the Wales Summit, six Allies launched a multinational effort, led by Denmark, to address their requirements for air-to-ground Precision Guided Munitions. We welcome the progress achieved in this group since then, including its expansion by two Allies and the processing of its first multinational acquisition employing the US Lead Nation Procurement Initiative. We welcome the progress made in implementing NATO's Framework Nations Concept. A group of 16 Allies, led by Germany, is working on establishing larger formations to deliver usable forces and capabilities. Another group, led by Italy and composed of six nations, is developing programs and activities aimed at supporting the Alliance's operational commitments. We welcome the United States' European Reassurance Initiative, including the rotational Armored Brigade Combat Team and US Army prepositioned stocks. We welcome the Transatlantic Capability Enhancement and Training Initiative (TACET), which will promote capability development, interoperability, and training, and will enhance NATO resilience in response to the challenges in the Baltic region. We also welcome the Combined Joint Enhanced Training Initiative (CJET),

which provides similar engagement with Romania and Bulgaria. We welcome progress on delivering the United Kingdom-led Joint Expeditionary Force, made up of high readiness, flexible, integrated forces from seven Allies. We also welcome the validation, through an exercise in 2016, of the UK-France Combined Joint Expeditionary Force, which will enhance the Alliance's ability to respond rapidly to any challenge. We welcome the decision of the Visegrad Group to provide rotational presence in the Baltic states in 2017 to conduct exercises in support of Allied activities. We further welcome the Letter of Intent on multinational cooperation for the provision of Airborne Electronic Attack. We welcome Allied efforts to address, as appropriate, existing dependencies on Russian-sourced legacy military equipment.

### **New Joint Intelligence and Security Division**

79. To position the Alliance in responding to evolving threats, NATO intelligence reform must be an ongoing, dynamic process. The importance of intelligence in informing our planning, operations, and decision-making continues to increase. To improve NATO's ability to draw on a wide range of intelligence resources, we have agreed to establish a new Joint Intelligence and Security Division to be led by an Assistant Secretary General for Intelligence and Security. The new Assistant Secretary General for Intelligence and Security will direct NATO's intelligence and security activities, ensuring better use of existing personnel and resources, while maximizing the efficient use of intelligence provided by Allies.

### **Projecting stability and strengthening security outside NATO territory**

80. Against the background of an increasingly unstable, global security environment, and based on a broad and strengthened deterrence and defense posture, we seek to contribute more to the efforts of the international community in projecting stability and strengthening security outside our territory, thereby contributing to Alliance security overall.

81. Our efforts to enhance the Alliance's role in projecting stability will be guided by enduring principles, including a 360 degree approach, commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law, complementarity with international actors, in particular with the UN, EU, and the OSCE and focusing on NATO's added value, local ownership and buy-in, partner involvement, inclusiveness, tailored cooperation, long-term commitment, prioritization and sustainability, and overall coherence.

82. The Alliance is already responding to these challenges and will continue to do so, building on its recognized experience and its crisis management and cooperative security toolkit. NATO's added-value in contributing to the international community's efforts includes its ability to offer defense reform assistance and advice in a coherent way, its recognized track record in the training and development of local forces, including in more difficult circumstances, and defense education. The Defense and Related Security Capacity Building (DCB) Initiative that we adopted in Wales has proven a particularly important tool to help project stability, providing support to Georgia, Iraq, Jordan, and the Republic of Moldova. We are committed to further develop and adequately resource our capacity building efforts.

83. While retaining our ability to respond to crises beyond our borders, NATO will continue to pursue cooperative security through partnership with relevant countries and other international organizations, and investing in capacity building and training efforts enabling countries to enhance their resilience and to provide for their own security.

84. NATO will continue to enhance its role in projecting stability, including through enhancing regional understanding and situational awareness, further adapting to the challenges and threats from all directions, reinforcing its maritime dimension, and developing a more strategic, more coherent, and more effective approach to partnerships. These efforts will draw upon the important contributions that partners can bring. The Alliance, including with partners where appropriate, will continue to help manage challenges – before, during, and after conflict – where they affect Alliance security. The implementation of the agreed Alliance policies and initiatives must also continue. At the same time, we will continue to consider the political implications of our effort.

85. We are facing long-term challenges, and we are committed to ensure that NATO has a long-term and sustainable approach to projecting stability with adequate and sustainable resources and structures, making best use of existing funding mechanisms. We task the Council to evaluate progress made regarding the implementation of our efforts to project stability, including the specific areas put forward by Foreign

Ministers in May 2016, emphasizing how efforts can become sustainable, better organized and supported, and to report by the time of the meeting of our Foreign Ministers in December 2016.

