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The Defence Minister´s Preface

In June 2002, when the Norwegian parliament, the Storting, voted on the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 232[I] (on Government Proposition No. 55 of 2001-2002[II]), we and the rest of the world had just been shaken and appalled by the terrorist attacks on the USA on 11 September 2001. When the Storting in June 2004 voted on the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 234[III] (on Government Proposition No. 42 of 2003-2004[IV]), we had yet again been shaken and appalled, this time by the terrorist attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004. And, there is reason to point out, in addition to the serious threat of international terrorism, Norwegian, European and international security today face several major security challenges - in areas such as the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and several other places.

We may conclude, for better and for worse, that our understanding of the development of international security in recent years has been accurate. Cooperation within Europe has been strengthened and deepened. Both NATO and the EU have enlarged to include new member states. The shadows of the Cold War are gone, and Russia participates in a broad international cooperation and growing partnership with the rest of Europe and North America. However, our geographic position and the vast ocean areas under our jurisdiction continue to represent specific challenges to Norway - a responsibility that must be taken seriously. At the same time, developments in regions adjacent to Europe, as well as global developments, have demonstrated our dependence on global stability and reinforced international cooperation. In this context, the UN is of particular importance.

The Norwegian Armed Forces (hereafter: NAF) have proven their decisive role in providing Norwegian authorities with the necessary instruments to contribute actively to Norwegian, European and international security. The continued modernisation of the NAF, which enjoys broad political support in the Storting, is crucial in order to enable our Armed Forces to remain a key instrument of security policy also in the future. The process of transformation in which the NAF is currently engaged, is challenging, demanding, at times painful and utterly necessary. By persisting in this process, Norway will be well equipped to ensure our own national security interests, as well as to contribute to international peace and stability. It will also enable us to contribute to keeping NATO relevant and, therefore, politically central to its member states, and contribute to the

[I] Innst. S. nr. 232 (2001-2002).
[II] St.prp. nr. 55 (2001-2002): The Implementation Proposition - Supplementary Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002-2005.
[III] Innst. S. nr. 234 (2003-2004).
[IV] St.prp. nr. 42 (2003-2004): The Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2005-2008.

continuation and deepening of transatlantic cooperation, which remains of vital importance.

On this basis I am pleased to present a Strategic Concept for the Norwegian Armed Forces. It builds directly on the Storting's decisions regarding the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 234 in June 2004 and the political conclusions that were drawn at that point. Our National Strategic Concept complements NATO's Strategic Concept of April 1999. It summarises the decisive security and defence policy guidelines relevant for the use of the NAF as an instrument of security policy, and thus its decisive role for the transformation of our Armed Forces. In line with the decisions of the Storting, our National Strategic Concept is based on adjusted fundamental objectives for our security policy, reformulated objectives for our defence policy, reformulated tasks for the Armed Forces, and a reformulated Defence Concept.

The term «strategic concept» corresponds to the term NATO uses for its matching political guidance document (The Alliance's Strategic Concept). The EU's term for its overarching political guidance document is «security strategy» (A secure Europe in a better world. European Security Strategy). The latter document includes ESDP (the common European Security and Defence Policy) but has a broader scope in that it also includes foreign policy and the use of economic, diplomatic and other instruments. The same applies to The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, published by the White House. The term «strategic concept», therefore, is most appropriate, as it like NATO's concept relates to the guidelines for the development and use of military means only.

The purpose of this document includes, in particular, to contribute to a common and holistic perspective on the roles, tasks and force posture of the NAF in an era characterised by major changes and new security challenges. Such a common perspective is a precondition for the successful transformation of the Norwegian Armed Forces. The modernisation and restructuring of the NAF is directed from the strategic level by means of political guidance documents from the Ministry of Defence. These include primarily the Implementation Directive for the current long term planning period and the annual defence budgets.

The Strategic Concept for the NAF sets the security and defence policy framework for the doctrines and operational activities of our Armed Forces. In that sense it constitutes the political basis for these dimensions of the NAF's overall activities. The document will be updated according to need. This edition is in principle valid for the period 2005-2008.

Oslo, 11 October 2004
Kristin Krohn Devold

Summary

This Strategic Concept states the political basis for the operational activities of the Norwegian Armed Forces (NAF) in the field of security and defence policies. In doing so, it serves the role as strategic level political guidance. The document, thus, provides the political basis for the development of NAF doctrines and the NAF's operational activities.

Even though the international society's efforts to enhance peace and security aim at solving conflicts by other means than through the use of force, active use of military power has been frequent after the end of the Cold War. Armed conflict, war or the potential for war between states is still very much a political reality. Armed conflicts within states and the activities of non-state actors may also lead to extensive use of force. International terrorism has on several occasions shown that there is an acute need to defend against such threats.

The traditional understanding of the aim of security policy has been the defence of the state and its basic interests - state security. State security is a fundamental security requirement that may, when the state faces an existential threat, legitimise the employment of all available resources. New security challenges and new types of armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War have led to an increased emphasis on societal security. Societal security concerns the safeguarding of the civilian population, vital societal functions and critical infrastructure in situations in which the existence of the state as such is not threatened. This development has been accompanied by an increased focus on human security, which is an important part of societal security. Human security aims at protecting the individual with regards to human rights, especially the right to life and personal safety. The broad interpretation of the concept of security has great significance for the tasks military forces may be required to carry out, and therefore also for their training, equipment and operational concepts.

The term exercising sovereignty denotes the protection of Norway's nation-state prerogatives. Sovereignty is exercised without evoking questions of whether or not actions have a basis in domestic law. Concrete measures against external enemies do not violate the Norwegian principle of legality. The term exercising authority denotes the enforcement of official regulations, prohibitions and conditions as given in laws, regulations or other legal documents, applicable to individuals or private legal subjects. In some areas the NAF have a significant responsibility to exercise authority on behalf of other government agencies. The exercise of authority will often be complementary to the other tasks of the NAF. The concept sovereign rights denotes the rights Norway enjoys, as limited by international law and agreements, in areas in which Norway does not have territorial sovereignty. The term is therefore mostly used to describe the rights Norway enjoys as a coastal state.

The serious terrorist acts in recent years have reinforced the interpretation of terrorism as an activity that aims at forcing political change through targeting a country's economic stability, societal security and, thereby, also basic democratic and human values. Actions that were previously classified as serious crime have gained new dimensions and belong in an area between crime and armed attack. In this grey zone, terrorist acts or other serious crimes may lead to a crisis with national security dimensions. The aim of such assaults is a kind political blackmail. This separates terrorism from traditional crime.

A broad and complex picture of risks and threats will characterise Norway's global security environment in the future. The challenges and potential threats are more diffuse than before and characterised by seamless transitions between the national and the international level, and between peace, crisis, armed conflict and war. Growing interdependence characterises the relationship between states and continents. This contributes to erasing the distinction between national and international security. Threats may arise and develop quickly and without much warning, in part because non-state actors may threaten our security. The potential that Norway may be drawn into conflicts - both directly and indirectly - is real.

Norwegian security policy must adapt to this more complex picture. Preventing war and the development of various kinds of threats to Norwegian and collective security requires a different focus and new types of competencies. Our security cannot be maintained through a one-sided focus on the conventional defence of Norwegian territory. On the contrary, the threat assessment entails that Norwegian security is best maintained through contributing to peace, stability and a favourable international environment. By doing so, we help reduce the risk of crises, armed conflicts and war, the spreading of conflicts and the expansion of international terrorism. It is therefore important that Norwegian security policy is holistic in its approach to potential threats and international conflicts. It must have a varied assortment of relevant instruments to employ in order to contribute to both national and international security.

Limited strikes against our societal security are more likely than traditional military attacks on Norway. This type of strikes may come from both state and non-state actors. Our security policy must embrace both likely and less likely threats, yet still differentiate between them. This means that societal security has gained a more prominent role in the formulation of our security policy.

Norway's position as a significant energy exporter and custodian of important natural resources in vast ocean areas has implications for our security policy. It is of utmost importance that Norway is capable of exercising our sovereignty and sovereign rights, and exercising authority, in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction, thereby protecting our interests. We should not dismiss the possibility that Norway may in the future become the target of political, military or other pressure related to our natural resources. Norwegian security policy must be tailored to enable us to defend our basic security interests as required - alone or together with our Allies if required.

Norway's relationship with Russia is good and developing in a positive direction. At the same time, it must be recognised that Russia is a great power that will protect its national interests according to its own perceived needs. In certain areas, this may be done in ways that are not compatible with Norwegian interests. It is, therefore, important to promote a positive, stable and safe development in Arctic Europe. Such a development is best ensured through a predictable and regular presence of Norwegian and Allied military units in the region.

The fundamental objectives of Norwegian security policy for the period 2005-2008 are:

- *to prevent war and the emergence of various kinds of threats to Norwegian and collective security;*
- *to contribute to peace, stability and the further development of the international rule of law;*
- *to uphold Norwegian sovereignty, Norwegian rights and interests, and protect Norwegian freedom of action in the face of political, military and other kinds of pressure;*
- *to defend, together with our Allies, Norway and NATO against assault and attack;*
- *to protect society against assault and attack from state and non-state actors.*

The basic principle behind the Total Defence Concept has been to employ the collective resources of society to defend Norway in war or when war threatens. The Storting has determined that the support of the Norwegian Armed Forces to civilian society is an important part of a modernised Total Defence Concept. In the future, the NAF must be able to make military resources available in order to contribute to the handling of tasks that are basically civilian, yet for which civilian institutions do not have the resources to

carry out alone. The NAF's augmented role in contributing to societal security, including cooperation with other national authorities to prevent and combat terrorism, illustrates this change. The modernised Total Defence Concept implies mutual support and cooperation - and optimal use of resources - between the NAF and civilian society in prevention, emergency planning, as well as on operational issues.

The absence of a single dominating and dimensioning threat implies that the NAF in the future must be able to fill several and different roles. This fact has implications for what kind of capabilities and expertise the NAF must have, as well as what kinds of tasks the Armed Forces must be able to carry out. The role in relation to conventional collective defence is not as prominent as before. Our society must, however, still have the capability to prevent and combat different kinds of assaults and attacks, as well as to limit the damage that might result. In this sense the NAF must fill a preventive and protective role. This is a role that to a large degree will require the provision of various forms of military assistance to Norwegian civilian authorities.

Norway's relationship with Russia has previously been the dimensioning factor in Norwegian security and defence policy. Today's Russia constitutes no military threat to Norway but Russia will remain a central factor in the formulation of Norwegian security and defence policy. This implies a need for securing predictability and stability, particularly in Arctic Europe. Here, the NAF must fill a regionally stabilising role. This is a role that includes maintaining a presence of Norwegian military capabilities, as well as constant surveillance, exercise of sovereignty and exercise of authority in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction, and the provision of necessary assistance to civilian authorities. The aim is to assert Norwegian control in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction and to influence the regional security environment in accordance with Norwegian political objectives.

Future international security crises may spin out of control and present a danger of the conflict spreading, or of human suffering that is unacceptable to international society. In situations like these, the need for intervention to establish the necessary degree of control and to prevent unacceptable negative impact might arise. The NAF will, as one of several instruments of security policy and within the limits of international law, play an important role in such international crisis management. It is of critical importance for Norway that such operations have the necessary basis in international law, broad international support,

and that they promote international security and stability.

The objectives of our defence policy represent the link between security policy and defence policy. They state what the NAF should contribute in order to secure the best possible realization of Norway's fundamental security objectives. The defence policy objectives for the period 2005-2008 are that the NAF, within their area of responsibility and through cooperation with other national authorities, as appropriate, shall be able to:

- *alone and together with Allies secure Norwegian sovereignty, Norwegian rights and interests, as well as ensuring Norwegian freedom of action in the face of military or other pressure;*
- *together with Allies, through participation in multinational peace operations and international defence cooperation, contribute to peace, stability, the enforcement of international law and respect for human rights, and to prevent the use of force by state and non-state actors against Norway and NATO;*
- *together with Allies, contribute to the collective defence of Norway and other Allies in accordance with our Alliance commitments, and to meet different kinds of assaults and attacks with force in order to safeguard Norwegian and collective security;*
- *contribute to safeguarding Norwegian societal security, save lives and limit the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, assaults and attacks from state and non-state actors.*

By successfully handling their tasks the NAF will fulfil the defence policy objectives. Consequently, these tasks are decisive for the Armed Forces' activities, expertise, capabilities and operational skills. The NAF's tasks are divided into (a) national tasks, (b) tasks that are carried out in cooperation with Allies and possibly others and (c) other tasks. The first two categories will - as a balanced whole - guide the development of the NAF's structure and force posture.

National tasks

1. *To ensure a national basis for decision-making through timely surveillance and intelligence gathering.*
2. *To exercise Norwegian sovereignty.*
3. *To exercise Norwegian authority in defined areas.*
4. *To prevent and handle security-related incidents and crises in Norway and in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction.*

Tasks to be carried out in cooperation with Allies and possibly others

5. *To contribute to the collective defence of Norway and other parts of NATO against threats, assaults and attacks, including the use of weapons of mass destruction.*
6. *To contribute to multinational crisis management, including multinational peace operations.*

Other tasks

7. *To provide military support to diplomacy and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.*
8. *To contribute to the safeguarding of societal security and other vital societal tasks.*

The Defence Concept provides a short and comprehensive normative description of the most central principles that form the basis for the future development and activities of the NAF. The Defence Concept reads as follows:

> *The Norwegian Armed Forces are to be developed as a modern, flexible and Alliance-adapted instrument of security policy, with a balance being sought between the NAF's tasks, organisational structure and funding. The NAF's activities are to be based on close cooperation with relevant civilian authorities and on military conscription adapted to the needs of the NAF. Focus will be on securing and promoting Norwegian interests through the ability to handle a broad range of challenges, both nationally and internationally.*

The NAF is undergoing comprehensive change, from a threat-driven and personnel-intensive anti-invasion

force during the Cold War to a flexible, capability-driven, high-readiness force, in which quality is prioritised. The technological and conceptual changes in the military field, combined with fundamentally new security challenges, require that also the NAF must undergo a military transformation. The aim of military transformation is to create armed forces capable of facing unpredictability and a broad range of different tasks. The need for transformation will be decisive in all investment and procurement of new equipment.

Niche capabilities constitute important contributions to NATO's combined force structure. At the same time, they represent capabilities with highly specialised expertise and high availability for the member countries that command such forces. Consequently, the development of niche capabilities will to a large degree be based on member states building on existing capabilities and competencies in areas in which they, due to climatic, topographic, or other particular national conditions enjoy a comparative advantage.

Multilateral cooperation has gained increased significance as a development strategy for the Norwegian Armed Forces. A reasonable balance is desirable between close cooperation with the USA, in order to maintain the transatlantic dimension, and cooperation with larger European Allies and Allies of a size more comparable to Norway. Norway particularly seeks to establish comprehensive multinational military cooperation with the countries around the North Sea - a North Sea Strategy. The aim is to develop a deep and broad operational cooperation with a limited number of strategic partners, sustained by cooperation on materiel, logistics, training and exercises, education, operational concepts, etc.

