



Round Table Summary Report

# «TRANSATLANTIC UNITY AND UKRAINE: NATO'S STRATEGIC VISION AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT 2024»

15 July 2024, Kyiv (Ukraine)

## GENERAL INFORMATION

The round table discussion «Transatlantic Unity and Ukraine: NATO’s Strategic Vision at the Washington Summit 2024» was held on July 15, 2024 at the National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform (Kyiv, Ukraine).

The organizers of the event were Civil Organization “Centre for International Security” with the support of the NATO Representation to Ukraine and in partnership with National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform.

The aim of the event was to communicate the key developments and results of the NATO Summit in Washington for the Ukrainian expert community and broad public by conducting a comprehensive expert discussion. The main focus during the event was on the significance of the Summit for Ukraine and Euro-Atlantic security in the context of increasing strategic competition between states, as well as growing challenges and threats to global democracy. The participants of the event were representatives of the state authorities of Ukraine; international and Ukrainian experts on foreign policy and Euro-Atlantic security; Ukrainian public and academicians; representatives of the Ukrainian mass media.





## PROGRAM OF THE EVENT

Round table discussion

### «TRANSATLANTIC UNITY AND UKRAINE: NATO'S STRATEGIC VISION AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT 2024»

15 July 2024 року (Kyiv, Ukraine)

10:30-11:00	<b>Registration of Participants, Welcome Coffee</b>
11:00-11:15	<b>Welcoming remarks</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <b>Serhii Cherevatyi</b>, Head of National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform</li><li>● <b>Peter Hauge Berg</b>, Deputy Head/COS of the NATO Representation to Ukraine</li></ul>
11:15-12:30	<b>Round Table Discussion. Panel 1</b> <p><b>Moderator:</b> <b>Ihor Dolhov</b>, Head of Mission of Ukraine to NATO (2010-2015), International Analyst of National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform</p> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <b>Yevhen Perebyinis</b>, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine</li><li>● <b>Peter Hauge Berg</b>, Deputy Head/COS of the NATO Representation to Ukraine</li><li>● <b>Nataliia Kalmykova</b>, Deputy Minister of Defence of Ukraine</li><li>● <b>Yehor Cherniev</b>, People's Deputy of Ukraine, Chairperson of the Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly</li><li>● <b>Solomiia Bobrovska</b>, People's Deputy of Ukraine, Member of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence</li></ul> <p><b>Questions to be discussed:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <i>The outcomes of the NATO Washington Summit 2024 in the context of regional and global security;</i></li><li>● <i>The significance of the NATO Washington Summit results for Ukraine and its capabilities to resist a full-scale Russia's invasion;</i></li><li>● <i>What are the current prospects for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration?</i></li></ul> <p><b>Keynote speaker:</b></p> <p><b>Tanya Hartman</b>, Head of the Policy East Team, Political Affairs &amp; Security Policy Division, NATO HQ (online)</p>
12:30-12:45	<b>Coffee Break</b>



## PROGRAM OF THE EVENT

Round table discussion

### «TRANSATLANTIC UNITY AND UKRAINE: NATO'S STRATEGIC VISION AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT 2024»

15 July 2024 року (Kyiv, Ukraine)

12:45-13:45

#### Round Table Discussion. Panel 2

**Moderator: Ihor Dolhov**, Head of Mission of Ukraine to NATO (2010-2015), International Analyst of National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform

#### Speakers:

- **Sergiy Solodkyy**, Deputy Director of the New Europe Center
- **Mykhailo Samus**, Deputy Director of the Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies; Director of the New Geopolitics Research Network
- **Taras Berezovets**, Press officer in the Ivan Bohun First Separate Special Forces Brigade
- **Oleksandr Musienko**, Head of the Centre for Military and Legal Studies

#### Questions to be discussed:

- *Current internal and external challenges to the unity and collective defense of the North Atlantic Alliance;*
- *Ukraine's role in ensuring Euro-Atlantic security: contribution to deterring Russia's aggression and strengthening NATO's Eastern Flank;*
- *NATO-Ukraine relations in the context of escalating strategic competition among international actors and increasing global challenges and to democracy.*

13:45-14:00

#### Closing Remarks

## ROUND TABLE SUMMARY REPORT

### Opening of the event

At the beginning of the event, the moderator of the round table **Ihor Dolhov**, Head of Mission of Ukraine to NATO (2010-2015) and international analyst of Ukrinform, emphasized the key purpose of the discussion – the need to discuss how the anniversary NATO summit concluded and what consequences it had for global and regional security; what the summit brought for Ukraine, which today defends Ukrainian statehood and the eastern flank of the Alliance; how the Ukrainian authorities should act further; and what role civil society plays in ensuring that Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic and European integration does not slow down and gains momentum.



The opening of the event began with an introductory speech by **Serhii Cherevatyi**, the Head of National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform. He reminded that Ukrinform is a powerful platform where urgent issues regarding the development of the state, ensuring its sovereignty, territorial integrity, foreign policy choice and movement are discussed. The speaker also noted that the NATO summit is always a defining event for the European and Euro-Atlantic space, as well as for Ukraine. Serhii Cherevatyi emphasized that currently the Ukrainian people and the Armed Forces are the outpost and the main line of defense not

only for Ukraine, but also for the EU states, NATO and the entire free world. And it is Ukraine's membership in NATO that serves as a deterrent against further military aggressions, acting as a key to peace on the European continent. Cherevatyi focused attention on the fact that Ukraine's current experience gives us an opportunity to be not only consumers, but also contributors to security – both in terms of protecting our own borders and in the context of training and exchanging experience in confronting one of the powerful armies in the world. Ukraine is grateful to partners from NATO member states for assistance in the form of weapons, training missions, ammunition, finances. However, at the same time, it is the Ukrainian people who pay for this security with the lives of their citizens (including children), destroyed cities and infrastructure. The speaker noted that Ukraine works every day to strengthen its security, and the current discussion could be a step towards approaching the cherished goal – our state's accession to the North Atlantic Alliance.