### **Resolute Support mission**

86. In a separate declaration issued today, together with Afghanistan and our Resolute Support operational partners, we have reaffirmed our mutual commitment to ensure long-term security and stability in Afghanistan. NATO and its operational partners have committed to sustain the Resolute Support mission beyond 2016 through a flexible, regional model, to continue to deliver training, advice, and assistance to the Afghan security institutions and forces; continue national contributions to the financial sustainment of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces, including until the end of 2020; and strengthen and enhance the long-term Enduring Partnership. Afghanistan has made a significant set of commitments. NATO and its operational partners will continue to play an important supporting role in their delivery.

87. Together with the rest of the international community, our aim remains that Afghanistan will never again become a safe haven for terrorists who can pose a threat to our security, and that it is able to sustain its own security, governance, and economic and social development, while respecting human rights for all of its citizens, notably those of women and children. We remain resolute and united in our commitment to a secure and stable Afghanistan.

88. Good neighborly relations, and regional cooperation and support to a secure and stable Afghanistan, remain essential. The pathway to a sustainable resolution of the conflict is an inclusive Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation process, which respects the Afghan constitution and human rights, including notably the rights of women. The region and the international community at large must respect and support such a process and its outcome.

### **NATO-led Kosovo force (KFOR)**

89. In accordance with UNSCR 1244, the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) will continue to contribute to a safe and secure environment and freedom of movement in Kosovo, working in close cooperation with the Kosovo authorities and the EU. While we welcome the progress achieved through the EU-facilitated dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, the security situation in Kosovo is broadly stable, though challenges remain. Changes in our troop presence will remain conditions-based and not calendar-driven. Furthermore, the Alliance will continue to support the development of the security organizations in Kosovo, including through the NATO advisory team on the ground and in accordance with Allied decisions, and will keep the nature of further support under review. We note Kosovo's request for an enhanced relationship with NATO and will respond no later than the December Foreign Ministerial on ways to further develop our support.

### **Counter-piracy operations**

90. NATO has made an important contribution to international efforts to fight piracy off the coast of Somalia through Operation Ocean Shield, which has achieved its military strategic objectives. We note that the last successful pirate attack in the Indian Ocean took place in May 2012. While we have agreed to terminate the Operation at the end of 2016, NATO will remain engaged in the fight against piracy by maintaining maritime situational awareness and continuing close links with other international counter-piracy actors.

### **Operation Active Endeavor**

91. We have transitioned Operation Active Endeavor, our Article 5 maritime operation in the Mediterranean, which has contributed to the fight against terrorism, to a non-Article 5 Maritime Security Operation, Operation Sea Guardian, able to perform the full range of Maritime Security Operation tasks, as needed.

### **Assistance for the refugee and migrant crisis**

92. Following decisions by our Defense Ministers in February 2016, Allies have swiftly contributed maritime assets to international efforts to stem the flow of irregular migration in the Aegean Sea in the context of the refugee and migrant crisis. The NATO activity has added value by providing real time information on irregular migrant flows to Turkey, Greece, and the EU's Border Management Agency, FRONTEX. The

activity is being conducted in cooperation with relevant national authorities and through the establishment of direct links between Maritime Command (MARCOM) and FRONTEX at the operational level. It is an effective contribution to existing efforts in controlling irregular migration in the area, and has also offered new opportunities for enhanced cooperation with the EU at tactical and operational levels in the context of stemming irregular migration. This activity will be evaluated in September and reviewed in time for the meeting of our Defense Ministers in October.

#### **Possible NATO role in the Central Mediterranean**

93. We have agreed, in principle, on a possible NATO role in the Central Mediterranean, to complement and/or, upon European Union request, support, as appropriate, the EU's Operation Sophia through the provision of a range of capabilities including Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance, and logistics support; through contribution to capacity building of the Libyan coastguard and navy, if requested by the legitimate Libyan authorities and/or the EU; and in the context of the implementation of UNSCR 2292 on the situation in Libya, in close coordination with the EU.

#### **Partnership with Iraq**

94. We reaffirm our commitment to a long-term partnership with Iraq, as well as to assisting the country through the Defense and Related Security Capacity Building (DCB) Initiative agreed in Wales. We are committed to strengthening Iraq's defense forces and institutions through the defense capacity building assistance measures agreed in August 2015, on the basis of Iraq's request. We have made progress in implementing the tailored package of DCB assistance for Iraq as agreed, taking advantage of the availability of the King Abdullah II Special Operation Forces Center in Jordan and of training and education centers in Turkey.