The overarching aim that shapes the NAF's force posture is that the Norwegian Armed Forces must be able to handle, in a flexible way, a broad spectrum of potential challenges. Most capabilities must, therefore, be usable both in a national and an international context. The NAF must be capable of providing operational capability wherever and whenever needed, with capabilities suited in the best possible way to the situation at hand. This will provide the NAF with freedom of action and a basis for handling both expected and unexpected situations.

The fundamental peacetime aim of the NAF should be to sustain a state of readiness that makes the Armed Forces an effective instrument of security policy. This will help Norwegian political authorities to handle acute security crises, influence unfavourable changes in the regional security environment, and achieve the fundamental objectives of our security policy.

A National Strategic Concept - Position, Purpose and Validity

1. This Strategic Concept states, in the field of security and defence policies, the political basis for the operational activities of the Norwegian Armed Forces. In doing so, it serves the role as strategic level political guidance. The document thus provides the political basis for the development of doctrines for the Norwegian Armed Forces, and for their operational activities. NAF doctrines must be developed in accordance with the content of the strategic concept and must reflect the entire spectrum of tasks and challenges the Norwegian Armed Forces must be able to handle.

2. The strategic concept builds on the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 234 (cf. Government Proposition No. 42 of 2003-2004; The Continued Modernisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2005-2008), but also draws continuity and elements from the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 232 of 2001-2002 (cf. Government Proposition No. 55 of 2001-2002; The Implementation Proposition - Supplementary Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002-2005), and the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence No. 342 of 2000-2001 (cf. Government Proposition No. 45 of 2000-2001; The Restructuring of the Norwegian Armed Forces in the Period 2002-2005). Reference is also made to Government White Paper No. 39 of 2003-2004; Societal Security and Civilian-Military Cooperation.

3. The validity of the document is from the date of publication until the Ministry of Defence publishes a new version. A new version may come as a result of decisions in the Parliament (Storting) on new security or defence policy objectives for the NAF, new tasks for the NAF, or if the Storting or Government in other ways draws up new guidelines for the utilisation of the Norwegian Armed Forces.

A New Era in International Security

4. The first decade after the Cold War may be seen as a transitional stage that has now ended. Norway, along with major parts of the world, has in earnest entered a period that may be characterised as the Global Age.

5. The concept of globalisation is often used as a collective term to depict all factors that make the world smaller. It implies that events in one part of the world increasingly have consequences for individuals and societies in other parts. The core of the concept of globalisation seems to be that national borders become less significant to human interaction in general, and for economic interaction in particular.[1] Globalisation implies extensive, mutual interdependence among states and regions, with far-reaching changes as a result, both with regard to the conditions within and the relations among states and societies. Risk scenarios have become increasingly diffuse and complex and the international security implications of conflicts and crises have become more extensive and unpredictable. The direct and indirect consequences of such conflicts may seriously harm international society and threaten international development, peace and stability. Due to this the challenges to Norwegian and international security have changed significantly.

6. The use of military force has become a more visible phenomenon after the end of the Cold War. This despite that international society, in its work for peace and security, aims at solving conflicts in ways other than use of force. Armed conflict and war between states are to a considerable extent still a political reality. Also armed conflicts within states and the activities of non-state actors may lead to extensive use of force. Due to this, the NAF are today and in the foreseeable future an instrument of security policy that may be used in a number of different and unexpected situations.[2]

7. NATO's strategic concept of 1999 refers to the challenges connected to weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism and other non-state actors. The terrorist attacks against the USA on 11 September 2001, Spain on 11 March 2004, Russia on 1-3 September 2004, and several other cases of international terrorism, have shown that there is an acute need to be able to defend against such threats. International terrorism constitutes a real threat against both national and international security.

[1] See Government White Paper No. 19 (2002-2003); A New World of Possibilities - The Age of Globalisation and Its Challenges.
[2] A strategic concept must consider several time horizons. In this document, "short term" is defined as the coming 2-3 years, "medium term" 4-7 years, while "long term" is a time horizon of 8-12 years.

PART I

Security in a New Era

The Concept of Security

8. The traditional understanding of the aim of security policy has been the defence of the state and its fundamental interests - state security.

9. State security is a fundamental security requirement that may, when the state faces an existential threat, legitimise the employment of all available resources. State security has traditionally been related to the defence of a state's territory (defence against invasion). State security may, however, also be challenged through political and military pressure against Norwegian authorities or through limited strikes or attacks against our authorities and interests. In situations in which the state's survival or vital interests are threatened, states or political regimes have traditionally been willing to bear high losses and costs, regardless of their system of government.[3]

10. New security challenges and new types of armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War have led to an increased emphasis on societal security.[4] Societal security concerns the safeguarding of the population and the protection of key societal functions and important infrastructure against attack and other kinds of damage, in situations in which the existence of the state as such is not threatened.

11. Societal security is safeguarded by: (1) precluding activities or events that might have strongly negative consequences, (2) combating actors who threaten the security of society, and (3) limiting the consequences of an attack or catastrophe that has taken place. Societal security is primarily the responsibility of the police and other civilian authorities. The NAF must, however, be able to contribute when needed. New security challenges, particularly terrorism, information attacks and the spreading of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, entail that safeguarding societal security has become a very important task. Threats from long-range missiles and weapons of mass destruction will give the NAF and NATO a more prominent role in safeguarding Norwegian societal security.

12. At the same time there has been an increased focus on human security. Human security is an important part of societal security and aims at protecting the individual with regards to human rights, particularly emphasising the right to life and personal safety. The events of latter years have shown that when violations of human rights become too severe, international society may be forced to intervene, even if this conflicts with the principle of non-intervention. Such use of military force has increasingly gained a basis in international law. Particularly the Kosovo operation in the spring of 1999 focused strongly on human security in aiming to halt unacceptable violations of basic human rights. This historical change in the thinking around the use of military force has wide-ranging implications also for Norway.

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[3] A state has three fundamental characteristics: 1) a geographically limited area (territory) with its own population, 2) a formally independent and sovereign political unit with its own political institutions, and 3) an international unit recognised through international law and diplomacy. These characteristics distinguish a state from non-state actors.

[4] In this document, the concept «societal security» is used in a more narrow interpretation than in Government White Paper No. 17 (2001-2002); Societal Security. The Road to a Less Vulnerable Society. In that White Paper, «security challenges that threaten the nation's independence and existence» are included in the definition of societal security (page 8). In this document, the latter aspects are covered by the concept of state security.

13. The above dimensions of security are closely connected by a seamless transition from one to the other. It is therefore hard to draw clear lines between them. The three defined concepts must be regarded as a tool and an illustration to describe the changes that have occurred in our risk assessment, and thus the need for an altered focus in our security and defence policy. The broad understanding of the concept of security has major significance for the tasks that military forces might be asked to carry out, and therefore also for the training, equipment and operational concepts of the NAF.

Fundamental Norwegian Security Interests

14. The dominant security strategy in the Western world places increased emphasis on collective security, both within a global and a regional framework. Security is not something the individual state can maintain on its own through a one-sided focus on traditional state security - it must be created and protected in cooperation with other states. Also cooperation between military and civilian authorities has gained increased importance in the efforts to safeguard our common security.

15. The goal of security policy is to maintain and promote fundamental national security interests. Such interests are goals that society gives a very high priority, either constantly or over an extended period of time. A clear formulation of national security interests is important, particularly when facing a changing security environment and new security challenges. Norway, like other states, is prepared to use military force to defend its fundamental security interests.

16. The protection of the environment, welfare and economic security of the Norwegian people is, as part of the increased emphasis on societal and human security, a fundamental security interest for Norway. Furthermore, severe violations of fundamental values may lead to conflicts that develop in such a

way that they must be resolved with military means. Norwegian security interests thus comprise challenges that might threaten international law, human rights, democracy and the rule of law, economic security, and the environment.

17. The Norwegian economy is to a significant degree dependent upon the control over and rational use of the large resources that Norway has access to on the continental shelf and in Norway's exclusive economic zone. Oil and gas supplies from Norway are of strategic importance to other states. This ties significant Norwegian interests to developments in the global energy sector and to the interests of other states. Protecting our oil and gas installations is a key interest for Norway and must be undertaken in close cooperation with our Allies and supported by international regulations that safeguard our interests. The same is the case for international regulations and principles connected to the freedom of the seas and the management of resources in the oceans. The defence of these interests will normally be conducted by other than military means.

18. Norwegian security interests were previously primarily defined within the Euro-Atlantic region. However, globalisation has reduced the relevance of such a narrow perspective. The diminishing importance of geographic distance from potential or actual threats also reduces the relevance of a geographic perspective as a key criterion in our security thinking. Keywords like international terrorism, cyber warfare, the spreading of weapons of mass destruction and long-range weapon systems, and international crime, illustrate the need for a global perspective.

19. The security of the countries of Europe is increasingly indivisible. Norwegian security cannot be seen separately from European security in general. This is the case both from a political, legal, economic, environmental and military point of view. To sustain and strengthen transatlantic and European security cooperation remains an overarching Norwegian security interest. An active U.S. engagement in Europe is an important element in this Euro-Atlantic security perspective.

20. Developments in areas adjacent to Europe increasingly affect European security. The extension of the stability of the North Atlantic region to adjacent areas thus emerges as an overarching Norwegian security interest. The advancement of this interest as well primarily takes place by employing policy instruments other than military. An important element is the promotion of democracy in regions adjacent to Europe.

21. A closely related Norwegian security interest is Russia's involvement in close and mutually beneficial cooperation with its neighbours, and that it engages in a strategic partnership with NATO and the EU. The handling of our relations with Russia represents a long-term Norwegian security policy challenge, particularly concerning the exercise of sovereignty and exercise of authority in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction.

22. With its 25 member states (2004), the EU will increasingly reinforce its position as a key institution for

European security. While NATO, due to its transatlantic dimension and through its integrated military structure, represents a significantly greater military potential than the EU, the European Union has at its disposal a far broader and more varied range of security policy instruments.[5] It is important for Norway that the EU's role in European and in international security develops in harmony with the role of NATO and with transatlantic cooperation, so that the EU and NATO will complement each other (cf. paragraphs 76, 81 and 84).

23. A further overarching Norwegian security interest is linked to the role of the UN and the continued development of international rule of law that strengthens human rights and international peace, security and economic and social development. It is important that the efforts that others - institutions or states - make towards the same goals do not undermine but rather aim at strengthening the role of the UN (cf. paragraph 65.)

Norway's Freedom of Action in the field of Security Policy

24. A state's freedom of action in its security policy refers to the leeway it has to independently pursue and achieve its security interests and objectives - both concerning scope and depth. As a small state Norway has, in general terms, limited freedom of action. The limits are defined primarily by other and bigger states. However, a state's freedom of action is not a given entity and may vary over time and across different policy domains.

25. Norway's international freedom of action is closely intertwined with our strategic position. That position is to a large degree defined by a structural setting in which NATO, the USA, the EU and Russia make up the main centres of gravity and power. The relations between the centres in this system have changed in latter years. NATO's role is in a phase of adaptation, due to the changes in the global picture of risks and threats and the increase in the number of member states. Similarly, the role of the EU is in a development phase in the aftermath of its enlargements and the broadening and deepening of cooperation, including in the field of security and defence. The position of Russia is relatively weakened. At the same time Russia has pursued a policy of rapprochement with the West and is gradually becoming a more predictable partner for Norway, the EU and NATO. The security policy of the USA has changed considerably in latter years, as a result of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 as well as for other reasons.

[5] See footnote 6 for an overview of security policy instruments.

26. For small states the multilateral arena is usually the most decisive one. In multilateral forums, like the UN, NATO, OSCE and EU, a state's own interests and objectives are sought safeguarded in understanding and cooperation with other states. In such forums, costs are the lowest and legitimacy the highest. In effect, multilateral forums and agreements serve to regulate the way individual states use their national freedom of action.

27. International rules and norms are very important for international security and conflict prevention. In these areas, international law is of particular significance, including respect for the UN Charter and the principles for upholding international peace and security. The right of self-defence is stated in Article 51 of the UN Charter. The UN Security Council has a key role in legitimising actions against states and, potentially, non-state actors that threaten international peace and security. Article 5 in the North Atlantic Treaty builds directly on Article 51 in the UN Charter.

28. International peace and stability is founded on the notion that international society, primarily through the UN, is capable of demonstrating a credible ability to enforce international principles, norms and rules. In certain situations, that requires the use of military force. The Norwegian Armed Forces have, in that context, an important role in allowing Norway to utilise its freedom of action in the field of security policy.

29. Protecting security policy interests and objectives requires a broad spectrum of instruments. Military means will normally be used only when other instruments have proved unsuccessful or are unsuitable. Nevertheless, security policy instruments to influence various actors or situations are used continuously, and independently of whether or not Norway is directly involved in a crisis, armed conflict or war. In principle, only the intensity and type of means used differentiate our daily peacetime activity from the actions we would take to influence others in a crisis, armed conflict or war.

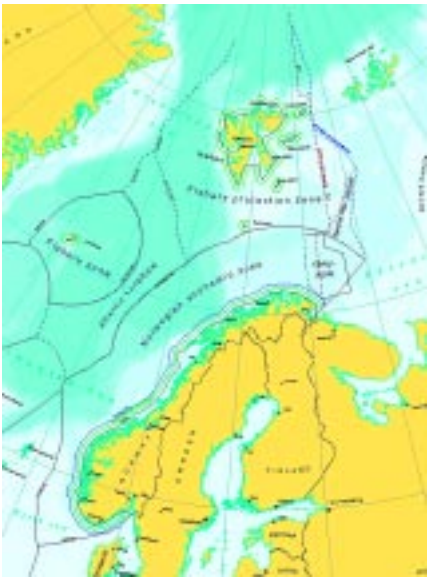
30. Norway's ability to influence its international environment, maintain the country's security in a broad sense and meet different types of security challenges, require that the Government applies the whole spectrum of security policy instruments in an optimal way.[6] The NAF represent a key instrument also in situations that do not require the active use of military force. Our daily military activity helps shape the perceptions other actors have of Norway and, thus, influences our freedom of action. Available, relevant and credible military means are decisive in establishing conditions that are conducive to influencing and shaping the required freedom of action for our security policy, and consequently for protecting Norwegian interests and achieving our security objectives.

[6] Security policy instruments include primarily the following domains: (1) political, (2) legal, (3) police enforcement, (4) diplomatic, (5) economic, (6) informational, (7) humanitarian and (8) military. Situation-specific and topical circumstances will decide which instruments will be applied and will dominate in a given situation.