**Peter Hauge Berg**, Deputy Head/COS of the NATO Representation to Ukraine, noted in his introductory speech that his main task is to reinforce and expand the Alliance's presence here in Ukraine. He noted that there are already many discussions about the results of the meeting in Washington, their inconsistency with Ukraine's expectations, particularly in the context of addressing implications of Russia's actions and intention. At the same time, Peter Hauge Berg emphasized that Ukraine achieved a lot from the summit results – for example, security and arms agreements with about 20 different states; Ukraine Compact; a new NATO

mission to coordinate military equipment and training for Ukraine. Also, some allies agreed to lift certain restrictions on the use of weapons provided to Ukraine. In the context of Ukraine's NATO membership, a formulation was obtained indicating the right movement in this direction. The speaker emphasized that Russia has brought war back to Europe, causing the biggest security challenge the Alliance has ever faced, and leading to extensive destruction and human losses. The outcome of this war affects all of us and shapes global security in the future. Peter Hauge Berg noted that the biggest cost and the greatest risk is Russia's victory, and we cannot afford that, so we have to help each other with that.

In response to the opening remarks, moderator **Ihor Dolhov** noted that in discussing the results of the summit, it is important not only to summarize but also to understand how to implement them – both for us in Ukraine and for partners in NATO and beyond. Moreover, the main thing is to understand how our enemies read and what signals they received from Washington. Russia, simultaneously with large-scale shelling of Ukraine, began to chair the UN Security Council (from July 1, 2024) and intends to talk about security and the world order that it itself broke.



## ROUND TABLE SUMMARY REPORT

### Panel 1

The first panel of the round table discussion started with a speech of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine **Yevhen Perebyinis**. He emphasized the importance of discussing the results of the NATO summit as a key event that dominated world politics for at least the past week. The meeting in Washington proved to be historic not only because the summit marked 75 years since the organization's founding, but also in terms of the strategic decisions that were discussed and adopted there. In his opinion, the main point was that the summit demonstrated the allies' dignity in identifying the greatest threat to the Euro-Atlantic area and the main enemy, which is Russia; in mobilizing the Alliance to combat this threat; and, most importantly, in realizing that the main events surrounding the countering of this threat will take place in Ukraine in the near future. That is why the Alliance made important strategic decisions to provide Ukraine with all possible support not just to win the war, but also to ensure conditions under which no dictatorship could ever start something similar again. However, Perebyinis noted that Ukraine is not fully satisfied with the results of the Washington summit, as we cannot be fully satisfied with the results of any NATO summit where a decision to invite Ukraine to join the Alliance was not made.





In his opinion, firstly, Ukraine deserves such a step, as it currently acts as an "umbrella" for the Alliance against its main enemy; secondly, Ukraine's accession to NATO will make the bloc stronger and safer. The reasons for not adopting the decision on accession are the position of some NATO member states, which fear Russia's reaction and escalation, as well as the Alliance's involvement in the war. Ukraine understands, acknowledges, and respects this position, but cannot agree that the decision to extend an invitation to join is not being made. Although Ukraine and its allies knew in advance that the decision to invite Ukraine to NATO would not be made at this summit, they focused on practical steps that strengthen Ukraine's position in NATO and bring it closer to membership. Yevhen Perebyinis compared Ukraine's current situation to the position of Finland and Sweden two years ago when these countries were essentially ready to join, having close cooperation with the Alliance. According to the speaker, Ukraine aims to achieve the same level of interoperability and readiness so that its accession can happen instantly, without intermediate stages, when a political decision is made. From a technical and military point of view, Ukraine is already ready to join NATO, and only a political decision is lacking. Important steps taken at the summit that strengthen Ukraine's cooperation with NATO include, in particular, the launch of JATEC (NATO-Ukraine Joint Analysis, Training and Education Centre), the creation of a new NATO mission for Ukraine, the appointment of a Senior Representative, the allocation of 40 billion euros to strengthen Ukraine's security, decisions to enhance air defense, and the provision of F-16s. These practical steps bring Ukraine closer to NATO membership, and the decision to invite Ukraine is maturing and will be made when all allies realize that the importance of Ukraine's NATO membership in terms of ensuring the Alliance's security outweighs the possible risks of escalation from Russia.

People's Deputy of Ukraine, Chairperson of the Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly **Yehor Cherniev** noted that Ukraine is now defending its statehood, as the Russian Federation as an aggressor is trying to impose its rules regarding Ukraine's movement towards NATO and the EU. Regarding the NATO summit, Cherniev remarked that it's difficult to call it breakthrough or extremely static, except perhaps in light of the Alliance's 75th anniversary. In his opinion, for Ukraine, the summit results are the maximum of what could be obtained. Ukraine insisted until the last moment that the only legal and real instrument for membership in the Alliance is an invitation to join, and much effort was made to agree on the wording about the "irreversibility" of Ukraine's path to NATO. The speaker expressed gratitude to partners who helped Ukraine in negotiations, as not all countries even accepted this wording as a basis. He assessed the result of the Washington meeting as the next step from the decisions of the Vilnius summit, which "anchors" Ukraine's NATO membership. According to Cherniev, the latest wording is to some extent a safeguard which, although it does not provide 100% guarantee, complicates possible reversals for Ukraine's partners (when the Alliance's official

documents already have a clear wording regarding the irreversibility of Ukraine's path to NATO).



Yehor Cherniev assessed the summit as absolutely successful at the tactical level, noting that Ukraine received a lot for the country's defense, including air defense, the creation of a mission in Wiesbaden, and increased interoperability with partner countries. At the strategic level, this was the maximum possible under current conditions. The speaker mentioned numerous meetings with the U.S. congressmen and senators during the summit, noting their focus on domestic affairs and upcoming elections. He emphasized the key role of the U.S. position in NATO and the understanding that no drastic steps or strong statements would be made before the elections. However, in his opinion, in light of Russia's terrorist act in Ukraine on the eve of the summit, there was a lack of concrete decisions from partners regarding a multiple increase in air defense and lifting the ban on strikes on the territory of the Russian Federation with long-range missiles.

