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UVODNIK

20 LET V ZAVEZNIŠTVU

Uvod V času priprav na neformalno srečanje ministrov za zunanje zadeve držav članic Nata, ki bo 30. in 31. maja 2024 v Pragi, je generalni sekretar Nata Jens Stoltenberg izrazil zadovoljstvo, da bo to prav v mestu, v katerem je bilo leta 2002 dogovorjeno, da bo zavezništvo v svoje vrste povabilo sedem novih članic (Nato, 2024). Leta 2004 smo se zavezništvu pridružili skupaj z Bolgarijo, Estonijo, Latvijo, Litvo, Romunijo in Slovaško. Dva meseca pozneje smo postali še članica Evropske unije. Kar nekaj držav ima letos razlog za praznovanje, vendar hkrati tudi povečano skrb za svojo varnost. Države na vzhodnem krilu zavezništva so v bližini vojnega območja. Ob obletnicah, ki nas veselijo, so tudi take, ki so nesprejemljive z vidika kulturnih, pravnih in demokratičnih vrednot. Mednje zagotovo spada druga obletnica vojne v Ukrajini, ki nas postavlja pred veliko preizkušnjo o tem, katere so naše vrednote, kako čvrsto smo predani svojim ciljem in medsebojnim dogovorom ter koliko smo jih pripravljeni uresničiti in kako. Obletnice in njihovo praznovanje lahko razumemo tudi kot protokolarni dogodek ter priložnost za druženje, vendar gre v primeru Nata za zelo pomembno mednarodno politično in varnostno organizacijo, ki je pomemben akter v mednarodnem varnostnem okolju. Kaj natančno to pomeni za državo in njen razvoj na obrambno-varnostnem področju, je razvidno iz prispevkov, objavljenih v tematskih številkah Sodobnih vojaških izzivov v časovnem razmiku petih let v zadnjih dvajsetih. Namen primerjalne analize, ki je bila narejena na njihovi podlagi, omogoča vpogled v povzetek vsebine raziskovanja posameznih avtorjev s poudarkom na njihovem razumevanju in izkušnjah, ki so jih v tem obdobju pridobili.

1 OBLETNICE KOT MEJNIKI IN PRILOŽNOST ZA NAPREDEK

Ob peti obletnici v zavezništvu leta 2009, ki jo je zelo zaznamovala tudi peta obletnica v Evropski uniji, je imela ta za države članice, ki so bile precej nove, povsem drugačen pomen kot za tiste, ki so bile ustanoviteljice Nata (Jelušič, 2009).

Avtorji so ugotavljali, da smo se kot država v prvem petletnem obdobju zelo veliko naučili, se prilagodili in dodatno vključili v različne mednarodne dejavnosti, v katerih smo pridobili dragocene izkušnje. Pregledu po razvoju zavezništva od njegovega začetka pa vse do šestdesetletnice delovanja (Jazbec, 2009) in slovenski poti do članstva (Bebler, 2009) je sledila analiza izkušenj iz obrambnega načrtovanja (Šavc, 2009), mednarodnega vidika zagotavljanja financiranja zavezništva (Giegerich, 2009) in integracije Slovenske vojske v mednarodne vojaške strukture (Humar, Mikuš, Zanoškar, Groff, Holc, 2009). Ustrezna pozornost je bila namenjena transformacijskim izzivom (Šteiner, 2009) in dejavnostim mednarodne skupnosti v Afganistanu (Grizold in Zupančič, 2009) ter na področju obveščevalno-varnostne dejavnosti (Črnčec, 2009) in zmogljivostim omrežnega delovanja (Svete in Jankovič, 2009). V prispevkih so vidni navdušenje, motiviranost, zadovoljstvo in ponos, da smo del pomembne mednarodne varnostne organizacije. Takratna tematska številka je bila zanimiva za države v regiji Jugovzhodne Evrope, ki so se odpravljale na pot v zavezništvo po stopinjah Republike Slovenije in so jih zanimali pridobljene lekcije, priporočila in opozorila (Brožič, 2014).