Exercising Sovereignty, Authority and Sovereign Rights

31. The term exercising sovereignty denotes the protection of Norway's nation-state prerogatives The term exercising authority refers to the enforcement of official regulations, prohibitions and conditions as provided by laws, regulations or other legal documents, applicable to individuals or private legal subjects. The concept sovereign rights denotes Norway's rights, as limited by international law and agreements, in areas in which Norway does not have territorial sovereignty.

32. Sovereignty is exercised without evoking questions of whether actions have a basis in domestic law. Concrete measures against an external enemy do not violate the principle of legality in Norwegian law. Active use of force related to the exercise of sovereignty is primarily a question of international law and is, therefore, in general not regulated by domestic law, regulations and instructions. The exception is the Royal Decree of 10 June 1949, No. 1, which commands armed resistance by military personnel in case of an armed attack against the country. In addition, the regulations governing port calls by foreign naval and civilian vessels in Norway regulate certain aspects of the NAF's task of exercising sovereignty in Norwegian territorial waters. The same applies to the air space. Any use of military force by the NAF aimed at exercising sovereignty is applied within the framework of Norway's obligations according to international law and is based directly on the principles and understandings of sovereignty in international law. Due to this, a basis in national law is, for example, not needed for a NAF fighter aircraft to intercept an aircraft approaching Norwegian air space without permission, or to shoot down an incoming missile targeting Norwegian territory.



33. Exercising sovereignty in the face of challenges directed against Norwegian territory, air space or territorial waters is a central task for the Norwegian Armed Forces. Proper surveillance and intelligence are decisive for effective and credible exercise of sovereignty as well as for incident management and crisis management. This requires various kinds of surveillance resources, from all the armed services, in the land, air and ocean areas over which Norway has formal rights, as well as in adjacent areas. Exercise of sovereignty involves the physical presence of forces and units, including a reinforced presence when required. However, this will to an increasing degree be supplemented by various kinds of sensors and other advanced technology. In

addition to information gathering within areas of Norwegian interest, the task of exercising sovereignty involves the permanent processing and analysis of information about various state and non-state actors.

34. In certain defined areas, the Norwegian Armed Forces have a considerable responsibility for exercising authority and enforcing laws on behalf of other government agencies. Such exercise of authority will often be complementary to the other tasks of the NAF. The relationship between exercising sovereignty and exercising authority may, for instance, entail that a violation of Norwegian sovereignty is at the same time a violation of the Norwegian border and immigration laws. Upholding the law is primarily a civilian task; however, the intention behind a border violation and the origin of the perpetrator will be a central criterion. There is, for instance, a major difference between a situation in which a foreign military unit is discovered on the wrong side of the border, and one in which a single soldier has fled across it. The greater the extent to which a violation is deemed to have a national security dimension, the greater the reason for handling the incident as exercise of national sovereignty by military means.

35. According to international law, it is primarily only a state's armed forces that may engage and fight combatant forces from, or acting on behalf of, a foreign country. The task of fighting combatant opponents is, therefore, the responsibility of the NAF. According to Norwegian practice the Norwegian police are not defined as combatant. This means that the civil police cannot legally engage in hostilities with a combatant enemy. Consequently, the exercise of self-defence according to international law, cf. Article 51 of the UN Charter, is solely a task for the Norwegian Armed Forces.

36. In areas in which Norway does not have territorial sovereignty, Norway may still enjoy sovereign rights, as set out in and limited by international law. The concept of sovereign rights is most often used to describe the rights Norway enjoys as a costal state. The Convention on the Law of the Sea is the most comprehensive multilateral agreement within the UN system. The Convention includes rules that cover

all ocean areas, the airspace above them, the ocean floor and the structures beneath. It regulates states' rights and duties in these areas and provides rules about environmental protection, oceanic research and technology transfer. In the Exclusive Economic Zone, which may extend up to 200 nautical miles from the coastline, Norway enjoys sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring, exploiting, conserving and managing living and non-living natural resources. On the other hand, Norway has, as a costal state, several obligations, including the proper conservation and management of resources and the obligation to cooperate with states that are directly affected by decisions relating to these areas.

37. The exercise of authority may take place as part of activities exercising sovereign rights. Depending on the context, exercising authority in order to exercise Norwegian sovereign rights may involve a national security dimension. This is particularly the case when a foreign state has a different interpretation of the extent of Norwegian sovereign rights, or challenges these rights.

The «Grey Zones» of Security Policy

38. The serious terrorist acts in recent years have reinforced the interpretation of terrorism as an activity that aims at forcing political change through targeting a country's economic stability, societal security and, thereby, also basic democratic and human values. Actions that were previously classified as serious crime have gained new dimensions and belong in an area between crime and armed attack. In this grey zone, terrorist acts or other serious crimes may lead to a crisis with national security dimensions. The aim of such assaults is a kind of political blackmail. This separates terrorism from traditional crime.

39. A crisis with national security dimensions is in this context a situation in which a state's territorial integrity and political sovereignty is directly challenged, but without a military attack in the traditional sense. This situation involves a threat against key national interests, values and goals, in which some important characteristics are:

- *The crisis is considered to be in the grey zone between war and peace, and both military and civilian resources are employed to neutralize the threat, combat an attack, and reduce the resulting damage.*
- *The crisis is considered to have an international dimension.*
- *The assault or threat of assault creates considerable fear in society and threatens life, basic values, economic stability, or other key societal interests.*
- *The assault or danger of assault is carried out, or suspected carried out, by employing weapons with great destructive potential, in extreme cases weapons of mass destruction.*

40. Terrorist acts planned inside or outside Norway, committed in Norway or against Norwegian interests abroad, by groups of foreign origin, may be an attack against fundamental national security interests. They may therefore represent, or develop into, a crisis with national security dimensions. This demands close and flexible cooperation between, amongst others, the police and the Norwegian Armed Forces.

41. Terrorist acts of a certain scope committed by international terrorist groups with the aim of forcing the Government to change, for instance, its policy in a certain area, will threaten Norwegian state security in a direct way through violating Norway's territorial integrity and the political sovereignty of Norwegian authorities. It is thus a conflict between the will of the terrorists and the will of a legally elected government. This is a form of warfare, but in which one party is not recognised in international law. Acts of international terrorism will, therefore, have a national security dimension that threatens state security in addition to societal security (cf. paragraphs 8-13).

42. The greater the extent to which a crisis is deemed to have a national security dimension, the greater the reason for handling the situation as a case of military exercise of sovereignty. In ambiguous or grey-zone cases, the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Justice, or the Government collectively, will decide who carries primary responsibility for handling the situation at hand. The NAF will always have the primary responsibility for handling terrorist situations that can only be dealt with through the use of air defence systems.

Threat, Risk and Damage

43. A threat is man-made and may be seen as a function of the will and ability to create great harm (capacity to and intention of doing so). All our neighbouring states have to a varying degree the military capacity to inflict great harm on Norway. However, as long as they have no intention of doing so, there is no threat. On the other hand, both non-state actors and distant states may represent potential threats.

44. Risk is related to both man-made (actor-based) and natural (event-based) damage and other consequences. Risk is a product of the consequences that may result from an event or human action, and the probability that such an event or action will take place. Given the extensive interdependence in the international system, crises and conflicts that do not directly concern Norway may quite easily have indirect, negative implications for our country. In this context, the question of intention is secondary. Norwegian security may thus face great risk without our country being confronted by a direct threat.

45. Damage may, in connection with the evaluation of risk, be considered a product of the magnitude of an incident and the vulnerability of the system. Only major incidents may damage a secure and resistant system. Events or actions that strike or exploit vulnerabilities or weaknesses, however, may be limited in magnitude yet cause great damage. The possibilities for exploiting vulnerabilities or weaknesses in modern society represent very real security challenges, particularly for Norwegian societal security.

PART II

Our International Security Environment

Security Challenges - a New Risk Assessment

46. A broad and complex picture of risks and threats will characterise Norway's global security environment in the future. The challenges and potential threats are more diffuse than before and characterised by seamless transitions between the national and the international levels, and between peace, crisis, armed conflict and war. Growing interdependence characterises the relationship between states and continents. This contributes to erasing the distinction between national and international security.

47. Threats may arise and develop quickly and without much warning, also because non-state actors may threaten our security. The potential that Norway may be drawn into conflicts - both directly and indirectly - is real. It is likely that several conflicts will occur simultaneously. Nor may larger international armed conflicts, including full-scale war between states, be excluded. Antagonisms between states and various kinds of groups may spread in new and unexpected directions, and cause new conflicts. The danger that we, or our Allies, may become exposed to an attack with weapons of mass destruction is also real. In a world characterised by globalisation, we face challenges and potential threats more numerous and complex than before. All of this has consequences for Norway's security and the Norwegian Armed Forces as an instrument of security policy.

Key Global Developments

48. The majority of armed conflicts that have taken place after the end of the Cold War have been conflicts between actors within state borders. This type of conflict has proved to be an international security problem both because such conflicts often have regional consequences and because they challenge international norms and rules of behaviour. To a greater degree than before considerations related to human suffering have become an element of security policy (cf. paragraph 12). Increased emphasis on human rights has created a new debate around the question of «humanitarian intervention». The principle of non-intervention in the affairs of independent states may, in certain situations, have to yield to the demand for respect for fundamental human rights.

49. Conflicts along national, ethnic, cultural or religious lines have flared up around the world. Such conflicts often have deep historical roots. There are several examples of this also in Europe. In the areas around Europe, particularly in the Caucasus, Middle East and North Africa, the potential for such conflicts is great. This type of conflicts - albeit primarily internal in nature - easily leads to refugee problems and an increased danger of destabilisation of neighbouring states, which again may threaten international peace and security.

50. Globalisation is particularly characterised by a more closely integrated world economy with increased economic interdependence at the global level. Several former developing countries have experienced

significantly improved economic growth and welfare developments, which to a considerable degree have been based on the consequences globalisation has for market access and knowledge and technology transfer. In some places inability or failure to adapt has contributed to undermining traditional societal structures even as these societies have, in parallel, been unable to modernise and to profit from the possibilities globalisation offers. Such diverging trends may contribute to destabilisation, rivalry and conflict between states and within states, and in some cases to the disintegration of states and societies.

51. In general, globalisation has reduced the ability of state authorities to exercise control over its own societal development. The economically most developed parts of the world have a relatively robust economic and political system that can withstand economic fluctuations. Less developed economies may, however, experience far more dramatic consequences of economic setbacks, including catastrophes, crises and war.

52. Globalisation also comprises the cultural, ideological, religious, informational and political spheres. Satellite television, the internet, commercialised mass culture, increased travel and migration, access to new ideas and knowledge, in addition to an abundance of different products and services, also directly affect societies that until recently were relatively shielded from such all-encompassing impacts. Accordingly, globalisation has both directly and indirectly far-reaching and rapid transformational effects on many societies. In some societies, not all consider such changes progress but rather an attack on their culture, distinctive character, and autonomy. Such ideological or culturally based resistance, including fundamentalist religious views, may lead to various kinds of countermeasures, directed against those considered to have caused globalisation in the first place. The countermeasures might include attacks by international terrorism that often has close links to international organised crime. Both state and non-state terrorism might employ a wide range of methods. In addition to armed assaults, these include undermining a political regime's political legitimacy, blackmail, information attacks, etc.

53. In several places, disputes over water and other limited resources are causes behind serious conflicts. Explosive population growth, deforestation and increased industrialisation have in many places led to major environmental degradation and ecological crises. AIDS and the emergence of other epidemic diseases are also serious and growing problems. States in which the central authorities are no longer in control, or which lack a unifying national identity, represent a problem both as breeding grounds for international terrorism and in terms of increased risk of armed conflict, regional destabilisation, large scale exodus of refugees, and humanitarian disasters.

54. A realistic potential for global climatic change is part of this picture. In parts of the world, such climatic change will lead to drought, in others to heavy precipitation and floods, and more generally to significant local changes in temperatures. More extreme weather with powerful storms, increased soil erosion, melting of the icecaps and higher ocean levels may lead to catastrophes or threaten security in various societies around the world. This will have direct consequences for human security, as well as for societal and state security, in the countries that will be most directly affected. These consequences may amplify those listed in paragraph 53.

55. Demographic developments in the economically most developed parts of the world, with birth rates below reproduction level, lead to a changed age structure in the population with a growing proportion of elderly people. The opposite is the case in many of the economically least developed parts of the world, where explosive population growth leads to increased pressure on agricultural resources, extensive urbanisation and over-population. The result is a worsening of living conditions for large population groups. In the longer term, global population growth may amplify the pressures against the economically most developed parts of the world.

56. The development and spreading of new technology contribute to economic growth and constitute an integral part of globalisation. At the same time, advanced technology has made modern societies more complex and vulnerable. The spreading of modern technology globally also has direct consequences for international military developments. This is particularly the case in states where regimes give priority to their own basis of power, and to their armed forces, rather than to the living conditions of the population. Modern military capabilities, including long-range weapons systems, will to a lesser and lesser degree be limited to a small number of countries with extensive national resources.

57. During the last 30 years, the spreading of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction has been extensive, despite determined policies of non-proliferation and export control. It is a fact that several of the countries that have or desire access to weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, have reservations as far as international obligations are concerned, including the values and principles enshrined in the UN Charter and in international law. There is a significant danger that the spreading of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction will continue, despite the increasing emphasis on non-proliferation and other preventive measures. Also non-state actors might become capable of using weapons of mass destruction.

[7] I dette dokumentet brukes begrepet «kapasitet» som synonym for det engelske begrepet «capability».

58. While many key global trends point towards a darker and more chaotic future, major parts of the economically most developed regions of the world are experiencing far-reaching integration, both in terms of depth and scope. For Norway, this development contributes to secure and stable immediate surroundings.

Disparate Global Trends

59. It is not possible to predict what concrete security challenges Norway will face in the future. Therefore, it is useful to indicate potentially alternative global trends as an analytical tool. This does not preclude the potential for disparate trends in different parts of the world, or that contradicting trends may occur simultaneously and thus create a more complex picture.

60. Norway must be prepared to contribute to establish the necessary degree of control in many conflicts, both on humanitarian grounds and in order to contribute to safeguarding our own, and international, security and stability. The extent of such direct engagement will, amongst other factors, depend on what direction global trends will take.

61. Basically, one may identify four global trends all of which are possible, but with different degrees of probability. It is essential to monitor and analyse emerging trends in order to have a sound basis for political decisions about how the force posture of the NAF ought to be adapted. If developments make it reasonable to conclude that global trends for the medium or long term have changed, possibly resulting in more serious security challenges than originally envisaged, it would be important to adjust the posture of the NAF accordingly. Such adjustments would to a large degree emerge from the conclusions drawn after consultations in NATO, and be based on a built-in capacity for transformation (cf. paragraphs 73 and 189).