According to moderator **Ihor Dolhov**, there is hope that strategic decisions will not be delayed and will result from the accumulation of tactical successes in various directions. However, the wait-and-see position, where no unambiguity was achieved, and signals from Moscow continue to sound about the impossibility of Ukraine joining the Alliance, prolonged the situation of strategic uncertainty not only for Ukraine but also for the global security. For



Ukraine, it would be possible to hold defense and deter the aggressor more effectively if more weapons were available.

People's Deputy of Ukraine, Member of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on National Security, Defence and Intelligence **Solomiia Bobrovska** began her speech by noting that in May 2024 at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Bulgaria, she felt for the first time a change in attitude, particularly from the main lobbyists and partners – the United States, towards the Ukrainian delegation, which was then essentially deprived of attention from the US on security issues. In her opinion, over two and a half years, there has been a change in attitude towards the Ukrainian issue. She expressed hope that this is related to the elections but noted that the Ukrainian delegation was not fully satisfied with such political signals. According to the speaker, even six months before the anniversary summit in Washington, it was clear that there would not be such cohesion among countries as before the Vilnius summit, particularly due to a significant decrease in attention to Ukraine at this meeting compared to the previous year. Bobrovska noted that the Ukrainian delegation was very concerned about the wording in the final document, where the "irreversible path" remained, but the question of the illusory nature of this irreversibility remains. The speaker recalled the situation at the end of 2021 when Ukraine's partners withdrew instructors from its territory before a possible full-scale invasion. In her opinion, this summit continued the "green light" for Russia. According to Bobrovska, the summer of 2023 was the most active and the most difficult in all aspects of warfare in the last 10 years. She expressed concern about the bureaucratization and slowness in decision-making regarding new initiatives to help Ukraine. While the return of a Senior Representative to Ukraine is a positive step, in her opinion, this should be a military position. She emphasized that the wording about "irreversibility" clearly made Ukraine understand that it is on pause and should continue to engage in defense. Thus, the results of the summit turned out to be less than Ukraine's expectations and became one of the weakest political messages for all summits in relation to Ukraine, with the exception of the "painful" Bucharest summit in 2008.

Head of the Policy East Team, Political Affairs & Security Policy Division (NATO HQ) **Tanya Hartman** during her online speech pointed out that from the perspective of allies and NATO Headquarters, the Washington summit was very important, and significant decisions were made during it. The speaker emphasized that the context of the summit was formed, among other things, by brutal Russia's attacks on civilian infrastructure and the people of Ukraine. Consequently, during the meeting, there was a deep understanding that Russia only understands when the Alliance helps Ukraine; that Russia cannot be deterred; and NATO also cannot be deterred either. And there is a direct link to some of the decisions that were announced both by allies but also by NATO as an organization (primarily regarding air defense). According to Hartman, during the preparation for the summit, it was obvious to the allies that air defense was a crucial component; that the ability of the Ukrainian government

to protect the Ukrainian people was absolutely essential. Allies have been working on this in recent months, and the Secretary General has been extremely active in identifying air defense means, systems, and components. This issue was one of the main priorities within the decisions made and announced at the summit. NATO views all these decisions as part of a Comprehensive Assistance Package, and this package serves as a "bridge" to membership. Among the components of this package, central place is given to NATO's assistance to Ukraine in security and training (NATO Command to be based in Germany and coordinate security assistance and training for Ukraine; transfer of military equipment, lethal and non-lethal weapons for Ukraine on the allied territory, etc.). Another component of the Comprehensive Package is the coordination of this immediate support that NATO is now providing to Ukraine with the long-term development of the Ukrainian forces.



The next component is what the allies call financial pledge, which should be of the same volume as before. The decision to allocate 40 billion euros to Ukraine during 2025 provides that funds will be directed specifically to military assistance and training, and do not include economic or humanitarian support for Ukraine. Hartman emphasized that the corresponding commitment of the allies is clear, and this minimum amount can be revised in the future based on Ukraine's needs. In addition, she noted that during the summit, additional decisions were made, including expansion, the reinforcement of the NATO representation to Ukraine (in particular, regarding the appointment of a Senior Representative to lead the



office in Kyiv). This is an important demonstration of the Alliance's long-term political support for Ukraine. Also, a large number of other decisions were adopted, outlined in the statement of the NATO-Ukraine Council (in particular, the creation of the Joint Analysis, Training and Education Center JATEC). In the context of Ukraine's NATO membership, according to the speaker, all of these decisions combined decisions taken by allies individually and by NATO as an organization, constituting a bridge to the state's membership in the Alliance. Allies have said Ukraine will be a member of NATO, Ukraine's future is in NATO and that there is work that Ukraine will do. And NATO will support Ukraine on its path to irreversible membership in the Alliance. Hartman emphasized that in one year after the Vilnius summit, since the NATO-Ukraine Council was created, they have come so far in joint decision making, in joint statements, in negotiated consensus. The entire statement of the Council was negotiated from beginning to end together with Ukraine, which also meant that the Ukraine was aware at an early stage of what the Comprehensive Assistance Package was, support measures, wording about Ukraine's path to NATO. And these are very important changes from the way that how the Alliance used to work with Ukraine before.