Ob deseti obletnici v zavezništvu so bili prispevki avtorjev osredotočeni na spremembe v mednarodnem varnostnem okolju in v zavezništvu (Lampret in Novak, 2014), na politični (Jazbec, 2014) in vojaški vidik (Osterman, 2014), na obveščevalno-varnostno področje njegovega delovanja (Črnčec in Urbanč, 2014), na priprave na umik zavezništva iz Afganistana (Selan, 2014) in na kibernetško obrambo njegovega delovanja (Dvoršak, 2014). V prispevkih je mogoče zaznati spremembo v podtonu pisanja. Avtorji niso delili z bralci samo vidika pridobljenih izkušenj, temveč tudi poskus iskanja prihodnjih rešitev v zavezništvu. Začetne navdušenje, zadovoljstvo in ponos so zamenjali strokovnost, izkušenost, zavedanje o zahtevnosti, ki ga prinaša delitev bremen. Vloga države mentorice drugim državam, ki so si želele v zavezništvo, je postala izrazitejša in odgovornejša.

Ob petnajsti obletnici Republike Slovenije v zavezništvu so tematsko številko zelo zaznamovale posledice svetovne finančne krize, ki se je na obrambnem področju v naši državi še kar nadaljevala, čeprav smo bili že leta 2019. Njene posledice smo najbolj zaznali z nizkim deležem, ki smo ga namenjali za obrambne izdatke. Skupina avtorjev v zadnji številki, posvečeni zavezništvu, je bila raznovrstna in je vključevala poglede na slovensko članstvo z vidika tujih avtorjev iz drugih držav članic.

Spremembe v mednarodni politiki in s tem na mednarodnem varnostnem področju so precej vplivale na zavezništvo in njegove države članice, posledično pa tudi na Evropsko unijo in njeno Skupno zunanjo in varnostno politiko. Države zavezništva so se, kot že tolikokrat poprej, ponovno povezale in okrepile svoje vrste z novimi državami članicami, ki so se različno odzivale na spremenjene varnostne trende (Rutar, 2019), v Sloveniji pa smo evalvirali svoje članstvo in obojestransko zadovoljstvo, ki iz njega izhaja (Lampret in Grilj, 2019). Varnostna situacija se je še posebej spremenila za članice, ki mejijo na Rusko federacijo (Veebel in Ploom, 2019; Falkowski, 2019). Posledično se je z novimi izzivi spoprijela tudi Slovenska

vojska (Osterman, 2019), ki so jo pretekle izkušnje okrepile in je z leti postala še bolj profesionalna (Šteiner, 2019). Objavljena je bila tudi primerjalna študija med projekcijo stroškov, ki bi jih država imela za obrambo, če ne bi bila članica zavezništva, in tistimi, ki jih je imela v času zavezništva. Članstvo v Natu je za Slovenijo cenejše, kot bi bilo zagotavljanje lastne obrambe brez njega (Furlan in Barjaktarevič, 2019). Pogled na petnajsto obletnico je bil zaznamovan s poudarkom na pomanjkljivem financiranju države, ki za obrambne izdatke namenja premalo virov, s čimer ne slabi samo nacionalne varnosti, temveč tudi mednarodno in posledično celotno zavezništvo (Čehovin, Grayston, 2019), pa tudi z vidika tistih, ki si članstva želijo (Kožljak, 2019).

Avtorji so bili za razliko od prejšnje tematske številke v prispevkih bolj stvarni, kritični in pošteno do varnostne situacije in obrambnih zmogljivosti v svetu, v zavezništvu in na nacionalni ravni. Izrazitejše je bilo zavedanje o tem, kaj zavezništvo in njene članice potrebujejo in kaj je treba še narediti, da bi bilo to učinkovitejše. Kot že velikokrat je bilo izpostavljeno dejstvo, da mora Republika Slovenija nameniti za svojo obrambo več zato, da bo lahko v zavezništvo prispevala, kot je obljubila že na vrhu Nata v Walesu leta 2014.