62. The four disparate global trends are:

- *that the extent of risks and threats against collective security and international peace and stability gradually becomes reduced (a positive global trend),*
- *that the extent of security challenges that must be dealt with in the short and medium term remains stable or increases in number and, possibly, intensity, yet without turning the long-term trends in a negative direction (an uncertain global trend),*
- *that the extent of security challenges expands to such a degree, in number and intensity, that collective security and international peace and stability clearly become weakened also in the long term (a negative global trend),*
- *that Norway and NATO again become exposed to a conventional threat that demands the use of large military forces to ensure deterrence and collective defence, or that Norway and NATO become exposed to a threat from nuclear weapons (a gloomy global trend).*

63. An aggregate assessment of current security trends suggests that in the short and medium term Norway and NATO ought to base their policies on the assumption that the trend is uncertain. In the long term, a turn towards a positive global trend seems to be a real possibility. However, a turn towards a negative global trend may not be excluded, first and foremost in the long run. A turn towards a gloomy global trend may not be excluded in the long term but is considered rather unlikely. In that connection, however, it appears important to make some distinctions. The emergence of a conventional and nuclear threat against Europe and North America, akin to the one NATO faced during the Cold War, is highly unlikely. The emergence of more unconventional threats that include the use of weapons of mass destruction on a more limited scale is, however, both possible and perhaps even likely.

64. In the long term it is possible that a positive global trend may lead to fewer international military operations. However, it is also possible that some former crisis areas may require the long-term presence of international military stabilising forces. In the short and medium term, all global trends entail international military engagements at a level unlikely to differ from what has been the case in recent years.

PART III

The Constants of Security Policy and Norway´s Immediate Sorroundings

The UN

65. The United Nations plays a key role in Norwegian security policy. Our security is closely linked to the existence of well-functioning arrangements for security cooperation on a global level. The altered picture of risks and threats, in which geography plays a reduced role and threats are global, reinforces this point. Cooperation within the framework of the UN to safeguard international peace and security, therefore, is a major concern to Norway. It is in Norway's interest that international security challenges are resolved through broad consensus, based on the principles of the UN Charter and in line with international law. Norway puts decisive emphasis on the UN as a global and superior constant in our security policy.

66. Based on experience made in the 1990s, the UN has expanded its concept for peace operations. The UN expert panel on peace operations concluded in the Brahimi report (in 2000) that the traditional concept for peacekeeping operations ought to be expanded. The report stressed that the UN needs forces with more robust rules of engagement and, when required, the capability to deter attacks, in order to ensure that the UN does not become a helpless spectator to violations of human rights, ethnic cleansing or the breach of agreements. The UN has decided to pursue several of the suggestions of the Brahimi report on how to improve the UN's capacity to rapidly deploy and command peace operations. This requires that the military resources made available to the UN must be capable of handling a broad range of challenges, have the capability to react quickly, and be sufficiently robust.

67. The UN itself does not have the sufficient resources to conduct all the peace operations required to safeguard international peace and security and therefore prefers that regional organisations assume an active responsibility on its behalf. On a number of occasions UN mandated operations, for instance in Africa, Afghanistan and the Balkans, have been conducted by member states or regional organisations. Through such a division of labour, regional organisations like NATO, the EU and AU (African Union) may help the UN and thereby strengthen the UN's role and capacity. In this way the required basis in international law is secured, without the UN having to assume direct responsibility for operations it lacks the resources, command structure or apparatus to carry out. Operations led by the UN and operations carried out with a UN mandate, both support the UN's work for international peace and security.

NATO

68. Within the overarching framework that the UN represents, NATO is the cornerstone of Norwegian security policy. The purpose of NATO is to protect the freedom and security of its member states through political and military means. This is a mutual security guarantee, in which an attack against one is considered an attack against all. NATO fulfils this through being able to meet threats and security challenges when and where they arise. Furthermore, NATO works actively to promote security and stability in the entire Euro-Atlantic region. NATO embodies the transatlantic security link between North America and Europe. For Norway it is an overarching aim to contribute actively to making NATO able to perform its security tasks in a credible and effective manner.

69. NATO's use of military force will, in the short and medium terms, primarily be related to crisis management, stabilisation and conflict prevention. There is no direct conventional threat against NATO's area of responsibility. However, international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles represent a new type of threat against the societies, sovereignty and territorial integrity of NATO's member states. Active measures against the continued proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, and against international terrorism, will therefore remain a key NATO concern.

70. NATO's primary geographic focus is the Euro-Atlantic area, with a main emphasis on the prevention, containment and resolution of regional crises and conflicts that may develop to threaten the security of one or several member states. The new security challenges, however, are global in nature. This has had an impact on NATO cooperation.

71. According to its 1999 Strategic Concept, NATO has the following fundamental security tasks:

- ***Security:*** *To provide one of the indispensable foundations for a stable Euro-Atlantic security environment, based on the growth of democratic institutions and commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes, in which no country would be able to intimidate or coerce any other through the threat or use of force.*
- ***Consultation:*** *To serve, as provided for in Article 4 of the Washington Treaty, as an essential transatlantic forum for Allied consultations on any issue that affect their vital interests, including possible developments posing risks for members' security, and for appropriate coordination of their efforts in fields of common concern.*
- ***Deterrence and defence:*** *To deter and defend against any threat of aggression against any NATO member state as provided for in Articles 5 and 6 of the Washington Treaty*

And to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area:

- ***Crisis management:*** *To stand ready, case-by-case and by consensus, in conformity with Article 7 of the Washington Treaty, to contribute to effective conflict prevention and to engage actively in crisis management, including crisis response operations.*
- ***Partnership:*** *To promote wide-ranging partnership, cooperation and dialogue with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area, with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence and the capacity for joint action with the Alliance.*

These tasks are applicable to Norway as an Allied country as well. It is of utmost importance that Norway is capable of contributing actively, to ensure that NATO is in a position to carry out the total range of its security tasks in a credible and effective manner.

72. The obligations and principle of solidarity in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty apply to new as well as old member countries. As 11 September 2001 demonstrated, a major terrorist attack against an Ally, directed from abroad, might be considered an armed attack in accordance with Article 5. The terrorist attack in Madrid in March 2004 did not, however, invoke Article 5 obligations. This shows that the circumstances around a possible terrorist attack guided from abroad, including the interpretation of the situation by the attacked state and its possible request for assistance, form the basis for an assessment in each specific case. The North Atlantic Council (NAC) will on that basis decide if the obligations in Article 5 should be brought to bear. If Article 5 is invoked, Norway will be obliged to assist the attacked Ally or Allies by immediately taking, individually or through consultations with our Allies, such steps as considered necessary, including the use of military force, to restore security in the North Atlantic region.

73. NATO's Strategic Concept and the decisions made at the summit in Prague in 2002, emphasise that the Alliance's military forces must undergo major adjustments in order to meet a broad spectrum of new tasks and challenges. The key term here is military transformation (cf. paragraphs 189-196). A credible ability to carry out the Alliance's tasks requires interoperable, usable and rapidly deployable military capabilities. Particularly important is that European and US forces must be capable of operating together. This means that the technological gap between the US and most European Allies must be bridged and that the need for Allied interoperability must be the guiding principle on both sides of the Atlantic. Here, NATO's commitment to military transformation, through collective

force planning and the integrated military structure, plays an important role.[8] This will also be of vital importance for the development of the Norwegian Armed Forces and contribute to the ability of the NAF to maintain Norwegian security.

74. Cooperation in NATO includes joint training with Allies and partner countries, and is thus a key factor in Norway's participation in multinational operations, including UN and EU-led operations. NATO's military cooperation ensures the interoperability that makes Norwegian participation in such operations possible. Partnership for Peace (PfP) has contributed to extending this interoperability also to non-NATO states.

75. For Norway and other smaller states it is of fundamental importance to preserve and strengthen NATO's mechanisms of consultation, amongst other in order to prevent a political marginalisation of the smaller states in the Alliance. The principle of consensus is important but demands flexibility and willingness to compromise in order for NATO to function effectively. This also requires that small states must assume an active responsibility. It is absolutely crucial that Norway consolidates its status as an Ally that is considered credible - both politically and militarily.

76. The division of labour between the EU and NATO in the field of security policy, and thus also between the EU and the USA, is in the making. The EU is likely to play a more prominent role in promoting European and international security and stability, through the coordinated employment of diplomatic, political, economic and legal instruments, supported by a credible military capacity. It is of fundamental importance that the cooperation between the EU and NATO remains constructive and is based on transparency and mutual consultation. NATO's policy is to actively contribute to this.

77. At the political level, the Alliance has gone through significant change to adapt to the new international security situation. NATO has transformed to be able to meet a broader spectrum of tasks and challenges, through building on and further extending its common values and community of interests, as well as political and military structures, that made the Alliance such an effective instrument during the Cold War. This also means that the political dimensions of Alliance cooperation, and NATO's role as a forum for consultation, has broadened and gained in importance. Moreover, the comprehensive enlargement of the Alliance and the extended cooperation with different groups of partner countries, constitute an important aspect of this change.

[8] NATO's military structure consists of two strategic commands: Allied Command Operations (ACO) in Mons, Belgium, and Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in Norfolk, USA. The main task of the ACT is to promote military transformation in NATO and its member countries.

The EU

78. The EU Summit in June 2004 approved the new EU Constitutional Treaty that will subsequently be presented for ratification in all individual member states. This approval has in itself no direct implications for European cooperation on security and defence policies, but is a strong signal that cooperation among EU members will be further reinforced in the longer term.

79. Cooperation in the EU in the field of security and defence policy is evolving significantly. Since the turn of the century the EU has strengthened its ambition to conduct a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) through the adoption of a security strategy - A secure Europe in a better world. European Security Strategy - which calls for a more assertive and consistent policy. This ambition has in particular been demonstrated in that the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has been expanded during the past few years, both at the institutional and practical levels. The ESDP is an integral part of the CFSP.

80. The EU has decided to establish a new entity, the European Defence Agency (EDA), which will be tasked with developing the necessary military capabilities in order to reach the goals set out in the EU's Security Strategy. To fulfil this task, the EDA will be responsible for European research and development in the defence sector, European cooperation on developing and procuring defence equipment, as well as industrial cooperation in the defence sector. EDA will thus eventually take over the functions that the Western European Armaments Group (WEAG) and the Western European Armaments Organisation (WEAO) have today, organisations in which Norway is a full member. As a result, it is expected that WEAG will be dissolved relatively soon, while WEAO will retain its role in the management of EU research and technology programmes until the legal and practical arrangements are in place for the assumption of this task by the EDA. The EDA is an important innovation that will underpin the EU's goal of becoming a more visible and coordinated foreign policy actor also in the military field. Consequently, the EU is in the future likely to play a more important role in the field of European security and stability.

81. The deepening of security and defence cooperation in the EU partly takes place through agreements between NATO and the EU. The key element of the so-called Berlin Plus agreements is the principle that for operations where the Alliance as a whole does not want to be engaged, NATO stands ready to provide its collective assets and capabilities to the EU. This reduces the risk of a duplication of EU and NATO capabilities. The EU, however, also aims at being capable of carrying out autonomous military operations, based solely on its own resources as identified, inter alia, through the EU's own force catalogue and earmarked rapid reaction forces. Independent civilian police operations represent an important part of EU ambitions. Through concrete missions the EU has demonstrated its capability to assume responsibility for independent operations. At the same time the EU has shown an ability to cooperate with other international organisations such as NATO and the UN, and to include non-EU countries in its operational

[9] Desember 2003.

activities. Challenges remain, however, both for the EU's own security and defence policy as well as for EU relations with NATO, including its relations with European Allies that are not members of the EU.

82. The previous political disaccord within the EU about the development of the ESDP was mainly solved through the agreement that was reached in December 2003. Regardless of that fact, the EU still has a way to go in order to achieve a common defence policy. The EU still lacks important military capabilities necessary to conduct larger and more complex military operations, particularly if they are to be carried out on short notice and in distant areas. The EU's ability to conduct autonomous military operations is, however, in the process of becoming gradually achieved. An increased emphasis on the EU's internal development, with a particular focus on the defence dimension, might accelerate this process further.

83. For Norway, the way participant rights for Allied European non-EU countries in EU-led operations will be implemented in practical terms, is very important. By participating with a substantial contribution in EU-led operations, Norway may participate in the day-to-day conduct of the operations. However, non-EU contributors have a limited influence on the political guidance of EU operations.

84. As a non-member, Norway's ability to influence the development of the ESDP is minimal. It is of fundamental importance to Norway that cooperation between the EU and NATO remains constructive and based on transparency, collaboration and mutual coordination. Furthermore, it is essential that the two organisations do not develop competing structures. The most important contribution Norway can make in this context is probably to contribute actively to the Alliance's aims linked to NATO's new reaction forces (NRF), the new command structure and the development of new military capabilities. In that way, Norway may contribute to ensuring that both sides of the Atlantic continue to consider NATO an effective instrument of security policy. In addition, the close cooperation with some EU countries that Norway is pursuing through the North Sea Strategy, as well as Nordic defence cooperation, contribute to strengthening our association with countries that play a key role in the development of the EU's security and defence policy (cf. paragraphs 178-181).

The USA and the Transatlantic Dimension

85. It took over ten years for the structural consequences of the end of the Cold War to be seriously reflected in transatlantic relations. The dominant position of the US in international politics, and the fact that national security has gained increased

importance in domestic US politics, have significant implications for US policy at the international arena and towards Europe. The altered picture of security risks and threats has led to new patterns of international cooperation, which above all has become visible in the struggle against terrorism. Former enemies now cooperate in preventing, limiting and, if necessary, combating new and common threats. The undramatic termination of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in June 2002 and the Russian-US agreement of May 2002 that limits operational strategic nuclear warheads to between 1700 and 2200, reflect important changes in the strategic relationship. The above agreement between the US and Russia also opens for cooperation on missile defence. This issue is currently discussed in the framework of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC).

86. Another characteristic of the new strategic picture is the growing political differences between the USA and some key European Allies, which have led to more marked discord in certain areas. At the same time, US experiences from Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated the importance of having European Allies as active contributors and political partners.

87. On the US side, some political groupings seem to consider it unfortunate that some European Allies have an ambition to strengthen the EU's role as a security and defence actor, in areas that have traditionally been the domain of NATO. The EU's Security Strategy on the other hand (cf. paragraph 79), considers the increased operational military capability of the EU as a basis for cooperation between the two organisations on crisis management. Accordingly, the distribution of roles in the field of security policy between the EU and NATO, and thus between the EU and the US, is in the process of being transformed (cf. paragraphs 76 and 81).

88. Transatlantic bonds are still strong and the above-mentioned differences should not be exaggerated. The unifying destiny of the Cold War has changed, but not disappeared. Interdependence was evident in

face of the threat from the Soviet Union. With the disappearance of that threat the mutual dependence has, quite naturally, become less pronounced. Yet the Euro-Atlantic link builds on a fundamental interdependence and common values that transcend politics and economics. At the same time one should not underestimate the transatlantic difficulties that arise from institutional factors, dissimilar perceptions of threats, disparity in military strength, and different approaches to the handling of new security challenges. Such factors create tensions and potential problems, also for Norway. In that sense it is of utmost importance to Norway that NATO's role as a transatlantic forum for consultation be strengthened. In parallel, it is important to participate actively in the emerging European defence cooperation.