95. Through DCB activities being implemented in Jordan, which include counter-improvised explosive devices, explosive ordnance disposal and demining, as well as civilian-military planning and advice on security sector reform in Iraq, NATO is training Iraqis in selected areas. Building on this effort, we have decided to respond positively to the 5 May 2016 request of the Prime Minister of Iraq and agree to provide in-country NATO training to Iraqi security and military forces, in agreed areas, including, as part of the DCB program, to continue to support institutional capacity building, in order to contribute to effective and efficient structures and policies to sustain advancement in Iraqi training capacity over the medium- and long-term. This NATO effort in Iraq will continue to be conducted so as to ensure complementarity and added value; inclusiveness; local ownership; sustainability and prioritization; overall coherence; and tailored cooperation. The continued inclusivity of the Iraqi government and defense and security forces, will be of key importance. The initial planning for implementing these activities in country should be completed in time for Defense Ministers' review in October, which will enable the training and capacity building to start in Iraq by January 2017.

#### **NATO AWACS support to the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL**

96. Bearing in mind the threat that ISIL/Da'esh poses to all our nations and populations, we have agreed in principle to enhance the Alliance's contribution to the efforts of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL by providing direct NATO AWACS support to increase the coalition's situational awareness. This support is planned to start in the autumn, pending national approval procedures, and the NATO Military Authorities are now developing the details. By providing such support, we reaffirm our resolve to help tackle the security challenges coming from the south, including terrorism. This contribution to the Global Coalition does not make NATO a member of this coalition.

#### **NATO assistance to Libya**

97. In accordance with our Wales decision, we are ready to provide Libya with advice in the field of defense and security institution building, following a request by the Government of National Accord, and to develop a long-term partnership, possibly leading to Libya's membership in the Mediterranean Dialogue, which would be a natural framework for our cooperation. Any NATO assistance to Libya would be provided in full complementarity and in close coordination with other international efforts, including those of the UN and the EU, in line with decisions taken. Libyan ownership will be essential.



98. NATO's partnerships are, and will continue to be, essential to the way NATO works. The success of NATO partnerships is demonstrated by their strategic contribution to Alliance and international security. Over the last decades, the Alliance has developed structured partnerships – Partnership for Peace, Mediterranean Dialogue, Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, and partners across the globe – with countries interested in pursuing political dialogue and practical cooperation, and engaging actively with other international actors and organizations on a wide range of political and security-related issues. Together we have built a broad cooperative security network. The complexity and volatility of the security environment underscore the need for a more tailor-made, individual, and flexible approach to make our partnership cooperation more strategic, coherent, and effective. We reaffirm our commitment, based on the objectives, priorities, and principles of the Berlin Partnership Policy, to expand political dialogue and practical cooperation with any nation that shares the Alliance's values and interest in international peace and security. We will further develop our partnerships so that they continue to meet the interests of both Allies and partners.

99. We salute the ongoing and substantial contributions that our partners make by deploying together with Allies in operations and missions, and contributing to practical cooperation activities, including Trust Funds and capacity building efforts. Partners are also serving alongside the armed forces of several Allies outside existing formats, in particular to combat terrorism. This has increased our interoperability and strengthened resilience in a changed security environment.

### **Partnership Interoperability Initiative**

100. At Wales, we endorsed the Partnership Interoperability Initiative, launching the Interoperability Platform, which has become a key format for working with partners on the broad range of issues related to interoperability and preparedness for future crisis management. Since then, the number of partner units certified and evaluated to NATO standards has increased, new partners have joined interoperability programs, and opportunities for partner participation in NATO exercises have been widened. Here at Warsaw, Interoperability Platform Defense Ministers endorsed a roadmap to guide our joint work on preparing for crisis management for the coming year and discussed future opportunities for NATO-partner cooperation to project stability.

101. As part of the Partnership Interoperability Initiative, at Wales we also agreed to offer enhanced opportunities for cooperation to Australia, Finland, Georgia, Jordan and Sweden, in recognition of their significant operational contributions to NATO. These partners have been increasingly involved into NATO's work on our common security challenges. Their participation at this Summit testifies to the deep links we have built with them. We engage with each of them individually, according to our and their needs, circumstances, and ambitions, and in line with NATO's own security interests. We have developed our practical cooperation to varying degrees and in different formats: enhanced opportunities partners are now pre-approved for a range of NATO exercises; they are also engaged in NATO defense capacity building work, participating in the enhanced NATO Response Force and developing joint threat assessments with us. We stand ready to consider offering enhanced opportunities to other partners as their contributions and interests warrant.

102. We welcome the opening of diplomatic missions to NATO Headquarters by several of our partners as an important step in our cooperation. In line with our Berlin Partnership Policy and the Brussels Agreement, we encourage other partners to follow the same path.

### **Mediterranean Dialogue – Istanbul Cooperation Initiative**

103. We will continue to develop our partnership with countries of the Middle East and North Africa region through deeper political dialogue and enhanced practical cooperation. The Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) remain complementary and yet distinct partnership frameworks. We remain open to welcoming new members in both partnership frameworks. We are providing assistance to 11 partner countries in the region to help them modernize their defense establishments and military forces, through the MD and the ICI.