2 POGLED V PRIHODNOST

Po letu 2019 je Republika Slovenija postopoma začela dvigovati delež obrambnih izdatkov, ki je leta 2021 znašal 1,23 % BDP, dve leti pozneje 1,33 % BDP in bo leta 2025 znašal 1,36 % BDP. Povečan je tudi delež sredstev v obrambnih izdatkih, ki je namenjen za raziskave, razvoj in inovacije. Ta je leta 2021 znašal 0,2 %, dve leti pozneje 1,5 % in bo leta 2025 znašal 2,4 %. Tako želimo tvorno prispevati k povečanim aktivnostim zavezništva in Evropske unije ter k večji skupni varnosti in obrambnim zmogljivostim, ki jih potrebujemo.

V tokratni tematski številki, posvečeni dvajseti obletnici Republike Slovenije v Natu, v prispevku *Putinova dilema: Rusija in slovanska dimenzija Natove širitve* **Andrej Benedejčič** odstira nekatere vidike slovanstva z vidika zgodovine in sedanjosti, ki so enkrat bolj drugič manj, pa vendar trajno, prisotne v kulturi in politiki slovanskih držav s poudarkom na Rusiji.

Fritz Rademacher v poglobljeni analizi z naslovom *Nato@75 – prihodnost Atlantskega zavezništva v turbulentnih časih* preučuje fenomen uspešnosti zavezništva kljub nemiru v mednarodnem varnostnem okolju in stalnim spremembam, ki jih to prestaja. Kaj je ključno in povezuje države članice v vsej njihovi različnosti ter transformacijskih aktivnostih posameznih držav in zavezništva kot celote, je osrednje vprašanje, na katerega avtor išče odgovor.

20 let Republike Slovenije v Natu: nekateri vtisi o koščku in celoti je naslov prispevka **Igorja Kotnika**, ki se je osredotočil na Natove dosedanje izkušnje, spreminjajoče se varnostno okolje in njegovo vlogo v njem, na pot Republike Slovenije v okviru

zavezništva s poudarkom na instrumentih nacionalne moči. Pravi, da moramo biti pri teh vsebinah iskreni zato, da bi lahko bili boljši. Bo to dovolj ali bomo morali narediti še kaj?

Hanna Samir Kassab v prispevku *Prestiž, ponižanje in ohranjanje obraza: nacionalna identiteta in politika velikih sil* izhaja iz predpostavke, da močnejša, kot je država, bolj si lahko prizadeva, da bi preteklo ponižanje odpravila z agresivnimi dejanji, s katerimi si prizadeva za prestiž. Tako želi ponovno potrditi svojo moč in status, da bi izbrisala preteklo ponižanje in dosegla prestiž tudi na račun drugih. Vse to je raziskal na primeru treh držav in dosegel zanimive ugotovitve. Ena izmed teh držav je tudi Ruska federacija in njena zgodovina skozi čas. Ali gre za prizadevanja, da spet postane velika in mogočna država na račun drugih ter doseže prestiž na račun Ukrajincev?

Kako primerjati moč in učinkovitost vojaške moči posameznih držav in pri tem raziskovati načine, kako vzpostaviti ravnovesje med njimi, je tema raziskovanja **William Lipperta**. Poti in metodologije so na preizkušnji prav v Ukrajini in na nekaterih konfliktnih lokacijah. Nove izkušnje usmerjajo k razmisleku o drugačnih vidikih vzpostavljanja ravnovesja. Avtor svoj predlog predstavlja v prispevku *Vojaško uravnovešanje za prihodnje sporazume o konvencionalnih silah v Evropi*.

V času praznovanja različnih obletnic v zavezništvu smo spremljali začetek in konec vojne v Afganistanu. Morda bo naslednjo obletnico zaznamovalo prenehanje vojnih aktivnosti v Ukrajini, ki ne bo posledica dolgotrajnih vojaških izčrpanj, temveč bo to zmaga razsodnosti, človekoljubja, demokracije, inteligence in političnih ter diplomatskih sposobnosti.