Deputy Minister of Defence of Ukraine **Nataliia Kalmykova** in her speech focused on the results of the NATO summit and key decisions regarding Ukraine. The speaker noted that one of the most important issues was securing the irreversibility of Ukraine's European course, which was supported by the message about internal transformations, particularly reforms in Ukraine's security and defense sector. According to Kalmykova, Ukraine's "homework" before and after the summit helps the state move closer to the status of a full-fledged member of the Alliance. She emphasized the importance of the initiative on security assistance and force training for Ukraine, which, in her opinion, will take issues of training, infrastructure, logistics, weapons supply, etc. to a new level. Kalmykova drew attention to the important decision regarding additional air defense systems, noting that this issue is painful for every Ukrainian. Russia's strikes on Ukraine on the eve of the NATO summit made an additional impression on participants and partner countries. A key decision within the summit was the guarantee of long-term security assistance at the level of over 40 billion euros. The speaker emphasized the importance of this commitment for planning and understanding the resources that Ukraine can use. Kalmykova also mentioned the adoption of the Ukraine Compact with the participation of leaders from 23 countries with which Ukraine has already concluded bilateral security agreements. She characterized this as an interesting model of network security architecture that could become key to ensuring Ukraine's security. Separately, she noted an important area of assistance for Ukrainian servicemen, namely additional aid of \$7 million to support female military personnel in Ukraine who are defending democracy. The speaker emphasized that Ukraine has an unprecedented number of women on the frontlines who come to serve voluntarily. In conclusion, she emphasized that women's participation in national defense is a good

example of diversity and equality, as each person who thinks differently enriches our management decisions at all levels.



**Peter Hauge Berg** commented on how the summit's outcomes and decisions will affect the activities of the NATO Representation in Kyiv, particularly in the context of appointing a Senior Representative. He noted that this decision will demonstrate the difference in the functioning of the Representation in Ukraine compared to before, and will take Ukraine's interaction with NATO to a new level. The Representation's long-term work will include issues of interoperability and standards, which are critical for the Alliance in the context of defense, joint operations, etc. Moreover, such interoperability helps with integration. The issue of expanding the Representation is a political signal and demonstration of NATO's commitments, backed by resources. Overall, according to Berg, the summit results and issues with the Representation include short- and medium-term opportunities for Ukraine, as well as long-term work on interoperability and integration with NATO.

Moderator **Ihor Dolhov** summarized the first panel of the roundtable discussion, drawing attention to the importance of understanding and conveying to partner states the signal about Ukraine's urgent needs, particularly regarding arms. According to Dolhov, the NATO summit in Washington became one of the most striking anniversary events, and the consequences of the decisions made will continue to manifest in the future. Ukraine received the maximum of what could realistically be expected, and representatives of

executive authorities demonstrated an understanding of the need to continue internal work on the path to NATO membership.

After the main speeches, the roundtable participants took part in a discussion. Doctor of Political Sciences, Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute **Grygoriy Perepelytsia** in his comment raised a number of important issues regarding Ukraine's relations with NATO. He asked about the meaning of the "bridge" in the context of Ukraine's cooperation with the Alliance, being interested in the rules and obligations of the parties regarding this "bridge". In his opinion, the military assistance provided by NATO is aimed at strengthening Ukraine's individual defense, not at its integration into the collective defense system. He questioned the existence of a defense strategy for NATO's Eastern flank and Ukraine's role in it. Perepelytsia also drew attention to the evolution of NATO's strategy towards Russia: from dialogue and partnership to deterrence, and now – to avoiding confrontation. In conclusion, the participant asked about the possibility of concluding a trilateral defense alliance, which could become the basis for a regional security complex in the Central and Eastern Europe.

In response to Grygoriy Perepelytsia's question, **Yevhen Perebyinis** explained that when comparing Ukraine with Sweden and Finland, he meant readiness, interoperability, and synchronization of armed forces with NATO standards.





The speaker noted that the main difference in Ukraine's situation is the need for agreement and consensus from other NATO countries regarding its membership, which is currently lacking. Regarding the term "bridge", Perebyinis urged not to take it literally, but to understand it as a set of measures to ensure the irreversibility of Ukraine's membership in the Alliance. He also reported that Ukraine is negotiating with the United Kingdom on a "century agreement" that will include security elements. Perebyinis emphasized that Ukraine is ready for strategic decisions, but joining NATO will not happen until Ukraine's victory in the war is complete. He stressed that Ukraine is now working to ensure that after the victory, joining NATO happens as quickly as possible.

**Nataliia Kalmykova** in her response emphasizing the two-way nature of the "bridge" in relations with NATO. She noted that compliance with interoperability standards is important primarily for Ukraine, as it provides mechanisms and standard operating procedures for preparing for progressive models. Kalmykova called for not being too critical of security agreements, emphasizing that Ukraine now has the best international support in its entire period of liberation struggles. She compared the current situation with the beginning of the 20th century, when Ukrainians could not even dream of such a level of resources, political, and media support. In conclusion, the speaker suggested taking time to fully comprehend the results of the NATO summit, so that based on this analysis, the state leadership could plan further steps, taking into account Ukraine's existing opportunities, needs, and proposals.

**Solomiia Bobrovsk**a, while answering the question, drew attention to the sensitivity of perceiving the "bridge" for a warring nation, as a bridge is critical infrastructure vulnerable to sabotage. She suggested using more neutral terms to describe cooperation with NATO. Bobrovsk emphasized that the NATO summit is, first and foremost, an important meeting with political messages, where political decisions always precede practical requirements. She compared Ukraine's situation with Sweden and Finland, emphasizing the mutual benefit of their joining NATO after the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Bobrovsk expressed concern about the readiness of NATO member states to support Ukraine to the same extent as Russia's allies support it in terms of military-industrial complex and military resources. She emphasized that there are doubts about the Alliance's readiness to see Ukraine under its "umbrella" until Russia abandons its ambitions to influence Ukraine.



