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THE 2024 NATO WASHINGTON SUMMIT CONCLUSIONS FROM SLOVAK PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

2024 NATO summit was organized in United States capital Washington D. C. as a commemoration of 75th anniversary of Washington Treaty signature on 4 April 1949 by twelve NATO founding countries. The main goal of NATO has not changed, promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area by unified efforts for collective defence and preservation of peace and security. NATO grew significantly in the number of its member countries, reaching number 32 after admission of Sweden on 7 March 2024. The Washington summit was expected to be breakthrough in several areas, especially connected to further enlargement of NATO as far as Ukraine is concerned. Critical was the question of reaching consensus among member countries with different opinions on various issues with stress on the war in Ukraine when attitudes of some member countries are concerned. Establishment of NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine was one of the greatest outputs of the summit with intention to support Ukraine more and do not become party of the war.

Keywords: NATO, Slovakia, Ukraine, Washington summit, enlargement

INTRODUCTION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a political and military alliance of countries from Europe and North America. NATO is a defensive alliance whose members are committed to safeguarding the freedom and security of all Allies, against all threats from all directions. NATO member countries are bound together by common values: individual liberty, human rights, democracy and the rule of law. NATO is the unique, essential and indispensable transatlantic forum to consult, coordinate and act on all matters, related to individual and collective security of member countries (NATO, 2022).

Deterrence and defence is one of NATO's core tasks. The Alliance deters aggression by maintaining a credible deterrence and defence posture based on an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defence capabilities, complemented by space and cyber capabilities. NATO must be able to adapt in changing security and geopolitical environment that is characterized by strategic competition, pervasive instability and recurrent shocks.

Summits are important events and usually are significant milestones of NATO. Frequency of NATO summits is getting higher due to the worldwide dynamic and unpredictable development.

1 NATO SUMMITS AS A TOOL FOR ITS DECISION-MAKING

NATO summit meetings provide periodic opportunities for the Heads of State and Government of NATO member countries to discuss important issues facing the Alliace and provides strategic direction for its activities. NATO summit meetings are effectively meetings of the North Atlantic Council – the Alliance's principal political decision-making body – at its highest level, that of Heads of State and Government. Summit meetings are often held at key moments in the Alliance's evolution. They are not regular meetings, but important junctures in

the Alliance's decision-making process. Due to the political significance of summit meetings, agenda items typically address issues of overarching political or strategic importance. Summits are used, for instance, to introduce new policy, invite new members into the Alliance, launch major initiatives and reinforce partnerships. Items can relate to the internal functioning of the Alliance as well as NATO's relations with external partners. (NATO, 2024g)

NATO in its more than 75 years long history held 34 summits. First of them was held eight years after Washinton Treaty was signed. Many of NATO's summit meetings were milestones in the evolution of the Alliance. The most popular place for organizing NATO summits is Belgian capital Brussels since it was organised there for eleven times. Summits are usually organized in the late spring or early summer months, mostly in May and immediately when development of security situation in the North Atlantic region requires it.

Only once NATO summit was held virtually on 25 February 2022 in Vilnius (Lithuania). Years when NATO organised more than one summit were 1989 and 2022. In 1989 both were organised in Brussels (Belgium) commemorating 40th anniversary of the Alliance and framing end of Cold War witnessing fundamental changes in Central and Eastern Europe. In 2022 three summits were held in Vilnius (Lithuania) as already mentioned, Brussels (Belgium) and Madrid (Spain) on 25 February, 24 March and 29-30 June as a reaction on unprovoked Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

The first post-Cold War summit was held in London, in 1990, and outlined proposals for developing relations with Central and Eastern European counties. A year later, in Rome, NATO Heads of State and Government published a Strategic Concept that reflects the new security environment (NATO, 2024g). This was the first time ever that a NATO Strategic Concept was issued as a public document. The next NATO summit will be held in the Hague, the Netherlands on 24-26 June 2025.

2 MAJOR CONCLUSIONS OF 2024 WASHINGTON SUMMIT

NATO Washington Summit 2024 was held in the year of its 75th anniversary precisely on the same place where Washington Treaty was signed by 12 founding members (NATO, 2024a). NATO has grown immensely from that time and in 2024 after admission of Sweden has 32 members. Besides member countries also President Zelenskyy of Ukraine and the leaders of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea and the European Union took part in the Washington Summit (NATO, 2024h).