The Nordic and Baltic States

89. The Nordic countries and the Baltic region are increasingly characterised by mutual cooperation and stability. During the 1990s, Norway developed further its defence cooperation with the other Nordic countries. This cooperation gives added political and military flexibility to the NAF. The Nordic countries have several matching security policy interests and long experience in close cooperation on a range of issues. Moreover, the dissimilarities in terms of membership in the EU and NATO, among the Nordic countries, make the Nordic security dialogue an important gateway for Norway to the EU.

90. Nordic security cooperation will primarily focus on international peace support operations with a UN, EU or OSCE mandate, as well as on cooperation on reducing costs in the defence sector, such as operations and maintenance, training and acquisition. Common endeavours such as NORDCAPS (Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support) and NORDAC (Nordic Armaments Cooperation) form important frameworks for Nordic multilateral cooperation. NORDCAPS serves to strengthen the Nordic countries' capacity to operate together in international operations, and makes it possible to contribute combined units up to brigade strength to peace support operations.

91. The Nordic countries are still deeply engaged with the three Baltic States in the field of defence. The membership of the Baltic States in both the EU and NATO now facilitates even closer defence-related cooperation in the region. Norway has, since 1992, actively participated in building up and modernising the defence forces of the Baltic States. The bilateral support for the Baltic States will, over time, be discontinued in its present form and channelled into the normal framework of cooperation through NATO.

Our Relations with Russia

92. During the Cold War, Norway's relations with the former Soviet Union were the dimensioning factor in Norwegian security and defence policy. Today's Russia poses no military threat to Norway but remains a key factor for the formulation of Norwegian security and defence policy. Developments in Russia have brought greater domestic stability, and trends generally indicate further economic progress and

democratic consolidation, albeit a system of government that is not necessarily comparable to Western democracies. Russia seems to base its policies on close cooperation with NATO, the EU and the USA.

93. Our common border with Russia is located in an area of great importance, both strategically and in terms of resources. In the foreseeable future, the state of affairs and developments in the High North (frequently used synonym for Arctic Europe), where there is still a major concentration of military forces and nuclear weapons, will have implications for the Norwegian Armed Forces. Russia continues to place great emphasis on its nuclear weapons. Hence, the bases on the Kola Peninsula and in Northwest Russia remain strategically crucial. This is unlikely to change. Due to that fact, significant military capabilities will remain stationed in Northwest Russia.

94. Norwegian societal security is directly affected by the potential threat of contamination related to military activities and civilian nuclear power plants in Northwest Russia. Increased oil and gas exploration and production in the High North, as well as a greater number of oil tankers along our coast, add to the risk of pollution. These challenges have to be tackled. Multilateral cooperation and continued joint efforts are essential in reducing and removing the potential environmental hazards to the vulnerable ecology of the Barents Sea, and the risks to societal security. In this field, Norway and Russia have common interests.

95. Norwegian interests are best served by involving Russia in close political and military cooperation with NATO as well as with the EU and USA. In the NATO-Russia Council, NATO Allies and Russia are equal partners. It does not automatically follow, however, that this expanded cooperation will bring about a qualitative change in the bilateral relations between Norway and Russia. That relationship will remain characterised by the asymmetry between a small state and a great power, and by the fact that our interests meet in an area of great strategic significance. An important aim in our cooperation with Russia is to promote transparency and reduce suspicion regarding military activities on both sides of the border.

96. From the Norwegian side it is important to avoid situations in which Russia may exert bilateral pressure on Norway. From that point of view, a multilateral framework for our relations with Russia remains important. A Russia that seeks security in cooperation with others is crucial for European and international security and stability, and therefore also an important contribution to greater predictability. Norway should be able to assume that Russia will adhere to and respect international rules and agreements and, through that, contribute to a good and safe neighbourhood.

97. For Russia the greatest security challenges originate from areas in the south, where it borders on several unstable states with oppressive regimes. Tackling these challenges will require significant resources. In the medium and long term Russia also risks facing a growing challenge in the east. The Russian population east of the Ural Mountains (Siberia and the Far East) only numbers about 32 million people, many of whom are non-ethnic Russians. At the same time, the population growth in the adjacent areas continues. Northwest Russia and the border area with Norway thus represent, seen from Moscow, a stable, problem-free and predictable region.

PART IV

Security Consequences for Norway

98. The current global trends imply an unpredictable picture of risks that primarily originate from factors outside our own geographical vicinity. Events and actions that take place far from Norwegian borders may still indirectly impact, or be directed against, Norway or the areas close to Norway. For example, Norwegian resources and Norway's strategic position may lead to assaults or other security consequences that threaten our national interests. In the short and medium term, it is very unlikely that Norway will face a direct territorial threat.

99. Based on that background, two dimensions of Norway's approach to security policy must be highlighted: the regional and the global dimensions. Despite the fact that it is convenient to analyse them separately, it is important to underline their close interrelationship (cf. paragraph 46).

The Regional Dimension

100. Norway has access to rich natural resources in vast ocean areas, and borders on a great power in the north. These two factors largely define the regional dimension. In addition, we may include global challenges and threats that may also have a direct impact in our region, or indirect repercussions.

101. Our position as neighbour to Russia will remain an important framework for Norwegian security policy. The concentration of large military capabilities and nuclear weapons in areas close to our border is a reality we cannot escape. Furthermore, Norway also faces potential security challenges due to our significant energy and fishery resources and position as a strategic energy supplier.

102. The ocean areas in which Norway has sovereign rights are vast and contain resources of strategic importance to other states. Oil and gas are strategically critical resources for industrialised countries. Norway must be able to handle political pressure, as well as terrorist assaults and attempts at military strikes against our oil and gas installations, or against national infrastructure as such. Norway does not necessarily have to be directly involved in a conflict to become a target for such attacks. Norway's energy export alone may make Norwegian interests and installations potential targets for actors who might want to harm the recipients of Norwegian oil and gas. The NAF have important tasks connected to the protection of these installations and must therefore have the right tools to obtain good intelligence and to maintain the necessary situational awareness. Both are fundamental for effective exercise of authority and sovereignty, including sovereign rights, as well as for crisis management.

103. International terrorism knows no borders. Technological advances and the consequences of globalisation also make Norway a potential target for international terrorism. Weapons of mass destruction are a potential threat - a threat that might materialise in Norway as well. Significant advance warning of such a threat may not materialise. Norwegian security policy must take this potential threat into account and be tailored in such a way that we will be able to meet it, also in our region. The potential for future incidents, crises and conflicts in areas around Norway cannot be written off, a fact our security policy must take into consideration.

104. Such events will, however, be of a different character than the large-scale war scenario of the Cold War. The crises and incidents of our time, including terrorism, do not require the adversary to make long-

term preparations and to build up forces. This means that situations may develop quickly and normally be limited in scale. Despite this, the consequences for Norwegian economic interests and Norwegian societal security might be considerable. As a result Norway must continuously and clearly demonstrate its willingness and capability of assuming responsibility for its own security. At the same time we must make sure that we are able to meet such challenges, through close cooperation between the police and the Armed Forces, or together with our Allies if the situation should so require. The latter makes it mandatory for Norway to have military forces capable of cooperating effectively with Allied forces. Norwegian security would be jeopardised and in the longer term weakened if Norwegian military forces were not able to operate jointly with Allied forces. Interoperability with Allies is both motivated from a national and an international perspective. Allied exercises and training in Norway is fundamental in this context.

105. Limited strikes against societal security are more likely than traditional military attacks on Norway. This type of strikes may come from both state and non-state actors. Our security policy must embrace both likely and less likely threats, yet still differentiate between them. This means that societal security has gained a more prominent role in the formation of our security policy.

106. Norway's position as a significant energy producer and custodian of important natural resources in great ocean areas has implications for our security policy. It is of utmost importance that Norway is capable of exercising authority and sovereignty, including sovereign rights, in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction, thereby protecting our interests. We should not dismiss the possibility that Norway may, in the future, become the target of political, military or other pressure related to our natural resources. Norwegian security policy must be formulated in such a way that we are able to defend our basic security interests as required, alone or together with our Allies.

The Global Dimension

107. Trans-national threats and interdependence connect Norwegian security policy to global developments. International terrorism and local or regional conflicts all have aspects that may involve direct or indirect consequences for Norway, or for our part of the world. It is therefore in Norway's interest that such challenges are met in an appropriate manner at the earliest stage possible, in order to reduce the risks that our regional security becomes directly affected. In parallel it is important to contribute to reducing human suffering and destruction in conflict areas, including areas where international terrorism is a real threat.

108. Norwegian security policy is closely tied to the desire for ensuring well-functioning mechanisms for international security cooperation in a global framework. To the greatest extent possible Norway will, therefore, contribute to supporting the role of the UN and other security organisations. Only these organisations can provide legitimacy and legality in the fight against global threats. As part of such

support, it will under many circumstances be expedient for Norway to contribute to the stabilisation of areas of the world that suffer from crisis and conflict. Norway has a shared interest with our Allies to combat international terrorism in places where it has its support and recruitment bases. In that context the objective will also be to stabilise an area to counteract the conditions that facilitate the recruitment, training and growth of terrorist groups.

109. Security - both state security and societal security - is an important precondition for stable political, economic and social development in the Third World. State collapse, civil war or armed conflicts across state borders, all make a positive development difficult or impossible, and lead to the destruction of existing infrastructure and other societal structures. External support that creates the necessary security, or contributes to maintaining a necessary degree of security, will in such situations be a critical element of international development assistance. In addition to creating the fundamental preconditions for political, economic and social development in recipient countries, such stabilisation operations or, if required, peace-making operations based on military force will also promote human security and international peace and security. Such operations will also deprive international terrorism of potential safe havens. Support for security sector reform as well (promotion of police and armed forces that support rather than obstruct political, economic and social development), may in this context be an important initiative, to which also the NAF may contribute.

110. Counteracting global threats before they reach Norwegian territory and threaten our interests closely connects Norwegian security interests to the security interests of our Allies. Agreement and joint effort with countries that share our values and our desire to create a safer world are needed in order to meet global security challenges. Consequently,

Norwegian security policy must aim at securing access and influence in multilateral decision-making security forums. In order for Norway to be able to contribute to solving common security challenges, the NAF must be a relevant instrument for handling such tasks - through joint action with our Allies and other partners.

111. In conclusion, the regional and global dimensions entail that the threat of invasion with subsequent occupation of Norway cannot determine the posture and future development of the Norwegian Armed Forces. On the contrary, unpredictability and a new and dynamic risk assessment have become the most important factors. Norwegian security policy must reflect this more complex situation. The aim of preventing war and the emergence of threats to Norwegian and collective security now involve other priorities and a different expertise. Our security cannot be maintained through a one-sided focus on conventional defence of Norwegian territory. It is, therefore, important that Norwegian security policy is holistic in its approach to potential threats and international conflicts, and has at its disposal a variety of instruments it may employ in contributing to both national and international security.

PART V

The Fundamental Objectives of Security Policy

112. Norwegian security policy is part of Norwegian policy in general and must be in harmony with prevailing national values. Democracy, human rights, respect for international law and the aim of contributing to international peace and stability, with the UN in a leading role, are key aspects. At the same time our security policy must contribute to securing fundamental national security interests connected to stability and security, in our region as well as globally.

113. The main elements of Norway's fundamental security policy objectives are essentially constant over time. The evolving risk assessment and the transformed international framework have, however, made it necessary to present these objectives in a way that reflects their relative significance in relation to present challenges, in particular the increased focus on societal security. Based on this, the fundamental objectives of Norwegian security policy are:

- ***to prevent war and the emergence of various kinds of threats to Norwegian and collective security;***
- ***to contribute to peace, stability and the further development of the international rule of law;***
- ***to uphold Norwegian sovereignty, Norwegian rights and interests, and protect Norwegian freedom of action in the face of political, military and other kinds of pressure;***
- ***to defend, together with our Allies, Norway and NATO against assault and attack;***
- ***to protect society against assault and attack from state and non-state actors.***

114. The adjusted formulation of Norway's security objectives reflects a more conscious recognition of security policy as a domain that is not limited to war and military threats. Experience has shown that serious threats may just as well emerge from non-state actors and non-military organisations. The security policy objectives express Norway's willingness to contribute to a positive development of the international rule of law, and to international peace and stability. The objectives are not a departure from earlier formulations but represent a fine-tuning to the global challenges of today.

PART VI

The Norwegian Armed Forces as an Instrument of Security Policy, and Norway´s Use of Military Power

A Comprehensive Approach to the Use of Security Policy Instruments

115. To a much greater degree than before, our freedom of action in the field of security policy allows us to employ the whole spectrum of security policy instruments (cf. paragraph 30). As an instrument of security policy Norwegian authorities may use the NAF as a deterrent or to actually apply military force in order to ensure vital Norwegian security interests (cf. paragraph 15). The aim of such use of military force is to attain specific political goals. This might include the goal of preserving a desired state of affairs. Compared to other security policy instruments, military force is in a class by itself.

116. Armed force has a number of qualities that may also be employed to solve tasks that are not primarily military; that is, tasks that would normally be dealt with by other means. In some situations, particularly in the initial phase of a catastrophe or crisis, or when catastrophes or armed conflicts threaten the security of personnel, the only available security policy option may be to employ military forces. The potential dilemma in such situations is that military forces may represent the only available instrument, even though they may not be the optimal one.

117. There is a high probability that conflicts, crises and emergencies that include the use of armed force, will remain a part of global realities for the foreseeable future. In the initial phases of such events, military forces may be called upon to perform various kinds of tasks that are normally handled by others, until the situation is stabilised and other means, or civilian personnel, may be employed. Hence, military forces must be able to take on other kinds of tasks than conventional warfare only. We have seen that in several international crisis management operations, military forces must temporarily be able to contribute to or perform civilian tasks in order to stabilise the situation and assist the civilian population. Examples are SFOR in Bosnia (cf. Security Council Resolution 1088 of 12 December 1996) and KFOR in Kosovo (cf. Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999).

118. Military capabilities will frequently not be the dominant security policy instrument when future security challenges are to be met. In many situations that affect our security armed forces will only have a supportive role. This means that already at the outset we must take into account that military forces must be employed as an integral part of the overall effort - an effort in which the use of other security policy instruments may be dominant.[10] Only if a gloomy trend were to become manifest in international relations, including the emergence of an existential threat, the armed forces may once more emerge as the single dominating security policy instrument (cf. paragraphs 62-63).

119. Collective security aims at making sure that various actors and consequences of catastrophes, crises, armed conflicts and war do not affect international peace and stability in an unacceptable way. Active measures at an early stage, to avert potential crises and prevent various kinds of situations that

[10] See the footnote to paragraph 30 for an overview of different instruments of security policy.

threaten our security from spinning out of control, will often be the most constructive strategy. Such preventive operations and other kinds of peace operations represent various forms of international crisis management. Together with other security policy instruments they contribute to arresting the consequences of conflicts and crises that threaten us, or may have significant negative repercussions, at the earliest possible stage, and before the effects reach our own border.