**Yehor Cherniev**, in response to the question, considered the situation from a geopolitical point of view, recalling Russia's ultimatum to NATO regarding returning to 1997 borders. He noted that the conflict concerns the redistribution of spheres of influence, which dates back to the 90s. Cherniev emphasized that the decision of the 2008 NATO summit in Bucharest is the biggest mistake of Ukraine's partners. In his opinion, they either should not have announced Ukraine's future membership or should have admitted it immediately. He compared the situation with NATO expansion in 1999 and 2004, when Russia was too weak to counter this process. Cherniev emphasized that already in 2008 it was obvious that Russia was preparing for revenge, updating its nuclear potential and investing in the army. The speaker emphasized the importance of understanding that the current conflict concerns not only Ukraine but also the global influence of the West. He noted that NATO's indecisive reaction to Russia's actions could lead to other countries reorienting towards stronger players such as China and Russia, which would have serious economic consequences for the West. Cherniev expressed doubt about the effectiveness of bilateral or trilateral military agreements outside NATO, emphasizing the value of the Alliance's collective security. In his opinion, individual states are unlikely to risk confronting Russia without NATO support.

**Peter Hauge Berg** noted that Ukraine can congratulate itself on the fact of going beyond the MAP (Member Action Plan) – a series of criteria that need to be met before movement towards membership occurs. Ukraine has already gone through this process. Now it's about interoperability, which is far closer to membership. Berg noted that his experience working with Finland and Sweden also confirmed the importance of a high level of interoperability. When both countries made decisions to become the Alliance members, they were highly interoperable already with NATO at that time. Regarding the issue of expansion – membership in the Alliance is not just a given; it involves political commitments from the allies. And this requires consensus, which is not always achieved. Nevertheless, Berg emphasized that changes in global security are currently taking place, the allies see a new landscape and assess the significance of these processes for them beyond transatlantic security. Currently, Russia's war against Ukraine is the most serious security challenge for the allies, and it will continue to be a focus of attention. However, that does not mean that the allies are not looking at other areas as well.



## ROUND TABLE SUMMARY REPORT

### Panel 2

**Sergiy Solodkyy**, Deputy Director of the New Europe Center, opened the second panel of the round table discussion with his speech. According to him, although Ukraine's priority expectation during the summit was an invitation to NATO, realistically it was about obtaining weapons and practical support. There were fears that the Washington summit could become "Vilnius-minus" – without an invitation to NATO and without providing weapons, especially given the pause in the US Congress's approval of the aid package to Ukraine after the Vilnius summit. However, this time practical support was provided. Solodkyy emphasized the importance of the question about what exactly Ukraine should do to achieve its goal at future NATO summits in The Hague next year or in Türkiye in two years. Also, the speaker conducted a deep analysis of the history of Ukraine's relations with NATO over the past 20 years, focusing on three key Alliance summits: in Istanbul in 2004, in Wales in 2014, and in Washington in 2024. He noted that each of these summits was significant in its own way and reflected the state of Ukraine's relations with the Alliance at that time. At the 2004 summit, Ukraine expected to receive a NATO Membership Action Plan, but this did not happen. The Alliance decided not to make "gifts" to a president whom it considered insufficiently democratic.





Regarding the 2014 summit in Wales, Solodkyy noted that although Ukraine was a key topic due to Russia's aggression, the issue of NATO integration was not discussed at all. NATO was even afraid to think about this topic, limiting itself to discussing humanitarian aid and non-lethal weapons for Ukraine. The speaker noted significant progress at the Washington summit in 2024, where Ukraine again became the central theme, dictating 90% of the agenda. Discussions included the provision of modern weapons, including fighters and air defense systems, which indicates substantial progress in the practical content of the partnership relations between Ukraine and NATO. Sergiy Solodkyy highlighted several key changes in Ukraine's relations with NATO over the past 20 years: Ukraine's transition from a peripheral to a central issue on the Alliance's agenda; change in wording from vague to clear statements about Ukraine's irreversible membership in NATO; and the transition from cautious support to extraordinary decisions and filling of relations. Despite the progress, the speaker noted that Ukraine still lacks speed, a sense of urgency, and ambition from NATO. He suggested holding the next summit under the abbreviation UA, which symbolizes Ukraine and can be deciphered as "urgency" and "ambition" – qualities that, in his opinion, NATO lacks. To achieve the desired results, Ukraine should focus on working with key Alliance member states. Following the successful example of work with France, which changed its position on Ukraine's NATO membership, similar cooperation can be conducted with Germany and the USA. The speaker emphasized the importance of working not only with governments but also with voters of NATO countries through opinion leaders, influencers, media, and experts, which is necessary to change public opinion and political positions. In conclusion, Sergiy Solodkyy expressed the opinion that it is time to ask NATO colleagues to manage not Ukraine's expectations, but their own fears.

Moderator **Ihor Dolhov** noted that the retrospective of summits since 2004 provides more material for comparisons but causes scepticism about the future. He emphasized that life between summits has little effect on the situation at the frontline, which is currently the main priority for Ukraine. Dolhov drew attention to NATO's role in the matter of arms and to the increased activity of NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in the last year of his tenure.

Deputy Director of the Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies; Director of the New Geopolitics Research Network **Mykhailo Samus** emphasized the value of such a discussion for identifying new perspectives, detecting potential mistakes, and planning further actions, especially in the context of future changes. The speaker drew attention to the fact that although the NATO summit was largely dedicated to Ukraine, another key issue was the upcoming elections in the USA. According to him, this event could lead to a significant rethinking of NATO's role both by the United States and Europe, including the possibility of developing European defense autonomy. Mykhailo Samus agreed with the previous speaker regarding the qualities that NATO lacks, but added that the Alliance also critically lacks leadership and responsibility. In his opinion, NATO has not taken leadership in shaping the space around itself, limiting itself to internal stability and effectiveness in

countering external threats, without responsibility for regions that directly affect the security and defense of the Alliance. The speaker emphasized the importance of an official invitation for Ukraine to NATO, as it would have geopolitical significance, ending the "geopolitical bargaining" regarding Ukraine and clearly defining its place in the Western "family". He stressed that without such an invitation, NATO continues to give Russia the opportunity to view Ukraine as a subject of bargaining. Samus paid special attention to Russia's position, which constantly articulates the demand not to allow Ukraine's membership in the Alliance, and also emphasized that inviting Ukraine to NATO would be a direct challenge to the Russian imperial idea. Evaluating the summit results, the speaker called it successful from a tactical and organizational point of view (perhaps even more successful than the Vilnius summit results). He mentioned new structures, level of representation, and aid of 40 billion euros as positive aspects, noting that this package could serve as a mechanism for NATO's protection or adaptation before a possible change of the US president.