104. MD and ICI are unique frameworks that bring together key NATO partners: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, and Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, respectively. Regular political consultations improve our mutual understanding and our situational awareness. We have also developed tailor-made Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programs with all

our MD and ICI partners. We will continue to enhance practical cooperation, including through further support in the areas of counter-terrorism, small arms and light weapons, counter-improvised explosive devices, and military border security.

### **Cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council**

105. Bearing in mind the strategic importance of the Gulf region, we look forward to the establishment of regular working-level ties between the international secretariats of NATO and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and to the launch of practical cooperation with the GCC as well as with its member states. Increased information exchange to promote a better mutual understanding of our functions and policies would be a solid basis for more regular political dialogue and possible practical cooperation regarding our shared security challenges. We task the Council to report on progress to Foreign Ministers at their December meeting.

### **Partnership with Jordan**

106. We welcome the long-standing partnership with Jordan, a key partner in the Middle East, and the success of NATO's existing Defense and Related Security Capacity Building (DCB) assistance to Jordan. Our efforts are in seven priority areas: information protection; cyber defense; military exercises; counter-improvised explosive devices; communication, command and control; harbor protection; and border security. We remain committed to strengthening NATO-Jordan relations through enhanced political dialogue and practical cooperation in the framework of the Mediterranean Dialogue, as well as through the DCB Initiative and the Interoperability Platform, including the enhanced opportunities. We are grateful to our partner Jordan for its contributions to NATO-led operations over many years, and for hosting our DCB training activities for Iraq.

### **Stability and security in the Western Balkans**

107. The Western Balkans is a region of strategic importance, as demonstrated by our long history of cooperation and operations in the region. We remain fully committed to the stability and security of the Western Balkans, as well as to supporting the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of countries in the region. Democratic values, rule of law, domestic reforms, and good neighborly relations are vital for regional cooperation and for the Euro-Atlantic integration process. We welcome recent progress on border demarcation in the region. The Alliance will continue to work closely with the Western Balkans to maintain and promote regional and international peace and security. We task the Council to prepare a report on NATO's activities and relations in the region for submission to Foreign Ministers in December.

### **NATO-Serbia relations**

108. Strengthening NATO-Serbia relations are of benefit to the Alliance, to Serbia, and to the whole region. We welcome the continued progress made in building the NATO-Serbia partnership and support further political dialogue and practical cooperation to this end. We also welcome the progress achieved in the EU-facilitated Belgrade-Pristina dialogue and encourage both parties to implement the agreements reached and to sustain continued progress. We welcome Kosovo's aspirations to improve its ability to ensure safety and security for all its inhabitants, as well as to contribute to security in the Western Balkans.

### **Invitee status of Montenegro**

109. The invitation to Montenegro in December 2015 to join our Alliance and the subsequent signature of the Accession Protocol in May 2016 recognize the reforms Montenegro has undertaken, the commitment it has shown to our common values, and its contribution to international security. Montenegro now has Invitee status and is integrating into NATO activities. We look forward to the expeditious conclusion of the ratification of the Accession Protocol, and to Montenegro's continued progress on reform, before and after accession, in order to enhance its contribution to the Alliance. We appreciate the significant contribution Montenegro makes to NATO-led operations.

### **Commitment to the Open Door Policy**

110. Today we reaffirm our commitment to the Open Door Policy, a founding principle of the Washington Treaty and one of the Alliance's great successes. Montenegro's presence with us today is a tangible demonstration of this, and we look forward to welcoming the country as our next member as

soon as possible. Euro-Atlantic integration advances democratic values, reform, and respect for the rule of law. The freedom and prosperity of our societies are built on these foundations. Euro-Atlantic integration also provides a path to stability and strengthens collective security. Successive rounds of enlargement have enhanced our security and the security of the entire Euro-Atlantic region. NATO's door is open to all European democracies which share the values of our Alliance, which are willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, which are in a position to further the principles of the Treaty, and whose inclusion can contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area. Decisions on enlargement are for NATO itself. We remain fully committed to the integration of those countries that aspire to join the Alliance, judging each on its own merits. We encourage those partners who aspire to join the Alliance – Georgia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>2</sup>, and Bosnia and Herzegovina – to continue to implement the necessary reforms and decisions to prepare for membership. We will continue to offer support to their efforts and look to them to take the steps necessary to advance their aspirations.