New times brings new challenges to the security of NATO and its member countries. Since 2022 Russa's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, NATO has held five major summits: an extraordinary virtual summit the next day, an extraordinary summit at NATO Headquarters in Brussels one month later, the 2022 Madrid Sumit, the 2023 Vilnius Summit and the 2024 Washington Summit. (NATO, 2024g)

NATO 2022 Strategic Concept adopted by Heads of State and Government at the NATO Summit in Madrid on 29 June 2022 define three NATO's Core Tasks: deterrence and defence, crisis prevention and management and cooperative security. What is more it has reaffirmed the NATO's key purpose that is ensure collective defence of its member countries, based on 360-degree approach. Document defined NATO's vision "world where sovereignty, territorial integrity, human rights and international law are respected a where each country can choose its own path, free from aggression, coercion and subversion". Washington Summit Declaration reaffirmed NATO's three core tasks, its vision, enduring transatlantic bond between member nations and unity in solidarity with Ukraine.

An important component of NATO's deterrence and defence posture is its military presence in the eastern part of Alliance territory. In recent years, Allies have enhanced NATO's forward presence by establishing multinational battlegroups in Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia (see Table 1). At the 2022 NATO Summit in Madrid, Allies agreed to scale up the multinational battlegroups from battalions to brigade size, where and when required. And at 2024 Washington Summit decision to develop a NATO presence in Finland has been made (NATO, 2024f).

Table 1 NATO's forward presence as of July 2024

Host Nation	Framework Nation	Contributing Nations
Bulgaria	Italy	Albania, Croatia, Greece, Montenegro,
		North Macedonia, Turkey, United
		States
Estonia	United Kingdom	France, Iceland
Hungary	Hungary	Croatia, Italy, Turkey,
		United States
Latvia	Canada	Albania, Czechia, Iceland, Italy,
		Montenegro, Nort Macedonia, Poland,
		Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain
Lithuania	Germany	Belgium, Czechia, Luxembourg,
		The Netherlands, Norway
Poland	United States	Croatia, Czechia, Romania, Turkey,
		The United Kingdom
Slovakia	Spain	Germany, Slovenia, The United States

Source: NATO

Other tools for strengthening of deterrence and defence are Integrated Air and Missile Defence, nuclear capability and transatlantic defence industrial cooperation.

Furthermore, Washington Summit Declaration reaffirms NATO's open-door policy, in line with Article 10 of the Washington Treaty (NATO, 2024h). But in contrast to the last two summits, Madrid 2022 Summit Declaration and Vilnius 2023 Summit Declaration and historically many other summits, no specific country was invited to join NATO. Even though, it stressed ongoing support of Ukraine on its irreversible path to full Euro-Atlantic integration, including NATO membership and reaffirms that NATO will extend an invitation to Ukraine when Allies agree, and conditions are met.

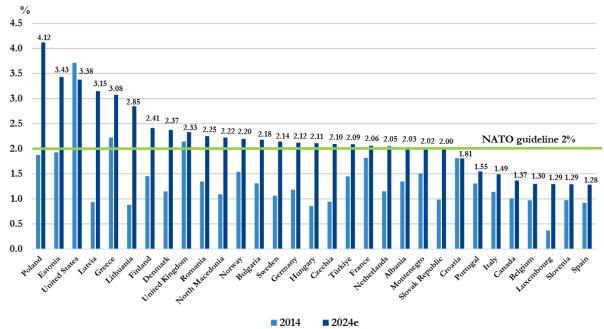
NATO confirmed it lasting attitude towards the Russian Federation as the most significant and direct threat to Alliance, condemned war of aggression against Ukraine, horrific attacks on Ukrainian people and blatant violation of international law, including UN Chapter. It requires immediately stop the war and completely and unconditionally withdraw all of its forces from Ukraine in line with UN General Assembly resolutions. Russia is expected to be threat to NATO in the long term as it is rebuilding and expanding its military capabilities and continues its airspace violations and provocative activities.

What is more by deepening strategic partnership with the People's Republic of China is constantly trying to undercut and reshape the rules-based international order (NATO, 2024h). Manifestation of strategic cooperation between Russia and People's Republic of China is participation of Russian naval and air forces it the Northern/Interaction-2024 exercise held by China in September 2024 in the relevant seas and airspace of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk. In addition, the Chinese and Russian naval vessels will organize their fifth joint

maritime patrol in relevant waters of the Pacific Ocean, and China will also participate in the Russian military's Republic "Ocean-2024" strategic exercise (Li, 2024).

The declaration also strengthened past NATO language on China, calling it a "decisive enabler" of Russia's war in Ukraine and saying Beijing continues to pose systemic challenges to Euro-Atlantic security (Psaledakis – Brunnstrom, 2024). The People's Republic of China stated ambition, and coercive policies continue to challenge Allies' interests, security and values.