However, in his opinion, after the summit, there was an impression that NATO is protecting Russia, not Ukraine, since when the Alliance prohibits Ukraine from striking Russian territory, it does not prohibit Russia from striking Ukrainian territory. NATO's communication regarding Russia in this matter is viewed as weak and counterproductive, especially in the



context of the horrific shelling of civilian objects in Ukraine. In conclusion, Mykhailo Samus supported Sergiy Solodkyy's opinion about the importance of Ukraine's communication with partners, including with the Republican and Democratic parties in the USA. He emphasized the need to prepare for the difficult and important year 2025, which could determine the future for decades ahead. The speaker underlined the seriousness of the current moment and its impact on the future strategy of the new US president regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war, China, NATO, and relations with European allies. And communication is one of the most important aspects that Ukraine should focus on during this critical period.

Moderator **Ihor Dolhov** stressed the importance of the basic principle "nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine", especially in the context of future events in Washington. He disagreed with the opinion that the absence of an invitation for Ukraine to NATO means that the Alliance has not challenged Russia, stressing that NATO in principle does not have such a function – to challenge. Dolhov recalled the words of the US President Joe Biden that NATO is now stronger than ever, given the record number of members. However, there are doubts about how NATO demonstrates this strength in practice (force projection).

Press officer in the Ivan Bohun First Separate Special Forces Brigade **Taras Berezovets** began his speech with a historical overview, recalling Ukraine's first steps towards strategic cooperation with NATO. The speaker expressed special gratitude to former National Security Council Secretary Volodymyr Horbulin, who, according to him, laid the foundations for Ukraine's signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership with the North Atlantic Alliance. The speaker expressed concern that, despite the past 25 years, the process of Ukraine's integration into NATO seems "stuck in time". He compared this process to "Groundhog Day", where Ukraine is constantly moving towards NATO, but the goal still remains as unreachable as the horizon. According to Berezovets, there is a discrepancy between the "clocks" of Ukraine and Western capitals – Brussels, London, and New York. Also, during his speech, the speaker drew attention to the high assessment of the Ukrainian army by White House representative John Kirby, who called it the most effective and best in Europe. Berezovets emphasized not only the patriotism and motivation of Ukrainian military personnel but also their high professionalism. According to him, the Ukrainian Armed Forces often master Western equipment better than NATO partners. He gave specific examples, noting that Ukrainian air defense operators have mastered IRIS-T, Patriot, SAMP-T systems better than Western partners, and expressed confidence that Ukrainian F-16 pilots will show high results. In addition, in his speech, Berezovets emphasized the importance of recognizing the irreversibility of Ukraine's path to NATO, but also emphasized that the Alliance itself, without Ukrainian experience, is unable to adequately respond to modern challenges, including threats from Russia, Iran, China, and North Korea. He noted that these countries are actively building their alliances, particularly through organizations like the SCO, which was previously perceived as a "pseudo structure" but now includes countries such as Belarus, Iran, India, and Pakistan. According to the speaker, the Armed Forces of Ukraine

are the main agitator and motivator for the allies to accept Ukraine into NATO as a full member. Berezovets noted that neither the path of Finland and Sweden, which were quickly accepted into NATO, nor Türkiye's long path to the European Union is acceptable for Ukraine. He emphasized the need for Ukraine to meet the requirements for accession, but also stressed that formally being on the threshold of the Alliance is a matter of survival not only for Ukraine but also for Western democracies. According to Berezovets, informal conversations with Western military colleagues demonstrate doubts about the real combat capability of Western armed forces and the motivation of their citizens to participate in real military conflicts where there is a risk of physical destruction.



Head of the Centre for Military and Legal Studies **Oleksandr Musienko** began his speech by mentioning the statement of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky about Ukraine's accession to NATO after victory in the war. Musienko emphasized the need to specify the concept of "victory" and the legal status that will allow Ukraine to gain membership in the Alliance. According to the speaker, this could happen after the end of the active phase of hostilities or when Russia de facto recognizes the new state of affairs by signing a certain document. He noted that expectations from the NATO summit could not have been higher, given previous statements by the President of Ukraine and NATO Secretary General Jens

Stoltenberg. NATO had to find a way to bring Ukraine closer to the Alliance without providing guarantees under Article 5, and that's why a "bridge" was created for deepening interaction. According to Musienko, it is important to maintain high expectations of Ukrainian society regarding NATO, as the situation may change, as happened with Georgia. He warned that changes could also occur in Ukraine, albeit according to a different scenario, and emphasized the importance of deepening Ukraine's cooperation with NATO, in particular through the creation of a center for studying the war. It was noted that Ukrainian military personnel have unique experience that they can share with NATO partners. The speaker remarked that practical cooperation between Ukraine and the Alliance has moved forward after many years of work. In his opinion, NATO's role should not be underestimated, especially compared to other military alliances such as the CSTO.



Oleksandr Musienko noted that Russia, with its terrorist strike on the eve of the NATO summit, tried to create a certain "trap", realizing that the Alliance would not have time to radically change its program documents. In conclusion, the speaker summarized that Ukraine's progress towards practical interaction with the allies, and also emphasized that Ukraine cannot refuse deeper cooperation with NATO, and it is necessary to maximize the use of tools provided by the Alliance to achieve victory.