A Modernised Total Defence Concept

120. The basic principle behind the Total Defence Concept has been that all resources of society, including private resources if necessary, may be employed in support of the defence of Norway in war or when war threatens. The Total Defence Concept has been based on a series of emergency laws and the NAF's need for additional resources, once the conditions for invoking these extraordinary authorisations were present. During the Cold War, the focus of the Total Defence Concept was to make civilian resources available for military self-defence. New security risks and challenges, as well as the increased relative emphasis on societal security, have led to a transformed blueprint for civilian-military cooperation.

121. The Norwegian Parliament has determined that the support of the Norwegian Armed Forces to civilian society is an important part of a modernised Total Defence Concept. In the future, the NAF must be able to provide military resources in support of tasks that are primarily civilian, but for which civilian institutions do not have the adequate resources. The NAF's more prominent role in contributing to the safeguarding of societal security, including efforts in cooperation with other national authorities in pre-

venting and combating terrorism, illustrates this change. The overall defence policy must contribute towards a focus on the security of the individual citizen, and on the protection of the population against intended and unintended harm. This implies new ways to coordinate civilian and military preparedness planning. All in all, compared to the use of the term during the Cold War, this entails a new and broader understanding of the notion of total defence, through a modernised Total Defence Concept.

122. The modernised Total Defence Concept includes mutual support and cooperation between the NAF and civilian society, and the optimal use of resources with regard to prevention, emergency planning and operational issues. The modernised Total Defence Concept gives greater emphasis to military support to civilian society. Such support is to be based on defined areas of responsibility within the level of resources devoted to readiness and planning, and on agreed arrangements for covering the costs. It is a precondition that the NAF will contribute on the basis of the available capabilities, expertise and resources that have been established to carry out the totality of NAF's tasks (cf. paragraph 154).

123. The modernised Total Defence Concept is not dependent on invoking emergency legislation. It includes, in a broad sense, civilian-military command and coordination, civilian support to the NAF, and NAF support to civilian society in order to protect societal security. Civilian-military cooperation that does not aim at the safeguarding of Norwegian or Allied security is considered «other civilian-military cooperation» and thus falls outside the Total Defence Concept.

Legality and Political Legitimacy

124. When evaluating the use of military force it is helpful to differentiate between legality and political legitimacy. Applied military force is legal when it has a basis in international law. It is legitimate when politically or morally founded. In international relations, however, it is often difficult to differentiate clearly between politics, legal aspects and morality. When the UN Security Council explicitly has authorised the use of military force, such use may be considered both legal and legitimate.

125. The ethical aspects of the use of military force may be summed up in two terms: jus in bello, which refers to the rules of warfare, and jus ad bellum, which concerns the rules for when it is legitimate to go to war or to apply military force. The latter, jus ad bellum, is related to the theory of «just war».[11] In Norway, the traditional focus has been on the former: on what actions are allowed, according to the rules and norms for warfare in international law, once war has already started. Until the 1990"s, we focused very little, both in the public debate and politically, on the question of when one may go to war or actively apply military force. The presumption was that war would come to us, against our will, and that a defensive war is, by definition, both legal and legitimate.

126. The use of military force must have a basis in international law, either through an agreement with

[11] Thomas Aquinas described the classical criteria for «just war». He claimed that three criteria had to be fulfilled: (1) the body (that is, the political institution) that declares war must have the right authority, (2) the basis for the war must be just, and (3) one must have the right intention, i.e. to promote the good and stay away from evil.

the parties (e.g., a peacekeeping operation for which the warring parties request a third party's military intervention to attain a cease fire), through the right of individual or collective self-defence, consistent with Article 51 of the UN Charter, or through a mandate from the UN Security Council in accordance with chapter VI or VII of the UN Charter (cf. paragraphs 23 and 26-28).

127. There is a broad consensus in Norway that Norwegian participation in military operations outside of Norway must have a basis in international law. One must strive to base the use of military force, except in clear cases of self-defence, on a mandate from the UN Security Council. If a situation that constitutes a threat to international peace and stability were to arise, and an explicit mandate from the UN Security Council were not possible (cf. the veto of the permanent members), then a consideration might be required of whether or not a basis still might exist in international law. In such a consideration, political and moral legitimacy will weigh heavily.

128. Only in exceptional cases should Norwegian forces participate in operations that do not have a UN mandate and in these cases only when such participation is clearly founded in international law. Norway will continue to refrain from participating in preventive warfare and pre-emptive strikes that do not have a clear foundation in international law.

129. The prospective of military intervention against a sovereign state is an important topic for debate in international relations. No broad consensus has emerged on the issue of to what extent, and under what circumstances, such intervention is defensible. The moral and legal foundation of military interventions after the Cold War has suffered from lack of legal precedence. The security policy instruments

that have been employed have been characterised by the need for finding new answers to new problems. The current situation, however, is very different from what was the case before 1990. The international society's powerlessness and sense of guilt connected to the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995, due to the lack of a timely intervention with sufficient military force, have had obvious political repercussions. The intervention in Kosovo in 1999 must be seen in that light. Consequently, international law is changing.

130. The establishment of the war crimes tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the International Criminal Court, demonstrate that the principles behind jus in bello now seem to have firmer standing internationally than before. At the core of the ethical debate on warfare are two key principles - proportionality and protection of non-combatants. These principles are at the very foundation of international law (the Hague conventions, which include a prohibition against certain types of weapons, and the Geneva conventions with additional protocols). Norway has always lived up to the demands that international law sets in these areas.

131. Several of the crisis management operations that Norway might contribute to in the future will put great emphasis on the ability of the Norwegian Armed Forces to deal with situations that are sensitive with regard to international law. It is important that training and education reflect this. In particular, situations that require difficult choices may arise when one or several parties in a conflict deliberately violate one or both of the above mentioned principles (proportionality and protection of non-combatants). International terrorism and asymmetric warfare have already illustrated this problem.

132. Jus ad bellum will always be a political responsibility. Norwegian soldiers participating in military operations are to concentrate on jus in bello. The domestic political framework for Norwegian use of military force is outlined in paragraphs 138-143.

Command Authority and Political Control

133. According to § 25 of the Norwegian Constitution the «Supreme Command over the Land and Naval Forces of the Realm» is the prerogative of the King, which means the Government. On a day-to-day basis, command authority is exercised through the Minister of Defence. The Constitution does not, however, refer to whether or not, or to what degree, the Government may delegate its command authority.[12] The Chief of Defence has been delegated «full command», which is the highest military authority of command, without this affecting the Government's constitutional command authority. The constitutional accountability for any use of the NAF is, therefore, at all times held by the Government through the Minister or Defence. Furthermore, the Minister of Defence is accountable to Parliament, the Storting, for all activities of the NAF. The Minster of Defence, therefore, has full authority to instruct the Chief of Defence.

134. The transfer of command over Norwegian forces to NATO's chain of command is based on the fact

[12] The third clause of the paragraph does state that the Government may not transfer Norwegian Forces to the service of «Foreign Powers».

that NATO's military command is subject to political control. Political decisions in the North Atlantic Council, in which Norway is represented by our NATO-ambassador, are based on consensus. The 2003 NATO command structure does not stipulate that Allied military operations on Norwegian soil will be directed through a Norwegian commander. However, when NATO members make forces available to the Alliance, they only transfer limited command authority - operational command or operational control. As a result, no NATO commander will exercise full command over Norwegian forces. Full command is a prerogative of the Norwegian chain of command.

135. In situations in which Norwegian forces are made available to non-NATO multinational operations, for instance EU-led, UN-led or other operations, the same principles apply as in a NATO setting. Norwegian forces will in principle never be given missions or perform tasks that are not within the framework approved in advance by Norwegian political authorities.

136. A key purpose of effective command and control is to ensure political control over the use of military force. Effective command and control is, however, dependent on close cooperation between the political leadership and the military expertise. This requires close and persistent politico-military coordination, in which the political leadership often will make important decisions continuously and during all phases of a military operation. Crisis management requires short lines of command in order to ensure political control and military efficiency. Swift decision-making must take place on a broad and coordinated basis.

137. Since 2003, Norway has an integrated Ministry of Defence, with the Chief of Defence and important parts of his strategic functions as part of the Ministry. This creates the basis for effective, close and persistent politico-military coordination.

The Conditions for Norway's Use of Military Force

138. The need for legality and political legitimacy - both domestically and internationally - will remain crucial for Norway's use of military force. Key Norwegian security interests, the international setting, considerations concerning international peace and security, Alliance solidarity and humanitarian concerns, will be particularly important for the degree to which, and in what manner, Norwegian authorities will use the NAF as a security policy instrument. A fundamental goal is that Norway should be able to contribute actively and meaningfully to the military operations that NATO, through consensus, may undertake. It is important that operations to which Norway chooses to contribute enjoy broad political support.

139. The use of military force by Norway in a purely national context is first and foremost an option in limited situations, connected to the exercise of national sovereignty and authority. In all other situations, the NAF will operate within a multinational framework - both inside and outside of Norway.

140. At the same time, the costs of military operations outside of Norway will always be an important consideration. Such operations are costly and must, therefore, be reasonably proportionate to what we intend or hope to achieve. In terms of non-economic costs, primarily the risk of loss of lives, these must be justified in terms of the political aims that form the basis for the operation, and the efforts that were made before the active use of force was initiated. Due to these considerations, it is imperative that Norwegian authorities view the aim of the operation as legal, legitimate and morally defensible.

141. The use of military force is unquestionably a political responsibility. The NAF is responsible for conducting the use of military force in accordance with political guidelines and international law. Nevertheless, in all military operations mistakes might be made and accidents might occur. In such situations, it is crucial that the political responsibility for the inherent risks of conducting complex military operations remain clear and firm. This does not, however, in any way limit the responsibility of military commanders and the individual soldiers according to international law.

142. It is fundamental that Norwegian soldiers, during an operation, receive constant and explicit support from the Norwegian authorities. That is particularly important if the international legality of the military operation was initially disputed, or when the mission turns out to be more complicated and difficult to carry out than originally envisaged.

143. Norway has limited military resources and will not participate in all types of military operations or under all circumstances. Nevertheless, a UN mandate, international solidarity and, in particular, Alliance solidarity represent strong incentives to contribute to the operations we support.

PART VII

The Security Roles of The Norwegian Armed Forces, Defence Policy Objectives, and Military Tasks

The Security Roles of the NAF

144. The absence of a single dimensioning threat implies that the NAF, in the future, must be able to fill several different roles. This fact has implications for what kind of capabilities and expertise the NAF must have, as well as for what kinds of missions the Armed Forces must be prepared to carry out.

145. The role in relation to conventional collective defence is not as prominent as before. Yet the NAF must maintain a basis for a possible mobilisation and rebuilding of the required military force in case a new and direct conventional threat against Norwegian territory should arise in the long term (cf. paragraphs 61-63). The NAF's institutional expertise and adaptability will, first and foremost, form that basis (cf. also paragraph 190). It is important that our security and defence policy, due to more short-term needs, does not ignore possible trends in the direction of a conventional build-up, or other trends that in the long run might give rise to a potential or actual threat.

146. Distant states and various non-state actors will, in the future, become capable of inflicting substantial damage to Norwegian society and the societies of our Allies. This is particularly the case if they were to use weapons of mass destruction or other means that may cause great harm. Norway must, therefore, have the capability to preclude and combat such threats, as well as to limit the damage that might result from such strikes and assaults. The NAF must, in this context, perform a preventive and protective role. This is a role that to a large degree will require the provision of various forms of military assistance to Norwegian civilian authorities, as well as the capability to receive support from, or provide assistance to, other Allies when the threat or damage is of a nature that brings about collective defence measures in NATO.

147. At the same time the above-mentioned role requires that the NAF, in certain areas, is in a position to contribute capabilities and expertise in order to protect Norwegian societal security and other important security interests. Intelligence and security services, information operations, coast guard, border guard, special forces operations, guard duty and protection, explosive ordnance disposal, and larger NRBC-challenges[13] are examples of areas in which a sufficient national capacity is required, and where the NAF has an important role.

[13] NRBC is short for Nuclear, Radiological, Bacteriological and Chemical.

148. Norway's relationship with Russia has developed constructively (cf. paragraphs 92-97). It is, however, marked by the fact that Norway is a small neighbour bordering on areas of great strategic significance to Russia. Our interests are not always compatible. This implies a need for securing predictability and stability, particularly in Arctic Europe. Here, the NAF must fill a regionally stabilising role. This is a role that includes maintaining a presence of Norwegian military capabilities, as well as constant surveillance, exercise of sovereignty and exercise of authority in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction, and the provision of necessary assistance to civilian authorities. The aim is to assert Norwegian control in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction and to influence the regional security environment in accordance with Norwegian political objectives. In this context, an important aim will be to secure broad international support, including regular Allied presence and involvement, in order to consolidate the position of the High North as a stable and safe part of Europe. For the NAF this involves, in particular, arranging for the regular presence of Allied troops for training and exercises, above all in North Norway.

149. Future international security crises might spin out of control and represent a danger in terms of a broader conflict, or human suffering that is unacceptable to international society. In such situations, it might be necessary to intervene in order to create a necessary degree of control and to prevent unacceptable damage. Since the distinction between national and international security to a large degree has been erased in the global era (cf. paragraphs 5 and 46), this kind of intervention will also, in certain situations, represent a forward defence of Norway or Norwegian security interests. As one of several instruments of security policy, and within the limits of international law, the NAF will have an important role in such international crisis management. For Norway it is of fundamental importance that such operations have a sufficient basis in international law, broad international support, and that they contribute to international peace and security.

150. The above particular role requires, on the one hand, the capability to combat and neutralise actors that represent a threat to international peace and security, that is, the capability to take action to prevent, deter or combat. Operation «Enduring Freedom» in Afghanistan is an example of such an operation (cf. Security Council resolution 1368 of 12 September 2001, which recognises a state's right to self-defence against international terrorism and called upon member states to cooperate in the struggle against international terrorism, and the NATO Council decision that invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which is based on Article 51 of the UN Charter).

151. The international crisis management role of the NAF also has an important stabilising dimension. The purpose is to gain control over situations in which the lack of military presence and control might lead to a deterioration of the situation, which again may have seriously negative consequences. The aim is to contribute to establishing peace and stability as the normal state of affairs. An important part of the stabilising dimension is thus to contribute to preventing different kinds of crises, armed conflicts, or war. SFOR in Bosnia (Security Council resolution 1088 of 12 December 1996), KFOR in Kosovo (Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999) and operation «Allied Harmony» in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (based on a request from Macedonian authorities and a NATO Council decision of 15 December 2002) are examples of the stabilising dimension that is part of the NAF's international crisis management role.