### **Relations with Georgia**

111. At the 2008 Bucharest Summit we agreed that Georgia will become a member of NATO with MAP as an integral part of the process; today we reaffirm all elements of that decision, as well as subsequent decisions. We welcome the significant progress realized since 2008. Georgia's relationship with the Alliance contains all the practical tools to prepare for eventual membership. This year's parliamentary elections will be another key step towards the consolidation of democratic institutions. We encourage Georgia to continue making full use of all the opportunities for coming closer to the Alliance offered by the NATO-Georgia Commission, the Annual National Program, its role as an enhanced opportunities partner, its participation in our Defense Capacity Building Initiative, and the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package. NATO highly appreciates Georgia's significant and continuous contributions to the NATO Response Force and the Resolute Support mission in Afghanistan and recognizes the sacrifices and contributions the Georgian people have made to our shared security.

112. We welcome the important progress made in implementing the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package, which we initiated at the Wales Summit. More than 30 experts from Allied and partner countries are now supporting Georgia across various areas of cooperation. Georgia is doing its part in allocating significant resources to this effort. The Joint Training and Evaluation Centre, which helps strengthen Georgia's self-defense and resilience capabilities, is up and running. We will continue to provide the resources needed to implement the Substantial Package, which aims to strengthen Georgia's capabilities and, thereby, helps Georgia advance in its preparations for membership in the Alliance. We have agreed additional practical ways to intensify efforts, including support to Georgia's crisis management capabilities, training and exercises, and improvements in strategic communications. Allies will provide support to the development of Georgia's air defense and air surveillance. We will also deepen our focus on security in the Black Sea region.

113. We reiterate our support to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia within its internationally recognized borders. We welcome Georgia's commitment not to use force and call on Russia to reciprocate. We call on Russia to reverse its recognition of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia regions of Georgia as independent states, to stop its construction of border-like obstacles along the administrative boundary lines, and to withdraw its forces from Georgia. NATO does not recognize the so-called treaties signed between the Abkhazia region of Georgia and Russia in November 2014, and the South Ossetia region of Georgia and Russia in March 2015. These violate Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and blatantly contradict the principles of international law, OSCE principles and Russia's international commitments. We encourage all participants in the Geneva talks to play a constructive role, as well as to continue working closely with the OSCE, the UN, and the EU to pursue peaceful conflict resolution in the internationally recognized territory of Georgia.

### **Relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

114. We reiterate our decision made at the 2008 Bucharest Summit and reiterated at subsequent Summits that NATO will extend an invitation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>2</sup> to join the Alliance as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached within the framework of the UN. We therefore strongly urge intensified efforts to find a solution to the name issue. We encourage further efforts to develop good neighborly relations. We also encourage the building of a fully functioning

multi-ethnic society based on full implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Given concerns over political developments in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which have taken the country further away from NATO values, we urge all political leaders in the country to fully implement their commitments under the Przino Agreement of June/July 2015, as the framework for a sustainable solution to the political crisis. Acknowledging initial steps on implementation, we renew our call to all parties to engage in effective democratic dialogue and to put in place the conditions for credible elections, strengthening the rule of law, media freedom, and judicial independence. We will continue to follow closely Skopje's progress in these areas, which reflect NATO's core values. We appreciate the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's commitment to international security, as demonstrated by its steadfast contribution to our operations, its participation in fora and organizations for regional dialogue and cooperation, and its commitment to the NATO accession process.

#### **Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina**

115. We reaffirm our commitment to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a stable and secure Bosnia and Herzegovina and our full support for its membership aspirations. We encourage the leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue demonstrating political will and to work constructively for the benefit of all its citizens in pursuit of reforms. We will offer our continued support to defense reform efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We welcome the recent agreement by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina on principles for the defense review and urge its completion as soon as possible. We welcome the progress made on registration of immovable defense property to the state, but we look to the leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina to accelerate efforts toward meeting the requirements set by NATO Foreign Ministers in Tallinn in April 2010 so that its first Membership Action Plan cycle can be activated as soon as possible, which remains our goal. Allies will keep developments under active review. We commend Bosnia and Herzegovina for its contributions to NATO-led operations and for its commitment to regional dialogue, cooperation, and security.

#### **Relations with Moldova**

116. In Wales, we extended the Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative to the Republic of Moldova. Since then, Allies and partners have provided expertise and advice in support of the ongoing defense reform process to strengthen the capabilities of the Moldovan armed forces and the defense sector. Allies remain committed to this work so that the country can enjoy a stable, secure and prosperous future in accordance with the values shared by European democracies. In order to realize such a future, it is important that the Republic of Moldova remains committed to the implementation of reforms that benefit all its citizens. We thank the Republic of Moldova for its contribution to NATO-led operations.