Declaration has touched the issue of defence spending with a finding that two-thirds of Allies have fulfilled their commitment of at least 2% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and defence expenditure by European Allies and Canada has grown by 18% in 2024, the biggest increase in decades.



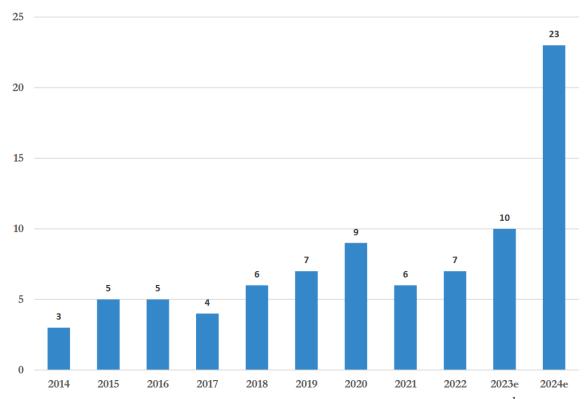
Graph 1 Defence expenditure as a share of GDP (%) Source: NATO

As a result of budgetary increase in the last three years NATO have undertaken the biggest reinforcement of collective defence in generation. What is more according to the estimates three-fourths of member countries will meet defence expenditure requirements in 2024. Eight NATO members are not estimated to reach the target in 2024. They are Croatia (1,81%), Portugal (1,55%), Italy (1,49%), Canada (1,37%), Belgium (1,30%), Luxembourg (1,29%), Slovenia (1,29%) and Spain (1,28%). However, all above-mentioned countries apart from Croatia are spending more on defence than last year, bringing them closer to the target (NATO, 2024c).

Important is note the fact, that majority of NATO member countries in year 2024 meet the minimally 20% budgetary limit of investment into equipment in the contrary to the year 2014 when this requirement was fulfilled only by eight countries (See Graph 3). The only NATO member countries that do not meet 20% limit on investments to equipment in 2024 are Canada and Belgium.

Despite positive trend, in the future period expenditure beyond 2% of GDP will be needed in order to remedy existing shortfalls and meet the requirements across all domains arising from a more contested security order (NATO, 2024h). 2014 Wales summit Defence

Investment Pledge is necessary to understand as a base not as a ceiling. As a result of this several member countries will increase their defence spending over 2% of GDP in 2025, and Poland will be the leader with spendings 4,7% of GDP (Wypartowicz, 2024).



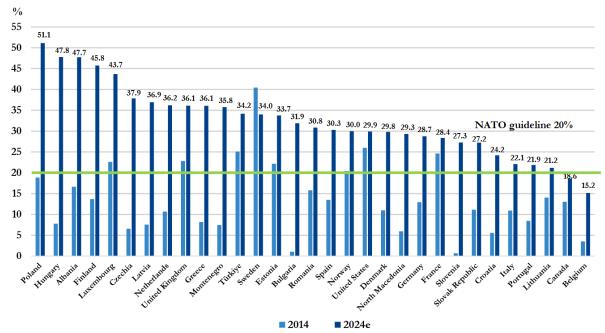
Graph 2 Number of Allies meeting 2% GDP on defence expenditures¹ Source: NATO

Important is the fact that Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg will end in his position after decade of his extraordinary leadership and Washington summit was his last NATO summit in this responsible position. This makes him second longest serving Secretary General in the history of NATO. He served as Secretary General from 1 October 2014 and will end on 1 October 2014. He served his first term as Secretary General from 2014 - 2017. In 2017 the Allies extended his mandate until the end of September 2020. His term was extended in 2019 to September 2022. On 24 March 2022, one month after beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, Stoltenberg's mandate was extended until 1 September 2023 and later his mandate was extended one more time to 1 October 2024. (Siposné Kecskeméthy – Sipos, 2023)

On 26 June 2024, the North Atlantic Council decided to appoint Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte who will assume his functions as Secretary General from 1 October 2024 (NATO, 2024b). Mark Rutte is former Dutch Prime Minister who served in this position between years 2010 and 2024. Mark Rutte took part on 2024 Wahington summit and NATO pledged him full support.

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¹ Data as of 12 June 2024, based on 2015 prices and exchange rates. Figures for 2023 and 2024 are estimated. Data aggregate from 2017 onwards Montenegro, which became an Ally on 5 June 2017, and from 2020 onwards, North Macedonia, which became an Ally on 27 March 2020, from 2023 onwards Finland, which became an Ally on 4 April 2023, and from 2024 onwards Sweden, which became an Ally on 7 March 2024.