**Ihor Dolhov** commented on the speeches, calling for a broader view of the situation, and noting that NATO is already trying to do this. He emphasized that the aggression against



Ukraine has become a catalyst for many global processes, the impact of which extends far beyond Ukraine. Dolhov mentioned the rapid mobilization of military support from the democratic world, but also noted that Ukraine's enemies activated the "axis of evil" even faster. He emphasized the inertia in understanding the world order, which hinders the realization of changes that have occurred since February 24, 2022. The moderator expressed the opinion that NATO has approached its 75th anniversary in good shape, but its role, although declared as global, is not such, as the Alliance relies on Washington in global issues. Dolhov drew attention to the importance of safeguards against possible delays in decision-making regarding aid to Ukraine, mentioning the negative consequences of a six-month delay in the relevant decision-making in the US Congress.

During the discussion, **Oleksandr Khara**, an expert from the Centre for Defense Strategies, reminded that just four months after the Bucharest summit, Russia invaded Georgia. He expressed concern that unlearned lessons from the past could lead to similar consequences. According to Khara, the decisions of the Washington summit regarding Ukraine were largely influenced by the factor of Donald Trump and his possible return to power. Khara noted that without the threat of reduced U.S. commitments to NATO, there would be no creation of new coordination structures and a "bridge" to NATO for Ukraine. The issue of Ukraine's ability to create forces capable of deterring the largest nuclear state also remains open, particularly given the limited assistance from partners. Khara noted that the only new concrete decision within the summit was an additional Patriot system from the US. He emphasized the need to develop theoretical foundations for the Russia's deterrence system and parameters for Ukraine's future forces. In his view, the key factor for Ukraine's NATO membership is not so much Ukraine's readiness, but the Alliance members' realization that the benefits of Ukraine's membership outweigh the risks. And currently, there is no such realization, especially from the US, which sets the general tone. In this context, the importance of working with Washington was emphasized and the difficulties associated with Trump's possible return were noted. At the same time, Khara positively assessed the creation of additional cooperation structures with NATO as a safeguard and an opportunity for Ukraine to get closer to Alliance standards, especially in terms of democratic civil control.

**Ihor Dolhov**, in his comment during the discussion, emphasized the importance of continuing and deepening cooperation with NATO, reminding of Ukraine's status as an Enhanced Opportunities Partner for the Alliance. He noted that the training of Ukrainian Armed Forces with the participation of Western instructors is not a new phenomenon, mentioning missions conducted after the annexation of Crimea. Dolhov drew attention to the limitations of training opportunities on Ukrainian territory due to the war, but expressed hope for their restoration in the future. He also emphasized the need to strengthen Ukraine's own defense capabilities and develop the defense industry in cooperation with the EU and NATO countries.



During the discussion in the second panel of the round table, **Mykhailo Samus** emphasized the need to move away from linear comparison of international organizations such as the CSTO, NATO, and SCO. He mentioned the concept of the "axis of resistance", describing it as a flexible network structure that includes not only countries, but also proxy forces, terrorist organizations, and private military companies. Samus emphasized the effectiveness of this structure in achieving specific tasks, even when its participants have conflicting interests. He noted that although NATO prevails in a linear comparison of military potentials, the "axis of resistance" may be more effective in a geopolitical sense due to its flexibility and less bureaucratic nature. Samus also expressed concern about possible "NATO self-limitation", especially in the context of potential changes in the US policy. Regarding the development of Ukraine's defense industry, the speaker noted significant progress and attempts to integrate with European and American partners. He pointed out problems of integration with the European defense industry due to its fragmentation and internal competition, but emphasized prospects for cooperation with the American sector, particularly in the aerospace industry. Samus also emphasized the importance of defense forum formats and segmentation of cooperation by regions conducted by Ukrainian government structures. He underlined Ukraine's important experience in modern warfare, particularly in the aspect of drone-centricity, and the potential for its use in cooperation with Western partners.

## ROUND TABLE SUMMARY REPORT

### Closing of the event

In his concluding remarks, **Ihor Dolhov** touched upon several important issues. He mentioned the low recognizability of the CSTO compared to NATO, thereby emphasizing the difference in their global influence. The moderator focused on problems with arms supplies to Ukraine, noting that even the positive results of the Washington summit do not fully meet the country's needs, mentioning examples of delays and unfulfilled promises regarding the delivery of Patriot systems, fighter aircrafts, and ammunition. Dolhov emphasized the need to develop Ukraine's own defense-industrial complex, attract investments, and use the experience of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In conclusion, he called for further work on implementing the decisions of the Washington summit, informing citizens, and carrying out necessary reforms to achieve Ukraine's NATO membership, stressing that responsibility for this lies not only with the Alliance but also with Ukraine.





## **Appendix 1. STATEMENT OF THE NATO-UKRAINE COUNCIL issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Council in Washington, D.C. 11th July 2024**

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the NATO-Ukraine Council, met today during this historic NATO Summit. For more than two years of Russia's brutal full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and ten years since Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea and initial military intervention in the Donbas, the people of Ukraine have been heroically defending their nation, their land, and our shared values. We solemnly pay tribute to the lives lost, and we deplore the human suffering and destruction caused by Russia's illegal, unjustifiable, and unprovoked war of aggression. Russia has failed in its efforts to undermine Ukraine's statehood and break the resolve of the Ukrainian people. The men and women of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the people of Ukraine continue to inspire the world with their bravery and determination. Ukraine stands strong as a sovereign, independent, and democratic nation.

2. Russia bears full responsibility for this war, a blatant violation of international law including the UN Charter, for which it must be held fully accountable. We condemn all those who are facilitating Russia's war and amplifying Russia's disinformation campaigns. Russia's war against Ukraine has shattered peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and has had a profound impact on the safety, security, and welfare of billions of people around the world. Russia has not shown any genuine openness to a just and lasting peace. Allies welcome and support President Zelenskyy's continuous commitment to advance a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace through his Peace Formula and the Peace Summit process, including the important first Summit in Switzerland.