#### **NATO-Ukraine cooperation**

117. Ukraine is a long-standing and distinctive partner of the Alliance. At our Summit here in Warsaw, we are meeting with President Poroshenko and issuing a joint statement. An independent, sovereign and stable Ukraine, firmly committed to democracy and the rule of law, is key to Euro-Atlantic security. We stand firm in our support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders and Ukraine's right to decide its own future and foreign policy course free from outside interference, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act. Russia continues to violate Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. Despite these challenging circumstances, Ukraine's government is making progress in implementing wide-ranging reforms towards European and Euro-Atlantic standards, based on democratic values, respect for human rights, minorities and the rule of law, which will be essential in promoting prosperity and long-term stability. We welcome the steps Ukraine has taken to fight corruption, maintain International Monetary Fund conditionality, reform the judiciary, and move towards decentralization, but substantial challenges remain and continued efforts are required. We strongly encourage Ukraine to remain committed to the full implementation of these and other necessary reforms and to ensuring their sustainability. Recalling our previous Summit decisions, NATO will continue to support Ukraine in carrying out its reform agenda, including through the Annual National Program in the framework of our Distinctive Partnership.

118. NATO-Ukraine cooperation is an important part of the Alliance's contribution to the international community's efforts to project stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond. We welcome Ukraine's

intent to further deepen its Distinctive Partnership with NATO, as well as its past and present contributions to NATO-led operations and the NATO Response Force even while it has been defending itself against Russia's aggressive actions. Ukraine's choice to adopt and implement NATO principles and standards, for which its Strategic Defense Bulletin provides a roadmap, will promote greater interoperability between our forces. The Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian Brigade is an important element of this effort. It will also enhance Ukraine's ability to better provide for its own security, through functioning security and defense institutions under civilian democratic control that are accountable, sustainable, and effective. Ukraine's participation in the Defense Education Enhancement Program is an important effort in this respect. NATO will continue to provide strategic advice and practical support to the reform of Ukraine's security and defense sector, including as set out in the Comprehensive Assistance Package which we are endorsing together with President Poroshenko at today's meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission. The Comprehensive Assistance Package is aimed at consolidating and enhancing NATO's support to Ukraine, including by tailored capability and capacity building measures for the security and defense sector, which will contribute to enhance Ukraine's resilience against a wide array of threats, including hybrid threats.

### **Comprehensive approach**

119. In light of NATO's operational experiences and the evolving complex security environment, a comprehensive political, civilian, and military approach is essential in crisis management and cooperative security. Furthermore, it contributes to the effectiveness of our common security and defense, without prejudice to Alliance collective defense commitments. NATO has developed a modest but appropriate civilian capability in line with Lisbon Summit decisions. We will continue to pursue coherence within NATO's own tools and strands of work, concerted approaches with partner nations and organizations such as the UN, the EU, and the OSCE, as well as further dialogue with non-governmental organizations. We look forward to a review of the 2011 Comprehensive Approach Action Plan for consideration by our Foreign Ministers in 2017.

### **Cooperation with the United Nations**

120. As challenges to international peace and security multiply, cooperation between NATO and the United Nations is increasingly important. We welcome the continued growth in political dialogue and practical cooperation between NATO and the UN, covering a broad range of areas of mutual interest. At last year's Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping, NATO pledged to enhance its support to UN peace operations, including in the areas of counter-improvised explosive devices, training and preparedness, improving the UN's ability to deploy more rapidly into the field, and through cooperation on building defense capacity in countries at risk. We stand by this commitment and remain ready to further deepen our interaction in these and other fields, including through NATO's participation in the follow-up conference to be held in London in September of this year.

### **NATO-EU relations**

121. The European Union remains a unique and essential partner for NATO. Enhanced consultations at all levels and practical cooperation in operations and capability development have brought concrete results. The security challenges in our shared eastern and southern neighborhoods make it more important than ever before to reinforce our strategic partnership in a spirit of full mutual openness, transparency, and complementarity, while respecting the organizations' different mandates, decision-making autonomy and institutional integrity, and as agreed by the two organizations.

122. We welcome the joint declaration issued here in Warsaw by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council, and the President of the European Commission, which outlines a series of actions the two organizations intend to take together in concrete areas, including countering hybrid threats, enhancing resilience, defense capacity building, cyber defense, maritime security, and exercises. We task the Council to review the implementation of these proposals and to report to Foreign Ministers by December 2016.

123. We welcome the European Council Conclusions of June 2016, calling for further enhancement of the relationship between NATO and the EU. We also welcome the presentation of the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy.

124. NATO recognizes the importance of a stronger and more capable European defense, which will lead to a stronger NATO, help enhance the security of all Allies, and foster an equitable sharing of the burden, benefits and responsibilities of Alliance membership. In this context, we welcome the strengthening of European defense and crisis management as we have seen over the past few years.