Graph 3 Equipment expenditure as a share of defence expenditure (%) Source: NATO

3 SLOVAK PERSPECTIVE ON CONCLUSIONS OF WASHINGTONS SUMMIT

At the Summit, Allies reached several important conclusions, particularly in areas as strengthening collective defence and deterrence and acknowledging the continued needs to increase the level of defence investment and to provide political and practical assistance to Ukraine.

The Slovak republic was on the Washington's Summit 2024 represented by the President of the Slovak republic Peter PELLEGRINI (head of Slovak delegation), Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Róbert KALIŇÁK and Foreign and European Affairs Minister Juraj BLANÁR (TASR, 2024b).

One of Slovakia's fundamental expectations after the Summit is ensuring continuity of bolstering the deterrence and collective defence measures of the Alliance's Eastern Flank – first and foremost in the area of NATO's Integrated Air and Missile Defence (MoDoSR, 2024a).

NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence is an essential and continuous mission in peacetime, crisis and conflict, safeguarding and protecting Alliance territory, populations and forces against any air or missile threat or attack. It is conducted with a 360-degree approach and tailored to address all air and missile threats, emanating from all strategic directions, and coming from both state and non-state actors. To that end, it incorporates all measures such as 24/7 air policing and ballistic missile defence – to contribute to deterring any air and missile threat, or to nullify or reduce their effectiveness. NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence is an essential element of NATO's deterrence and defence posture, contributing to the Alliance's indivisible security and freedom of action, including NATO's ability to reinforce its deployments and to provide strategic response. (NATO, 2024e) Slovakia is currently taking efforts to restore this capability and to replenish its other capabilities given that its air defence system, fighter aircraft, and some of the Army's platforms were gifted to Ukraine without a permanent replacement.

As far as ground-based air defence system, the S-300PMU system was complete retired in April 2022 and handed to Ukraine as a military assistance. Additional air defence equipment

was donated to Ukraine in March 2023, comprising one 1S91 missile guidance radar and two 2P25 launchers on the 2K12 Kub system, together with 52 3M9ME and 148 3M9M3E missile. In April 2023 Slovakia also handed over thirteen fighter jets Mig-29 to Ukraine and left the protection of its air space to the Allies from Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary. With current armament Slovakia can perform air defence tasks until April 2025, when service life of 9M39 missiles of the Igla system (short range) ends, or November 2027, when the lifespan of 3M9M3E missiles of the Kub system (middle range) comes to an end (Smisek, 2023).

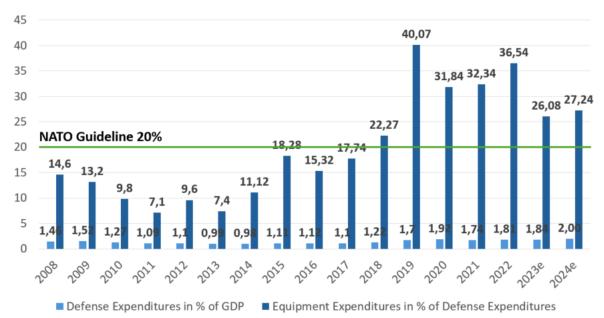
Slovakia was than temporarily protected by four batteries of NIM-104 Patriot PAC-3 from Netherlands, USA and Germany, later Italian system SAMP/T, known as MAMBA. During 2023, Slovakia received two MANTIS C-RAM (counter rocket, artillery and mortar) systems donated by Germany (Dóka, 2024). In this context, the implementation of the NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence Rotational Model to Slovakia, remains a key issue at least until the time of needed capabilities replenishment. Accordingly, Allied Integrated Air and Missile Defence capabilities will be deployed to secure the airspace over NATO's Eastern flank on a voluntary basis. According to the statement of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Róbert KALIŇÁK without NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence on the Eastern Flank, deterrence is ineffective.

According to the head of the Slovak Defence Ministry, replenishing all missing capabilities is a priority so that Slovakia and the Alliance can push ahead with their defence plans − including supporting the defence industrial base and constructing essential defence infrastructure (MoDoSR, 2024a). To that end, the Slovak government has approved the purchase six Barak MX air defence systems with related equipment for an estimated €554 million on its session on 28 August 2024. The Slovak defence industry is to cooperate on the procurement with manufacturer Israel Aerospace Industries. Under the plan, the first system is to be delivered to the Slovak Armed Forces in late 2025 (Adamowski, 2024). The Defence Ministry is expected to sign an intergovernmental agreement with the Israelis by the end of October (TASR, 2024c).