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EDITORIAL

20 YEARS IN THE ALLIANCE

Introduction

In the run-up to the informal meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Prague on 30-31 May 2024, the NATO Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, expressed his satisfaction that it would be in the same city where it was agreed in 2002 that the Alliance would invite seven new members to join its ranks (NATO, 2024). Slovenia was one of them; in 2004, we joined the Alliance along with Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. Two months later, we also became a member of the European Union. This year, several countries have cause for celebration, but also for increased concern for their security. The countries on the eastern wing of the Alliance are close to a war zone. Alongside the anniversaries at which we rejoice, there are also those that are unacceptable from the point of view of cultural, legal and democratic values. This certainly includes the second anniversary of the war in Ukraine, which is a major test for all of us as to what our values are, how firmly we are committed to our goals and to our mutual agreements, and to what extent and in what way we are prepared to implement them. Anniversaries and their commemorations can be seen as a protocol event and a social occasion, but in the case of NATO, it is a very important international political and security organization, a key actor in the international security environment. What this means for the country and its development in the field of defence and security can be seen from the articles published in the thematic issues of Contemporary Military Challenges every five years over the last twenty years. The purpose of the comparative analysis based on these contributions is to provide a summary of the content of each author's research over time, with a focus on their understanding and the lessons they have learned and gained during this period.

1 ANNIVERSARIES AS MILESTONES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS

The fifth anniversary of our joining the Alliance, in 2009, which was also very much marked by the fifth anniversary of our joining the European Union, had a very different meaning for the relatively new Member States than for those who were founding members of NATO (Jelušič, 2009). The various authors noted that we as a country had learned a great deal during the first five-year period, had adapted and further integrated ourselves into various international activities, and had gained valuable experience in them. An overview of the development of the Alliance from its inception to its 60th anniversary (Jazbec, 2009) and Slovenia's path to membership (Bebler, 2009), was followed by an analysis of the experience in defence planning (Šavc, 2009), the international aspect of securing Alliance funding (Giegerich, 2009) and the integration of the Slovenian Armed Forces into international military structures (Humar et al. 2009). Due attention was paid to the transformational challenges (Šteiner, 2009), the activities of the international community in Afghanistan (Grizold and Zupančič, 2009) and in the field of intelligence and security (Črnčec, 2009), and networking capabilities (Svete and Jankovič, 2009). The enthusiasm, motivation, satisfaction, and pride of being part of an important international security organization were recognized in the contributions. The thematic issue at that time was of great interest to the countries in South-Eastern Europe which were embarking on a path to the Alliance following in the footsteps of the Republic of Slovenia, which were very interested in the lessons learned, recommendations and warnings (Brožič, 2014).

On the occasion of the Alliance's tenth anniversary, the authors' contributions focused on the changes in the international security environment and in the Alliance itself (Lampret and Novak, 2014), on the political (Jazbec, 2014) and military aspects (Osterman, 2014), on the intelligence and security aspects of the Alliance's activities (Črnčec and Urbanč, 2014), on the preparations for the Alliance's withdrawal from Afghanistan (Selan, 2014), and on the cyber defence of the Alliance's activities (Dvoršak, 2014). A change in the undertone of the writing can be detected in the contributions. The authors shared with the readers not only the perspective of lessons learned but the attempt to find future solutions within the Alliance. The initial enthusiasm, satisfaction and pride were replaced by professionalism, experience, and awareness of the complexity of burden sharing. The role of a mentor country to other aspiring countries became more pronounced and responsible.

On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic of Slovenia in the Alliance, the thematic issue was very much marked by the consequences of the global financial crisis, which were still present in the defence sector in our country despite the fact that we were already in 2019. Its consequences were felt most acutely in the low allocation we had given to defence expenditure. The range of authors in the previous issue dedicated to the Alliance was very diverse, and included views on Slovenia's membership from the perspective of foreign authors from other Member States. Changes in international politics, and thus in the sphere of international