125. Non-EU Allies continue to make significant contributions to the EU's efforts to strengthen its capacities to address common security challenges. For the strategic partnership between NATO and the EU, non-EU Allies' fullest involvement in these efforts is essential. We encourage further mutual steps in this area to support a strengthened strategic partnership.

126. We welcome the Secretary General's report on NATO-EU relations. We encourage him to continue to work closely with the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the High Representative, on all aspects of the NATO-EU strategic partnership and provide a report to the Council for the next Summit.

### **Cooperation with the OSCE**

127. NATO and the Organization for Security and Cooperation both play important roles in maintaining stability and addressing security challenges in the Euro-Atlantic area. We appreciate the OSCE's comprehensive approach to security, covering the political-military, economic-environmental, and human dimensions. We also value the OSCE's important role in trying to bring an end to several protracted conflicts in the Euro-Atlantic area. The crisis in Ukraine has once again highlighted the significance of the OSCE for international efforts to support the peaceful resolution of conflicts, confidence- and security-building, and as a platform for cooperation and inclusive dialogue on security in Europe. We also underline the value of confidence- and security-building and transparency measures within the framework of the OSCE. We are committed to further enhancing our cooperation, at both the political and operational level, in all areas of common interest, including through the newly appointed Secretary General's Representative for the OSCE.

### **Cooperation with the African Union**

128. NATO's cooperation with the African Union (AU) encompasses operational, logistic and capacity building support, as well as support for the operationalization of the African Standby Force, including through exercises, and tailor-made training, in accordance with the AU's requests to NATO. We look forward to further strengthening and expanding our political and practical partnership with the AU, so we are better able to respond together to common threats and challenges.

### **Building Integrity Policy**

129. NATO is an alliance of values, including individual liberty, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. These shared values are essential to what NATO is and what it does. Further incorporating them into all areas of our work will make NATO stronger.

130. Corruption and poor governance are security challenges which undermine democracy, the rule of law and economic development. The importance of implementing measures to improve integrity building, anti-corruption and good governance applies to NATO, Allies, and partners alike. To further our work in this area, today we endorsed a new NATO Building Integrity Policy which reaffirms our conviction that transparent and accountable defense institutions under democratic control are fundamental to stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and essential for international security cooperation.

### **Implementing UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS)**

131. Empowerment of women at NATO and in our militaries makes our Alliance stronger. We attach great importance to ensuring women's full and active participation in the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts, as well as in post-conflict efforts and cooperation. Since our last Summit in Wales, we have made good progress in implementing UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and related resolutions. Yet, more work is to be done, which requires enduring leadership, transparency, and accountability. We welcome recent high-level appointments in both NATO's civilian and military structures. However, there are still shortfalls in the representation of women at NATO that need to be addressed. We will implement the updated WPS Action Plan, which has been developed with many of our partners and in

consultation with the newly established civil society advisory panel. NATO's efforts to project stability are further bolstered by the comprehensive NATO Gender Education and Training Package now available to all. Our Strategic Commands are now operationalizing the approved Military Guidelines on the Prevention of and Response to Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence. We affirm the critical importance of robust training and accountability measures in regards to prevention of misconduct, including sexual misconduct and abuse. Our ongoing efforts and commitment to integrate gender perspectives into Alliance activities throughout NATO's three core tasks will contribute to a more modern, ready, and responsive Alliance.

### **NATO Policy on the Protection of Civilians**

132. Driven by our values and international law, we recognize the imperative to protect civilians from the effects of armed conflict. That is why we have today endorsed the NATO Policy on the Protection of Civilians, developed with our partners and in consultation with the UN and other international organizations. In this Policy, protection of civilians includes all efforts taken to avoid, minimize, and mitigate the negative effects on civilians arising from NATO and NATO-led military operations and, when applicable, to protect civilians from conflict-related physical violence or threats of physical violence by other actors. The Policy complements NATO's existing efforts in related areas and it includes a stability policing dimension. We will implement this Policy through a concrete action plan, which will be reviewed regularly by the Council.

### **Implementing UNSCR 1612 on protection of children affected by armed conflict**

133. We remain deeply concerned that children continue to be the victims of grave violations, especially the six practices identified by the UN Secretary General: the killing or maiming of children; recruitment or using child soldiers; attacks against schools or hospitals; rape or other grave sexual violence; abduction; and denial of humanitarian access. Since our Summit in Wales, NATO has established a robust policy, in consultation with the UN, to enhance our implementation of UNSCR 1612 and related resolutions. The Policy directs our troops, when deployed in NATO-led operations and missions, to monitor and report violations against children and to engage with local authorities. In our Resolute Support mission we have appointed, for the first time, a Children and Armed Conflict Adviser to contribute to the training of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces. In cooperation with the UN, NATO will also further expand its relevant training, exercise and education opportunities. The Council will regularly assess the implementation of our Policy.