The Slovak Republic supports the approval of the new Host Nation Support Concept, which impose an obligation on host countries to meet the requirements for the provision of support alliance units on their territory in order to ensure the feasibility of defence plans. The Multinational Battlegroup Slovakia as a part of NATO forward presence on Slovak territory and the possibility of its expansion to the brigade level is one of the biggest obligations of the Slovak Republic based on Madrid Summit Declaration. It expands national defence capabilities and supports collective defence and deterrence of the Alliance. From 1 July 2024 Spain has officially taken over command of the NATO Multinational Battlegroup Slovakia from the Czech Republic. Simultaneously, the Spanish Contingent has taken on a leading role in the process of expanding the multinational battalion-sized task force to a Combat Brigade (MoDoSR, 2024b).

In connection with defence expenditures the Slovak republic supports the expansion of the definition 2% spent on defence by expenses also spent on building defence infrastructure, support from the host nation and contributions to NATO mechanisms and support of domestic defence industry.

Despite positive trend in the Slovak defence expenditure, in the future period expenditure beyond 2% of GDP will be needed in order to remedy existing shortfalls and meet the requirements across all domains arising from a more contested security order. Investment Pledge is necessary to understand as a base not as a ceiling.



Graph 4 Slovak Defence Expenditure 2008-2024 Source: own elaboration based on NATO data

The Slovak delegation considers essential that the Alliance as an organization will not become a party to the conflict in the Russia-Ukraine war but will rather help coordinate the provision of Allied assistance to Ukraine. Therefore, Slovakia supports the establishment of the NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine which is new command to plan, coordinate, and arrange delivery of security assistance that Ukraine need to prevail in its fight today, and in the future. It will be comprised of approximately 700 personnel from NATO Allied nations and selected partners. The effort will be headquartered in Wiesbaden (Germany), with key logistical hubs in the Alliance's eastern flank. NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine will have three main focus areas: overseeing training of Ukrainian armed forces at training facilities in Allied countries, providing support to the long-term development of Ukraine's Armed Forces and support Ukraine trough planning, coordination of donations with Allies and partners, transfer of security assistance material, and repair of equipment (SHAPE, 2024). According to the Peter Pellegrini Slovakia will increase its help by €105 million.

Defence Minister Robert KALIŇÁK underscored that Slovakia will participate in activities of supporting Ukraine along the lines of its own security interests and political priorities. Under the NATO-approved €40 billion aid package for Ukraine, this means that Slovak assistance will continue to be exclusively humanitarian and non-lethal in nature and this Slovak position is respected by our NATO partners (MoDoSR, 2024a).

CONCLUSION

The 2024 NATO Washington summit was held in a year in which NATO marked the 75th anniversary of signing of the Washinton Treaty and Slovakia as well as Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovenia celebrated the 20th anniversary of its entry into NATO.

The main goal of the Washington's summit was ongoing adaptation of NATO to the changed security and geopolitical environment, as well as strengthening measures for deterrence and defence with stress on its eastern flank. Conclusions of the summit were formulated in the Washington Summit Declaration which was unanimously approved by all 32

member countries. Participants of the Summit declared unity, cohesion and solidarity among Allies.

The Slovak delegation led by president of the Slovak republic Peter PELLEGRINI confirmed its commitment to strengthening of security and defence capabilities of the Euro-Atlantic area in the spirit of allied solidarity and burden sharing. He corroborated the fact that NATO's collective defence is the main pillar of the security and defence of the Slovak Republic, and it will therefore support the ongoing adaptation of the Alliance with the aim of strengthening its ability to deter and, if necessary, collectively defend against current security threats.

The Slovak republic will supplement its ground-based air defence systems that were without securing permanent compensation provided to Ukraine. Nevertheless, the implementation of the NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defence Rotational Model remains a key issue to Slovakia at least until the time of needed capabilities replenishment. Continuation of the rotary model of Integrated Air and Missile defence, on a voluntary basis, that strengthen airspace protection on the eastern flank of the Alliance, is one of the fundamental outputs of the summit for Slovak Republic.

The Slovak delegation considers essential that the Alliance will not become a party to the conflict in the Russia-Ukraine war but will rather help coordinate the provision of Allied assistance to Ukraine. Therefore, Slovakia supports the establishment of the NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine and will financially support the efforts by $\[\in \]$ 105 million. Slovak assistance will continue to be exclusively humanitarian and non-lethal in nature.

Significantly more than 20% of defence expenditure is in 2024 and will be spent in the next year on the modernization of Slovak Armed Forces and in comparison, to previous years Slovakia will invest more resources to research and development.

Slovakia in cooperation with Spain will create conditions for expansion of the NATO Multinational Battlegroup Slovakia, multinational battalion-sized task force, to Combat Brigade.

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