3. Russia is responsible for the deaths of thousands of civilians and has caused extensive damage to civilian infrastructure. We condemn in the strongest possible terms Russia's horrific attacks on the Ukrainian people, including on hospitals, on 8 July. We welcome the announced commitments to provide Ukraine with additional air defence systems and other military capabilities, as Allies increase their support to meet Ukraine's needs and help protect its people, cities, and infrastructure from Russia's appalling attacks. NATO will support and advise on the design and implementation of an integrated air and missile defence architecture for Ukraine, to enable the most efficient use of Ukraine's air and missile defence capabilities and support its transition to full interoperability with NATO.

4. A strong, independent, and democratic Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders is vital for the stability and security of the Euro-Atlantic area. Ukraine's fight for its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity directly contributes to Euro-Atlantic security. Allies and partners continue to step up vital political, military, financial, economic, and humanitarian assistance as Ukraine exercises its inherent right to self-defence as



enshrined in Article 51 of the UN Charter. Allies also continue to strengthen Ukraine's resilience by helping sustain its energy infrastructure, providing critical energy supplies, and enabling the transit of goods and grain. Allies remain as resolute as ever in supporting Ukraine for as long as it takes for Ukraine to prevail.

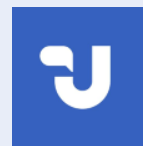
5. We welcome the launch of the NATO Security Assistance and Training for Ukraine (NSATU), which will coordinate the provision of military training and equipment for Ukraine by Allies and partners and will provide logistical support. It will ensure enhanced, predictable, and coherent security assistance to Ukraine for the long term, bolstering the support Allies and partners provide to Ukraine. NSATU, which will operate in Allied states, will strengthen our ongoing cooperation to transform Ukraine's defence and security forces, so that Ukraine is more capable of defending itself now and deterring any further Russian aggression in the future.

6. Ukraine requires long-term support. Allies are determined to support Ukraine in building a force capable of defeating Russian aggression. We welcome Allies' pledge of long-term security assistance for the provision of military equipment, assistance, and training for Ukraine. We also welcome that, to that end, Allies intend to provide a minimum baseline funding of €40 billion within the next year, and to provide sustainable levels of security assistance for Ukraine to prevail.

7. As we continue to intensify our cooperation and strengthen Ukraine's political integration with NATO, the Alliance is reinforcing the NATO Representation to Ukraine (NRU), and the Secretary General has decided to appoint a NATO Senior Representative to head the NRU and to act as a focal point for NATO's engagement with Ukrainian authorities in Kyiv.

8. We have made significant progress in our ongoing cooperation, including through the Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP) for Ukraine, to strengthen and rebuild the Ukrainian security and defence sector, support Ukraine's deterrence and defence in the long term, and transition Ukraine to full interoperability with NATO. To that end:

- We have jointly developed initial NATO Interoperability Requirements, making full use of NATO-related defence planning processes and tools, to inform and support Ukraine's security and defence sector reforms and enable the long-term interoperability of our forces.
- We are working together to bring Ukraine's defence procurement in line with Euro-Atlantic best practices through the Strategic Defence Procurement Review.
- We will work together to identify and apply lessons from Russia's war against Ukraine, including on resilience, in the newly established Joint Analysis, Training, and Education Centre (JATEC) in Poland. As a joint NATO-Ukraine structure, JATEC will



serve as an important pillar of practical cooperation and increase Ukraine's interoperability with NATO.

- We are launching new joint activities to support Ukraine's self-defence through the first NATO-Ukraine Innovation Cooperation Roadmap.
- NATO will continue to support Ukraine's self-defence with urgently needed non-lethal equipment and supplies through the CAP, and we welcome partner contributions.

9. With these long-term commitments, we are building on the work we have done together in the NATO-Ukraine Council (NUC) to advance Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic aspirations, including Ukraine's strategic goal of NATO membership. Since establishing the NUC at the Vilnius Summit, we have been working and taking decisions together, as equals, on a broad range of issues, including interoperability, energy security and infrastructure, innovation, cyber defence, defence industry, countering disinformation, and resilience. The NUC has also proven to be an effective crisis consultation mechanism.

10. Allies fully support Ukraine's right to choose its own security arrangements and decide its own future, free from outside interference. Ukraine's future is in NATO. Ukraine has become increasingly interoperable and politically integrated with the Alliance. Allies welcome the concrete progress Ukraine has made since the Vilnius Summit on its required democratic, economic, and security reforms. As Ukraine continues this vital work, Allies will continue to support it on its irreversible path to full Euro-Atlantic integration, including NATO membership. Allies reaffirm that they will be in a position to extend an invitation to Ukraine to join the Alliance when Allies agree and conditions are met. The Summit decisions by NATO and the NATO-Ukraine Council, combined with Allies' ongoing work, constitute a bridge to Ukraine's membership in NATO. Allies will continue to support Ukraine's progress on interoperability as well as additional democratic and security sector reforms, which NATO Foreign Ministers will continue to assess through the adapted Annual National Programme.

11. We welcome the bilateral long-term security commitments Allies and partners have agreed with Ukraine based on the G7 Joint Declaration of Support for Ukraine launched in Vilnius. They are mutually reinforcing and are a testament to the shared and unwavering commitment to a free, independent, democratic, and sovereign Ukraine, within its internationally recognised borders, capable of defending itself and deterring future aggression. These commitments, together with the decisions taken at this Summit, provide for sustained, enduring support to Ukraine as it defends its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and support Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration.



### **Preparation of the report:**

Civil Organization “Centre for International Security”

The information and views set out in this report belong to the speakers and participants of the round table, and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of NATO Representation to Ukraine.

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### **Photos in the report:**

National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform

### **Acknowledgments:**

Civil Organization “Centre for International Security” express gratitude to the co-organizers and partners of the round table (NATO Representation to Ukraine, National News Agency of Ukraine – Ukrinform); speakers and participants of the event; interpreter Svitlana Kutsenko.

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