### **Fight against terrorism**

134. In the fight against terrorism, NATO adds value and has a role to play, without prejudice to national legislation and responsibilities, in coherence with the EU, and in particular through our military cooperation with partners to build their capacity to face terrorist threats. NATO will continue to reach out to partners and other international organizations, as appropriate, to promote common understanding and practical cooperation in support of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Building on our Defense Against Terrorism Program of Work and our Biometrics Program of Work, we will continue to improve our capabilities and technologies, including to defend against improvised explosive devices and CBRN threats. As terrorism and related threats remain high on NATO's security agenda, Allies intend to work together, in accordance with national and international law, as well as established NATO procedures, to promote information-sharing through the optimized use of multilateral platforms, such as NATO's Battlefield Information Collection and Exploitation System (BICES). Allies will continue to seek to enhance their cooperation in exchanging information on returning foreign fighters. The Assistant Secretary General for Intelligence and Security, acting within the agreed Terms of Reference, could serve as a facilitator to enhance the exchange of information.

### **Energy security**

135. Energy developments can have significant political and security implications for Allies and the Alliance, as demonstrated by the crises to NATO's east and south. A stable and reliable energy supply, the diversification of import routes, suppliers and energy resources, and the interconnectivity of energy networks are of critical importance and increase our resilience against political and economic pressure. While these issues are primarily the responsibility of national governments and other international organizations NATO

closely follows the security implications of relevant energy developments and attaches particular importance to diversification of energy supply in the Euro-Atlantic region. We will therefore further enhance our strategic awareness in this regard, including through sharing intelligence and through expanding our links with other international organizations such as the International Energy Agency and the EU, as appropriate. We will consult and share information on energy security issues of particular concern to Allies and the Alliance, with a view to providing a comprehensive picture of the evolving energy landscape, concentrating on areas where NATO can add value. We will also continue to develop NATO's capacity to support national authorities in protecting critical infrastructure, as well as enhancing their resilience against energy supply disruptions that could affect national and collective defense, including hybrid and cyber threats. In this context, we will include energy security considerations in training, exercises, and advance planning. We will continue to engage with our partner countries where appropriate. We will further improve the energy efficiency of our military forces through establishing common standards, reducing dependence on fossil fuels, and demonstrating energy-efficient solutions for the military. Today we have noted a progress report on NATO's role in energy security. We task the Council to further refine NATO's role in accordance with established principles and guidelines, and to produce a progress report for our next Summit.

### **Stronger defense industry**

136. A stronger defense industry across the Alliance, which includes small- and medium-sized enterprises, greater defense industrial and technological cooperation across the Atlantic and within Europe, and a robust industrial base in the whole of Europe and North America, remain essential for acquiring needed Alliance capabilities. For the Alliance to keep its technological edge, it is of particular importance to support innovation with the aim to identify advanced and emerging technologies, evaluate their applicability in the military domain, and implement them through innovative solutions. In this regard, NATO welcomes initiatives from both sides of the Atlantic to maintain and advance the military and technological advantage of Allied capabilities through innovation and encourages nations to ensure such initiatives will lead to increased cooperation within the Alliance and among Allies.

### **NATO's institutional adaptation**

137. Institutional adaptation underpins NATO's political and military adaptation. The objective is an Alliance adaptable by design, where the capacity to anticipate, and react to, change is integral to how we operate. Reforms since 2010 have contributed to improved effectiveness and efficiency, adapting NATO towards greater readiness and responsiveness. There has been reform of the Headquarters, Agencies and Command Structure. We have introduced greater transparency by publishing financial audits. We have improved our strategic communications. To take forward these efforts we will develop a stronger and more consistent approach to prioritization, better linking our political and military priorities with resource requirements, in particular through a more efficient use of the common-funded capability delivery process. We will continue improving accountability, governance and transparency. We task the Council to pursue these efforts, building on recent achievements and taking advantage of the move to the new NATO Headquarters, to ensure we remain ready and able to face the challenges of the future as a confident, committed, adaptable Alliance, and report on progress by our next Summit.

### **Role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly**

138. We welcome the role of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in complementing NATO's efforts to promote stability throughout Europe. We also appreciate the contribution made by the Atlantic Treaty Association in promoting a better understanding of the Alliance among our nations.

139. We express our appreciation for the generous hospitality extended to us by the Government and the people of Poland. With key decisions to reinforce our deterrence and defense, project stability beyond our borders, and promote our values, our Warsaw Summit has demonstrated our unity, solidarity, and strength. We look forward to meeting again in 2017 at our new NATO Headquarters in Brussels.







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