Defence Policy Objectives

152. The objectives of our defence policy represent the link between security policy and defence policy. They state what the NAF should contribute in order to secure the best possible realization of Norway's fundamental security objectives. The defence policy objectives for the period 2005-2008 are that the NAF, within their area of responsibility and through cooperation with other national authorities, as appropriate, shall be able to:

- ***alone and together with Allies secure Norwegian sovereignty, Norwegian rights and interests, as well as ensuring Norwegian freedom of action in the face of military and other pressure;***
- ***together with Allies, through participation in multinational peace operations and international defence cooperation, contribute to peace, stability, the enforcement of international law and respect for human rights, and to prevent the use of force by state and non-state actors against Norway and NATO;***
- ***together with Allies, contribute to the collective defence of Norway and other Allies in accordance with our Alliance commitments, and to meet different kinds of assaults and attacks with force in order to safeguard Norwegian and collective security;***
- ***contribute to safeguarding Norwegian societal security, save lives and limit the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, assaults and attacks from state and non-state actors.***

The Tasks of Norwegian Armed Forces

153. By successfully handling their tasks the NAF will fulfil the defence policy objectives. Consequently, these tasks are decisive for the Armed Forces' activities, expertise, capabilities and operational skills. The operational capability of the NAF is measured in terms of how well the Armed Forces are able to accomplish their tasks and is, therefore, evaluated on a yearly basis. To maintain an optimal operational capability, in the light of new tasks and security challenges, is the main goal of military transformation (cf. paragraph 190).

154. The NAF's tasks are divided into (a) national tasks, (b) tasks that are carried out in cooperation with Allies and possibly others, and (c) other tasks. The first two categories will - as a balanced whole - guide the development of the NAF's structure and force posture. This means that the national and international tasks of the NAF are not contradictory or in competition with each other. Rather, they are complementary in a way that creates a mutually reinforcing synergy among the different aspects of the NAF's overall activity. As a general rule, the NAF's capabilities should be usable both at home and abroad and there will, therefore, in principle be no distinction between the personnel/ capabilities needed for national and international missions. However, it is decisive that the NAF remain capable, at any time, to fulfil their national tasks in an adequate way. This must always be the precondition.

155. The tasks below numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 are national tasks that require the permanent availability of operational Norwegian military capabilities. Tasks 5 and 6 are tasks that must be undertaken in concert with Allies and possibly with others, tasks for which Norway provides only a part of the military capability required. Tasks 7 and 8, on the other hand, are of such a character that they must be addressed by employing the capabilities and expertise attained in order to undertake tasks 1 through 6. The force posture, equipment and training of the territorial defence troops, however, must place the necessary emphasis on their capability to contribute to Norwegian societal security.

National tasks

The NAF's national tasks are derived from Norway's responsibilities and rights as an independent state and have, as their foundation, our autonomous responsibility on Norwegian territory and in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction. Therefore, they must be undertaken nationally and, at least initially, without Allied involvement. These tasks require a permanent, high availability and presence of operational military capabilities under Norwegian control:

Task 1:

To ensure a national basis for decision-making through timely surveillance and intelligence gathering.

The NAF shall conduct an effective intelligence gathering and surveillance of areas of interest to Norway. This includes running intelligence and security services that in close cooperation with the political and military leadership collect, process and analyse information about various state and non-state actors, capabilities, phenomena and trends. The aim is to maintain good situational awareness in order to establish, at all times, a satisfactory basis for decision-making, including early warning, so that the NAF may conduct their other tasks efficiently and in order for Norwegian authorities to be continuously updated.

Task 2:

To exercise Norwegian sovereignty.

The NAF shall contribute to guarding Norwegian sovereignty, by protecting Norwegian sovereign rights and defending national integrity. This includes deterrence and the handling of minor incidents, as well as denying intruders access to Norwegian territory and preventing that such intruders harm vital societal interests. Exercising sovereignty requires the capability to handle incidents on land, in our territorial waters and in Norwegian air space. When needed, the task also includes protecting Norwegian embassies and Norwegian shipping. Upholding sovereignty effectively and credibly requires that the NAF command sufficient resources for the surveillance of activity in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction, and the capability to quickly establish a presence with appropriate units.

Task 3:

To exercise authority in defined areas.

The NAF shall exercise authority in order to enforce Norwegian law in areas in which the authority to do so has been delegated to the NAF. This includes preventive measures. The NAF's exercise of authority is related to supervision and control conducted on behalf of other government agencies and is, in peacetime, primarily conducted by the Border Guard and the Coast Guard. The exercise of authority is a task that determines the force posture in that it requires capabilities that are also relevant for the NAF's other tasks, above all the exercise of sovereignty. This creates important synergies. Moreover, the task of exercising authority must be conducted in such a way that it does not create significant operational or economic limitations for other parts of NAF's activities.

Task 4:

To prevent and handle security-related incidents and crises in Norway and in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction.

Under the direction of Norwegian political authorities, the NAF shall contribute to the handling of national security-related incidents and crises that are not of such a nature that the Government would want to involve the Alliance. Such incidents and crises - including terrorist attacks - must quickly, and with a minimum of negative consequences, be brought under control on Norwegian terms. The task also includes having the ability to make sure that a situation is handled in such a way that it would invoke Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty if the Norwegian Government were to decide that it is desirable to involve the Alliance, or if Norway were not able to handle the situation alone. Without an autonomous capability to handle different kinds of crises of a certain scope, Norway may loose its credibility both vis-à-vis potential adversaries and in NATO. Effective leadership and coordination, both within the NAF and between the NAF and civilian actors, are an important precondition for solving this task. Moreover, available and flexible military forces with short reaction time are required in all of the services and in the Home Guard.

Tasks That are Carried Out in Cooperation with Allies and Possibly Others

The most demanding tasks related to the defence of Norway and of NATO, as well as the tasks related to international stabilising and peace support operations, the NAF must undertake in cooperation with others. In these situations Norway will only be able to contribute a limited share of the military capabilities needed. The tasks are:

Task 5:

To contribute to the collective defence of Norway and other parts of NATO against threats, assaults and attacks, including the use of weapons of mass destruction.

The NAF shall, together with our Allies, meet threats, assaults and attacks against Norway and other parts of NATO that are covered by Articles 5 and 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This includes conventional attacks, attacks with weapons of mass destruction, as well as other types of assaults and attacks - from both state and non-state actors - which cause or may cause such extensive damage that NATO invokes collective defence measures. A key element of this task is to contribute to securing that NATO as a whole has a credible deterrence capability, so that threats do not arise. Furthermore, the NAF should contribute to NATO's capability to handle new unconventional threats, strikes and attacks that are covered by NATO's commitment to collective defence.

In the future, this task might also involve the protection of geographic areas and civilian populations against potential missile strikes. At the same time the need might arise for protecting Norwegian and Allied security through participation in operations outside the Alliance's traditional area of responsibility.

Task 6:

To contribute to multinational crisis management, including multinational peace operations.

The NAF shall, within the limits of international law, be able to contribute military capabilities in order to impose control over situations that either threaten our common security or vital interests, or have other unacceptable consequences. Such crisis management might include all kinds of security-related challenges, in principle take place anywhere in the world, and be led by organisations such as the UN, NATO and the EU, or be carried out by coalitions of limited duration.

In order to make this possible, personnel in all armed services must be available for both national and international missions. The task includes preventive and stabilising deployments of troops, to avert the eruption of an acute crisis, for instance to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict or the occurrence of severe violations of international law, including basic human rights.

In the aftermath of some acute security crises there will be a need for employing military capabilities for some time, in order to maintain control and contribute to stability and a positive development. Experience shows that the conduct of preventive or stabilising, multinational operations that transform negative circumstances for security, often will be a lengthy effort.

Other tasks

These are tasks for which other Norwegian authorities are primarily responsible. They will, therefore, not serve as a basis for the military posture of the NAF and must, consequently, be undertaken primarily on the basis of the capabilities and expertise that are available in order for the NAF to carry out the six tasks described above. These other tasks are:

Task 7:

To provide military support to diplomacy and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The NAF shall contribute to supporting Norwegian and multinational diplomacy as part of the effort to establish international peace and security, including preventing that weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery become accessible to actors that pose a potential threat to Norwegian and international security. Information gathering, analysis, armaments control, confidence building and verification, are measures that are part of this effort. The task further includes helping selected partners build up their self-defence capability, their capability to contribute to international security, and to reform or modernise their armed forces.

Other contributions might include assisting countries in the transition to democratic control over their armed forces. Furthermore, education and training of other states' military and paramilitary personnel might also contribute to political, economic and social development (cf. paragraph 109), as well as to a more effective fight against terrorism and international organised crime.

Task 8:

To contribute to the safeguarding of societal security and other vital societal tasks.

The NAF shall, within the limits of available resources and expertise, contribute to the total effort to safeguard societal security. The NAF shall be able to contribute to the prevention and combating of strikes and attacks against the population, infrastructure and government functions, including strikes and attacks of an asymmetric nature. Combating and preventing terrorism is a task for the police in cases in which there is no national security dimension, or in which there is no reason to assume that there might be a national security dimension. In such cases, the NAF will contribute on requests for support from the police (cf. paragraphs 38-42).

The NAF shall support civilian society based on existing laws and regulations (for instance, the Home Guard Act[14] and the Assistance Instructions[15] in case of accidents, rescue operations, natural disasters or other dangers to life, health or property). The effort of the NAF in extraordinary situations might include rescue operations in which nuclear, radiological, biological or chemical (NRBC) weapons have been used.

The NAF's contribution to the safeguarding of societal security will primarily be based on the military posture and capabilities that have been established in order to carry out other tasks. The organisational structure, equipment and training of the territorial defence forces must adequately emphasise the capability to contribute to Norwegian societal security, and the territorial defence forces continue to be developed with this in mind. Moreover, based on a specific consideration of each separate case, the NAF will also contribute to supporting civilian society in undertaking other societal tasks than those mentioned above. This might include the dissemination of information and knowledge, safeguarding certain cultural institutions, and support for specific events.

[14] The Home Guard Act (Lov om Heimevernet) 28 dated 17 July 1953 (no. 28).
[15] Royal Decree (Kongelig Resolusjon), dated 28 February 2003, on Military Assistance to the Police.

PART VIII

The Defence Concept

156. The defence concept has been given a normative form that provides a brief and comprehensive description of the most central principles behind the future development and activities of the NAF. The concept explains how the NAF will be structured in order to carry out, in an optimal way, their given tasks, and to contribute to fulfilling the fundamental national security objectives. The concept describes the fundamental idea behind the NAF's force posture and points to the strategic-level choices that must be made in that respect. As a vision for the development of the NAF, the defence concept is to have a guiding and focusing role.

157. The defence concept reads as follows:

The Norwegian Armed Forces are to be developed as a modern, flexible and Alliance-adapted instrument of security policy, with a balance being sought between the NAF's tasks, organisational structure and funding. The NAF's activities are to be based on close cooperation with relevant civilian authorities and on military conscription adapted to the needs of the NAF. Focus will be on securing and promoting Norwegian interests through the ability to handle a broad range of challenges, both nationally and internationally.

158. In order for the NAF to be modern and flexible, all units must maintain an advanced level in terms of expertise, equipment, and the ability to network, both nationally and internationally. NAF units must be capable of operating in a complex high-intensive environment and of handling a broad and multifaceted threat environment. The unpredictability of risks and challenges means that flexibility must be a fundamental principle, both in terms of force posture and competencies. This flexibility will be decisive for the ability of continuously adapting the NAF to changing circumstances.

159. Effective safeguarding of Norwegian security interests demands a defence force oriented towards, and adapted to, operating within an Alliance framework. This again requires both mental and materiel interoperability. The NAF must be

able to operate efficiently together with Allied forces both at home and abroad, and must be capable of actively contributing to the whole range of NATO's tasks. This entails an increased emphasis on multinational cooperation, division of labour and role specialisation within NATO, and through cooperation with other Allies as strategic partners. That kind of cooperation will also be decisive for Norway to be able to contribute high-quality military units to multinational operations outside the NATO framework, including UN-led operations. The requirements for Alliance interoperability are congruent with the requirements that are made of the NAF to undertake their national tasks in an effective manner.

160. A defence force in which tasks, force posture and funding are to remain in balance must be managed and further developed in such a way that its competencies and capabilities are sustainable over time within a given budgetary level. This perspective will guide the

structural development of the NAF in order to create the most effective force posture in reference to the given tasks, and to avoid investments that due to budgetary, force structure or technology changes are no longer relevant, or other inappropriate use of resources. Cost efficiency within a comprehensive approach will be an important consideration for all aspects of the NAF's activities. This is particularly the case for logistics and other support activities.

161. Conscription through compulsory military service is founded in Norway's Constitution.[16] The aim of the service is «to serve in the defence of the country's interests» and «to participate in the defence of the homeland»; that is, to contribute towards Norwegian state and societal security, including towards making Norway able to fulfil its obligations in the Alliance. Conscription will remain a central pillar for the NAF. It contributes to giving the NAF a solid base in society and is an important resource to the NAF in terms of recruitment of personnel and expertise. The requirements of the NAF constitute the guiding principle for who are called up and how many, and for how long.

162. The NAF will focus on being capable of handling a broad range of challenges, both nationally and internationally. The NAF must be structured in such a way as to be able to undertake all tasks in the most comprehensive, adequate and forward-looking manner, and with the inherent flexibility that uncertainty requires. This means that the joint capability to undertake the sum of the tasks that are given priority will be decisive for the force posture (cf. paragraph 154).

[16] §109 of the Constitution, with detailed prescriptions in the Compulsory Military Service Act (Lov om verneplikt) dated 17 July 1953 (no. 29) and the Home Guard Act, dated 17. July 1953 (no. 28).

PART IX

The Force Posture and Capabilities of the NAF

Availability of Military Capabilities

163. At any given time, some parts of the NAF's capabilities will be employed in regular day-to-day operations and other activities, while other parts primarily will represent a readiness to handle security-related situations that might emerge and that require the use of military instruments. Moreover, where and how various military capabilities are used will contribute towards preventing the emergence of security challenges, by actively influencing the security setting and other external conditions.

164. In the short and medium term, we must anticipate that our security situation will, to a great extent, be marked by the difficulty of predicting where, when and how a need for using military capabilities will arise. In peacetime, the NAF must therefore possess relevant and flexible capabilities with high readiness, allowing them to be rapidly deployed in order to handle a broad range of missions and security challenges. As sudden events frequently are unpredictable, both in terms of nature and geographic location, the capability to contribute to power projection - both inside and outside of Norway - is a key requirement for the NAF.

165. It is therefore essential to maintain peacetime readiness levels that make the NAF an effective instrument of security policy. This will allow our political authorities to handle acute security challenges, counteract negative changes in the security setting, and achieve the objectives of our security policy. Maintaining such an availability of relevant capabilities will be the most important and demanding task of the NAF's overall activities.