security, had had a significant impact on the Alliance and its Member States, and consequently on the European Union and its Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Alliance, as so many times before, had come back together and strengthened its ranks with new Member States reacting differently to the changed security trends (Rutar, 2019), and in Slovenia we had been evaluating our membership and the mutual satisfaction that had resulted from it (Lampret and Grilj, 2019). The security situation had changed, especially for members bordering the Russian Federation (Veebel and Ploom, 2019; Falkowski, 2019). As a consequence, the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) had also faced new challenges (Osterman, 2019), and had been strengthened by past experience and become even more professional over the years (Šteiner, 2019). A comparative study between the projection of the costs that a country incurred for its defence as a member of the Alliance and in the event of not being a member was published. NATO membership was cheaper for Slovenia than it would be to provide its own defence without it (Furlan and Barjaktarević, 2019). The view of the fifteenth anniversary was marked by a focus on the underfunding of the state, which was allocating insufficient resources to defence expenditure, thus weakening not only national but also international security and, consequently, the Alliance as a whole (Čehovin and Grayston, 2019), including from the point of view of those who wanted membership (Kožljak, 2019).

Unlike in the thematic issue of 2014, the authors' contributions were more realistic, critical and honest about the security situation and defence capabilities of the world, the Alliance and at the national level. There was a greater awareness of what the Alliance and its members needed and what was still required to make it more effective. As many times before, the fact that the Republic of Slovenia needed to spend more on its defence in order to be able to contribute to the Alliance as promised at the NATO Summit in Wales in 2014 was highlighted.

2 A LOOK AHEAD

Since 2019, Slovenia has gradually started to increase its share of defence spending, which was 1.23% of GDP in 2021, 1.33% of GDP two years later and will reach 1.36% of GDP in 2025. The proportion of defence spending allocated to research, development and innovation has also been increased. This was 0.2% in 2021, 1.5% two years later and will reach 2.4% in 2025. In this way, we want to contribute constructively to the increased activities of the Alliance and the European Union towards the greater common security and defence capabilities that we need.

In this thematic issue dedicated to the twentieth anniversary of the Republic of Slovenia's membership of NATO, **Andrej Benedejčič**, in his article *Putin's dilemma: Russia and the Slavic dimension of NATO enlargement*, reflects on some of the aspects of Slavicness, from the perspective of history and today, which may be less obvious but nevertheless are permanently present in the culture and politics of the Slavic countries, with an emphasis on Russia.

In his in-depth analysis *NATO@75 – The future of the Atlantic Alliance in tumultuous times*, **Fritz Rademacher** examines the phenomenon of the Alliance's success in the face of the turbulence in the international security environment and the constant changes it is undergoing. What is the key that binds together the Member States in all their diversity and the transformational activities of individual countries and the Alliance as a whole? This is the central question to which the author seeks an answer.

The title of **Igor Kotnik's** contribution is *20 years of the Republic of Slovenia in NATO: some impressions about a tiny part and the whole*. It focuses on Slovenia's experience in NATO's so far, the changing security environment and NATO's role in it, and the path of the Republic of Slovenia within the Alliance, with an emphasis on the instruments of national power. He says that we need to be honest about these issues in order to improve. Will that be enough, or will we have to do more?

Hanna Samir Kassab's paper *Prestige, humiliation and saving face: national identity and great power politics* begins with the premise that the more powerful a state is, the more it can seek to redress past humiliation through aggressive prestige-seeking actions. The state seeks to reaffirm its power and status in order to erase past humiliation and achieve prestige at the expense of others. He explores this through the example of three countries and comes to some interesting conclusions. One of these countries is the Russian Federation and its history through time. Is it making an effort to become a great and powerful country again at the expense of others, to achieve prestige at the expense of the Ukrainians?

How to compare the strength and effectiveness of each country's military power and, in doing so, explore ways of striking a balance between them, is the subject of **William Lippert's** research. Existing pathways and methodologies are being tested in Ukraine and in some other conflict locations. New experience suggests a reflection on different aspects of striking a balance. The author presents his proposal in the paper *Military balancing for future conventional arms control agreements in Europe*.

During the various anniversaries of the Alliance, we have watched the beginning and the end of the war in Afghanistan. Perhaps the next anniversary will be marked by the cessation of hostilities in Ukraine, not as a result of prolonged military attrition, but as a triumph of reason, of philanthropy, of democracy, of intelligence and of political and diplomatic skills.

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