Institutional Competencies

166. The NAF must have the required institutional expertise about the security challenges we face, and about their own role in relation to these. Such competencies allow the NAF a certain room for manoeuvre and form a basis for handling both expected and unexpected situations. The competencies required also include the know-how the NAF must possess in order to establish and maintain the degree of adaptability needed to meet unexpected security challenges and to carry out military transformation. This is a form of basic expertise that goes beyond the competencies that make military capabilities operational.

167. A distinction must be made between the institutional competencies the NAF must possess and further develop on their own, and the competencies that may be attained through civilian-military cooperation. Furthermore, a distinction must be made between the competencies that will be ensured and developed through multinational military cooperation and the national competencies the NAF are required to possess and develop further on behalf of Norwegian society.

168. In areas in which there is no conflict with specific Norwegian security interests, the NAF will, to the greatest extent possible, seek to develop expertise through multinational military cooperation. Where feasible and cost effective, civilian-military cooperation should also be utilised to address requirements or special expertise.

169. The NAF must maintain the capability to undertake, over time, a major expansion in force posture, should this be required, in parallel with the handling of day-to-day tasks with relevant military capabilities. A capability for long-term force expansion includes having the necessary planning capability and the competencies needed for establishing a new and larger force.

Niche Capabilities, Role Specialisation and Division of Labour

170. The effort to transform NATO's military capabilities takes place along several dimensions. One of them is the development of so-called niche capabilities for which the Alliance has a particular need. This approach particularly allows smaller and new NATO members to make meaningful contributions to the whole range of Allied operations. As a small country, Norway is not able to contribute large military units for operations abroad. Due to this, it is particularly relevant for Norway to contribute niche capabilities that represent specialised units that are in demand in the Alliance. Establishing and maintaining niche capabilities require a high level of expertise, great flexibility and adaptability, as well as high readiness so that the units may be quickly deployed where needed. As a consequence, niche capabilities may become part of various Allied force packages and contribute to a broad spectrum of operations.

171. Niche capabilities represent important contributions to NATO's combined force posture. At the same time they constitute capabilities with a high level of expertise and availability for the member countries that possess such units. The development of niche capabilities, therefore, is to a large extent based on member countries building on existing capabilities and competencies in areas in which they, due to climatic, topographic, or other particular national conditions enjoy a comparative advantage. The increased focus on such specialised capabilities entails, in other words, a growing role specialisation and division of labour in NATO.

172. For Norway it is natural to focus on specialised capabilities for which the NAF already have a high level of expertise and for which the handling of national tasks requires the same specialised capabilities. Such capabilities include specialisation in winter warfare, operations in the littorals and in particularly demanding terrain. Furthermore, participation in international operations has provided Norway with significant niche competencies in areas such as movement control, mine clearance, explosive ordnance disposal, multinational logistics, special forces operations, and intelligence.

Multinational Military Cooperation as a Development Strategy

173. Technological developments, the increasing cost of military equipment, and the military capability gap between the USA and Europe make it hard, particularly for smaller states and new Allies, to contribute meaningfully to multinational military operations, and thus to collective security. This is a trend that conflicts with key NATO security interests and that might undermine Alliance cohesion. The growing emphasis on multinational cooperation to establish new and more modern capabilities is an obvious countermove to such a negative development. For Norway, the significance of this strategy will increase over time - both in the short, medium and long term.

174. Multinational military cooperation includes all measures of cooperation between two or more states to develop and improve military capabilities. This might include joint research and development, procurement, operations, maintenance and decommissioning disposal. States may cooperate on an equal basis or with one or more countries in the lead, perhaps by establishing a framework to which other states may contribute with smaller and more specialised niche capabilities. In most types of multinational cooperation the individual state will retain command over its own forces.

175. Multinational cooperation has several advantages: (1) it provides increased interoperability and greater Allied flexibility due to common solutions (as opposed to purely national solutions); (2) multinational capabilities are generally more cost-effective to procure and maintain; (3) multinational cooperation makes it possible for countries, particularly smaller ones, to gain access to capabilities they are unable to procure and operate on their own; (4) multinational cooperation increases the ability of all member and partner countries to contribute meaningfully to Allied operations; (5) multinational cooperation may build on and therefore develop further existing bilateral and multilateral cooperation; (6) broad multinational cooperation represents a good basis for collectively handling security challenges, both politically and militarily. In summary, multinational cooperation is one of several fundamental preconditions for successful military transformation.

176. One must, however, also take into account that multinational cooperation and solutions involve certain potential complications: (1) states need to have national access to military units in order to under-

take national tasks; (2) multinational force cooperation may in some circumstances involve operational limitations due to cultural differences, linguistic barriers, national caveats, and lack of logistics integration; (3) success in establishing and operating multinational forces requires that all units involved have a level of expertise and training acceptable to all force contributing states; (4) a precondition for multinational military cooperation is that the burden sharing and distribution of responsibilities are acceptable to all parties.

177. Norway will give priority to multinational military cooperation in the following circumstances, that is, when it: (1) increases the total military capability, (2) is compatible with the need for capabilities in order to handle national tasks; (3) is cost efficient, or at least provides other advantages and is not significantly more expensive than the alternatives. Furthermore, such cooperation is beneficial when it: (4) contributes to the realisation of NATO's and the EU's force goals; (5) assists the participating states to procure new military capabilities; and (6) is based on an acceptable burden sharing.

178. The USA is an important Ally which Norway has a fundamental interest in cooperating closely with. Many of the multinational military cooperation arrangements that Norway participates in will include the USA. In addition, it is natural for Norway to seek more extensive multinational military cooperation with European Allies with whom we enjoy particularly close relations. These are states that, to a large extent, have security interests closely similar to those of Norway, and with whom it is fairly uncomplicated to cooperate - culturally, militarily and politically. Commonality in terms of fundamental interests is an important precondition for more integrated force cooperation.

179. A reasonable balance is desirable between close cooperation with larger European Allies and Allies of a size more comparable to Norway. Such a balance increases Norway's potential to assume a broad spectrum of tasks, responsibilities and roles, including leadership functions. It is vital that the cooperating partners have concurrent ambitions in terms of military transformation. On this basis, Norway has established broad multinational cooperation with the countries around the North Sea - our North Sea Strategy.

180. The North Sea Strategy is a strategic-level policy for putting several existing and future bilateral cooperation agreements into a

comprehensive framework. The North Sea Strategy is a Norwegian initiative and entails that Norway builds on existing bilateral agreements and initiates new ones, and systematizes our running cooperation with, four particularly close Allies (Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark). Geographic proximity and an extensive degree of shared security interests, as well as already established and wide-ranging political, economic and military cooperation, make these countries natural strategic partners for Norway. The North Sea Strategy consists of separate bilateral agreements between Norway and each of the other states; it is not a multilateral arrangement among the group of countries. The North Sea Strategy does not preclude close cooperation with other Allies and partners in particular areas.

181. The central aim of the North Sea Strategy is to increase the operational capability and total military capabilities of the participating states through cost-effective solutions. The strategy aims at developing combined military capabilities and an increased ability to operate effectively together, through the planning of and conduct of operations, common units, common education, exercises and training, as well as common procurement, maintenance and management of materiel. Through expanded multi-national military cooperation in selected areas, the NAF's operational capability will increase. Military cooperation with select countries will also attract these countries to training and exercises in Norway, and thus contribute to safeguarding our national security interests.

Criteria for Establishing Priorities

182. The guiding principle behind the shaping of the NAF's force posture is that the Norwegian Armed Forces are to be able to handle a broad spectrum of potential challenges in a flexible way. In other words, the force posture has to be scenario robust. Most capabilities will have both a national and an international role. In this way, Norwegian capabilities will have a relevant position also in NATO's force posture. The sum of the requirements emerging from this clearly points to the need for interoperable and deployable forces, with a rapid-reaction capability and suitably adapted logistics support structures. The NAF must be capable of producing operational capability where and when needed, with a set of capabilities that are optimally suited to the situation at hand.

183. The need for transformation will be decisive in all investment and procurement of new equipment. Moreover, existing equipment may become even more relevant through information and communications upgrades. Transformation, therefore, does not necessarily imply that existing equipment must be replaced. The evolving military posture of the NAF must be based on the capabilities the NAF need in order to undertake the whole range of the given tasks. A capability in this context represents an ability that contributes to carrying out a limited part of these tasks. A structural element, on the other hand, is a unit or weapon system or other equipment that contributes to establishing a capability.

184. Some of the NAF's tasks must, due to their very nature, be addressed on a purely national basis - without Allied involvement (tasks 1 - 4). Hence, they must be undertaken by employing Norwegian

military capabilities with high availability, and they must be under Norwegian command. Such capabilities include in particular intelligence and security services, coast guard, border guard, and command and control. As a general principle, capabilities that are used for national tasks should also be available for use in multinational operations.

185. The overall operational capability of the force structure is central to its ability to carry out given tasks - not the capacity of each of the services. Military operations are normally joint, and what branch a unit or capability belongs to is often of less relevance. In the future, the role of joint capabilities is likely to increase, and the traditional division into separate armed services may acquire diminished operational significance.

186. Norway's membership in NATO means that a number of basic Norwegian security interests are safeguarded through collective efforts (tasks 5 and 6). In that context, Norway must be in a position to contribute relevant, flexible and interoperable military capabilities to the Alliance. Contributing such capabilities will make Norway able to assume its share of an equitable burden sharing within the Alliance.

187. Norwegian political authorities have themselves participated in making decisions concerning NATO's requirements vis-à-vis Norway. Consequently, there is no contradiction between national requirements and those presented by the Alliance. On the contrary, the Alliance requirements represent an important tool in making the NAF capable of undertaking the whole range of their tasks. Through NATO the NAF also gain expertise and insight that supplement national competencies.

188. Based on the above, the following principles form the basis for shaping the NAF's force posture:

- *Flexibility, which implies that usable capabilities that cover a broad segment of the task spectrum are to be given priority over capabilities that are usable only for a limited number of tasks. High priority should be given to high readiness deployable units.*
- *Forces that are suitable only for purely national tasks will be maintained only if they cover a clearly identify national requirement that cannot be addressed in any other way (examples are His Majesty the King's Guard, the Home Guard, the Border Guard and the national command structure).*
- *The NAF's capabilities are to be complementary, which implies that the individual capabilities should avoid overlapping and rather supplement each other, both nationally and within NATO.*
- *New capabilities that contribute to transformation should be given priority over maintaining existing equipment and structures. Existing or planned structural elements should be adapted and developed further so as to contribute to covering concrete and clearly formulated needs that Norway has particular expertise to fulfil, in order to provide niche capabilities sought by NATO. Existing capabilities may become more usable and relevant through new roles and the introduction of new information technology, or through technological upgrades.*

- *The NAF's evolving force posture must be in line with NATO's force goals, that is, in line with the requirements and ambitions that Norway, at a political level, has agreed with our Allies. The force posture must be based on bilateral and multilateral cooperation where appropriate, and be cost efficient. This implies a significant effort within NATO in order to ensure that Norwegian interests are reflected in the development of NATO's military capabilities and force posture.*
- *The NAF's force posture should also include deployable forces at a lower level of readiness that are relevant for providing sustainability to operations, including traditional peacekeeping operations that aim at stabilisation and reconstruction of conflict areas.*
- *Non-deployable forces that are only usable for traditional, static defence are to be given low priority. However, a qualitatively upgraded Home Guard is maintained as an important part of the force posture.*

Transformation and Network-Enabled Defence

189. Broadly defined, military transformation means changing the composition and characteristics of military forces, and the way they operate.

190. The aim of military transformation is to create armed forces capable of facing unpredictability and a broad range of tasks. Transformation is a continuous and proactive process, in which concepts, doctrines and capabilities are developed and integrated in order to adapt, improve and/or make the NAF more effective. This includes strengthening the NAF's ability to operate in a joint and combined manner, both at home and abroad. For long-term defence planning and the NAF's structural development, transformation entails an increased emphasis on flexibility and the capacity for permanent adaptation.

191. Successful military transformation is in many ways a break with traditional ways of developing military power. Transformation requires a top-down approach in order to develop the NAF's military capabilities in line with the tasks and security challenges that are to be addressed in the short, medium and long term. At the same time there is a need for a rapid realisation of operational capability to meet current security challenges. It is, therefore, crucial to release the inherent capacity for innovation in the NAF, both at the national level and through extensive use of multinational cooperation. Hence, just as important as the top-down approach is that we, through a bottom-up approach, try out and test concepts, technological solutions, and other suggestions at battle labs and through experiments. This is a form of military transformation that requires an active effort - nationally, through multinational cooperation and within the Alliance framework.

192. It is against this background we must view the establishment of a new strategic command for military transformation - the Allied Command Transformation (ACT). This new command will guide the transformation effort in NATO. It is important to point out that military transformation involves a selective modernisation of certain capability areas and departure from an approach of general modernisation of all existing military capabilities.

193. Military transformation requires a rapid transition to a network-enabled defence force. The NAF must as early as possible establish a fully integrated information system (a network) that can transmit computerized data to those who need it, when they need it. A relevant picture of the situation and updated situational awareness provide the necessary basis for decision-making and for acting rapidly. Through speed and information superiority one may seize the initiative from an opponent and thereby influence key factors that affect the outcome of a military operation.

194. The combination of a fully integrated information system and introduction of new capabilities makes it possible to separate different functions in a military organisation. Different types of sensors will gather a broad informational basis that is communicated to analysis units that subsequently pass on the most current and complete overall picture of the situation to decision-makers, and to those parts of the organisation with a capacity to produce military effects on a target (effectors).

195. A network-enabled defence force, good situational awareness, and long-range high precision weapons systems make it possible to conduct operations both with accurate timing and the intended effect. Through knowledge, experience and advanced analytical and decision-making tools the NAF will, to a greater extent than before, be able to focus on the effects of an action - instead of on the action itself. All in all the ability to conduct effects-based operations is a key aim for the transformation of the NAF.

196. Transformation is about people and expertise. It is the personnel in the NAF that are going to achieve transformation. Creativity, the will and ability to adjust, combined with solid professional competencies, will therefore be key qualities of the NAF's personnel. This implies that the whole of the NAF must get access to lessons and experience gained through operations. Its is, therefore, important that such experience is analysed and evaluated in a holistic context, and that the lessons that are derived are in turn communicated to the users in an adequate and systematic way.

Conclusion

197. In both conflict and war opponents will try to take advantage of our mental blind spots to harm us, that is, exploit the limitations in the way we think. Our understandings of war and military operations essentially govern how a war actually will be waged. A static way of thinking and an exaggerated focus on selected historical events will render us vulnerable to those who think broader or more innovatively than we do. The main challenge for the NAF, in the future, is to remain a relevant instrument of security policy that is flexible, available, creative and adaptable. This requires the ability and determination to achieve military transformation. The goal is to limit the «unpleasant surprises» of war in an unpredictable and constantly changing world, to make them as little surprising and little unpleasant as possible.